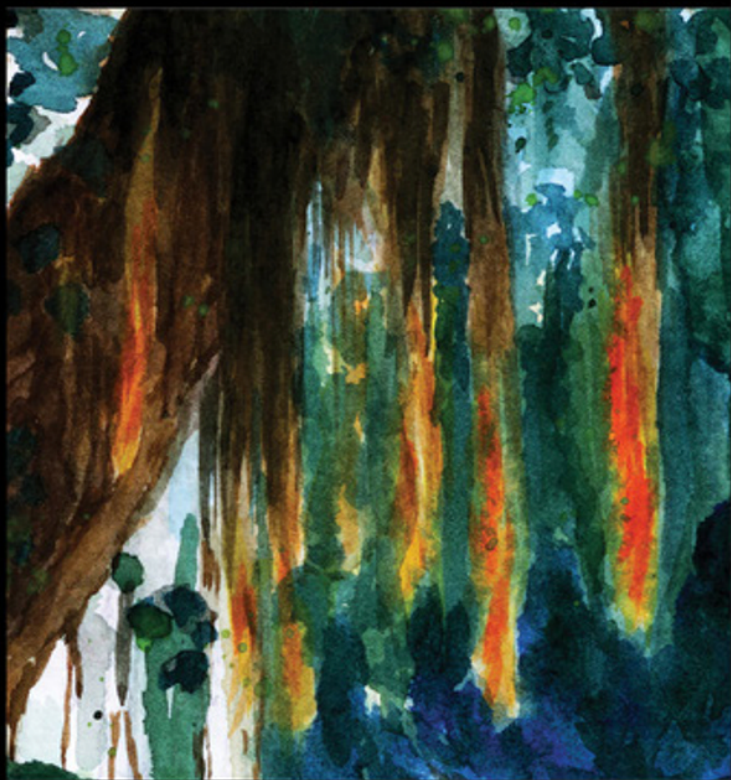# The Handbook of
World Englishes

Second Edition

Edited by

Cecil L. Nelson, Zoya G. Proshina, and Daniel R. Davis

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The Handbook of World Englishes

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The Handbook of World Englishes

Second Edition

Edited by

Cecil L. Nelson, Zoya G. Proshina, and Daniel R. Davis

Editors of the First Edition: Braj B. Kachru, Yamuna Kachru, and Cecil L. Nelson

WILEY Blackwell

Dedicated to
the pillars of the World Englishes paradigm
Braj B. Kachru
Yamuna Kachru
Larry E. Smith

Contents

List of Figures and Tables

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Contributors

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Preface to the Second Edition

This second edition of *The Handbook of World Englishes* has come to be published in the face of more than the ordinary obstacles and frustrations that affect the progress of any such large work. Three professional and personal losses marred what should have been an exciting and ordinarily straightforward project. Originally, the three editors of the first edition had intended to produce the invited second one, and an indefatigable colleague, Larry Smith, was brought on board as a fourth editor. But beginning in the Spring of 2013, the three senior editors passed away, one after the other. The present editors acknowledge, with deepest admiration, respect, and regret, the contributions of Braj B. Kachru, Yamuna Kachru, and Larry E. Smith to this volume as it now stands, and to the field of World Englishes overall.

The 42 chapters in this edition of *The Handbook* now fall into several categories as to their provenance. The majority, 31 chapters, are from the first edition; most of these have been revised by their authors. Some authors have passed away since the publication of the first edition or were otherwise unable to undertake revisions. Nine chapters were commissioned as new contributions. And two are here reprinted from the journal *World Englishes*.

The basic issues outlined and commented on in the preface to the first edition are still being dealt with in the field: "capturing the expanding fusions and hybridizations of linguistic forms and the … variations in global functions of world Englishes," as well as "the cross-cultural linguistic and literary creativity, language change and convergence, and [issues concerning] education, especially in Asian and African countries" (xvii). More than three decades after the appearance of the edited volumes by Larry E. Smith (1981) and Braj B. Kachru (1982), and over a decade after the publication of the first edition of *The Handbook*, these broad areas of inquiry are still being explicated in publications and in presentations at international conferences.

Likewise, the acknowledgements noted in the original Preface still hold, with necessary changes having been made. We thank the contributors, without whose efforts this volume could not have come about, and express our personal appreciation for their patience over what became an unusually long wait between their

submissions and publication. Professor Kingsley Bolton, a tireless and whole-hearted supporter of the World Englishes paradigm, took an active part in the process of producing this edition. And, again, Braj Kachru, Yamuna Kachru, and Larry Smith are continually present in our memories and work.

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Smith, Larry E. (ed.). 1981. *English for cross-cultural communication*. London: Macmillan.

Preface to the First Edition

BRAJ B. KACHRU, YAMUNA KACHRU, AND CECIL L. NELSON

One might understandably ask, "Why yet another resource volume?" when there is no paucity of reference works for the English language. Such publications are available, with varied orientations, in every genre – companions, encyclopedias, handbooks, and manuals – in almost every part of the English-speaking world.

We had two motivations for initiating this handbook project: First, we thought it important to revisit the proliferation of terminologies and concepts articulating the global uses of Englishes (e.g. *international*, *lingua franca*, *world English, global English*) in the post-1950s diffusion and cross-cultural functions and identities of varieties of the language. It has been extensively – and insightfully – argued that all these concepts only partially represent the social, cultural, educational, and attitudinal realities of the presence of Englishes in their worldwide contexts. It is further rightly argued that the multiple and diverse functions of world Englishes in dynamic societies of Asia, Africa, Europe, and the Americas demand theoretical and methodological perspectives that contextualize the varied and increasingly evolving cultural and social characteristics of the language. There is indeed greater emphasis today than in the past on capturing the expanding fusions and hybridizations of linguistic forms and the unprecedented variations in global functions of world Englishes. It is, we believe, appropriate to remind ourselves that the English language has a long history of convergence with and assimilation of other languages. What is new – and not necessarily recognized by all observers – is that the colonial and postcolonial eras opened challenging new doors for contacts with a great variety of distinct linguistic structures and cultures associated with Asian, African, and Native American languages.

Our second set of motivations involved the dynamic global profile of the language, which has drawn the attention of scholars in diverse areas. This interest is evident in studies related to cross-cultural linguistic and literary creativity, language change and convergence, and world Englishes in education, especially in Asian and African contexts. Researchers in these areas will immediately think of that pioneering and insightful undertaking, *The Oxford Companion to the English Language* (1992), edited by Tom McArthur, which brought together selected scholars from all the circles of Englishes. Earlier efforts in this direction, though not with the same encyclopedic range of topics and contributions, include

Bailey and Görlach (1982), Smith (1981, 1987), and B. Kachru (1982), to provide just a few examples.

In outlining and designing *The Handbook of World Englishes*, the editors, as expected in any such project, had to face the conflict between practical limitations and larger visions and dreams. This volume is, then, a compromise between an ambitious agenda and the accomplished reality. Our dilemma was very similar to the one that Tom McArthur faced in 1992 (vii):

> Liberals would want to be fair to everyone, balancing every viewpoint and counter-viewpoint, until from the point of view of conservatives everything cancelled out everything else.

We finally decided to follow the much-talked-about "middle path" (*madhyama marga*). The result is *The Handbook of World Englishes* in its present form.

In characterizing this handbook, it might be easier to say what it is actually *not*: it is not an encyclopedia, and it is not a volume of structural descriptions of world varieties of Englishes. A good example of such a work is Kortmann and Schneider (2005). Instead, *The Handbook of World Englishes* is a compendium of selected, thematically integrated topics that brings together multiple theoretical, contextual, and ideological perspectives that may *include* descriptions, but whose primary aim is to provide fresh interpretations of changing identities of users and uses of Englishes across the Three Circles. In this sense, then, we believe that *The Handbook* provides refreshing and, indeed, still hotly debated theoretical and functional constructs of world Englishes. In other words, it locates them in socially relevant and contextually appropriate situations. The contributors of regional profiles (Parts 1–3) were free to present their areas and varieties in terms of what they felt was important to emphasize, in order to provide historical, ideological, and ideational insights for the varieties under discussion.

In realizing our vision for *The Handbook* we are indebted, first, to our contributors, whose cooperation and patience made the volume possible. The editors, of course, bear the responsibility for any limitations of the work. We wish to express our deep gratitude to Larry Smith for his help at every step in the conceptualization of this volume; to Kingsley Bolton for his insight and suggestions; to Stanley Van Horn for his comments on and critique of various points; to Sarah Coleman of Blackwell Publishing for her professional editorial advice and smooth implementation of the editorial process; to Anna Oxbury for copyediting a complex volume with her usual patience and expertise; to Heeyoun Cho, Jamie S. Lee, Wooseung Lee, and Theera Ratitamkul for their assistance in multiple ways at various stages in the completion of the volume; and to the Research Board of the Graduate College of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign for their support. And finally, to our families, who not only tolerated our focusing our time and energies on this extensive and intensive project, often at their expense, but encouraged us at every step with their support and love.

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Introduction: The World of World Englishes

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This second edition of *The Handbook of World Englishes* is an updated presentation of the conditions, contexts, and functions of major varieties of English across the world. Its structure follows closely that of the first edition, with the exception of Part IX, now Outlook for the Future. The stance of the present editors, drawn from the school of thought founded by Braj B. Kachru and Larry E. Smith, is summed up in a sentence from the first edition's introduction:

> One major aim of *The Handbook of World Englishes* is, then, to represent the cross-cultural and global contextualization of the English language in multiple voices. (Kachru, Kachru, & Nelson, 2006: 1)

It is perhaps still not an easy thing to comprehend, over a decade since the publication of the first edition, that Englishes exist not only in each variety's local and regional contexts, but also in a global context.

The 42 chapters of this *Handbook* are distributed across nine parts, each of which addresses a broad construct of fundamental importance to the study of the world's Englishes.

Part I: The historical context

The fifteen chapters of Part I are divided into subparts that reflect the major waves of the global expansion of English, broadly designated.

In its beginning (as we demarcate it) in the British Isles in the fifth century, English crowded out or assimilated with other languages, those that were *in situ* when the Germanic tribes arrived, the Celtic ones, and those that came afterward, the Norse varieties brought in by the Vikings (Robert D. King). A major example of this unequal coexistence of English with new peoples, languages, and cultures is presented in Chapter 2 (Fiona Douglas), which treats the development of English in Scotland in "two key strands: …*Scots* (SC); and…*Scottish Standardized English* (ScSE), which was the result of contact with standardized varieties of

English English during the eighteenth century." This expansion across linguistic and cultural boundaries, but not yet oceans, has come to be known in world Englishes studies as the First Diaspora, the initial "widespread scattering" (perhaps better "strewing," or even "sowing") of the language farther and farther across the earth.

What is commonly referred to (however slightly inaccurately, given the developments in the First Diaspora) as the colonial expansion of English began when populations of English speakers carried the language to farther parts of the world in the Second Diaspora: to what is now North America (Edgar W. Schneider and Stefan Dollinger), Australia and New Zealand (Scott F. Kiesling), and the Caribbean area (Michael Aceto). These Englishes took firm root and became the major, if not the single most important language in the nations and areas discussed in chapters 3 through 6. The users and, for convenience of discussions, nations where English has continued from these incarnations constitute, in a designation coined by Braj B. Kachru (1985), the Inner Circle of Englishes.

In the phase of the Third Diaspora, English was carried by relatively tiny minorities of English users into nations and indeed, continents populated by speakers of many other tongues. In South Asia (Ravinder Gargesh), Southeast Asia (Ee Ling Low), and Africa – here represented, given the limitations of a work such as this, by the topics of chapters 9 and 10, Englishes in southern Africa (Nkonko M. Kamwangamalu) and in wider African creative writing (Eyamba G. Bokamba) – colonial administrations, politics, and economics planted English where it was in competition with numerically superior languages, as had not been the case before. In these situations, English has continued to the present day to have important roles in governments, education systems, and virtually all technical and creative fields. English has become part of a dynamic linguistic environment with other languages in each of these multilingual contexts. As Professor Braj Kachru was sometimes heard to remark, "Today you cannot read an English newspaper in India unless you can read Hindi, and you cannot read a Hindi newspaper unless you can read English." Englishes in these contexts are referred to in the literature as constituting the Outer Circle of the worldwide English-using community.

The spread of English did not stop with the end of the colonial era. The language can be said to have taken on a life of its own, as people all over the world have found it to be increasingly a language of access to desired changes in their personal lives and their societies. In its Fourth Diaspora, peoples with perfectly workable access to languages in their own lands adopted and adapted English where one would think it unnecessary for them to have done so. The chapters in this section of the *Handbook* present profiles and characteristics of English as exhibited in South America (Patricia Friedrich), across Europe (Suzanne K. Hilgendorf), in Russia (Zoya G. Proshina), in East Asia (Nobuyuki Honna), and in China (Wei Zhang, Kingsley Bolton, and Werner Botha). English was not brought to these parts of the world by colonial activity in its usual sense, and their varieties fall into the category Expanding Circle.

Part II: Variational contexts

The three chapters in Part II present major exemplars of how Englishes have been modified by their users in response to various pressures and reasons for their utility. As Kahane (1986: 495) succinctly put it, English has become "the great laboratory of today's sociolinguist." Chapter 16 (Rajend Mesthrie) treats English broadly in its position as a "contact language." Chapter 17 (Salikoko Mufwene) presents an overview of the rethinking of the traditionally received notions of pidgin and creole; and Chapter 18 (Walt Wolfram) interprets features and functions of the most written-about English variety, African American English.

Part III: Acculturation

Part III addresses the all-important topic of what happens to English in its adaptations in new settings. Far from very old notions of one language for all users in all times and places, the sociolinguistic realities of language accommodation are made evident in the development of varieties of English. Chapter 19 (M. A. K. Halliday) offers a working out of real, observable development set against notions of a "standardized" language. Chapter 20 (Yamuna Kachru) explicates striking examples of what goes on when people are "using a shared medium with different sociocultural conventions of language use and different cultural messages." Chapter 21 (Vijay K. Bhatia) examines genres across Englishes, showing that the functions ascribed to Englishes vary from context to context, as do the expressions of those functions.

Part IV: Crossing borders

It has become a truism that users shape languages in their cultures; we do not expect expressions, "idiom," lexical connotations, and so forth to remain stable across time and geography. The chapters in Part IV draw on literary creativity (Edwin Thumboo), language play (Alexandra A. Rivlina), and cross-variety intelligibility (Larry E. Smith and Cecil L. Nelson) to point out that users may declare they are speaking "English" to one another but may soon find that they have to cooperate in finding workable meanings and interpretations in each other's code. In Chapter 25, Braj B. Kachru takes us into the realm of culture writ large in its "multiplicity and pluralism," in whose expression "English has become a global 'access' language."

Part V: Grammar wars and standards

Focusing on language itself, naturally not to the exclusion of cultural influences, the chapters in Part V address the controversies that have arisen in studying English in its varieties. Chapter 26 (Linda C. Mitchell) informs us in close detail that such controversies are not by any means new. Chapter 27 (John Algeo) takes

us through such controversies within one of the Inner Circle countries. Chapter 28 (Daniel R. Davis) emphasizes that in this area, as in all others, context is of the greatest importance: "Even the most basic grammatical terms are set within an intellectual tradition, and have political implications." Chapter 29 (Gerald Nelson) explicates the compiling and examination of large bodies of text: "the corpus-based approach has become firmly established as a methodology for linguistic research."

Part VI: Ideology, identity, and constructs

Perhaps no terms in the modern lexicon of public affairs are more frequent and often argued over than *ideology* and *identity*, and the chapters in Part VI lead us to encounter those constructs in specific ways. Chapters 30 and 31 (Pradeep A. Dhillon and Wimal Dissanayake) invoke postcolonial theory, in Dissanayake's words, "a style of thinking, a form of imagination, a mode of analytical representation that focuses on issues of epistemology." Within identity, gender is a widely addressed topic, which Chapter 32 (Tamara M. Valentine) speaks to forcefully. Valentine points out the similarities between the study of world Englishes on the one hand, and "the social construction of identity through linguistic action" characteristic of gendered linguistic practice, on the other.

Part VII: World Englishes and globalization

A few outliers notwithstanding, it cannot reasonably be denied that we now live in a world-wide society, and the chapters in Part VII draw on media (Elizabeth Martin), advertising (Tej K. Bhatia), and commerce (Stanley Van Horn) in examining what roles Englishes play in these global contexts, and how they shape their Englishes.

Part VIII: World Englishes and applied theory

If academic linguistic pursuits are to have any effects and utility in the world, theory must come out of laboratories and language professionals' offices and find areas and means of application in people's lives. Chapter 36 (Ayọ Bamgboṣe) addresses the politically fraught area of national language policy, which calls for a great deal of unprejudiced focus be it overt or covert. Chapters 37 through 39 dispel many ingrained myths in areas of English teaching and learning, perhaps the longest-standing area of applied linguistics: communicative competence (Margie Berns), pedagogy generally (Aya Matsuda), and language testing (James Dean Brown). Chapter 40 (Fredric Dolezal) takes a wide-ranging look at dictionaries, traditionally powerful tools of description and prescription, "artifacts that represent the cultural, bibliographic, and linguistic heritage of a language community."

Part IX: Outlook for the future

Futurology is a natural if intimidating extension of present knowledge and awareness: "What does the future of Englishes look like?" Chapter 41 (Kingsley Bolton) articulates how English and Englishes got where they are today and how we might expect them to develop. Chapter 42 (Yamuna Kachru and Larry E. Smith), written by two of the most thoughtful and thought-provoking people in the World Englishes community, is a fitting coda to this volume. Its title invokes the considerable weight and responsibilities that English has come to bear – its *karma* – and its evolution and continuing development – the cycle.

   This second edition of *The Handbook of World Englishes* is, then, a continuation of, or a sequel to, the first: "just one further step toward the understanding of this unfolding of the history and contextualization of the world of world Englishes" (Kachru, Kachru, & Nelson 2006: 14).

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Part I The Historical Context

First Diaspora

1 Beginnings

ROBERT D. KING

1 Beginnings

How did the English language begin, this supple, economic, subtle instrument of communication, commerce, and belles lettres that has become de facto and in many institutions and contexts de jure the lingua franca of the world? What were the linguistic, historical, and cultural factors that joined to make this language of so small an island "conquer" so great a swath of territory throughout the world? For that we have to reach far into the Indo-European past.

The Germanic tribes had departed the Indo-European primeval home probably by the beginning of the Common Era at the latest. They drifted into western Europe and settled in what today is northern Germany, the Low Countries, and southern Scandinavia. The Baltic Sea, the shallow inland sea that separates Germany and Denmark from Norway and Sweden, was more of a boggy marsh than a sea when the Germanic peoples made this their dampish home, thus easing ingress and movement throughout the area.

The Germanic tribes – Saxons, Angles, Jutes, Frisians – were a roving, restless, pushy lot like their Indo-European forebears, always seeing the other side of rivers, of valleys, of bodies of water as greener, more fertile, than where they were living. That this other side might be inhabited by other people, well, so much the better: let the games begin! This hereditary trait, this restlessness, this urge to jump in a boat and find new lands to conquer and different people to terrorize, the English later were to display in abundance.

Around 449 the restless continental Germanic tribes began what we may call the Germanic Conquest of England. The English Channel in good weather is not much of a barrier to even small craft sailing from countries such as Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the northern coast of Germany. Already in Roman times bands of Germanic invaders (we usually call them "Vikings") had been a nuisance for the Romans, always grabbing women and things that did not

belong to them, plundering, causing mischief. It was only after Roman rule had become ineffectual against the warriors landing from the north that Germanic invasion on a large scale could succeed. The Celts, those who did not assimilate to Germanic ways, moved west and south into Cornwall and Wales; Scotland with its hills, wild terrain, and rain remained untamed by both Roman and Saxon for a long time to come.

Thus came into being an Anglo-Saxon Civilization. Its language was Old English (also known as Anglo-Saxon), which we nominally date 450–1150, a fusion language to which various of the Germanic invading tribes had contributed, most particularly the Saxons from northern Germany.

What resemblance did Old English, this rough beast of a language, bear to the English of modern times? The answer is: very little. Old English, like the Old Saxon to which it owes most, was a "heavy" language: heavily inflected and richly conjugated, with three genders and four cases, and numerous subclasses of nouns, verbs, and adjectives. The Old English verb conjugations are no less complex in comparison with modern English: where English today has in the present indicative only one marked ending *-(e)s*, in the third-person singular (*goes, tries, kills*), Old English had four. Even the simple, anodyne definite article *the* of modern English required eighteen different forms to decline it: three genders in the singular, four cases for the singular and the plural, plus an instrumental case for masculine and neuter singular.

So much for the language. What about the literature it produced? The greatest single work in Old English is *Beowulf*, a story of heroes and dragons and great deeds still studied today as a classic of world literature. Besides *Beowulf* there is the great war poem *The Battle of Maldon* and numerous religious poems. Under the Anglo-Saxon king Alfred the Great (ruled 871–899) and due directly to him we have outstanding translations from the Latin of such works as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* and Boethius' *The Consolation of Philosophy*.

Old English already was disposed toward linguistic hospitality, an openness to the influence of other languages which endures to the present day, welcoming new words from the languages with which it shared territory (Latin, Celtic) and from the languages of influential figures such as warriors and priests who came speaking no English. Many place-names point back to the Celtic linguistic substratum (*Kent, Cornwall, York*) as do words such as *crag* and *bin*. Of far greater importance and extent were borrowings from Latin, earlier from the Latin of Roman conquest, later from the Latin of Christian conquest. From the earlier period we have *camp, mile, pit, cheap, wine*, and many other domestic words so well integrated into English that only an enthusiast would know them not to be originally Germanic. Christianity came to Britain in 597, though it was not to displace local religious traditions until centuries had passed. Its impact on English vocabulary is great: church words such as *bishop, angel, disciple, human, relic,* and *rule*; school words like *school, verse, meter,* and *grammar*; and words not easily categorized such as *elephant, radish, oyster, talent,* and *crisp*.

In depth and mass of linguistic imprint on the English language, however, all else vanishes to nothing in comparison with the French influence that followed

upon the Norman Conquest. In 1066 the king of England died without an heir. The wrangling began, and a second cousin to the deceased king soon announced that he was the rightful successor and all other pretenders be damned. This cousin was William, duke of Normandy, French down to his capillaries (although a Northman, loaded with Viking genes). William had had a hard childhood, having to overcome the stigma of illegitimacy among much else, and he rose to his dukedom through physical toughness mixed with shrewdness. William made careful preparations for invasion, taking care to cultivate supporters on the English side of the channel (a "Fifth Column"), and in 1066 he sailed with his soldiers across the English Channel, the Channel being very narrow and easy to traverse at this point. It is no accident that the D-Day invasion of 6 June 1944 going the other direction chose the beaches of Normandy to land on.

William and his men landed at Hastings, then as now a town on the Channel not far south of London. The battle did not last long. On Christmas day, 1066, William was crowned king of England. One of the first effects of the Norman Conquest was the creation of a new French-speaking Norman aristocracy. While William did not complete his conquest for several years to come, a Norman royal court in southeast England came into being almost overnight. It was not the way in those days to "impose" a language on a conquered people, as the Soviet Union for example imposed Russian on most of its member states. The Normans did not "impose" French, but William's court was French speaking, and the Normans he had brought with him and who followed spoke French.

Two centuries after the Conquest English kings clawed their way back into power, and the French court was a memory. By the beginning of the fourteenth century English was again the language of the country, but this was a very different kind of English from the English that had preceded the Norman Conquest. It had been profoundly transformed by the normal course of linguistic evolution and by its fateful encounter with French – "dumbed-down," one might say.

It was a far different English from that of *Beowulf*. Alfred would have needed an interpreter. Many of the words with which French had permanently enriched English are from the legal and governing (*legal* and *govern* themselves are French) lexical domains: *crime, criminal, criminality, regal, regental, judge, plea, royal, sue, defend, defendant* – it would be quite impossible to try a case in an English-speaking court anywhere in the world even today without using a French loanword every half minute or so. But not all of what we got from French is abstract and polysyllabic: regard *joy, face, cap, force, war, chase, paint*, and *pay*.

But we got more from the French than individual loanwords. Because those loanwords often came in pairs, for example *críminal/crimináliy, légal/legálity, régent/regéntal, dífficult/difficúlty* (with the acute accent ´ marking the location of main stress in the word), we inherited from French a more complex set of rules for marking word-stress than we had had before when English vocabulary was more monolithically Germanic.

It was not only French that had changed the language so much since Alfred's day. The inexorable force of linguistic change had done its work. By the end of

the Middle English period (1150–1500) the language had come to be something not that different from modern English. In nouns for example –*s* had become the only suffix, signifying as it does today either the genitive *day's* or the plural *days*. The multiplicity of unstressed vowels in Old English (the vowels *a, e, u, o* in the final syllables of, for example, *giefa, giefe, giefum, curon*) had been reduced to a single unstressed –*e*. Of the numerous different forms of the definite article only *the* and *that* have remained. Some strong verbs became weak, some weak verbs strong; 'give, gave' had been weak in Old English: *giefan, giefde*. The language had become grammatically simpler, especially in its morphology, leaner somehow – and it is this streamlining of the language that later would make it so easy a language to export.

The creation of Early Modern English (or Late Middle English) coincided with the onset of the Age of Discovery. Ships were bigger and better, navigational aids were more reliable, and something in the European *Zeitgeist* insisted on exploration. What was the English like that was sent out in search of countries to claim as Britain embarked on its quest to "rule the seas"?

It was to begin with a "light" language when compared with Old English, which I earlier described as "heavy." Gone the Indo-Germanic/Germanic complex morphology, gone the Germanic fashions in word compounding and word-derivation, gone many of the sounds of Old English (such as the velar fricative [x], spelled 'gh' in words such as *light* and *knight*). What remained is what we have today: an English with a preponderance of monosyllabic words, with sounds that are on the whole easy to pronounce or to approximate (though *th* is a stumbling block for speakers of many languages), a simple morphology, a language mostly free of elite academy-driven notions of correctness. (The *Académie française* regularly issues austere injunctions against using words like *weekend, whisky,* and *OK*; no ordinary speaker of French pays them the slightest mind if they even know about them. English has never been disposed to put up with such preciousness from the other side of the Channel.)

Let us take the English language of 1600 as a starting point. This is a useful date because it was on December 31 of that year that Queen Elizabeth granted a royal charter to a group of merchants for purpose of exploitation of trade with East and Southeast Asia and India.

The English East India Company was for a century and a half a major facilitator of the English language. What was the English like that John Company, as the English East India Company was sometimes jocularly called in India, exported to these far-off lands?

It would have been richly diverse for one thing. On the lower decks Cockney English would have been well represented along with every conceivable kind of regional English: Yorkshire accents, Devon accents, Welsh accents, Irish accents, Scots accents – even the odd Yankee (American) twang of some luckless drunk who had been pressed into service. There would have been "*r*-less" dialects of English alongside "*r*-ful" dialects. There would be *wery* along with 'very' and *vind* beside 'wind'. "It was 'is to 'ave" would have cheerfully coexisted with "'E hain't 'appy." There would be lots of [f] for *th*, *nuffin* for 'nothing' and *wif* for 'with'.

There would be speakers for whom *lace* and *lice* rhymed. Words now archaic like *gart* 'caused or made', *sollicker* 'force', and *to fossick* 'to search' would have abounded. Received Pronunciation ("the King's English," "Oxford English," "BBC English") was not a concept at this time, so even the captains and upper-class loungers who fanned out across the world would have had by today's standards huge differences in pronunciation and usage.

And so the stage was set for the triumphant march of the English language to the ends of the earth. The Age of Discovery transformed the world's view of horizon and limitation, as the frigates and brigs and men o'war set out under full sail from this tiny island of England and the Union Jack was planted on alien terrain such as India, Australia, Hong Kong, and America. It is inconceivable that in the minds of these captains and men or those who had sent them lurked even an inkling of what their ultimate and most enduring achievement would be.

They thought they were exploring, trying to find the Northwest Passage, trying to find faster ways to sail to Japan and China. They thought they were going to get rich by locating sources of spices or profiting from the appeal of a new drink like tea. They thought they were claiming some God-forsaken barren island or peninsula for Crown and Country forever. Or they were transporting some kind of plant, breadfruit for example, out to a new location to see whether it could be made to grow there as an inexpensive food for slaves to the profit of slave owners and John Company.

And so they were. They were doing all these things. But little did these empire-warriors know that their one enduring, their one permanent accomplishment would be to make English first among the world's languages – first not in intrinsic worth or beauty or goodness but first in practicality and first as a means of expression for word-gifted people whose first language might be something other than English.

The British Empire is now gone. The money it made is long since gone. The islands and peninsulas where once the Union Jack was proudly planted are now ruled by their own people (if they are inhabited at all). The breadfruit never seemed to find the right kind of soil to prosper in, so it never became a profitable crop; besides, most of the plants died on the way out. Slave plantations are gone, and so is John Company.

What remains, however, is infinitely more enduring, more chaste and nobler, more of a great thing, than land or plants or possessions. What remains is the English language, to paraphrase Auden, a "way of speaking, a mouth," a gift to the globe, to millions of people, often to people who would not be able to express themselves to a wider audience if not for English. One of the greatest and most underacknowledged gifts of the British Raj to India was English prose style. Not simply narrative prose – after all, the *Laws of Manu* were written in Sanskrit prose – but the prose style of the polished English essay, of a Macaulay, of Samuel Johnson's *Idler*, of Edmund Burke or John Stuart Mill. This kind of graceful, spare, ironic prose was something altogether different from the forms of prose in indigenous literature. It was initially foreign to the "cut" of any Indian language, from Sanskrit down to the meanest vernacular. But something about it kindled fire in

the Indian mind. By the end it would produce masters of the English language – Rabindranath Tagore, Arabindo Ghose, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and his historian son, Sarvepalli Gopal, Raja Rao, Nirad Chaudhuri, Gandhi, and Jawaharlal Nehru. The English language remains in India after most other traces of the British Raj have decayed and receded from view.

What was true of India is true of all the other countries where English once was the language of rule: former British colonies in Africa, Singapore, Hong Kong, Bangladesh, the West Indies, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and of course America. English is one of the natural means by which gifted writers express themselves in countries once under British rule. And when they write their graceful prose and eloquent poetry, they doubtless do not often stop to reflect on how it came about that it is *English* that is their instrument of choice rather than Bengali or Tamil or Nigerian. And when a Frenchman has dealings with a German or a Swede, when they perforce move into English to advance their negotiations, none of them surely thinks back to that day in 449 when Saxons from the north of Germany sailed their ships to southern England and decided to stay there.

"Our beginnings never know our ends," wrote T.S. Eliot. The end is not in sight, but how far we have come from those early days when German and Scandinavian warriors descended on the south of England, unloading their languages and reckless ambitions along with their weapons of conquest.

2   First Steps: Wales and Ireland

2.1   *Wales*

When we tell the story of the replacement of one language by another, it is almost impossible to resist reaching for military metaphors to give a name to what happened. We talk of a "conquest." We write of the "victory" of the *langue d'oïl* over the *langue d'oc* in the "battle" for what was to become standard French. Vulgar Latin ceded ground to Old French as the Middle Ages waned. The French of Quebec has since the 1970s regained ground from English in the "battle" of language loyalties in eastern Canada. Even though this kind of muscular military linguistic usage is vaguely reprehensible in a sober discipline like linguistics, most of us talk and write that way because the replacement of one language by another does have points in common with "conquests" and "victories."

Let us have some terminology first. Linguists use the abbreviations H (for "High") and L (for "Low") to distinguish between two important kinds of usage domain. H is the variety of language used in formal, ceremonial, institutional, and other 'serious' domains. L is everyday language, spoken in family and other intimate and informal settings. Legal and religious matters – wills, marriage certificates, and contracts for example – are usually H functions. Farmers arguing about the best kind of dung to spread on their fields will nine times out of ten be conversing in L. Furthermore, H and L can refer to different languages, for example when speaking of the command of Latin over H functions when medieval English

was relegated to L functions, but they can also refer to variants of the same language so different that mutual intelligibility is complicated (standard French and Creole in Haiti, for example, or standard Arabic and vernacular Arabic in most places in the Arab-speaking world). To this latter situation, which is altogether commonplace except in the most literate parts of the world, Charles Ferguson gave the name *diglossia*.

When two languages fight over the same ground, as English and Welsh did in Wales and English and Irish (now the preferred name for the language, not "Gaelic") did in Ireland, for example, what usually ensues is a conflict between the two languages for domain power, for H status. One of the two languages comes to be perceived as H, perhaps through force of arms, perhaps because of economic power, perhaps by strength of numbers, perhaps because it is a newcomer language with greater claims to culture and literature or to a more enviable set of social structures and better manners. We then say that the H language "wins" and the L language "loses." The winning language becomes the "superstratum" language, the losing one the "substratum." Whether the substratum language survives or not, it will almost certainly leave traces in the superstratum language.

Ultimately this is the story of English in Wales and Ireland – the story of battles between languages over which is to be H. The first expansions – "conquests" – of the English language outside southeast England were of Wales and Ireland. But the use of the metaphor "conquest" is seriously misleading here, precisely because of the confusion of H and L functions among a number of competing languages in the Middle Ages – Latin, French, Welsh, Irish, and English. We will come to that, but first this story – the story of the spread of English to Wales and Ireland – must be understood against the setting of the general retreat of Celts, of Celtic religion and culture, and of Celtic languages across Europe.

At the height of its dominion (nominally circa 400 BCE) the Celtic presence stretched from the British Isles to eastern Europe and Turkey, from a line running just south of Denmark through the middle of Germany down through France and into Italy and Greece. Celtic history thenceforth down to the beginning of the Common Era is one of withdrawal, retraction, and reduction. On the continent the Celts were vanquished by or absorbed into their invaders: Romans, Germans, Slavs, and Huns.

The Romans led by Julius Caesar invaded England in 55 BCE, but it required almost a century of hard fighting to consolidate their position. They never achieved a really firm control of Britain outside their southeastern base (around what today is London). Linguistically speaking, they never made much of an issue out of imposing their language, Latin, on the Celtic inhabitants outside their immediate domains of power. If you were upwardly mobile, then you learned Latin. Nor were the Romans disposed to interfere in religious matters as long as a religion did not threaten the Roman state, which Druidism, the major Celtic religion, did not.

Contacts between the Welsh and the Romans were extensive, especially among the Welsh ruling classes who out of necessity had to come to grips with the fact that the Romans were running things. At this point we must begin to treat the Welsh and Irish situations separately, though they have many features in common.

It is primarily a matter of chronology: English came to Wales earlier than it did to Ireland, which because of its island fastness and the barrier of the Irish Sea was quarantined against most English and continental fevers.

Latin influenced the Welsh language during Roman times especially in the area of the lexicon (technically we should speak of "Brittonic" here and reserve "Welsh" for the period after 850), but the linguistic influence became much stronger after Britain was converted to Christianity. By 300 CE the Christian religion was several lengths ahead of the other religions competing in Rome, and its position as the quasi-official religion was symbolically marked when the emperor Constantine converted to Christianity on his deathbed in 337. By 400, the state religion of Rome was Christianity. By the middle of the fourth century England was thoroughly Christianized, especially among its ruling and urban classes, and along with Christianity came monasteries, abbots and bishops, manuscripts, priories, and monks – *and* Latin as the language of high purpose (H), Latin being the official language of the Roman Catholic Church. Probably the Welsh ruling classes were bilingual in both Welsh and Latin, although outside their sphere of influence, in the countryside, one must assume that Welsh alone was the language of the people.

In contrast, Ireland was never under Roman rule, probably owing more to the daunting logistics of attack and Roman fear of dividing forces rather than lack of appetite among the Romans. It became Christian in the fifth century. By tradition Patrick (Saint Patrick), who was probably born in the west of Britain, converted Ireland between 432 and 461. At a time when many western European males were carousing, stealing, and smashing what they could not carry off, Irish monasteries were a refuge of cultural preservation and learning.

Thus, by the time the Germanic tribes began their conquest of England (449 CE) the Welsh language and the Irish language were solidly in place as the spoken languages of their respective lands, Wales and Ireland. Both had impressive literatures before the English did. There were poems, stories, narratives, and an opulence of creative writing. Welsh was the language of the law. The *Welsh Lawbooks* are rich in legal vocabulary, but they are stylistically rich as well, and therefore are accounted part of the literary tradition of Wales as well as the legal. The Welsh nobility were great patrons of Welsh literature and music, so both flourished. Social and governing structures were solid, in fact more solid than anything the English had in place prior to the appearance of Alfred the Great. Early Irish literature was rich and varied, still studied today as a glory.

And now we can turn to the question of the "conquest" of English in Wales and Ireland. Given that the English were aggressive and growing more numerous and economically powerful all the time, was it not inevitable that their language would displace the principal indigenous Celtic languages – Welsh and Scots Gaelic and then Irish, in time? Does not the most fleeting glance at a map of the British Isles make it glaringly clear that things could have no other outcome? Wales on the western coast of England has no natural defenses against determined expansion from southern England, the locus of the English language in medieval times. Nor is Ireland that far away, though the Irish Sea was always a deterrent, and an English

invasion of Ireland would have been a much more difficult military operation than a march into Wales. (However, one is bound to reflect on the fact that the Irish Sea would have been a trifling obstacle for the Viking ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons-Normans. And did it discourage the Christian missionaries? No.)

However, maps are deceptive things, perhaps most especially so when it comes to illustrating the "power" relationships of languages on the ground: it is hard to map the linguistic battle between H and L. In the early going, let us say to the end of the medieval period, it was not the manifest destiny of the English language to spread throughout the British Isles, geography and appearances to the contrary. Prior to something like 1500 CE it was never a certain thing that English would come to prevail over the strongest indigenous Celtic languages of the region, Welsh and Irish, which claimed the largest numbers of speakers and the strongest governing and societal structures. The position of the other Celtic substrate languages such as Cornish and Manx or even Scots Gaelic was never as strong as that of Welsh and Irish nor were their speakers ever as numerous, and so perhaps it was a foregone conclusion that they would succumb under the English juggernaut. But not Irish and Welsh.

The trouble here lies in the conflicting and often confused "H:L" relationships that existed among English, Latin, French, Welsh, and Irish in the Middle Ages. Which of these languages was H, which ones were L? Latin was throughout, both in Wales and Ireland as well as England, one of the H languages and often *the* H language. This was true both during Roman rule and the Christian era. Legal and religious documents were almost always in Latin, and if they appear in one of the other languages it is usually as a translation from Latin.

There were "confusions" of H:L function. Where literature was concerned, *Beowulf* was Germanic to the core, genuinely Old English, as were many other shorter pieces such as *Widsith* and *Deor*, and the great war poems *The Battle of Maldon* and *The Battle of Brunanburh*. These, it must be remembered, were part of the spoken tradition, and while they were being passed down around campfires and through generations, English could lay claim to a sort of modified H function. English may have been the spoken language of the people, but Latin was the unquestioned H language. There was a relatively brief period during which Old English could lay claim to a share of the H prize. This was during the reign of Alfred the Great (871–899). Alfred lamented the decay of the book culture of Old English, and he himself acquired Latin, presumably between battles and other great deeds, in order to spearhead a program of translation into Old English of major works of literature originally written in Latin; Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, and Boethius' *The Consolation of Philosophy*. Ælfric and Wulfstan carried on the tradition of Old English prose, but Latin remained the H language.

The Norman Conquest brought French into the picture, and for at least a couple of centuries after 1066 French took command of H functions, in competition with Latin, and English dropped further behind in the race. Welsh and Irish were still largely sovereign in their respective lands, though Wales naturally was more subject to influences from England, from Latin, French, and to a lesser extent at this

time, from English. But for most H purposes, in both Wales and Ireland, Latin was the choice. French had its own set of worries, for the French of the Normans was about to lose the contest for Best French, an award that would shortly go to the French of the *Ile de France*. Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 1342–1400) famously made fun of the French of his Prioress in the *Canterbury Tales*:

> And French she spak ful faire and fetisly,
> After the scole of Stratford ate Bowe,
> For French of Paris was to hir unknowe.

And so we have, by around 1400, a glorious jumble of languages struggling to sort out the H:L relationships in England. By the fifteenth century English had replaced French and Latin as the language of law. Englishmen were writing their wills and their letters in English. The English language thus took command of the H ground, and with a growing population and growing economic power it was now really only a matter of time before Wales would succumb to a further tightening of English control. In 1536, in the reign of Henry VIII, Wales came under English dominion in what is called the Act of Union, a political event that was to have almost immediate linguistic implications. One of its clauses mandated English fluency if you wanted a government job.

Welsh was still the spoken language of the vast majority of Welsh, but the speech of the upper classes shifted over time from bilingual in Welsh and English (and/or French) to English. Welsh literature continued to flourish, and in the domain of folk literature the Welsh language continued its H function, but this too gradually passed as the Welsh nobility, traditional patrons of Welsh literature, swung to English. Welsh was perhaps most tenacious in the Welsh church, and it is no exaggeration to say that the preservation of the Welsh language owes much to its Wesleyan (Methodist) preachers. The 1991 census reported that 18.7% of the population of Wales had knowledge of Welsh, though the percentages are much higher in the northern and western counties of Gwynedd and Dyfed – there Welsh exults in a glorious and public victory over the English language, spoken on every street, in every pub, in every intimate occasion of life.

2.2   Ireland

The earliest recorded use of English in Ireland dates from the thirteenth century. Latin and to a lesser degree French occupied most H domains, with Irish commanding L domains throughout the island. English, because of mostly trade-related increased immigration from England, began to make inroads into Ireland in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, first showing up in legal documents, town records, and the like. Curiously, in the fourteenth century there is evidence that spoken English among the Anglo-Irish gentry went into decline, with more and more of them adopting Irish as their home language. The Statutes of Kilkenny (1366), written in French, ordained that "every Englishman use the English

language, and be named by an English name." It is a linguistic truism that linguistic proclamations like this – "use language X!" – are certain proof that most people are doing the exact opposite – not using language X.

In 1541, Henry VIII was proclaimed King of Ireland at the Irish Parliament. Most of the documents associated with this and other acts of Parliament at the time were still in Latin, but other evidence shows clearly that English was encroaching on the H domains of Latin (and French). In swearing loyalty to the new king there is much of a mixture among the Irish lords between the English and Irish languages. Some lairds required an interpreter to put their oath of fealty into English, while others were able to do so in "good Inglisshe."

By no means did English become the spoken language of Ireland overnight just because Ireland was subject to English rule. It was never foreordained that the victory would be so cheaply earned. It was only in the reigns of Queen Mary and King James I in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that the tide rose dramatically in favor of English. Mary and James instituted the so-called "plantations," here meaning the planting of people – English speakers – in Ireland, notably the planned settlement of Scots in Ulster, what is today Northern Ireland. Thus were the seeds of conflict sown.

The population mix between Irish and English then began to inexorably shift toward the English, and a census taken in 1659 showed that while Irish was still the majority spoken language in the country English was coming up rapidly, especially in regions such as Ulster and Dublin more accessible from England. Western Ireland remained strongly Irish speaking, and it is in the west that the *Gaeltacht* – the Irish-speaking area – is located today. Successive censuses show a steady decline in numbers of Irish speakers, and current surveys generally report around 3% of the population as native Irish-speaking.

That brings us to the end of the story of English in Wales and Ireland. What began as a battle between noble languages, fought over a muddled terrain of H and L, of superstratum and substratum, has ended up in a kind of stasis. English is the usual language of discourse in Wales and Ireland, though this is truer of Ireland than of Wales. Welsh and Irish are alive and well in Wales and Ireland, a statement one is more comfortable with in regard to Welsh. Both Welsh and Irish enjoy – now, not a century or less ago – strong governmental support and a touching degree of affection among the Welsh and Irish people as a link to their past and to their identity. How happy it makes the linguist, *this* linguist, at least, to walk into a pub in Holyhead (a point of departure for the ferry to Dublin) and hear *everybody* in the pub speaking Welsh, and then to have the bartender switch effortlessly to English to serve the poor outlander who only wants a pint of bitter (and an opportunity to hear Welsh in a totally natural ambience). Such is the easy bliss of the linguist!

Since linguistic "conquest" has so often meant the *extinction* of the substratum language, one is happy to note that the first expansion of the English language did *not* end in complete victory of English. In linguistics, as perhaps in other kinds of warfare, a partial victory is a better outcome than total victory.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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2   English in Scotland

FIONA DOUGLAS

1   Introduction

On 18 September 2014, Scotland stood at a political crossroads. With the Union of the Scottish and English Crowns in 1603, and the Treaty of Union merging the parliaments just over a century later in 1707, Scotland had relinquished its independence. For nearly 300 years, until the reinstatement of its own parliament (albeit with limited devolved powers) on 1 July 1999, it was effectively a stateless nation, though it retained its own distinctive triumvirate of church, legal and education systems, and a strong sense of national and cultural identity. Now, centuries later, the people would vote in a historic referendum to decide whether Scotland should become an independent country once more. At 85%, the turnout rate was the highest recorded for any election in the UK since the introduction of universal suffrage in 1918, and for the first time 16- and 17-year-olds were allowed to vote. Although a 55% majority voted to remain part of the United Kingdom, the strength of the "yes" campaign sent shockwaves through the UK political establishment and prompted promises of extra devolved powers for Scotland. Much has been written on the link between language and nationhood, but what effect, if any, has Scotland's changing political landscape had on its distinctive linguistic varieties?

For Scotland, those languages are Scottish Gaelic (a Celtic language, and therefore outside the remit of this book) and the peculiarly Scottish variety of English described in the following. The rather simplistic title of this chapter, "English in Scotland," belies a complex and heterogeneous linguistic situation. We can use the term *Scottish English* (ScE) to refer to the distinctive localised variety of British English native to Scotland. It should be noted in passing that I share Hansen's (1997) reservations about the term "British English." I use "British English" to refer to the collective entity that is the Englishes of Scotland, England,

Ireland and Wales, and not, as many others (for example, Merriam-Webster 2005) have done, as an inaccurate synonym for English English.

2   Historical Development of the Scottish Varieties

In order to explain the development of present-day ScE, we must consider two key strands: first, the development of a variety I shall term *Scots* (SC); and, second, the subsequent development of another Scottish variety, *Scottish Standard English* (ScSE), which was the result of contact with the standardized form of English English during the eighteenth century. What follows is necessarily a summary, and I recommend Jones (1997), Macafee and Aitken (2002), and McClure (1994) as preliminary further reading.

2.1   *Parallel development of cognate varieties*

One of the four Old English dialects, Northumbrian, straddled what is now the Scottish/English border, and was the precursor, not just of Scots, but also of modern northern English-English dialects, hence the large number of shared features that can be seen in these varieties to the present day. What we now think of as (British) Standard English developed further south and was based largely on the dialects in the East Midlands area around London and East Anglia. Scots and English English are therefore historically closely related cognate varieties. Given its origins, Scots can be linguistically (although perhaps not ideologically) considered a type of "English." (See discussion under 4.1.)

2.2   *Earliest days*

We can trace the earliest days of a language within Scotland that was derived from Old English to 547, when a group of Anglian invaders founded the Kingdom of Bernicia in the area around the present-day Scottish/English border. (Similar Germanic invasions were occurring elsewhere in Britain at this time.) Naturally these Anglian invaders brought their language with them. Before that time, Scotland's language and culture had been predominantly Celtic (see McClure 1994 for further discussion). By the mid-seventh century, the Kingdom of Bernicia had extended further into Scotland to include what is now part of the Scottish Lothians.

2.3   *The impact of Old Norse*

The situation is complicated by the arrival in the eighth century of closely related Germanic language varieties spoken by Viking raiders who began attacking the northern and western isles of Scotland. They eventually settled in Orkney and Shetland, bequeathing the Norwegian variety called *Norn* to the islands, where it

was spoken until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, respectively. Its influence can still be seen in present-day Insular Scots.

Of course, the Vikings also carried out raids south of the border in England and settled in the "Danelaw" in central England. Because the cognate languages of the Anglo-Saxons and the Viking raiders were mutually comprehensible, some scholars (following Poussa 1982) have suggested that the linguistic situation that developed in Britain at this time was something akin to creolization, or at least some sort of language mixing leading to the development of a hybrid *Anglo-Scandinavian* variety.

Old Norse had significant effects on English both north and south of the border, as is evidenced by the adoption of Norse-influenced words at the very heart of the lexicon such as *they*, *their*, and *them*. However, it had an even stronger legacy in Scotland than in England, and many present-day Scots words were originally Old Norse loanwords and still have cognates in the Scandinavian languages. Old Norse also influenced Scots phonology, as is witnessed by the existence of Scots Norse-influenced cognates for words which also exist in English – for example, *kirk* and *church*; *brig* and *bridge*, *dike* and *ditch*, *skirl* and *shrill*, *skreich* and *shriek*. These pairings are explained by Old Norse having the plosives /k/ and /g/ in environments where Old English had the affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/.

2.4　The influence of Norman French

The Norman Conquest in 1066 triggered an influx of Anglo-Norman and Flemish overlords to Scotland, but they were accompanied by a wave of immigrant servants and retainers, particularly from the north of England, causing a significant increase in the use of Anglo-Scandinavian throughout lowland Scotland. Until the twelfth century, the "English" language (or what was to become known as *Scots*) in Scotland was limited largely to the south and southeast, with the areas to the north still dominated by Gaelic. By the fourteenth century, the success of this variety seemed to be assured with a decline in the use of both Norman French and Gaelic.

2.5　The ascendance of Inglis

Over time, this Anglo-Scandinavian variety (or *Inglis*, as it was beginning to be known) spread into ever-increasing communicative functions. No longer merely a largely spoken variety, it spread into the written mode and dispersed ever more widely, both geographically and socially. The earliest substantial document we have is Barbour's epic poem *Brus* of 1375, but other documents soon followed, and by 1390 Scottish Acts of Parliament began to be recorded in Inglis rather than Latin. By now, Inglis was the dominant variety for all Scottish speakers to the south and east of the Highland line.

During the period from the fifteenth to the early sixteenth centuries, Scots (now the language of the Scottish court) was the language used in formal

registers such as government and administration, and it had an extensive, varied, and rich literature. The varieties north and south of the Scottish/English border were, linguistically speaking, still closely related dialects, but significantly Scots was now being increasingly used in high-status registers. Many of the great Scottish writers such as Henryson, Douglas, and Dunbar date from this period.

2.6   *From* Inglis *to* Scottis *to* Scots

It is worth noting that originally the Scots used the term "Inglis" to refer to the Anglo-Scandinavian varieties spoken both in Scotland and in England, thus bearing testament to their close similarities. It was only in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries that the Scots began to differentiate their variety of this Inglis as *Scottis* – a variety retrospectively termed *Older Scots* by linguists, and the precursor of present-day SC. (See McClure 1981 for fuller discussion of names for these varieties.) Older Scots is considered to be the language as it was used in the period from 1100 to 1700, with Modern Scots beginning in 1700 and persisting to the present day (Robinson 1985).

2.7   *Increasing Anglicization*

From the mid-sixteenth century onwards, Scots began to be threatened by increasing Anglicization. The Reformation in 1560 brought with it an English, not Scots, Bible to Scotland, at a time when this was probably the only book owned by many households. The introduction of printing saw a proliferation of imported English-printed books and an accompanying shift towards English norms by many Scottish printers. The Union of the Crowns and the ensuing removal of the Scottish court to London deprived many Scots writers of their patronage (indeed, many of the court poets moved south with the king and Anglicized their verse for an English market), decreased the status of SC, and thus markedly accelerated the Anglicization process. However, although Scots was becoming Anglicized in the written mode, it persisted as a clearly distinguishable form in the spoken mode well into the seventeenth century.

With the Treaty of Union in 1707, Scots lost political as well as spiritual and social status (Murison 1979). However, there was some resurgent cultural backlash, with a revival of literary Scots by writers such as Robert Burns and Allan Ramsay and a spate of republishing Scots works of the past. At the same time, many individuals from the Scottish middle and upper classes were trying to eradicate Scotticisms from their writing and speech. Elocution lessons, lists of Scotticisms to be avoided in polite society, and guides on spelling, grammar, and pronunciation proliferated (Jones 1995, 1997). (These developments in Scotland can usefully be considered in the wider British context wherein attempts were being made to *fix* the language in the wake of Johnson's dictionary, and to avoid provincial vulgarisms.) The speech of the aspiring Scottish middle classes was

heavily influenced by standardized English English and this led to the development of a linguistic compromise variety, ScSE, which persists to the present day.

As discussed in other chapters in this volume, Scots and ScSE were exported around the world from the seventeenth century onward, having significant influences on the language of Ulster (Northern Ireland), the United States, Canada, and Australasia (Montgomery 2003).

2.8   *Highland English and Gaelic*

Highland English (HE), the variety spoken in the Scottish Highlands and the Western Isles, is a distinctive form of English, influenced mainly by Gaelic rather than Scots, although lowland Scots is beginning to have more of an influence on younger speakers. Highland English developed much later than ScE, as Gaelic was prevalent in the Gaidhealtachd, the area of Scotland in which Scottish Gaelic is the vernacular speech, long after it had retreated from other parts of Scotland. Highland English is therefore derived from a later, more standardized form of ScSE, rather than from Scots. (See McClure 1994 for a fuller account.) Gaelic persists in pockets in these and a few other areas to the present day, although it no longer has monolingual speakers.

3   The Present-Day Scottish-English Linguistic Continuum

Although originating as a linguistic compromise between Scots and Standardized English, ScSE now has the status of an autonomous and prestigious language variety (McClure 1994). Scots (the modern reflex of Inglis or Scottis – call it what you will) is now generally regarded as having low prestige (except, arguably, in literary contexts), and persists largely in the speech of the Scottish working classes. And so the linguistic continuum which persists in Scotland to this day was born.

Today *Scottish English* (ScE) can be used as a blanket term to cover both regional and social varieties along a linguistic continuum (see Figure 2.1), ranging from Scots (sometimes called *Broad Scots* or *Scots dialect*) at one end to ScSE at the other (Aitken 1979; McArthur 1979). The Scots (or *dense*) end of the continuum is maximally differentiated from Standardized English, and the ScSE (or *thin*) end minimally so (McClure, 1979). Individuals, taking account of external factors such as context of situation, education, and social class can move along the continuum in either direction, but some people will inevitably have a stronger attraction to one pole than the other. Both style-drifting and code-switching are common. In an attempt to make sense of this complex situation, Aitken (1979, 1984a, 1984b) proposed a five-column model of Scottish speech, although, as he notes (1984b: 28), it also has validity as a model for the written mode. Aitken (1984b) also suggests that there are social class differences in the acceptability of certain Scotticisms which do not necessarily correlate with his column divisions.

```
social class    birthplace        education    self-perception    situation    age (etc.)
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Individuals' selections from the linguistic continuum

Dense/Broad/Dialect Scots (SC)
e.g. the Doric, Glaswegian
Distinctive local vocabulary,
grammar, and strong local accent.

Scottish Standard English (ScSE)
Much closer to Standard English. Limited
Scottish grammar, vocabulary and idiom,
but still with Scottish accent.

*Generally used by working-class
Scots.*

*Used by middle-class Scots and by
working-class Scots in formal
situations.*

Figure 2.1   The Scottish-English linguistic continuum.

Whilst notions of maximal and minimal differentiation from "Standard" English are useful ways of categorising ScE varieties, such an approach encourages us to overlook the many grammatical, lexical, and phonological features which are, and always have been, shared by Scots and English – the *common core* (see section 5.3). It also implies that Scots is a deviant (or nonstandard) form of English, which is undoubtedly problematic, but given the current and historical links between these varieties, such comparisons are inevitable.

3.1   *Scots*

As would be expected, much more variation is found at the Scots end of the continuum. As can be seen from the examples given in Figure 2.1, Scots is not one homogeneous variety. It includes numerous regional dialects, both urban and rural, and although they share certain common features, some of them are markedly distinct, and indeed are often difficult for people from other parts of Scotland to understand. Conventionally Scots dialects are grouped into the following broad geographic areas: *Insular Scots*, *Northern Scots* (and *North-East Scots*), *Central Scots* (*East*, *West*, and *South-West*), *Southern Scots*, *Ulster Scots* (Grant & Murison 1931–1976). A useful map is given by Eagle (2002). The 2011 Census, the first ever to collect data on numbers of Scots speakers, recorded 1.5 million speakers of Scots (30% of the population), with 1.9 million people reporting that they could speak, read, write, or understand Scots (38% of the population), with the highest percentages reported in the Aberdeenshire, Shetland, and Moray council regions, that is, in the northeast and Shetland, where Scots has traditionally had a stronger identity (Scots Language Centre 2013).

3.2   Scottish Standard English

ScSE is used by individuals from all over Scotland, although it may be, to some extent, coloured by the features of their local variety. It is the usual variety of the Scottish middle classes and the variety aimed at by working-class speakers in formal speech situations.

3.3   Written and spoken varieties of Scottish English

The ScE continuum applies to both spoken and written varieties, although, as Macafee (1983) notes, the continuum stretches further in either direction for writing than for speech. The written and spoken varieties are not as closely entwined as one might think; for example, much more Scots is spoken than is written, and few Scots are practised writers (or even readers) of SC. Literary Scots bears little resemblance to the spoken Scots one hears, and it is a curious anomaly that those few individuals who do write in Scots are usually highly educated and/or middle-class – the very people one would least expect to hear using Scots in speech. ScSE is the language of the Scottish education system, and so, when Scots write in English, their language is largely indistinguishable from other types of British Standard English. I say "largely" as there are two types of Scotticism found in Scots' formal written English: "cultural Scotticisms" (Aitken 1979), which refer to peculiarly Scottish aspects of life, and hence have Scottish labels (e.g. *the Kirk* 'The Church of Scotland') and what I shall term "formal Scotticisms" such as *outwith* 'outside of' and *uplift* 'collect(ion)'.

Although much usage of ScE linguistic features is *covert* (i.e. speakers do not realize it marks them as Scots), there is also a strong tradition of *overt* usage with people deliberately and knowingly choosing to use Scots linguistic features, often as a way of asserting their Scottish identity (Aitken 1979, 1984b).

4   Problems of Definition, Terminology, and Status

Whilst the concept of the linguistic continuum is useful in explaining the shifting linguistic behaviour of many Scots individuals, it glosses over some fundamental ideological issues and linguistic debates. These can be summarised as problems of definition, of terminology, and of status.

4.1   Problems of definition and terminology

One of the key problems associated with studying these varieties is the plethora of terms used by different linguists. As we have seen in section 2, there is a historical component to be considered. However, much of the divergence in the naming strategies adopted is dependent on status and perceptions, that is, whether individual linguists believe that the most maximally differentiated varieties, here (and usually) termed Scots, should be considered as forming a separate language or alternatively merely as distinctive dialects of English.

Arguments for separate language status for Scots are generally mounted on discussions of its historical development, its strong literary legacy, and because it contains a range of distinctive local dialects. On the other hand, some scholars (e.g. Aitken 1981a, 1982) have argued that nowadays, in the spoken mode anyway, Scots is merely a distinctive national variety of English, and certainly its close association with, and similarities to, other varieties of English would tend to support this view. The argument continues to rumble on, and we cannot hope or even attempt to solve it here, but it does have important implications for the status of these varieties.

4.2   Problems of status

Attitudes to ScE and the status of the individual varieties it encompasses are diverse and often conflicting. On the one hand, ScSE is widely regarded as a prestigious national variety of world Englishes. In the spoken mode, Scots has covert prestige as a strong in-group identifier for certain social groups. There is some evidence that a "not too strong" Scottish accent is also perceived as desirable (BBC 2005). However, Scots are also plagued by linguistic insecurity, and perhaps the majority regard their language as being *bad English* or *slang* rather than *Scots* (Macafee 1994, 1997; Menzies 1991; Romaine 1980). Accounts suggest that, historically, some of the blame for these attitudes rests with the Scottish education system. It should be noted, however, that the Scottish government has more recently made a commitment to support the study of Scotland's languages, dialects, literatures, and history in schools (Education Scotland 2015). Anecdotal evidence suggests that prejudice against, and ignorance concerning, particular varieties of Scottish English are still rife, even (or indeed, perhaps especially) within Scotland. Most attempts to revive written Scots outside the realm of literature are regarded with derision or at best confusion, and perhaps most damagingly of all, such representations of broad Scots varieties as do exist, for example, in the media, are usually relegated to domestic, stereotypically Scottish (Burns, *haggis* and *tartan*) or humorous contexts (see Douglas 2009). Much energy has also been expended over the years on the debate of *good* vs. *bad* Scots – where *good* usually translates as rural, conservative and maximally differentiated, and *bad* as urban, innovative and minimally differentiated.

The problematic status of Scots has implications for the registers in which its use is considered appropriate. Part of the problem is that Scots has no agreed standard form. (*Lallans*, otherwise known as *Plastic/Synthetic Scots* was a twentieth-century attempt to establish a literary Standard Scots, but it has not been widely adopted.)

The ambiguous status of these varieties also has an impact on how they are regarded within the context of world Englishes. McArthur's (1987) Circle of world English places Scots on a par with ScE as a variety of British English, whereas Görlach's (1990) Circle places ScE alongside English English, Welsh English, and

Irish English as a variety of British English, but isolates Scots outside the Circle with varieties such as Anglo-Romani and Tok Pisin, thus emphasising the discreteness of Scots from ScE.

5   Characteristics of Present-Day Scottish English Varieties

Clearly, it is not possible to give an exhaustive account of the features associated with the range of ScE varieties across the continuum. What follows is a brief summary of some of the most important features of ScE. It should be noted that some features have varying distributions across the continuum.

5.1   *Phonological characteristics*

5.1.1   Consonants   The ScE consonants are /p b t d k g f θ v ð s z ʃ ʒ x ʍ h tʃ dʒ r l m n ŋ w/ (Stuart-Smith 2004). The Scottish pronunciation of consonants is largely the same as for most other accents of English. The following features are noted as typical of ScE, although, of course, some are shared with other accents.

Perhaps the most obvious distinguishing phonological feature of ScE is its rhoticity – retention of postvocalic /r/ in words such as *car*. The precise realization of this phoneme varies and there is some evidence that these realizations are altering (see Lawson, Stuart-Smith, & Scobbie 2008; Lawson, Scobbie, & Stuart-Smith 2014; Stuart-Smith 2003, 2004; Johnston 1997 for details). Although this is a feature which strongly marks Scottish speakers out from the majority of English speakers in the British Isles (note that Irish English retains its rhoticity as do some dialectal varieties of English English), rhoticity is a feature which is found in some other world Englishes (Abercrombie 1979), being shared with many but not all varieties of American English, and with most varieties of Canadian English (see Chapter 4 in this volume).

Two extra phonemes, the velar fricative /x/ as in *loch*, which is generally realised as /k/ elsewhere in the English-speaking world (except in self-conscious pronunciation of loanwords from Gaelic, Scots and some other languages), and the voiceless bilabial fricative /ʍ/ which allows Scottish speakers to distinguish easily between *Wales* and *whales* are found in most Scottish accents. Again, there is some evidence (Johnston 1997; Macafee 1983; Stuart-Smith 2003, 2004) that these traditionally Scottish phonemes may be undergoing erosion or modification for some (especially urban) speakers. In North-East Scots dialects, <wh> is often pronounced /f/ instead of /ʍ/ giving examples such as *fit* and *fan* instead of *what* and *when*.

T-glottalling (realization of /t/ as [ʔ]) is common in ScE, as in other accents of English, and has long been a stereotype of Glaswegian speech. There is evidence that young working-class speakers use more widespread UK variants such as TH- and DH-fronting (Corbett & Stuart-Smith 2012).

It is thought that there may be some differences in the distribution of voiced and voiceless fricatives compared with some other varieties of English – for example, *roofs* may be pronounced /rufs/ rather than /ruvz/, and *dwarves* as /dwɔrfs/ instead of /dwɔrvz/.

Stuart-Smith (2004: 63) notes that in ScE "the secondary articulation of /l/ tends to be dark in all positions of the word." Some working-class speakers may exhibit L-vocalization (Corbett & Stuart-Smith 2012).

5.1.2 Vowels   The vowels within ScE are /i ɪ e ɛ a o ɔ ʉ ʌ əi ae oe ʌʉ/ (Stuart-Smith 2004). ScE pronunciation (as with other British English accents) is often compared with that of the British English reference accent Received Pronunciation (RP). ScE has fewer vowel contrasts than RP, and a comparison shows differences in vowel distributions in certain words.

ScE's retention of postvocalic /r/ has meant that it maintains certain distinctions not found in varieties of English that have lost postvocalic /r/; for example, in ScE realizations of *soared* /sord/, *sword* /sɔrd/, and *sawed* /sɔd/ (RP, and nearly all English-English accents, have /sɔːd/ for all three).

Most varieties of ScE show a three-way distinction between /ɪ/, /ʌ/ and /ɛ/, for example in *pit*, *putt*, and *pet*.

Whilst RP has a distinction between *cot* /ɒ/ and *caught* /ɔː/, ScE realises both using the same vowel /ɔ/.

Whilst RP and most English-English accents distinguish /ʊ/ (a vowel absent from ScE) and /uː/ for *pull* and *pool* respectively, ScE uses the same vowel /ʉ/ for both.

The Great Vowel Shift did not proceed as far in Scotland as it did in the south (for example, Scots retains the /ʉ/ vowel in words like *hoose* 'house').

Some varieties of English, such as RP, have phonemic vowel length. ScE does not. ScE does, however, have its own system of context-dependent allophonic vowel length, explained by the Scottish Vowel Length Rule (SVLR), which is usually considered to distinguish ScE from other Englishes. All varieties of ScE operate the SVLR to some extent (Aitken 1981b). The vowels in Scottish pronunciations of *hit* /ɪ/ and *hut* /ʌ/ are always short. Some commentators, including McMahon (1991, 1994) and Scobbie, Hewlett, and Turk (1999), suggest that /ɛ/ is also short. In most varieties of ScE, the length of the other vowels can be predicted according to their phonetic and morphological conditions using the SVLR. Vowels are long before /r/ and voiced fricatives, that is, /v/, /ð/, /z/, /ʒ/, and also before word or morpheme boundaries; in other environments, they are short. For example, in ScE a length distinction can be noted between the vowels in *leaf* [lif] and *leave* [liːv] and *ceased* [sist] and *seized* [siːzd]. However, it should be stressed that the situation is rather complicated. Not all varieties of ScE operate the SVLR to the same degree. Scobbie et al. (1999) suggest differences between Scots and ScSE in its operation and question the vowels affected. McClure (1994) discusses modifications to the implementation of the SVLR in different regional varieties of SC. Agutter (1988) compares ScSE with RP and queries whether the SVLR is a defining feature of Scottish speech at all. Clearly, more research is required.

5.2   *Grammatical differences*

This is a complex area, and Miller (1993, 2003), Miller and Brown (1982), Macafee (1992), Beal (1997), Purves (2002), and Corbett (2014) are recommended as further reading. In the written and spoken modes, the past tense and past participle (marked by *-ed* in Standard English) in regular verbs are indicated variously by *-it*, *-d* and *-t* depending on regional and phonological factors. Present participle endings may be *-in* or *-ing*. The *-and* ending survives in pockets. ScE has a three-way deictic system in demonstratives (*this*, *that*, *thon/yon*). The diminutive suffix *–ie* is common and fairly productive, for example, *wifie* 'woman' (derogatory); *mannie* 'man' in the North-East. Some irregular plurals survive, for example, *een* 'eyes', *shuin* 'shoes', *kye* 'cows', although Miller (2003) suggests many of these are dying out. In ScE, the definite article is used in some contexts where Standard English has no determiner, for example, with illnesses (*the cold*), with institutions (*the school, the hospital*), and with periods of time (*the day* 'today'). There is some evidence that the ScE modal system is also distinctive, with modal auxiliaries having rather different distributions in ScE than in other British English varieties. In both the written and spoken modes we find a characteristic formation of negatives *(-nae* and *–na* enclitic, or freestanding *no* forms) and also distinctive modifications of some modal and auxiliary verbs such as *winna/willna(e) = will + -na(e); dinna(e) = do + -na(e).*

5.3   *Distinctive lexis*

Because ScE shares much of its linguistic heritage with English English, it is not surprising that these varieties share significant amounts of "common core" vocabulary arising from their shared Old English ancestry and shared Old Norse and French loanwords. As we have already noted, Old Norse had a greater impact on Scottish varieties, and this can be seen in significant numbers of distinctive Scots lexical items. ScE also has uniquely Scottish loans from other languages, including a few from Gaelic.

Two further characteristic features of Scots lexis must be mentioned; first, that Scottish lexis can be heavily regionalized (e.g. the little finger is *crannie* in the North-East but *pinkie* elsewhere in Scotland), and second, that Scots lacks an agreed spelling system, even though there have been numerous attempts to recommend certain spellings based on criteria such as etymology and phonology. The same word may be spelled in a variety of ways, depending on a range of factors, such as the date of the text, its regional origins, or simply the writer's preference, although there are certain spelling conventions which are quite widely used.

Much has been written on the erosion of Scots lexis (Macafee 2003; McColl Millar 2014), and there has undeniably been significant attrition in many semantic areas. One of the biggest problems has been the lack of generation of Scots vocabulary for technical and learned registers. Thus, in many situations, the language finds itself out of step with the world in which it exists and so we have a seemingly inexorable shift towards integration with the more English end of the continuum. However,

that said, the urban Scots varieties such as Glaswegian are to some extent lexically innovative, although many purists feel that this is not "true" or "good" Scots.

For those wishing to investigate Scottish lexis further, primary resources are the well-respected Scots dictionaries such as *A Dictionary of the Older Scots Tongue (DOST)* (Craigie et al. 1937-2002), which includes the full vocabulary of the language from the twelfth century to 1700 and makes no attempt to restrict entries to specifically Scottish words or senses; *The Scottish National Dictionary (SND)* (Grant & Murison 1931–1976), which covers the period 1700 to the present day and concentrates only on those items which are distinct from Standard English; *The Dictionary of the Scots Language (DSL)* (Rennie 2004), an online searchable resource combining the data from *DOST* and *SND* (plus supplements); and *The Concise Scots Dictionary (CSD)* (Robinson 1985), a digest of *SND* and *DOST.*

6   Scottish English – Looking to the Future

What does the future hold for ScE? ScSE seems secure; the future of Scots may be less so. Scots has always been strongest in literature, but there are indications that it could once again extend into other domains. Modern Scottish writers, such as Irvine Welsh (whose novel *Trainspotting*, later made into a film, received recognition well beyond the Scottish local market) and James Kelman, enjoy huge popularity and/or critical acclaim, and incorporate representations of modern, thin urban SC. In Scottish literature, with one or two exceptions, Scots has traditionally been restricted to the "safe" confines of the dialogue of selected characters, but, significantly, these writers sometimes also allow it to pervade the wider narrative. Like many others before them, including Burns, they are playing with the extra stylistic possibilities afforded by the ScE linguistic continuum. And yet, the Itchy Coo imprint, established in 2002 as "a best-selling, award-winning … imprint which specialises in Scots Language books for children and young people" (Itchy Coo n.d.), continues to go from strength to strength, with some 40 titles, all written in SC.

In academe, we have seen the establishment of significant new research tools: the Scottish Corpus of Texts and Speech (n.d.; discussed by Douglas 2003) and the Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing, attempts to set up an Institute for the Languages of Scotland (ILS Standing Committee 2003) and even academic papers published in Scots (see Kirk & Ó Baoill 2000-2003). The Scottish Government now provides grant funding for both Scottish Language Dictionaries and the Scots Language Centre.

But it is in the political realm that we have seen the most significant changes for Scots in recent years. (See Unger 2013 for detailed analysis.) In the wake of the inauguration of the Scottish Parliament in 1999, a Cross-Party Group for the Scots Language was established, and attempts were made to develop an "official public" Scots (Corbett & Douglas 2003) in McGugan (2003) and Donati, Hendry, Robertson, and Scott (2003). Scots was recognised as a "minority language" in 2003 by the former European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, something that should have improved its status, but activists argued that the UK government showed little

commitment to upholding the treaty for SC. In 2009, the Scottish Government published an Audit of Current Scots Language Provision in Scotland (Evans 2009) and organised a national conference to debate key issues. The same year, the Scottish Government established a Ministerial Working Group on the Scots language, which published a report of its recommendations on St. Andrew's Day 2010, calling for legislative, educational, and cultural reforms to further the cause of SC. 2010 also saw the publication of the research findings of the study on "Public Attitudes Towards the Scots Language" (Scottish Government Social Research 2010), and the third monitoring report on the status of minority languages in the UK; the latter commented on positive developments for the Scots language and called for it to be supported as a community language (European Charter on Minority and Regional Languages 2010). After many years of determined campaigning by language activists, the 2011 Census was the first to collect data on the understanding and use of Scots by the people of Scotland.

In 2011, the Scottish Nationalist Party gained an overall majority in the Scottish Government and put the question of independence for Scotland firmly on the political agenda. Though hard fought, impassioned, and at times bitterly confrontational, the "Yes" and "No" campaigns were largely silent on the matter of Scots language issues; presumably, other matters were felt to be of more pressing national importance. Ironically, the most high-profile role for Scots during the campaign was the rather tongue-in-cheek use of *aye* 'yes', *naw* 'no', and *mibbe* 'maybe' as shorthand slogans of political allegiance, curiously fitting linguistic practice for a nation that has traditionally had such complex and conflicted relationships with its own language.

But clearly change is afoot in Scotland. Will that change lead to long-term changes in the status and usage of Scots? To borrow from the words of the referendum campaign: "Mibbes aye; mibbes naw."

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Second Diaspora

3 English in the United States

EDGAR W. SCHNEIDER

1 Introduction: American English in the context of World Englishes

American English is an Inner Circle variety (Kachru 1985) and one of two major "reference accents" of global English; as such, it has been a relevant but not a prominent topic in the field of World Englishes, which is more concerned with Outer Circle and Expanding Circle varieties. However, viewing it in this perspective definitely makes sense, given that centuries ago American English began as the first of Britain's colonial (and later postcolonial) offspring, and it went through the same process of linguistic and cultural appropriation that has shaped other postcolonial varieties and has been described in the "dynamic model of Postcolonial Englishes" (Schneider 2003, 2007) – it is also a product of the colonial expansion of the British Empire in much the same way as the Englishes of, say, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. In comparison with these and other world Englishes, a longer time depth in association with sociopolitical developments is responsible for its character as a more influential and "stable" variety which by now has completed the entire developmental cycle of emerging varieties.[1] On the other hand, a history of in-migration has contributed to a blurring of the distinction between L1 and L2 varieties and the importance of effects of language contact not that much different from Outer Circle and other Englishes. More than others Mufwene (1996, 2001) has emphasized the fact that (white) American English has been shaped by language contact and essentially the same processes as African-American English and other "disenfranchised Englishes" (2001: 106).

2   Settlement history and the dialectal diffusion of American English

The distinctive nature and the varieties of English in North America are a product of the continent's settlement history, with individual accents and dialects having resulted from unique mixtures of settlers from different regions of the British Isles and elsewhere and their ways of speaking.[2]

As is well known, the first English-speaking permanent settlers founded the South Atlantic colonies (beginning with Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607) and New England (where the Mayflower landed the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620). Many of them were Puritans and came as religious dissenters, not because of poverty; their region of origin was primarily southern England. For generations these colonies maintained relatively strong political and cultural ties with their mother country, which is why the accents of New England and the South share relatively prominent linguistic features with southern British English, and to some extent with one another. Examples include the nonrealization of a postvocalic /r/, which in conservative New England and Southern accents is not pronounced in words like *car*, *card*, *four*, and *fourth*; the retention of /j/ in *tune* or *new*, or the "Boston a" in *half* and *rather*.[3] From the original bridgeheads via urban hearths like Boston, MA, Richmond, VA, and then Charleston, SC, such accents took root in these regions, in accordance with Mufwene's Founder Principle (Mufwene 2001). Eastern New England has continued this tradition largely to the present day: with important cultural centers and economic prosperity through trade, whaling and later early industrialization those who had established themselves there saw little reason to leave, so linguistically and culturally the region is somewhat different from the rest of the US. Similarly, a conservative and aristocratic plantation culture with a distinctive accent and culture established itself in the coastal South and expanded along the South Atlantic plains into Georgia. The downside of this culture was the infamous institution of slavery, with Africans having been forcibly brought to the region as early as in the late seventeenth century and, in large numbers, throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Later waves of immigrants in the seventeenth century came through mid-Atlantic ports, where the Quakers had established themselves in Pennsylvania, and their religious tolerance made the location attractive for many newcomers. Unlike the early wave, a majority of them came from northern and western England, Scotland, and also Ireland, and they tended to be of less affluent origins. Hence, very broadly it can be stated that a mixture of the working-class speech from these regions constituted the basis of colonial mid-Atlantic American speech, which later, after the colonial period, became the basis for the mainstream, inland-northern and western type of American English.

When eighteenth-century immigrants found the best lands along the coast taken, and hostile Indians and the earlier presence of the French prevented straight westward movement, settlements spread with a strong southwestern

bend into the Great Valley of the Appalachian mountains. Many of these settlers were so-called Ulster Scots, labeled Scotch-Irish in the US, who found the landscape, climate and economic possibilities in the mountains familiar and favorable and thus rooted their culture and language features there (with linguistic traces like "positive *anymore*" to be still observed in the region today; see Montgomery 2006).

The 1803 Louisiana purchase, followed by the Lewis and Clark expedition, ultimately opened the inland and western parts of the continent for westward expansion and the continuous spread of the region settled by British and European immigrants. A deplorable consequence of this process was the cruel fate of the Native American population, who were continuously driven out of their homelands, decimated, and relocated forcefully. The Great Lakes Area and the Upper Mississippi region were settled predominantly by people from the inland northern parts of the original colonies, from western New England and upstate New York. Throughout much of the nineteenth century new lands further west were being taken, a process advanced by historical events like the building of the transcontinental railroad, the California gold rush of 1848–1849, or the admission of Texas to the Union in 1845.

Linguistically, the opening up of the Midwest and West can be characterized as a continuous and increasing process of mixing and blending of people with different regional origins and of the accents they brought with them. Dialect contact resulted in koinéization, the emergence of a middle-of-the-road variety in which extreme dialectal forms (which, being used by only a minority, were communicatively inefficient) tended to be rubbed off, so American English has frequently been perceived as surprisingly homogeneous – a view which, however, may also be challenged. It is true that along the east coast, dialect differences between the various regions are strongest, and the further west we move the less conspicuous speech differences become. On the other hand, scholarship has shown and speakers know that even in the West there are significantly different regional and local speechways.

Schneider's (2007: 251–308) extensive survey of the history of American English in the light of the "dynamic model" suggests that the "foundation phase" began with the earliest settlements and was followed by the extended "exonormative stabilization" period when the earliest colonies were established and the influential early colonial cities founded (after c. 1670, the foundation year of Charleston, SC). The third phase of nativization, with the variety beginning to distinctly go its own ways, was triggered by the independence movement in the mid-1770s, and gave way to "endonormative stabilization" with the end of the independence wars and the beginnings of the westward expansion, lasting throughout the nineteenth century. After 1898, the year of the Spanish-American War, when the US entered the world scene and began to grow into its superpower role, the country's stability allowed the onset of phase 5, "differentiation," with its recent emphasis on distinct regional and ethnic dialects as group identity markers.

3   Research history

3.1   Lexicography

The early American settlers were faced with radically new experiences and objects, and to meet the need to designate these they either borrowed or coined new words. By the eighteenth century such "Americanisms" abounded, and lexicographers, most notably the patriotic Noah Webster, began to record and emphasize the lexical distinctiveness of American English – it is interesting to see that this "linguistic declaration of independence" followed the political separation of the United States from her British mother country. Webster's influence, in his famous "blue-backed speller" (*The American Spelling Book*, first published in 1783), of which during the nineteenth century 100 million copies were sold, and then in his monumental 1828 *American Dictionary of the English Language* contributed substantially to an awareness and the solidification of such lexical differences, and so for a long time the search for and documentation of Americanisms remained an essential component of the scholarly study of American English. Two mid-twentieth-century scholarly dictionaries epitomize these activities: Craigie and Hulbert (1938–1944) document the American vocabulary, understood broadly as things American including British survivals associated with American culture, in the philological fashion of the OED, while Mathews (1951) narrowed his definition of Americanisms to words of American origin only.

Dialect words have been the second major object of American lexicography. The American Dialect Society, founded in 1899, pursued the explicit goal of supporting the compilation of an American Dialect Dictionary equivalent to Joseph Wright's English work, and the realization of that goal was seen in the second half of last century. Directed originally by the late Frederic G. Cassidy, the monumental *Dictionary of American Regional English (DARE)* project, based upon both a reading program along OED lines and a 50-state lexical dialect survey, now provides systematic coverage of words and expressions which are not in general use in the US, in that they are restricted to certain regions or ethnic groups (Cassidy, Hall, von Schneidemesser et al. 1985–2013). Another landmark of regional lexicography, focusing on the conservative southeastern mountain dialect region, is Montgomery and Hall (2004).

3.2   Dialect geography

Building upon earlier European dialect atlas models, in the late 1920s an initiative was launched to systematically collect data for a projected "Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada," to be directed by Hans Kurath. Because of the vastness of the region and the limitation of resources this project has never materialized as such but was broken down into a series of smaller, regional Linguistic Atlas projects. Methodologically, trained interviewers selected representative informants from regionally scattered localities and recorded their responses to a predetermined questionnaire of several hundred phonological, lexical, and morphological questions in fine phonetic notation, so that in the

end millions of individual responses were put together as maps or lists (see Atwood 1963). By the end of the 1930s Kurath finished and published the *Linguistic Atlas of New England* (*LANE*), the model project for many to follow, and organized field work along the entire east coast for the *Linguistic Atlas of the Middle and South Atlantic States* (*LAMSAS*), a project whose data have been computerized and are still being analyzed by means of sophisticated statistical methods (Kretzschmar & Schneider 1996 and Kretzschmar 2009, as well as recent work by Kretzschmar and others). A series of similar projects followed, to cover almost the entire continent (Kretzschmar 2005). The most recent, and in many ways most modern (using audio recording and computerization technology from the outset) addition is the *Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States* (*LAGS*; Pederson 1986–1991), which details the South, the most distinctive dialect region of the US.

Based upon lexical data from *LANE* and *LAMSAS*, Kurath (1949) postulated the now classic regional division of American dialects into three main dialect regions (North – Midland – South), with several subregions and the general proviso that the distinction is likely to get weaker or disappear the further west one moves. Atwood (1953) and Kurath and McDavid (1961) found this division confirmed on the basis of morphological and phonological data, respectively. Using lexical data from *DARE*, Carver (1987) was the first and only author so far to challenge this threefold division, arguing instead for a binary distinction into North and South only. However, on closer investigation the differences between both areal classifications are minor, essentially a matter of categorization and conceptualization: Kurath had observed "North Midland" and "South Midland" subdivisions which in Carver's book resurface as "Lower North" and "Upper South," respectively. Essentially, it seems clear that in terms of regional dialects American English shows two core areas, the North and the South, and a broad transition band in between.

3.3   Sociolinguistics

William Labov's classic study of New York City pronunciation (1966) and other work from that period (Labov 1972) founded a new subdiscipline of linguistics, the systematic study of sociolinguistic variation and change. Like dialectologists before him (who had already sampled speakers from different social strata), Labov's goal was to study the down-to-earth intricacies of real-life speech, but he was more interested in the social dimension of speech variability and in the theoretical modeling of why languages vary and how this affects language change (Labov 1994–2010). He developed new methods and concepts to reach these goals: the tape-recorded "sociolinguistic interview," with free conversation meant to stimulate informants to converse freely and without much effect of the "observer's paradox," in which then the realizations ("variants") of predetermined variables are looked for and interpreted, using quantifying methodology. Typically, the frequency of certain variants is correlated with dimensions like social class, gender, age, and also style. Adopting and

developing this methodology, sociolinguists such as Labov, Walt Wolfram, Guy Bailey, and many others have since investigated numerous communities across the US, usually interpreting a limited number of variables in the light of specific hypotheses of language variation and change.[4]

Labov and his followers detected and investigated a vigorously ongoing sound change, the "Northern Cities Shift," broadly to be characterized as a clockwise rotation of the short (checked) vowels, which is far advanced among young speakers in many inland-northern urban areas (Labov 1994: 177–201). They carried out a new and large-scale dialect survey project of the entire US known as the "Telsur" ("telephone survey") project with the aim of documenting regional sound systems and sound changes on a broad, national basis. The result of this is the phonological *Atlas of North American English* (Labov, Ash, & Boberg 2006), a multimedia product which thoroughly analyzes and exemplifies an immense number of audio data from across the US. Condensing this wealth of information into a new regional division of American English, Labov basically confirms Kurath's three main areas (with the South expanding more widely into the Midlands than previously assumed) and adds a fourth one, the West. He finds that while the North, the South, and the West have fairly homogeneous vowel systems and patterns of change, the Midland is characterized by extreme diversity, a residual region where individual cities have developed dialect patterns of their own (cf. Murray & Simon 2006).

4   American English and its varieties

Typically American English is seen as against British English, and distinguishing features on the levels of phonology, lexis, orthography, and grammar tend to be juxtaposed in list form in textbooks. For example, American versus British choices are reported to include the lexical items *gas* (vs. *petrol*), *fall* (vs. *autumn*), *railroad* (vs. *railway*), etc.; the pronunciations /æ/ (vs. /ɑː/) in *dance*, *grass*, or *can't*, unrounded /ɑ/ (vs. /ɒ/) in *lot* or *dollar*, and postvocalic /-r/ in *car*, *card*, and so on; on the grammatical level, *have* (vs. *have got*) for possession, *will* (vs. *shall*) for first-person future reference, and a more liberal use of the past (for the present perfect) tense; and spellings like *theater*, *honor*, *recognize*, and *plow* (vs. *theatre*, *honour*, *recognise*, *plough*). Much of this requires qualification and a more careful phrasing, however: not infrequently "American" words or pronunciations exist in Britain as well but are constrained to the status of regional dialect forms, stylistically marked choices, or slightly different usage conditions.[5] American innovations are being adopted in British speech as well.

Thus, it is necessary to look into dialects: American English is anything but homogeneous – the notion encompasses not only a rich array of regional forms and some social variation but also, and increasingly so, ethnic varieties shaped by effects of language contact and differential degrees of integration of generations of immigrants into the American mainstream culture.[6]

4.1 Regional dialects

Regional dialect differences primarily depend upon different pronunciation patterns and lexical choices. Obviously, the spread of individual forms varies from the strictly local to elements which set off larger dialect regions from adjacent ones. Linguistic atlas data and publications and many other sources provide ample illustration of such variants; for reasons of space I restrict myself to pointing out some of the best-known characteristics of three large regions. The inland northern region, extending westward from western New England into the Great Lakes area, comes closest to an "unmarked" accent globally perceived as "typically American." The Midlands are essentially a transition region with a small number of features of their own and an increasing number of northern or southern features the further one progresses in the respective direction.

New England pronunciation is most strongly characterized by the lack of a postvocalic /r/ and by a low [a] in words like *bath*, *glass*, or *aunt* (known popularly as the "Boston a"). Conservative dialects from the eastern part of the region maintain a distinction between the vowels in *Mary* ([e:]), *merry* ([ɛ]), and *marry* ([æ]). Lexical items characteristic of the region include *pail* 'bucket', *darning needle* 'dragonfly', *angleworm* 'earthworm', *grinder* 'submarine sandwich', and *rotary* 'traffic circle.'

Southern English, the topic of much recent research (e.g. Nagle & Sanders 2003), is clearly the most distinctive of all American dialects, also a product of a strong regional identity. Well-known features include the so-called "Southern drawl" (a lengthening and breaking tendency of vowels, as in [ɪə] in *bit*)[7], lack of rhoticity (now recessive), the monophthongization of /aɪ/ (e.g. time [ta:m]; generally before voiced consonants and in free position, with regional and social restrictions before voiceless consonants), homophony of mid and high front vowels before nasals (known as *pin/pen*-merger), the second-person plural pronoun *y'all*, double modals like *might could*, an inceptive future *fixin' to*, and words such as *light bread*, *pulley bone* 'wishbone', *mosquito hawk* 'dragonfly', *granny woman* 'midwife', or *jackleg* 'unprofessional, dishonest'. It is interesting to see that some traditional features of Southern English are now being given up while new regional shibboleths are emerging. Bailey (1997) claimed that Southern English originated as late as the post-Reconstruction period after the loss of the Civil War, as a deliberate means of strengthening Southerners' regional identity against outside political dominance – a hypothesis which was recently challenged, or at least modified, by Montgomery, Ellis, and Cooper (2014).

English as spoken in the West lacks salient characteristics but is regarded as prestigious nationwide. The low back vowels of *lot* and *thought* are merged, and high back vowels as in *goose* or *foot* are frequently fronted. Younger California speakers tend to lower their lax front vowels (so *six* sounds like *sex*, *sex* like *sax*, and *sax* like *socks*; cf. Gordon 2004). Regional words include borrowings like *canyon* or *corral* and coinages like *parking strip* or *chippie* 'woman considered to have loose morals' (Carver 1987).

4.2   Social dialects

Numerous sociolinguistic studies from many locations, urban and rural, have yielded insights into some principles governing speech variability and have identified a few robust distributional tendencies. Obviously, the familiar pyramid-shape of dialectal variation applies: the higher a speaker's social status, and the more formal a speech situation, the less likely dialectal forms are, and vice versa. Women have widely been found to be leading in linguistic changes, that is, to adopt and spread linguistic innovations more rapidly than males. While the use of regional words carries no stigma and certain traces of regional accents are acceptable also among upper-class speakers (consider recent US presidents from the South), nonstandard grammatical phenomena (like multiple negation, the use of *ain't* or preverbal *done*, nonconcord copula forms, or nonstandard relativization) are socially stigmatized but hardly regionally diagnostic.

Recent research has tended to emphasize the indexicality of linguistic, notably sociophonetic, choices, that is, the fact that by speaking in a certain way speakers actively express their identities and their social affiliations (Eckert 2000)

4.3   Ethnic varieties

Immigration has continued to shape the linguistic landscape of the US, and many ethnic varieties are products of language contact, frequently involving language shift on the side of a minority group from an erstwhile ethnic language to the dominant one, English – modifying the latter in this process. The best-known case in point, African-American English (AAE), is discussed in Chapter 18 of this volume (see also Lanehart, Green, & Bloomquist 2015). Ethnic variation also raises a number of questions concerning conflicting identities, varying discourse conventions, or intercultural communication (Fought 2006).

Relatively little attention has been devoted to the English of Native Americans, which varies from speech with no discernible "accent" to contact varieties (cf. Leap 1993; Rowicka 2005). Distinctive features seem to lie less in transfer of phonology or grammar (possibly with the exception of some special patterns of tense use) than on the pragmatic level (expressions of respect and politeness, discourse organization, etc.). Lumbee English in North Carolina has been shown to feature distinctive vocabulary (e.g. *ellick* 'coffee', *sorry in the world* 'badly') and grammar (finite *be*, as in *She bes there*, and *I'm* for *I've*, as in *I'm been there*) (Wolfram, Dannenberg, Knick, & Oxendine 2002).

Demographic changes and migration effects give special prominence to Hispanic varieties of English. Some work has been done on Puerto Ricans in New York City and very little on Cuban immigrants in Miami, while the "Chicano English" of descendants of Mexican immigrants is fairly well researched (Fought 2003; Santa Ana & Bayley 2004). Characteristic features include some aspects of pronunciation (e.g. strongly monophthongal vowels) and several prosodic phenomena (e.g. a different system of vowel reduction and distinctive intonation contours).

Cajun English is spoken in Louisiana, predominantly by younger speakers who, two generations after the language shift from French to English, sense a loss of their cultural heritage and have fueled a "Cajun Renaissance." Features include high rates of final consonant deletion (not only in clusters), the monophthongization of diphthongs, lack of aspiration in word-initial stops, and "heavy nasalization," also of consonants (Dubois & Horvath 2004).

Further linguistic research would also be required concerning the linguistic integration of Asian immigrant groups. Except for some work on Vietnamese English, hardly anything has been done in that area.

4.4   *Homogeneity and variability, identity and change*

Due to the relatively strong degree of mixing, mutual accommodation, and koinéization that occurred during the colonial period and even more strongly in the phase of westward expansion, American English has traditionally been perceived as relatively homogeneous, at least in comparison with British dialects. Based on limited factual evidence, Krapp (1925) coined and the phonetician Kenyon disseminated the notion of "General American," which became popular during the 1930s and can still be found cited in some sources today, to refer to a putatively homogeneous normative type of American English (in practice, it probably meant accents not distinctively New England or Southern). However, dialect geographers like Kurath, Atwood, and others strongly opposed this notion, arguing that there is no nationally uniform standard accent of American English and that on closer investigation American dialects show a great deal of phonetic, lexical and grammatical variability. This assessment is based on the voluminous atlas evidence and has been confirmed by works like Frazer (1993), which shows how much variability there exists even in the "Heartland," a region where speakers believe that they "have no accent."

Thus, in line with phase 5 as postulated by Schneider (2003, 2007) in the emergence of postcolonial Englishes, American English has transcended the stage of emphasizing homogeneity and proceeded to increasing diversification, both regional and social. In other words, not only culturally but also linguistically the traditional "melting pot" metaphor, assuming that immigrants have been assimilated to join a mainstream culture, is now giving way, if only gradually, to a "salad bowl" conceptualization, in which individual groups remain recognizable through the retention of ethnolinguistic characteristics. This becomes all the more apparent considering the "divergence hypothesis" of African-American English (AAE) (e.g. Bailey & Maynor 1989) and comparable dissociating trends affecting other ethnic, regional, and social varieties. It is noteworthy that varieties as diverse as AAE, Chicano English, Cajun English, Southern English, and the "brogue" of Ocracoke, NC (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1997) have all been stated to be products of recent strengthening processes of locally or ethnically based group identities.

5 The growing impact of American English on other world Englishes

The vast majority of Outer Circle world Englishes are products of British colonialism, and traditionally in these countries British English and RP used to be regarded as the linguistic norm and target of education. Only two such varieties are American derived, namely those of the Philippines and of Liberia. Today, however, an increasing impact of American English on practically all varieties of English around the globe can be observed, manifested in American-influenced lexical choices or also in certain pronunciations.[8] So far the evidence for this phenomenon is largely anecdotal, though the process is referred to repeatedly, and an increasing body of evidence is accumulating from various countries.

The reasons for this growing impact of American English are also underresearched, though it is possible to make plausible educated guesses. Clearly it results from the growing exposure to and the great prestige of American English. Prestige is of course associated with people, so this is a consequence of the dominant role the United States plays politically and economically in the global context; a certain ambivalence can be sensed here in many contexts (via the spread of American popular culture, the practice of adopting American ways of speaking is taken up by some who, presumably subconsciously, regard this as fashionable and symbolizing modernity, high status, and an international orientation, but it is resisted by others who fear a loss of local identities and traditions).[9] Exposure reflects the global dominance of the American media and music industries, with Hollywood movies being shown and American TV serials being aired (frequently undubbed) on all continents, and it results from the modern facilities for travel and personal contact (tourism, business travel, also student exchange, and, increasingly so, the Internet).

Of course, the impact of American English on other world Englishes varies from one region to another and is difficult to generalize, but some broader statements can be made. Words travel easily, so the majority of new Americanisms used elsewhere are on the lexical level. Words which seem to be spreading widely and rapidly include *gas*, *guy(s)*, *Hi*, *movie*, *truck*, *Santa (Claus)*, and *station wagon*, and adolescent slang and fashion terms like *man* as a form of address, *cool* meaning "very good," or the "new quotative" *be like* to introduce direct speech. To this may be added older words which have been internationalized so strongly that their American origin may no longer be recognized in many communities, like *radio* (for older British *wireless*), *commute*, *fan*, *star*, *know-how*, *break even*, or *let's face it* (Gordon & Deverson 1998: 112). As to pronunciation, rhoticity and "jod-deletion" in words like *new*, *tune* are widely perceived as "American" and may be adopted for this effect; and for certain words putatively American pronunciations are getting more widespread, including *research* stressed on the first and *primarily* on the second syllable, *schedule* with /sk-/, *lieutenant* with /lu:-/, etc. The spelling *center* is

clearly preferred over *centre* outside specifically British spheres of influence, and *program* rather than *programme* is also used widely, not only in computing contexts. On the level of syntax, *hopefully* used as a sentence adverbial and patterns like *do you have* seem to be diffusing from the US. American influence can even modify the meaning of words, as in the case of *billion*, which now means "a thousand million" rather than "a million million" even in Britain (Peters 2004: 72).

To refer to just a few more exemplary studies: For Australian English, Taylor (1989, 2001: 324–327) reports some examples and quotes reactions, including fairly emotional and hostile ones, to the perceived "American invasion" of Australian English. Similarly, for New Zealand English Gordon and Deverson (1998) document and discuss a wide array of Americanisms on different language levels, and divided reactions to them. Igboanusi (2003) quotes some examples of "an influx of Americanisms into Nigerian English" (603) and refers to other sources attesting aspects of this process in several countries. Trüb (2008) investigates the amount of American English impact on South African English systematically by eliciting phonological, grammatical, and lexical data from both older and younger speakers and finds a clear increase of the amount of American choices in the younger generation. Schneider (2011) documents varying degrees of preferences for American as opposed to British English options on the levels of lexis, phraseology, and grammar in several Asian Englishes. As a typical example from the Expanding Circle, Edwards (2016: 98) observes that young, highly fluent Dutch speakers of English choose American English much more frequently as a model than British English.

Hence, it appears that American English is enjoying covert prestige in many countries and communities where British English is promoted as the "official" target norm, also in education. Certainly this has to be taken with a grain of salt and is likely to be sociolinguistically conditioned (preferred among the young, in informal contexts, and in association with certain topics and domains), but the process seems widespread and robust. It deserves more intensive investigation and systematic documentation.

6   Conclusion

As the statements in this chapter have shown, American English is anything but homogeneous; rather, the linguistic landscape of North America displays the kaleidoscope of accents, dialects, and linguistic features associated with both national unity and distinct group identities, which characterizes many modern societies. Thus, in a global perspective, it should not be viewed monolithically, as one of two reference varieties as opposed to British English, but rather as a vibrant set of varieties itself, language forms which internally are associated with distinct sociocultural identities and which globally interact with other world Englishes.

NOTES

1 Schneider (2007: chapter 6) describes its evolution as an example of "the cycle in hind-sight" (251).
2 For classic and general sources on American English, see Krapp (1925), Marckwardt (1958), Mencken (1963), and titles listed in the Further Readings section.
3 Some of these features are now conservative and being given up by the younger generation in these regions, especially in the South, who align themselves linguistically with newly prestigious western accents.
4 For a theoretical introduction, see Chambers (2003); for a methodological discussion, see Milroy and Gordon (2003); for case studies, see contributions to the journal *Language Variation and Change* or the annual NWAVE (New Ways of Analyzing Variation in English) conference series, available through the Internet and in conference volumes. Substantial theoretical and descriptive harvest is brought home by Labov (1994–2010).
5 Algeo (2006) provides an authoritative survey of the subtlety of the usage distinctions between both varieties. For a thorough investigation of grammatical differences, see Rohdenburg and Schlüter (2009).
6 The most comprehensive and systematic survey of the distinctive features of the major varieties of American English available to date is the set of contributions to Schneider (2008), a paperback which stems from the voluminous *Handbook* volumes of Schneider, Burridge, Kortmann, Mesthrie, and Upton (2004) for phonology and Kortmann, Burridge, Mesthrie, Schneider, and Upton (2004) for morphosyntax.
7 Cf. the local spelling *dawgs* for the University of Georgia football team.
8 Modiano (1996) argued that in continental Europe this process – a shift toward American forms starting out from an erstwhile British target orientation – has produced a "Mid-Atlantic English."
9 Cf. Gordon and Deverson (1998: 108): "However unwelcome the fact is to some, the entire English-speaking world … is currently under constant American cultural and linguistic bombardment." Trudgill (1998: 29) cites worries about what he calls the "Americanisation catastrophe."

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4   English in Canada

STEFAN DOLLINGER

1   Introduction

Canadian English (CE) is an Inner Circle variety of English that has been shaped in relation to American English and British English varieties since the early eighteenth century. In 1763, the French colony of New France was ceded to Britain, which laid the foundation of British North America spanning from the east to the west. In the aftermath of the American Revolution in 1776, thousands of Americans loyal to the British Crown relocated northwards and settled the land, a process that would take one and a half centuries.

Since 1969, Canada has been officially a bilingual nation in all areas of federal jurisdiction, with English and French being accorded equal status. This bilingual status is sometimes misinterpreted. As almost all French speakers are located in the Province of Quebec and its bordering regions in Ontario and New Brunswick, the practical implications for many Canadians are minimal. In Quebec, 77.1% of people report speaking French in their homes, while the rate outside of Quebec is only 2.7% (though up from 2.4% in 2011).[1] To complicate matters, since 1976, the Province of Quebec has been in all provincial matters monolingually French. In all other Canadian provinces English is the dominant language, as 84.2% of respondents report speaking English outside of Quebec at home, either alone or in combination with another language.

Monolingual English speakers amount to only 56% of the Canadian population of about 34.8 million in 2016, which puts Canada in a special situation within Inner Circle Englishes. French is the mother tongue of 20.6% of residents, a figure which has consistently seen percentile reductions in recent censuses (e.g. 21.7% in 2011), while mother-tongue speakers of nonofficial languages (i.e. neither English nor French) have been increasing and are now, at 21.1% for the first time in Canada's history, a bigger group than the population of French L1 speakers. In this respect,

the 2016 Census (Statistics Canada 2017) captured a watershed moment. Aboriginal languages are reported by 228,000 residents, up from 213,000 in 2011, which is an encouraging note in light of recent federal and provincial steps toward reconciliation with Canada's First Nations, Inuit, and Metis populations. Of the more than 200 languages reported as spoken most often at the home, 19 have more than 100,000 speakers (down from 22 in 2011). In Table 4.1 +/− marks an increase or decrease from the 2006 to 2011 census in terms of mother tongue[2]:

Table 4.1   Mother tongue speakers of more than 100,000 (2011 Census)[4].

Mother tongue	Population	+/−	Mother tongue	Population	+/−
1. Punjabi	460000	+25.2%	12. Urdu	194000	+28.8%
2. Chinese[3]	441000	−6.6%	13. Persian (Farsi)	177000	+32.5%
3. Spanish	439000	+32.4%	14. Russian	170000	+27.3%
4. Italian	438000	−5.2%	15. Vietnamese	153000	+3.3%
5. German	430000	+12.6%	16. Tamil	143000	+21.3%
6. Cantonese	389000	+3.0%	17. Korean	143000	+11.2%
7. Tagalog	384000	+64.1%	18. Ukrainian	120000	+8.7%
8. Arabic	374000	+46.8%	19. Greek	118000	−1.0%
9. Mandarin	255000	+50.4%	20. Dutch	116000	−10.1%
10. Portuguese	226000	+5.1%	21. Hindi	106000	+43.7%
11. Polish	201000	−3.8%	12. Gujarati	101000	+26.2%

A striking characteristic of the Canadian linguistic landscape is that 80% of speakers of immigrant languages (not English, French, or an Aboriginal language) live in Canada's six largest metropolitan areas (Toronto, Vancouver, Montreal, Calgary, Edmonton, and Ottawa). The trend in Canada's largest cities is toward an increasing use of nonofficial languages. In 2011, only 55% of Greater Toronto residents used only English in the home (in the 2001 census [Statistics Canada 2002]: 62.5%); in Greater Vancouver, 58% (in 2001: 65.3%); and in Montreal, the largest city in Quebec, 56.5% reported only French in the home (in 2001: 62.4). This means that speakers of nonofficial home languages are very large minorities in Canada's cities, 42% in Vancouver and 45% in Toronto (37.6% in Montreal), and are poised to increase their ratios further in the foreseeable future.

2   Research History

The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw the first mentions of a Canadian variety of English: Geikie (1857), as discussed below, Lighthall (1889), and Chamberlain (1890) are noteworthy. It was not until the 1930s (e.g. Ahrend 1934), when more systematic approaches emerged. The key research projects at the