

Varieties of English 1
The British Isles



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The British Isles

Edited by
Bernd Kortmann and Clive Upton

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Abbreviations

AAVE	African American Vernacular English
AbE/C/P	(Australian) Aboriginal English / Creole / Pidgin
AfBahE	Afro-Bahamian English
AfkE	Afrikaans English
AmE	American English
AnBahE	Anglo-Bahamian English
AppE	Appalachian English
AusE/VE/C	Australian English/Vernacular English/Creoles
BahE	Bahamian English
Baj	Bajan (Barbadian Creole)
BelC	Belizean Creole
BIE	Bay Islands English (Honduras)
BrC	British Creole
BrE	British English (= EngE + ScE + WelE)
ButIE	Butler English (India)
CajE	Cajun English
CAmC	Central American Creoles (Belize, Miskito, Limón, etc.)
CamP/E	Cameroon Pidgin/English
CanE	Canadian English
CarE	Caribbean English
Car(E)C	Caribbean (English-lexicon) Creoles
CFE	Cape Flats English
ChcE	Chicano English
ChnP	Chinese Pidgin English
CollAmE	Colloquial American English
CollSgE	Colloquial Singapore English
EAFé	East African English
EMarC	Eastern Maroon Creole
EngE	English English
EModE	Early Modern English
ME	Middle English
OE	Old English
ESM	English in Singapore and Malaysia
FijE	Fiji English
GhE/P	Ghanaian English/Pidgin
GuyC	Guyanese Creole
HawC	Hawaii Creole

HKE	Hong Kong English
IndE	Indian English, Anglo-Indian
InlNE	Inland Northern (American) English
IrE	Irish English
JamC/E	Jamaican Creole / English
KenE	Kenyan English
KPE	Kru Pidgin English
LibC/E	Liberian Creole/English
LibSE	Liberian Settler English
LibVE	Liberian Vernacular English
LimC	Limonese Creole (Costa Rica)
LonVE	London Vernacular English
LnkE	Lankan English
MalE	Malaysian English
NEngE	New England English
NfldE	Newfoundland English
NigP/E	Nigerian Pidgin / English
NZE	New Zealand English
NYCE	New York City English
OzE	Ozarks English
PakE	Pakistani English
PanC	Panamanian Creole
PhlE	Philadelphia English
PhlE	Philippines English
RP	Received Pronunciation
SAfE	South African English
BISAfE	Black South African English
CoSAfE	Coloured South African English
InSAfE	Indian South African English
WhSAfE	White South African English
SAmE	Southern American English
SAsE	South Asian English
SEAmE	South Eastern American English enclave dialects
ScE	Scottish English, Scots
ScStE	Scottish Standard English
SgE	Singapore English
SLVE	St. Lucian Vernacular English
SolP	Solomon Islands Pidgin
StAmE	Standard American English
StAusCE	Standard Australian Colloquial English

StAusFE	Standard Australian Formal English
StBrE	Standard British English
StE	Standard English
StGhE	Standard Ghanaian English
StHE	St. Helena English
StIndE	Standard Indian English
StJamE	Standard Jamaican English
SurC	Suriname Creoles
TanE	Tanzanian English
TobC	Tobagonian Creole
Trad-RP	Traditional Received Pronunciation
TrnC	Trinidadian Creole
T & TC	Trinidadian & mesolectal Tobagonian Creoles
TP	Tok Pisin, New Guinea Pidgin, Neomelanesian
WAfE/P	West African English/Pidgin
WeE	Welsh English
WMwE	Western and Midwestern American English
ZamE	Zambian English

More abbreviations

ESL	English as Second Language
EFL	English as Foreign Language
EIL	English as International Language
ENL	English as Native Language
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
P/C	Pidgins and Creoles

List of features: Phonology and phonetics

Edgar W. Schneider

Please indicate whether or to what extent the following features / variants occur in the variety that you have discussed by inserting A, B or C in the left-most column as follows:

- A occurs normally / is widespread
- B occurs sometimes / occasionally, with some speakers / groups, in some environments
- C does not normally occur.

If you have covered more than one variety, please give your set of responses for each of them, or give a summary assessment for a group of related varieties as specified.

Elements in parentheses (../..) are optional; “>” suggests a direction of movement.

Please note that the variants suggested for a single item (e.g. lexical set) are meant to be relatively exhaustive but not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Phonetic realization: vowels (lexical sets)

1. KIT [ɪ]
2. KIT raised / fronted, > [i]
3. KIT centralized, > [ə]
4. KIT with offglide, e.g. [ɪə/iə]
5. DRESS half-close [e]
6. DRESS raised, > [i]
7. DRESS half-open [ɛ]
8. DRESS backed, > [ʌ/ɐ]
9. DRESS with centralizing offglide, e.g. [eə]
10. DRESS with rising offglide, e.g. [eɪ]
11. TRAP [æ]
12. TRAP raised, > [ɛ/e]
13. TRAP lowered, > [a]
14. TRAP with offglide, e.g. [æə/æɛ/æɪ/ɛə]
15. LOT rounded, e.g. [ɒ]
16. LOT back unrounded, e.g. [ɑ]

17. LOT front unrounded, e.g. [a]
18. LOT with offglide, e.g. [ɒə]
19. STRUT [ʌ]
20. STRUT high back, > [ʊ]
21. STRUT central [ə/ɐ]
22. STRUT backed, > [ɔ]
23. FOOT [ʊ]
24. FOOT tensed [u]
25. FOOT back, lower, e.g. [ʌ]
26. BATH half-open front [æ]
27. BATH low front [a]
28. BATH low back [ɑ]
29. BATH long
30. BATH with offglide, e.g. [æə/æɪ/ɛə]
31. CLOTH rounded [ɔ/ɒ]
32. CLOTH back unrounded [ɑ]
33. CLOTH front unrounded [a]
34. NURSE central [ɜ:/ɝ]
35. NURSE raised / fronted / rounded, e.g. [ø]
36. NURSE mid front [ɛ/e(r)]
37. NURSE [ʌ(r)] (possibly lexically conditioned, e.g. WORD)
38. NURSE backed, e.g. [o/ɔ]
39. NURSE diphthongal, e.g. [əɪ/ɔɪ]
40. FLEECE [i:]
41. FLEECE with centralizing offglide, e.g. [iə]
42. FLEECE with mid/central onset and upglide, e.g. [əɪ/eɪ]
43. FLEECE with high onset and upglide, e.g. [iɪ]
44. FLEECE shortened, e.g. [i/ɪ]
45. FACE upgliding diphthong with half-close onset, e.g. [eɪ]
46. FACE upgliding diphthong with half-open or lower onset, e.g. [ɛɪ/æɪ]
47. FACE upgliding diphthong with low / backed onset, e.g. [a(:)ɪ/ʌɪ]
48. FACE upgliding diphthong with central onset, e.g. [əɪ]
49. FACE monophthong, e.g. [e:]
50. FACE ingliding diphthong, e.g. [ɪə/ɪɛ]
51. PALM low back [ɑ(:)]
52. PALM low front [a(:)]
53. PALM with offglide, e.g. [ɑə/ɒə]
54. THOUGHT [ɔ(:)]
55. THOUGHT low [a:/ɑ:]
56. THOUGHT with offglide, e.g. [ɔə/ʊə]

57. GOAT with central onset, e.g. [əʊ/əʊ]
58. GOAT with back rounded onset, e.g. [oʊ/ou]
59. GOAT with low or back unrounded onset, e.g. [a(:)u/aʊ/ʌʊ/ʌʊ]
60. GOAT with relatively high back onset [ʊʊ]
61. GOAT ingliding, e.g. [ʊə/uə/ua]
62. GOAT monophthongal, e.g. [o(:)]
63. GOOSE [u:]
64. GOOSE fronted, > [ʊ(:)]
65. GOOSE gliding, e.g. [ʊʊ/ɪʊ/ə(:)ʊ]
66. PRICE upgliding diphthong, e.g. [aɪ/ɑɪ/ʌɪ]
67. PRICE monophthong [a:] before voiced C
68. PRICE monophthong [a:] in all environments
69. PRICE with raised / central onset, e.g. [əɪ/ʒɪ]
70. PRICE with backed onset, e.g. [ɔ(:)ɪ/ɒɪ]
71. PRICE with mid-front offglide, e.g. [æ/æɛ]
72. CHOICE [ɔɪ]
73. CHOICE with low onset [ɒɪ]
74. CHOICE with central onset [əɪ/əɪ]
75. MOUTH [aʊ/ɑʊ]
76. MOUTH with raised and backed onset, e.g. [ʌʊ/ɔʊ]
77. MOUTH with raised onset [əʊ] only before voiceless C
78. MOUTH with raised onset [əʊ] in all environments
79. MOUTH with fronted onset, e.g. [æʊ/æʊ/æo/εo]
80. MOUTH low monophthong, e.g. [a:]
81. MOUTH mid/high back monophthong, e.g. [o:]
82. NEAR [ɪə(r)]
83. NEAR without offglide, e.g. [ɪr]
84. NEAR with tensed / raised onset, e.g. [i(:)ə]
85. NEAR with half-closed onset [e(:)ə/r/ea]
86. NEAR with half-open onset [ɛ(:)ə/r]
87. NEAR high-front to low glide, e.g. [ia]
88. SQUARE with half-open onset [ɛə]
89. SQUARE with half-closed onset [eə/ea]
90. SQUARE with high front onset [ɪə]
91. SQUARE with relatively open onset, possibly rising [æə/æɪ]
92. SQUARE half-closed monophthong, [e(:)r]
93. SQUARE half-open monophthong, [ɛ(:)r]
94. START low back unrounded, e.g. [ɑ(:)r]
95. START central, e.g. [ʊ(:)r]
96. START low front, e.g. [a(:)r]

97. START front, raised, e.g. [æ(:/r)]
98. START with offglide, e.g. [aə/və]
99. NORTH half-open monophthong [ɔ(:/r)]
100. NORTH half-closed monophthong [o(:/r)]
101. NORTH [ɒ]
102. NORTH with offglide, e.g. [və/oa]
103. FORCE half-open monophthong [ɔ(:/r)]
104. FORCE half-closed monophthong [o(:/r)]
105. FORCE ingliding, e.g. [ɔə(r)/oə(r)/oa]
106. FORCE with upglide, e.g. [ou(r)]
107. CURE [ʊə/ʊr]
108. CURE with tensed / raised onset, e.g. [u(:)ə/ʊr]
109. CURE lowered monophthong, e.g. [o:/ɔ:]
110. CURE with upglide, e.g. [ou(r)]
111. CURE low offglide, e.g. [ua/oa(r)]
112. happY relatively centralized, e.g. [ɪ]
113. happY central, e.g. [ə]
114. happY tensed / relatively high front, e.g. [i(:)]
115. happY mid front, e.g. [e/ɛ]
116. lettER [ə]
117. lettER (relatively) open, e.g. [a/ʌ]
118. horsES central [ə]
119. horsES high front [ɪ]
120. commA [ə]
121. commA (relatively) open, e.g. [a/ʌ]

Distribution: vowels

122. homophony of KIT and FLEECE
123. homophony of TRAP and BATH
124. homophony of *Mary* and *merry*
125. homophony of *Mary*, *merry* and *marry*
126. homophony of TRAP and DRESS before /l/
127. merger of KIT and DRESS before nasals (*pin* = *pen*)
128. homophony of DRESS and FACE
129. homophony of FOOT and GOOSE
130. homophony of LOT and THOUGHT
131. homophony of LOT and STRUT
132. homophony of NEAR and SQUARE

- 133. vowels nasalized before nasal consonants
- 134. vowel harmony / cross-syllable assimilation phenomena in some words
- 135. vowels short unless before /r/, voiced fricative, or in open syllable (SVLR)
- 136. commA/lettER (etc.): [a/ε/i/ɔ/u], reflecting spelling

Phonetic realization and distribution: consonants

- 137. P/T/K-: weak or no aspiration of word-initial stops
- 138. -T-: lenisation / flapping / voicing of intervocalic /t/ (*writer* = *rider*)
- 139. -T: realization of word-final or intervocalic /t/ as glottal stop
- 140. K-: palatalization of velar stop word-initially: e.g. kj-/gj- in *can't/garden*
- 141. B-: word-initial bw- for b-: e.g. bw- in *boy*
- 142. S-/F-: voiceless initial fricatives voiced: [z-/v-]
- 143. TH-: realization of word-initial voiced TH as stop, e.g. *dis*, 'this'
- 144. TH-: realization of word-initial voiceless TH as stop, e.g. *ting*, 'thing'
- 145. TH-: realization of word-initial voiced TH as affricate [dð]
- 146. TH-: realization of word-initial voiceless TH as affricate [tθ]
- 147. WH-: velar fricative onset retained, i.e. *which* is not homophonous with *witch*
- 148. CH: voiceless velar fricative [χ/x] exists
- 149. h-deletion (word-initial), e.g., 'eart' heart'
- 150. h-insertion (word-initial), e.g. *haxe* 'axe'
- 151. L-: palatal (clear) variant in syllable onsets
- 152. L-: velar variant in syllable onsets
- 153. -L: palatal variant in syllable codas
- 154. "jod"-dropping: no /j/ after alveolars before /u:/, e.g. in *news*, *tune*
- 155. deletion of word-initial /h/ in /hj-/ clusters, e.g. in *human*, *huge*
- 156. labialization of word-central voiced -TH-, e.g. [-v-] in *brother*
- 157. labialization of word-final / word-central voiceless -TH, e.g. [-f] in *mouth*, *nothing*
- 158. intervocalic /-v-/ > [b], e.g. in *river*
- 159. W: substitution of labiodental fricative /v/ for semi-vowel /w/
- 160. word-final consonant cluster deletion, monomorphemic
- 161. word-final consonant cluster deletion, bimorphemic
- 162. deletion of word-final single consonants
- 163. simplification of word-initial consonant clusters, e.g. in *splash*, *square*
- 164. non-rhotic (no postvocalic -r)

- 165. rhotic (postvocalic –r realized)
- 166. phonetic realization of /r/ as velar retroflex constriction
- 167. phonetic realization of /r/ as alveolar flap
- 168. phonetic realization of /r/ as apical trill
- 169. /r/ uvular
- 170. intrusive –r–, e.g. *idea-r-is*
- 171. post-vocalic –l vocalized
- 172. neutralization / confusion of liquids /l/ and /r/ in some words
- 173. realization of velar nasals with stop: -NG > [-ŋg]
- 174. velarization of some word-final nasals, e.g. /-ŋ/ in *down*

Prosodic features and intonation

- 175. deletion of word-initial unstressed syllables, e.g. 'bout, 'cept
- 176. stress not infrequently shifted from first to later syllable, e.g. indi'cate, holi'day
- 177. (relatively) syllable-timed rather than stress-timed
- 178. HRT (High-Rising Terminal) contour: rise at end of statement
- 179. tone distinctions exist

List of features: Morphology and Syntax

Bernd Kortmann

The features in the catalogue are numbered from 1 to 76 (for easy reference in later parts of the chapter) and provided with the short definitions and illustrations. They include all usual suspects known from survey articles on grammatical properties of (individual groups of) non-standard varieties of English, with a slight bias towards features observed in L1 varieties. The 76 features fall into 11 groups corresponding to the following broad areas of morphosyntax: pronouns, noun phrase, tense and aspect, modal verbs, verb morphology, adverbs, negation, agreement, relativization, complementation, discourse organization and word order.

Pronouns, pronoun exchange, pronominal gender

1. *them* instead of demonstrative *those* (e.g. *in them days, one of them things*)
2. *me* instead of possessive *my* (e.g. *He's me brother, I've lost me bike*)
3. special forms or phrases for the second person plural pronoun (e.g. *youse, y'all, aay', yufela, you ... together, all of you, you ones/'uns, you guys, you people*)
4. regularized reflexives-paradigm (e.g. *hissself, theirselves/theirself*)
5. object pronoun forms serving as base for reflexives (e.g. *meself*)
6. lack of number distinction in reflexives (e.g. plural *-self*)
7. *she/her* used for inanimate referents (e.g. *She was burning good* [about a house])
8. generic *he/his* for all genders (e.g. *My car, he's broken*)
9. *myself/meself* in a non-reflexive function (e.g. *my/me husband and myself*)
10. *me* instead of *I* in coordinate subjects (e.g. *Me and my brother/My brother and me were late for school*)
11. non-standard use of *us* (e.g. *Us George was a nice one, We like us town, Show us 'me' them boots, Us kids used to pinch the sweets like hell, Us'll do it*)
12. non-coordinated subject pronoun forms in object function (e.g. *You did get he out of bed in the middle of the night*)
13. non-coordinated object pronoun forms in subject function (e.g. *Us say 'er's dry*)

Noun phrase

14. absence of plural marking after measure nouns (e.g. *four pound, five year*)
15. group plurals (e.g. *That President has two Secretary of States*)
16. group genitives (e.g. *The man I met's girlfriend is a real beauty*)
17. irregular use of articles (e.g. *Take them to market, I had nice garden, about a three fields, I had the toothache*)
18. postnominal *for*-phrases to express possession (e.g. *The house for me*)
19. double comparatives and superlatives (e.g. *That is so much more easier to follow*)
20. regularized comparison strategies (e.g. in *He is the regularest kind a guy I know, in one of the most pretty sunsets*)

Verb phrase: Tense & aspect

21. wider range of uses of the Progressive (e.g. *I'm liking this, What are you wanting?*)
22. habitual *be* (e.g. *He be sick*)
23. habitual *do* (e.g. *He does catch fish pretty*)
24. non-standard habitual markers other than *be* and *do*
25. levelling of difference between Present Perfect and Simple Past (e.g. *Were you ever in London?, Some of us have been to New York years ago*)
26. *be* as perfect auxiliary (e.g. *They're not left school yet*)
27. *do* as a tense and aspect marker (e.g. *This man what do own this*)
28. completive/perfect *done* (e.g. *He done go fishing, You don ate what I has sent you?*)
29. past tense/anterior marker *been* (e.g. *I been cut the bread*)
30. loosening of sequence of tense rule (e.g. *I noticed the van I came in*)
31. *would* in if-clauses (e.g. *If I'd be you, ...*)
32. *was sat/stood* with progressive meaning (e.g. *when you're stood 'are standing' there you can see the flames*)
33. *after-Perfect* (e.g. *She's after selling the boat*)

Verb phrase: Modal verbs

34. double modals (e.g. *I tell you what we might should do*)
35. epistemic *mustn't* ('can't, it is concluded that... not'; e.g. *This mustn't be true*)

Verb phrase: Verb morphology

36. levelling of preterite and past participle verb forms: regularization of irregular verb paradigms (e.g. *catch-catched-catched*)
37. levelling of preterite and past participle verb forms: unmarked forms (frequent with e.g. *give* and *run*)
38. levelling of preterite and past participle verb forms: past form replacing the participle (e.g. *He had went*)
39. levelling of preterite and past participle verb forms: participle replacing the past form (e.g. *He gone to Mary*)
40. zero past tense forms of regular verbs (e.g. *I walk* for *I walked*)
41. *a*-prefixing on *ing*-forms (e.g. *They wasn't a-doin' nothin' wrong*)

Adverbs

42. adverbs (other than degree modifiers) have same form as adjectives (e.g. *Come quick!*)
43. degree modifier adverbs lack *-ly* (e.g. *That's real good*)

Negation

44. multiple negation / negative concord (e.g. *He won't do no harm*)
45. *ain't* as the negated form of *be* (e.g. *They're all in there, ain't they?*)
46. *ain't* as the negated form of *have* (e.g. *I ain't had a look at them yet*)
47. *ain't* as generic negator before a main verb (e.g. *Something I ain't know about*)
48. invariant *don't* for all persons in the present tense (e.g. *He don't like me*)
49. *never* as preverbal past tense negator (e.g. *He never came* [= he didn't come])
50. *no* as preverbal negator (e.g. *me no iit brekfus*)
51. *was-weren't* split (e.g. *The boys was interested, but Mary weren't*)
52. invariant non-concord tags, (e.g. *innit/in't it/isn't* in *They had them in their hair; innit?*)

Agreement

53. invariant present tense forms due to zero marking for the third person singular (e.g. *So he show up and say, What's up?*)
54. invariant present tense forms due to generalization of third person -s to all persons (e.g. *I sees the house*)
55. existential/presentational *there's, there is, there was* with plural subjects (e.g. *There's two men waiting in the hall*)
56. variant forms of dummy subjects in existential clauses (e.g. *they, it*, or zero for *there*)
57. deletion of *be* (e.g. *She ___ smart*)
58. deletion of auxiliary *have* (e.g. *I ___ eaten my lunch*)
59. *was/were* generalization (e.g. *You were hungry but he were thirsty*, or: *You was hungry but he was thirsty*)
60. Northern Subject Rule (e.g. *I sing* [vs. **I sings*], *Birds sings*, *I sing and dances*)

Relativization

61. relative particle *what* (e.g. *This is the man what painted my house*)
62. relative particle *that* or *what* in non-restrictive contexts (e.g. *My daughter, that/what lives in London, ...*)
63. relative particle *as* (e.g. *He was a chap as got a living anyhow*)
64. relative particle *at* (e.g. *This is the man at painted my house*)
65. use of analytic *that his/that's, what his/what's, at's, as'* instead of *whose* (e.g. *The man what's wife has died*)
66. gapping or zero-relativization in subject position (e.g. *The man ___ lives there is a nice chap*)
67. resumptive / shadow pronouns (e.g. *This is the house which I painted it yesterday*)

Complementation

68. *say*-based complementizers
69. inverted word order in indirect questions (e.g. *I'm wondering what are you gonna do*)
70. unsplit *for to* in infinitival purpose clauses (e.g. *We always had gutters in the winter time for to drain the water away*)

- 71. *as what / than what* in comparative clauses (e.g. *It's harder than what you think it is*)
- 72. serial verbs (e.g. *give* meaning 'to, for', as in *Karibuk giv mi*, 'Give the book to me')

Discourse organization and word order

- 73. lack of inversion / lack of auxiliaries in *wh*-questions (e.g. *What you doing?*)
- 74. lack of inversion in main clause *yes/no* questions (e.g. *You get the point?*)
- 75. *like* as a focussing device (e.g. *How did you get away with that like? Like for one round five quid, that was like three quid, like two-fifty each*)
- 76. *like* as a quotative particle (e.g. *And she was like "What do you mean?"*)

General introduction

Bernd Kortmann and Edgar W. Schneider

This book, together with its three companion volumes on other world regions, derives from the *Handbook of Varieties of English*, edited by Kortmann, Schneider et al. (2004). To make the material compiled in the *Handbook* more easily accessible and affordable, especially to student pockets, it has been decided to regroup the articles in such a way that all descriptive papers on any of the seven major anglophone world regions distinguished there are put together in a set of four paperback volumes, and accompanied by the CD-ROM which covers data and sources from all around the world. In this brief introduction we are briefly revisiting and summarizing the major design features of the *Handbook* and its contributions, i.e. information which, by implication, also characterizes the articles in the present volume.

The all-important design feature of the *Handbook* and of these offspring paperbacks is its focus on structure and on the solid description and documentation of data. The volumes, together with the CD-ROM, provide comprehensive up-to-date accounts of the salient phonological and grammatical properties of the varieties of English around the world. Reliable structural information in a somewhat standardized format and presented in an accessible way is a necessary prerequisite for any kind of study of language varieties, independent of the theoretical framework used for analysis. It is especially important for comparative studies of the phonological and morphosyntactic patterns across varieties of English, and the inclusion of this kind of data in typological studies (e.g. in the spirit of Kortmann 2004).

Of course, all of this structural information can be and has to be put in perspective by the conditions of uses of these varieties, i.e. their sociohistorical backgrounds, their current sociolinguistic settings (not infrequently in multilingual societies), and their associated political dimensions (like issues of norm-setting, language policies, and pedagogical applications). Ultimately, all of the varieties under discussion here, certainly so the ones spoken outside of England but in a sense, looking way back in time, even the English dialects themselves, are products of colonization processes, predominantly the European colonial expansion in the modern age. A number of highly interesting questions, linguistically and culturally, might be asked in this context, including the central issue of why all of this has happened, whether there is an underlying

scheme that has continued to drive and motivate the evolution of new varieties of English (Schneider 2003, 2007). These linguistic and sociohistorical background issues will be briefly addressed in the regional introductions and in some of the individual chapters, but it should be made clear that it is the issue of structural description and comparison which is at the heart of this project.

The chapters in the four paperbacks are geared towards documenting and mapping the structural variation among (spontaneously spoken) non-standard varieties of English. Standard English is of course that variety, or set of closely related varieties, which enjoys the highest social prestige. It serves as a reference system and target norm in formal situations, in the language used by people taking on a public persona (including, for example, anchorpersons in the news media), and as a model in the teaching of English worldwide. Here, however, it is treated as is commonplace in modern descriptive linguistics, i.e. as a variety on a par with all other (regional, social, ethnic, or contact) varieties of English. Clearly, in terms of its structural properties it is not inherently superior to any of the non-standard varieties. Besides, the very notion of “Standard English” itself obviously refers to an abstraction. On the written level, it is under discussion to what extent a “common core” or a putatively homogeneous variety called “International English” actually exists: there is some degree of uniformity across the major national varieties, but once one looks into details of expression and preferences, there are also considerable differences. On the spoken level, there are reference accents like, for example, Received Pronunciation for British English, but their definition also builds upon abstractions from real individuals’ performance. Thus, in the present context especially the grammar of (written) Standard English figures as no more than an implicit standard of comparison, in the sense that all chapters focus upon those phenomena in a given variety which are (more or less strikingly) different from this standard (these being perceived as not, note again, in any sense deficient or inferior to it).

The articles in this collection cover all main national standard varieties, distinctive regional, ethnic, and social varieties, major contact varieties (pidgins and creoles), as well as major varieties of English as a Second Language. The inclusion of second-language varieties and, especially, English-based pidgins and creoles may come as a surprise to some readers. Normally these varieties are addressed from different perspectives (such as, for example, language policy, language pedagogy, linguistic attitudes, language and identity (construction), substrate vs. superstrate influence), each standing in its own research tradition. Here they are primarily discussed from the point of view of their structural properties.

This will make possible comparisons with structural properties of, for example, other varieties of English spoken in the same region, or second-language or contact varieties in other parts of the English-speaking world. At the

same time the availability of solid structural descriptions may open new perspectives for a fruitful interaction between the different research traditions within which second-language and contact varieties are studied. The boundaries of what is considered and accepted as “varieties of English” has thus been drawn fairly widely. In accepting English-oriented pidgins and creoles in the present context, we adopt a trend of recent research to consider them as contact varieties closely related to, possibly to be categorized as varieties of, their respective superstrate languages (e.g. Mufwene 2001). Creoles, and also some pidgins, in many regions vary along a continuum from acrolectal forms, relatively close to English and used by the higher sociolinguistic strata in formal contexts, to basilects, “deep” varieties maximally different from English. Most of our contributions focus upon the mesolects, the middle ranges which in most creole-speaking societies are used most widely.

For other varieties, too, it may be asked why or why not they have been selected for inclusion in this collection. Among the considerations that led to the present selection, the following figured most prominently: amount and quality of existing data and research documentation for the individual varieties, intensity of ongoing research activities, availability of authors, and space constraints (leading, for example, to the exclusion of strictly local accents and dialects). More information on the selection of varieties will be given in the regional introductions.

While in the *Handbook* there is one volume each for phonology and grammar (i.e. morphology and syntax), this set of paperbacks has been arranged by the major world regions relevant for the discussion of varieties of English: the British Isles; the Americas and the Caribbean; Africa, South and Southeast Asia; and the Pacific and Australasia. Each of the volumes comprises all articles on the respective regions, both on phonology and on grammar, together with the regional introductions, which include accounts of the histories, the cultural and sociolinguistic situations, and the most important data sources for the relevant locations, ethnic groups and varieties, and the regional synopses, in which the editors summarize the most striking properties of the varieties of English spoken in the respective world regions. Global synopses offering the most noteworthy findings and tendencies on phonological and morphosyntactic variation in English from a global perspective are available in the two hard-cover Handbooks and in the electronic online version. In addition, there is a list of “General references”, all of them exclusively book publications, which are either globally relevant or central for individual world regions.

What emerges from the synopses is that many of the features described for individual varieties or sets of varieties in this Handbook are not unique to these (sets of) varieties. This is true both for morphology and syntax and for phonology.

As a matter of fact, quite a number of morphosyntactic features described as salient properties of individual varieties may strike the reader as typical of other varieties, too, possibly even of the grammar of spoken English, in general. In a similar vein, it turns out that certain phonological processes (like the monophthongization of certain diphthongs, the fronting, backing or merging of some vowels, and some consonantal substitutions or suprasegmental processes) can be documented in quite a number of fairly disparate language varieties – not surprisingly, perhaps, given shared underlying principles like constraints of articulatory space or tendencies towards simplification and the reduction of contrasts.

The distributions of selected individual features, both morphosyntactic and phonological, across varieties world-wide is visualized by the interactive world maps on the accompanying CD-ROM. The lists of these features, which are also referred to in some contributions, especially the regional synopses, are appended to this introduction. On these maps, each of a set of selected features, for almost all of the varieties under discussion, is categorized as occurring regularly (marked as “A” and colour-coded in red), occasionally or only in certain specified environments (marked as “B” and represented by a yellow circle) or practically not at all (“C”, black). These innovative maps, which are accompanied by statistical distribution data on the spread of selected variants, provide the reader with an immediate visual representation of regional distribution and diffusion patterns. Further information on the nature of the multimedia material accompanying these books is available on the CD itself. It includes audio samples of free conversations (some of them transcribed), a standard reading passage, and recordings of the spoken “lexical sets” which define and illustrate vocalic variation (Wells 1982).

The chapters are descriptive survey articles providing state-of-the-art reports on major issues in current research, with a common core in order to make the collection an interesting and useful tool especially from a comparative, i.e. cross-dialectal and cross-linguistic, point of view. All chapters aim primarily at a qualitative rather than quantitative perspective, i.e. whether or not a given feature occurs is more important than its frequency. Of course, for varieties where research has focused upon documenting frequency relationships between variants of variables, some information on relevant quantitative tendencies has been provided. Depending upon the research coverage in a given world region (which varies widely from one continent to another), some contributions build upon existing sociolinguistic, dialectological, or structural research; a small number of other chapters make systematic use of available computerized corpora; and in some cases and for some regions the chapters in this compilation provide the first-ever systematic qualitative survey of the phonological and grammatical properties of English as spoken there.

For almost all varieties of English covered there are companion chapters in the phonology and morphosyntax parts of each paperback volume. In these cases it is in the phonology chapter that the reader will find a concise introductory section on the historical and cultural background as well as the current sociolinguistic situation of the relevant variety or set of varieties spoken at this location.

In order to ensure a certain degree of comparability, the authors were given a set of core issues that they were asked to address (provided something interesting can be said about them in the respective variety). For the phonology chapters, this set included the following items:

- phonological systems
- phonetic realization(s) and (phonotactic) distributions of a selection of phonemes (to be selected according to salience in the variety in question)
- specific phonological processes at work in the relevant variety
- lexical distribution
- prosodic features (stress, rhythm)
- intonation patterns
- observations/generalizations on the basis of lexical sets à la Wells (1982) and Foulkes/Docherty (1999), a standard reading passage and/or samples of free conversation.

It is worth noting that for some of the contributions, notably the chapters on pidgins and creoles, the lexical sets were not sufficient or suitable to describe the variability found. In such cases authors were encouraged to expand the set of target words, or replace one of the items. The reading passage was also adjusted or substituted by some authors, for instance because it was felt to be culturally inappropriate.

This is the corresponding set for the morphology and syntax chapters:

- tense – aspect – modality systems
- auxiliaries
- negation
- relativization
- complementation
- other subordination phenomena (notably adverbial subordination)
- agreement
- noun phrase structure
- pronominal systems
- word order (and information structure: especially focus/topicalizing constructions)

- selected salient features of the morphological paradigms of, for example, auxiliaries and pronouns

Lexical variation was not our primary concern, given that it fails to lend itself to the systematic generalization and comparability that we are interested in in this project. However, authors were offered the opportunity to comment on highly salient features of the vocabulary of any given variety (briefly and within the overall space constraints) if this was considered rewarding. The reader may find such information on distinctive properties of the respective vocabularies in the morphology and syntax chapters. Especially for a student readership, short sets of exercises and study questions have been added at the end of all chapters in the four paperback volumes.

In the interest of combining guidance for readers, efficiency, and space constraints, but also the goal of comprehensiveness, bibliographic references are systematically divided between three different types of reference lists. As was stated above, in each paperback a “General references” list can be found which compiles a relatively large number of books which, taken together, are central to the field of world-wide varieties of English – “classic” publications, collective volumes, particularly important publications, and so on. It is understood that in the individual contributions all authors may refer to titles from this list without these being repeated in their respective source lists. Each of the individual chapters ends with a list of “Selected references” comprising, on average, only 15–20 references – including the most pertinent ones on the respective variety (or closely related varieties) beyond any others possibly included in the General references list, and possibly others cited in the respective article. In other words, the Selected references do not repeat any of the titles cited in the list of General references. Thirdly, a “Comprehensive bibliography”, with further publications specifically on the phonology and morphosyntax of each of the varieties covered, for which no space limitations were imposed, is available on the CD-ROM. The idea behind this limitation of the number of references allowed to go with each article was to free the texts of too much technical apparatus and thus to increase their reader-friendliness for a target audience of non-specialists while at the same time combining basic guidance to the most important literature (in the General References list) with the possibility of providing comprehensive coverage of the writings available on any given region (in the Bibliographies on the CD-ROM). It must be noted, however, that at times this rule imposed limitations upon possible source credits allowed in the discussions, because to make the books self-contained authors were allowed to refer to titles from the General and the Select References lists only. In other words, it is possible that articles touch upon material drawn from publications

listed in the CD-ROM bibliographies without explicit credit, although every effort has been made to avoid this.

A publication project as huge as this one would have been impossible, indeed impossible even to think of, without the support of a great number of people devoted to their profession and to the subject of this Handbook. The editors would like to thank the members of their editorial teams in Freiburg, Regensburg, and Cape Town. We are also much indebted to Elizabeth Traugott, for all the thought, support and feedback she gave to this project right from the very beginning of the planning stage, and to Jürgen Handke, who produced the rich audio-visual multimedia support on the CD. Furthermore, we have always benefitted from the support and interest invested into this project by Anke Beck and the people at Mouton de Gruyter. Finally, and most importantly, of course, the editors would like to thank the contributors and informants for having conformed to the rigid guidelines, deadlines and time frames that we set them for the various stages of (re)writing their chapters and providing the input material for the CD-ROM.

This collection truly represents an impressive product of scholarly collaboration of people from all around the globe. Right until the end it has been an exciting and wonderful experience for the editors (as well as, we would like to think, for the authors) to bring all these scholars and their work together, and we believe that this shows in the quality of the chapters and the material presented on the CD-ROM. We hope that, like the *Handbook*, it will be enjoyed, appreciated and esteemed by its readers, and treasured as the reference work and research tool it was designed as for anyone interested in and fascinated by variation in English!

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Introduction: varieties of English in the British Isles

Bernd Kortmann and Clive Upton

1. A note on geopolitical terminology

‘The British Isles’ is a geographical term which refers to the two large islands that contain the mainlands of Scotland, Northern Ireland, the Irish Republic, Wales, and England, together with a large number of other, smaller islands that are part of the territories of these countries: one island (the Isle of Man) and one archipelago (the Channel Islands) have a significant degree of autonomy within the state which encompasses the bulk of the British Isles, the United Kingdom. ‘The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland’ (the UK) is a state that encompasses Scotland, Wales, England, Man, and the Channel Islands, together with the northernmost part of the island of Ireland. If Northern Ireland is omitted entirely from a description, the designation of the area described is properly ‘Great Britain’. ‘Ireland’ properly designates the whole of the island of Ireland (though popularly it is used to refer to the *state* of Ireland, that is the Republic of Ireland, which occupies the central, southern, and north-western parts).

2. The coverage of British Isles accents and dialects

In this volume major accent and dialect distinctions in the British Isles are represented in chapters covering Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Northern England, and Southern England. Other chapters cover the distinctive accents and dialects of somewhat less extensive areas: Orkney and Shetland, the Channel Islands, the eastern England region of East Anglia, and the very major conurbation and administrative area of the English West Midlands. Variation *within* each of these areas is, of course, discussed in the relevant chapters: in particular, Northern and Southern Irish are distinguished, as is the speech of southwest and southeast England, where major differences apply. It is expected that the reader might concentrate on particular chapters or smaller sections to gain in-depth knowledge of a particular variety or group of closely-related varieties or, especially by referring to the sound charts, to obtain an overview of wider overall variation or of variation relating to specific linguistic variables.

Whilst Received Pronunciation (RP) is specifically presented as a supra-regional accent model frequently used in the teaching of English worldwide and for purposes of wide communication, its description plays only a very minor part in the analysis of the regional varieties, each of which is described in its own terms rather than in any sense as divergent from an externally-imposed norm. For reasons spelt out in the General Introduction, Standard English grammar is not explicitly discussed as a separate entity.

3. The concept of the ‘dialect area’

The linguistic varieties of the UK and Ireland presented in this volume are discussed along geographical lines. This arrangement by region is convenient in terms of structure, and is helpful to the user who wishes to understand regional differences, or who needs to concentrate on the variety or group of varieties found in one particular region. But it is also potentially misleading, since the impression might be gained that UK and Irish varieties are tidily to be separated from each other, with one being spoken by a fixed, geographically identifiable group of people quite distinct from another group using another quite different set of speech-forms.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Far from there being regional cut-off points for ways of speaking, i.e. boundaries where, for example, one accent ceases to be heard and another takes its place, accents and dialects blend subtly and imperceptibly into one another. Rather than the hearer detecting the presence or absence of features as they move about a country or region, particularly at a local level it is a matter of ‘more or less’, of features being heard with greater or lesser frequency as features most characteristic of one region are left behind, to be replaced with greater intensity by others associated with a region being approached.

Nor should we think that all speakers in one place use the same set of features with the same level of intensity, if they use them at all. It is to be expected that some speakers, those who sound most local to a particular place, will fairly consistently exhibit a set of features which most closely conform to a characteristic local way of speaking, and it is these which form a central part of the local accent and dialect descriptions given in the chapters that follow. However, very many speakers will not be consistent in their use of these features, being variably more or less regional in different situations or under different social promptings (e.g. the social status of addresser and addressee, and the degree of familiarity between them), even within the same discourse (e.g. depending on the topic). It is important to note immediately that such variation is not ran-

dom: speakers do not drift between, towards, or away from markedly regional pronunciations on a whim. Rather, it has been shown in numerous studies that such movement patterns correlate with such social phenomena as age, gender, socio-economic status, ethnicity and local affiliations of both speaker and hearer, and can result in short-term, but also long-term, language change.

The acceptance of the absence of tight boundaries for phonological and grammatical features, and the acknowledgement of speakers in any one place being socially heterogeneous and, moreover, inconsistent in their speech lead to the inevitable conclusion that the concept of the 'dialect area' as a fixed, tidy entity is ultimately a myth. In terms of pronunciation, what we are faced with, in place of a certain number of accents, is in reality a continuum: accents shade one into another as individual speakers espouse features drawn from a range of accents to which they have access and that are indicative not just of their regional connections but also of their social needs and aspirations. The same is true for grammatical usage, and for lexical choice.

4. The distinction between 'traditional' and 'modern' dialects

Another often-used notion in dialectology we would like to question is the separation of dialects into two distinct categories, the 'Traditional' and the 'Modern'. This artificially tidy categorisation is not only questionable given the fact of constant language change. It is even more debatable in the light of the fact that, as will be explained below, much of our knowledge of recent distributions of dialect features over wide sweeps of territory in the British Isles continues to be based on surveys now considered to have focused on the 'traditional', in the sense that their target was the essentially rural speech of comparatively static communities. (No community is ever wholly static or isolated, of course: there will always be incomers and external contacts, however few these might be in particular communities at certain times.) Nevertheless, the bipartite distinction does have some undoubted merit as an idealisation: it reminds us that urbanisation and geographical and social mobility have resulted in some accelerated and often quite dramatic changes in speech in recent years, as is made clear in the following chapters. Perhaps it reminds us, too, that language should be seen in its continuous historical (diachronic) as well as its 'snapshot-in-time' (synchronic) dimension, that there was a 'then' to contrast with the 'now'. However, we would be wrong to suppose that there is a straightforward, clear-cut distinction between the way English was spoken in the rural communities of half a century ago and as it is in the towns and cities of today, or that change is happening to language now as it has not happened