

Edited by Daniel Schreier
and Marianne Hundt

English as a Contact Language



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English as a Contact Language

Recent developments in contact linguistics suggest considerable overlap of branches such as historical linguistics, variationist sociolinguistics, pidgin/creole linguistics, language acquisition, etc. This book highlights the complexity of contact-induced language change throughout the history of English by bringing together cutting-edge research from these fields. It focuses on recent debates surrounding substratal influence in earlier forms of English (particularly Celtic influence in Old English), on language shift processes (the formation of Irish and overseas varieties), but also on dialects in contact, the contact origins of Standard English, the notion of new epicentres in World English, the role of children and adults in language change as well as transfer and language learning. With contributions from leading experts, the book offers fresh and exciting perspectives for research while also providing an up-to-date overview of the state of the art in the respective fields.

DANIEL SCHREIER is Full Professor of English Linguistics in the English Department at the University of Zurich, Switzerland.

MARIANNE HUNDT is Full Professor of English Linguistics in the English Department at the University of Zurich, Switzerland.

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MARIANNE HUNDT

University of Zurich



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Contributors

David Britain,
Department of English Languages and Literatures, University of Bern

Jenny Cheshire,
Department of Linguistics, Queen Mary University of London

Olga Fischer,
Amsterdam Center for Language and Communication, University of
Amsterdam

Sue Fox,
Department of Linguistics, Queen Mary, University of London

Raymond Hickey,
Institute for Anglophone Studies, University of Duisburg and Essen

Marianne Hundt,
English Department, University of Zurich

Paul Kerswill,
Department of Language and Linguistic Science, University of York

Juhani Klemola,
School of Language, Translation and Literary Studies, University of Tampere

Christian Mair,
English Department, University of Freiburg

Rajend Mesthrie,
Department of English Language and Literature, University of Cape Town

Salikoko S. Mufwene,
Department of Linguistics, University of Chicago

Terence Odlin,
English Department, Ohio State University

Herbert Schendl,
Department of English, University of Vienna

Edgar W. Schneider,
English Department, University of Regensburg

Daniel Schreier,
English Department, University of Zurich

Sarah G. Thomason,
Department of Linguistics, University of Michigan

Eivind Torgersen,
Department for Teacher and Interpreter Education, Sør-Trøndelag University
College

Donald Winford,
Linguistics Department, Ohio State University

Walt Wolfram,
Department of English, North Carolina State University

Laura Wright,
Faculty of English, University of Cambridge

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1 Introduction: nothing but a contact language . . .

MARIANNE HUNDT AND DANIEL SCHREIER

This book has two major goals: to show that the English language has been contact-derived from its very beginnings onwards and to highlight the immense potential for the field of contact linguistics. We would like to start with four quotes on the origins of Old English:

In the year of our Lord 449, . . . the Angles, or Saxons . . . arrived in Britain with three long ships, and had a place assigned them to reside in by the same king, in the eastern part of the island . . . Those who came over were of the three most powerful nations of Germany, Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. From the Jutes are descended the people of Kent, and of the Isle of Wight, and those also in the province of the West Saxons who are to this day called Jutes, seated opposite to the Isle of Wight. From the Saxons, that is, the country which is now called Old Saxony, came the East Saxons, the South Saxons, and the West Saxons. From the Angles, that is, the country which is called Anglia, and which is said, from that time, to remain desert to this day, between the provinces of the Jutes and the Saxons, are descended the East Angles, the Midland Angles, Mercians, all the race of the Northumbrians, that is, of those nations that dwell on the north side of the river Humber, and the other nations of the English. (Venerable Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*; quoted in Graddol, Leith and Swann 1996: 44–5)

Old English dialect differences were slight as compared with those that were later to develop and nowadays sharply differentiate the speech of a lowland Scottish shepherd from that of his south-of-England counterpart. (Algeo and Pyles 2005: 94)

[W]e must get away from the idea of four more or less homogeneous and discrete speech-communities. (Hogg 1988: 189)

[T]he origins of the English dialects lie not in pre-migrational tribal affiliations but in certain social, economic, and cultural developments which occurred after the migration was completed. *This does not imply that the continental Germanic dialects are irrelevant to the genesis of English dialects . . . Only those influences, however, which were felt after the migrations were relevant to formation [sic] of the English dialects.* (DeCamp 1958: 232; emphasis added)

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These four quotes raise some important issues on the emergence and origins of the English language and thus serve as an ideal starting point to this volume. Following Sweet (1885), scholars have adhered to the idea that there were four major dialect areas in Old English (OE): Northumbrian, Mercian, Kentish and West Saxon, neatly divided and regionally separated by major waterways, the rivers Humber and Thames. Maps of OE dialects were placed in nearly every historical introduction of the English language and are reproduced in textbooks to the present day (e.g. Baugh and Cable 2002: 53; Barber 2005: 105). This common textbook view of the origins of English is closely related to the way that the notion of ‘language’ is commonly defined, namely with a strong sociopolitical grounding. In other words, the rather homogeneous kingdoms of Anglo-Saxon England (Wessex, Kent, Mercia and Northumbria) would also have been characterized by sociolinguistic unity, thus speaking various dialects (West Saxon, Kentish, Mercian and Northumbrian respectively) of the emerging English language.¹ This traditional idea goes back to Sweet (1885) and has been traced historically by Leith (1997). The common textbook account of OE dialects is somewhat simplified in two respects: first, the four major dialects are highly unlikely to have represented separate unities with their own characteristics, with features and properties that differed from others both quantitatively and qualitatively; second, the dialects were obviously not simply transplanted from the continent as such without undergoing any changes (externally) caused by contact with other migrant communities or the indigenous populations.

As a consequence, it remains subject to much speculation to what extent OE (or rather: the varieties spoken by the earliest Germanic speech communities in the British Isles), the original form(s) of all present-day varieties, was itself the product of contact-induced language change. In fact, scholars reproducing OE dialect maps state, sometimes on the same page, that OE developed as an amalgam of input varieties spoken by the founder populations; one cannot help but notice that this is somewhat at odds with the idea of isoglosses and dialect boundaries. Baugh and Cable (1993: 50), for instance, claim that

the English language has resulted from the fusion of the dialects of the Germanic tribes who came to England . . . It is impossible to say how much the speech of the Angles differed from that of the Saxons or that of the Jutes. The differences were certainly slight.

Crystal (2004: 41) claims that ‘we must regard dialect mixing as a normal part of the Old English situation’ and Toon (1992: 436) reports evidence from spelling variation within one and the same text written by the same individual, a fact that, likewise, implies mixing (see also Hogg 2006a, b).

We understand this to mean that OE emerged via dialect contact, i.e. that it was a contact-derived variety from its earliest stages onwards; if there was a fusion of dialects, then OE would have emerged via dialect contact and koinéization, resembling varieties that emerged under similar conditions

much later on (e.g. in the US, Australia or New Zealand). Trudgill, Gordon, Lewis and MacLagan (2000: 316), on the basis of synchronic evidence, state that ‘the shape of New Zealand English, a fascinating laboratory for the study of linguistic change, can be accounted for in terms of the mixing together of different dialects of English from the British Isles’ and Gordon *et al.* (2004) report that the earliest speakers of New Zealand English (henceforth NZE) displayed unusual combinations of features from diverse English inputs (such as *h*-dropping and /hw-/ maintenance, which is not found in the British Isles). So it is legitimate to ask whether, despite all the social and historical differences, political and linguistic parallels between OE and NZE may exist that link their genesis, notwithstanding that the processes involved are 1,300 years apart. Similarly, following DeCamp, one could argue that if OE is the result of interaction between the initial founder dialects brought to the British Isles, i.e. if it is the product of contact and accommodation processes in what is now England, then it would have arisen via well-known patterns of new-dialect formation (Trudgill 1986). And if it can be shown to be structurally and systemically different from its Saxon, Mercian and Frisian inputs, then it must be classified as a koiné (Siegel 1985), which, in fact, can only be interpreted to mean that English has been a contact-derived language from its very beginnings.

The evolution of OE between the fifth and early eleventh centuries, particularly the domain of language contact with Celtic, Old Norse and Norman French, has become subject to engaging discussions over the last decade. We will look at the standard textbook view first. A widely used historical introduction to the English language (Barber 2005) summarizes the outcomes as follows:

The Anglo-Saxon conquest was not just the arrival of a ruling minority, but the settlement of a whole people. Their language remained the dominant one, and there are few traces of Celtic influence on Old English; indeed, the number of Celtic words taken into English in the whole of its history has been very small. (101)

what is most striking about the Scandinavian loanwords as a whole is that they are such *ordinary* words ... The total number of Scandinavian loans is in fact rather small, compared with the number of words later borrowed from French and Latin; on the other hand, many of them are words in very frequent use. (133–4; emphasis in original)

Although French died out in England, it left its mark on English. Its main effect was on the vocabulary, and an enormous number of French loanwords came into the language during the Middle English period. (145)

When the words were first borrowed, they may have been given a French pronunciation, especially among bilingual speakers. But very soon they were adapted to the English phonological system, and given the English sounds which to the speakers seemed nearest to the French ones. (148–9)

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The contact-induced impact of all these languages was, according to Barber, almost totally limited to the lexicon, yet the three scenarios led to very different outcomes. Contact with Celtic was slight and restricted to a few toponymic borrowings, on account of the powerful social and political (superstratal) position of the Anglo-Saxons; contact with Old Norse saw the borrowing of some 200 loanwords, quite a few of them being everyday words (*sky*, *knife*, *bag*, or *cake*) and there were even some pronouns (*them*, *though* and *their*), an unusual process explained by the adstratal relationship of the two varieties and long-term coexistence and mixing of the two populations; and Norman (later Central) French contributed up to 10,000 loans due to superstratal influence and persistent sociohistorical contacts, followed by gradual language shift back to English in the late Middle English (ME) period.

This is as far as the traditional story of English goes, but researchers have recently begun to address – and at times substantially challenge – these views, asking for nothing less than a wholesale revision of the historical evolution of the English language. As for the first claim, Filppula, Klemola and Pitkänen (2002), Filppula, Klemola and Paulasto (2008), Filppula and Klemola (2009), Filppula (2010), or Tristram (1997, 2000, 2003, 2006) argue that, against conventional wisdom in English historical linguistics, there has been persistent Celtic substratal influence (for examples, see below). The introduction of the verbal noun into the verbal system has also attracted attention, and it is suggested that this was triggered via contact with Celtic (discussion in Vennemann 2001: 354 ff.).

As for the impact of Old Norse, Kroch, Taylor and Ringe (2000: 381) claim that contact may have caused syntactic differences between northern and southern ME varieties, namely with regard to the grammatical implementation of so-called ‘verb-second’ constraints. The order of negator and pronoun object reflects modern Mainland Scandinavian-type object shift of pronominal objects and is common in modern Mainland Scandinavian, German and Dutch. Dialects in southern England, by contrast, were much more conservative in that ME V2 constraint resembles the one found in OE. The authors

feel confident, therefore, in maintaining . . . , on grounds of dating as well as of linguistic analysis, that the V2 syntax of northern Middle English arose out of contact with Norse and that the specific trigger for the change was the reduction of the relatively rich Old English agreement system to one with almost no person distinctions, due to imperfect learning of Old English by the large number of arriving Scandinavian invaders and immigrants of the 9th century and later. (Kroch *et al.* 2000: 385)

The structural impact of Old Norse may therefore, too, have been more deep-rooted and persistent than has been traditionally assumed (see also McWhorter 2002).

There has been so much recent research in the area of English historical linguistics that we feel it is time to take a fresh look at its origins and evolution, and issues such as these are discussed prominently in the present volume. For one, contact linguistics has emerged as a field in its own right (Thomason and Kaufmann 1988) over the last three decades and insights from this dynamic discipline will further our understanding of historical processes. Moreover, it is now generally assumed that there is a considerable overlap of branches such as historical linguistics, variationist sociolinguistics, typology and universals, pidgin and creole linguistics, new-dialect formation, language acquisition, etc. and that the interplay and complexity of these fields underlies much of what we understand as contact-induced language change. Our aim is to approach language change from as broad a viewpoint as possible.

The contributions in this volume will address the following aspects of English contact linguistics: the historical evolution of the language, with a focus on OE and ME; the emergence of new varieties as a result of colonization and post-colonization (in areas such as Ireland or the United States); contact-induced change in migrant and/or mobile communities; agency (processes of accommodation in adults and adolescents); substrates and universals, population ecologies and learning strategies; the emergence of new regional epicentres, and learning processes in bilingual settings. Our goal is not to develop a unified theory, particularly not since some of the theories are conflicting or controversial, but the fresh ideas offered here will help cast new perspectives on the history of and ongoing change in one of the best-studied languages in the world.

Olga Fischer, in [Chapter 2](#), ‘The role of contact in English syntactic change in the Old and Middle English periods’, focuses on the influence of Latin, Old Norse and Norman French² on Old and Middle English morphosyntax. She addresses some general issues, such as differences between phonological, lexical and syntactic borrowing (permeability of the syntactic level) and the general manifestation of syntactic borrowing (salience). Special attention is paid to the diverse sociocultural and demographic settings in which language contact occurred. Fischer points out that deciding whether or not a particular construction is borrowed may not necessarily be straightforward. She argues in favour of comparative research, i.e. to single out qualitative morphosyntactic differences between English and its Germanic sister languages (particularly German, Dutch and Swedish) and to determine how their historical development may affect the rate of changes taking place.³ A second approach is to identify present-day English constructions that have no equivalent in OE or the respective sister languages and which can be investigated with respect to (substratal) contact-induced change from other languages or alternatively via internal developments. With this objective, Fischer discusses three candidates for contact-induced syntactic change: (i) the influence of Old

Norse on the emerging determiner system, and the pronoun system and on the development of particle verbs, (ii) the influence of French on adjectival position and prepositional phrasal expressions, and (iii) the influence of Latin on new infinitival constructions. She suggests that most of these constructions can be explained not just by contact alone, but rather by a combination of contact-induced and internal developments. In other words, we need to look at the system as a whole in order to understand the complex nature of structural ‘borrowing’. Moreover, her case studies show that some contact-induced (or supported) syntactic changes are highly specific with respect to register (learned vs everyday language use). A final factor she considers is frequency: how frequently the ‘foreign’ construction may have been heard (or in the case of reading: seen) had an impact on whether the native construction was replaced or kept when new and old forms coexisted and competed.

The issue of coexistent constructions is taken up and discussed in more detail by Herbert Schendl in [Chapter 3](#), ‘Multilingualism and code-switching as mechanisms of contact-induced lexical change in late Middle English’. He looks into code-switching and code-alternation between Latin, French and English in ME manuscripts. Code-switching as well as code-alternation have been widely recognized as important mechanisms of linguistic change in contemporary and recent varieties of English (Thomason 2001). Their manifestation in older stages of English (and other languages), on the other hand, has largely remained hypothetical and been rather neglected by historical linguists, though the attested widespread multilingualism of medieval England must have provided ideal conditions for these mechanisms to have lasting effects. Schendl argues that recent research on the large number of mixed-language texts from the history of English (both literary and non-literary) has shown that they indeed provide important evidence for written historical code-switching (Schendl 2002a, b; Wright 2000a). These manuscripts attest to the often intimate mixing of Latin, French and English in various combinations and are the products of bi- and multilingual scribes, who produced them for an equally multilingual readership. The texts and the sociohistorical contexts in which they were produced throw light on the intensity of linguistic contact and leave no doubt that mixing was part of everyday linguistic activities for the literate part of medieval society. Schendl discusses how mixing may have affected the rate and direction of lexical borrowing in ME and illustrates the processes on the basis of various types of mixed-language texts from medieval England, embedding his findings into a general theory of code-alternation and contact-induced change.

In the third chapter with a historical focus, Laura Wright looks at ‘The contact origins of Standard English’. In earlier work, she researched multilingual writing practices of traders and account-keepers in London in the

centuries prior to the standardization of English (Wright 1999a, b, 2000a, b, 2001a, b). Analysing internal constraints on the ‘switch-points’ (of all the languages involved: ME, Medieval Latin and Anglo-Norman French), she found that there was an essentially stable structure for several centuries and that this was one of the most prevalent forms of medieval writing. In the present volume, Wright shows how the multilingual situation changed once Standard English evolved and how the mixed-language business variety became subsequently abandoned. This process is first documented in the fifteenth and continues until the end of the sixteenth century. The theory she develops here is that the process of standardization was directly linked to changes in trading practices, not in London, or even England, but on the Continent (Wright 1999a, 2000b). In consequence, Standard English is a contact language in the sense that it is the result of traders from London meeting traders from abroad, with a crunch-point in the late fifteenth century when foreign traders and British regional traders came to deal with London traders via the medium of (written Standardizing) English, rather than Anglo-Norman French or Medieval Latin as had hitherto been the practice. The London dialect in the ME period has elsewhere been identified as ‘an urban amalgam drawing on non-adjacent dialects’ (Kitson 2004: 227). Wright goes on to adapt this description to Standard English in general (and not only to London English).

In sum, Chapters 2–4 discuss the multifaceted nature of contact settings in the Old and Middle English periods. They contextualize the various social settings in which there was contact between English and other languages, and provide an overview of the existing literature while going on to develop new insights into the structural outcomes of contact-induced change, with a strong focus on effects of bi- and multilingualism.

In Chapter 5, ‘English as a contact language in the British Isles’, Juhani Klemola argues that the development of the English language in the British Isles, from the *adventus Saxonum* onwards, has been shaped by contact with other languages. The linguistic consequences of these contacts vary depending on the type and intensity of the contact (Thomason 2001). While it is generally acknowledged that Latin, French and Scandinavian influence have played a major role in the development of English (see above), it is traditionally believed that the Insular Celtic language(s) left virtually no traces in the English language. Klemola calls for a revision of this traditional view. He argues that it is based on an outdated view of the nature of contact-induced language change and old-fashioned ideologically charged claims such as ‘Our whole internal history testifies unmistakably to our inheritance of Teutonic institutions from the first immigrant’ (Stubbs 1870: 1; quoted from Higham 1992: 3). The Celtic contacts in the British Isles represent the type of language shift situations that, according to Thomason and Kaufman (1988), result in moderately heavy substratum influence in the phonology

and syntax of the target language rather than lexical borrowings as argued, among others, by Filppula, *et al.* (2008) and the contributions in Filppula and Klemola (2009). In his contribution to this volume, Klemola provides an in-depth analysis of three features, (1) the Northern Subject Rule, (2) *self*-forms as intensifiers and reflexives, and (3) the third-person singular pronoun *en* in south-western dialects of English, and claims that all of them are the legacy of structural transfer in a long-term contact scenario.

Raymond Hickey, in Chapter 6, 'English as a contact language in Ireland and Scotland', tracks historical language shift processes in Ireland and Scotland in speakers of Irish and Scottish Gaelic. His aim is twofold: (1) to provide the historical and demographic background necessary to understand the direction and speed of the shift that occurred; and (2) to use such knowledge as a basis for a more general discussion of contact scenarios. The discussion has a strong taxonomic orientation and looks at no fewer than seven aspects: (1) category and exponence; (2) transfer in language shift, with focus on second language acquisition; (3) the search for categorial equivalence; (4) neglect of distinctions in language shift; (5) lack of transfer in language contact; (6) non-binary categories in contact, and (7) permeability of linguistic systems. Hickey discusses these factors in great detail and exemplifies them with the historical spread of English into Ireland and Scotland.

In Chapter 7, 'The contact dynamics of socioethnic varieties in North America' Walt Wolfram describes long-term effects of accommodation, such as the emergence of new ethnolects, in bi-ethnic and bilingual settings. He emphasizes that one of the dynamic outcomes of language contact in North America is the long-term incorporation of structural traits from a British-derived model language into varieties of the replica language, so-called substrate effects. These structural effects may in turn become associated with regional and/or socioethnic group membership and thus come to assume symbolic ethnolinguistic significance. The central questions, hence, are how such long-term contact effects figure in trajectories of convergence and divergence over time, place and socioethnic group, and how this process takes place. Wolfram considers the relative role of long-term contact effects in several representative socioethnic varieties in the United States, ranging from well-studied African American English to relatively obscure varieties of Native American Indian English (such as North Carolina Lumbee English). As a foil for these long-term situations, he examines the dynamic effects of contact on an emerging socioethnic Hispanic English variety in the South Mid-Atlantic region to which large numbers of Latino immigrants have been migrating in the last two decades. He compares emerging structural traits of these recent Hispanic varieties with those attested in scenarios of long-standing historical continuity elsewhere and postulates principles that favour or disfavour substrate accommodation in the process of constructing a socioethnic variety.

The data provided by Wolfram indicate that patterns of ethnolinguistic convergence and divergence cannot be reduced to a unilateral model of accommodation principles, which is in line with the processes singled out and discussed by Hickey.

Similar processes can be observed in the emergence of the so-called ‘New Englishes’. In [Chapter 8](#), ‘English as a contact language: the “New Englishes”’, Edgar W. Schneider argues that the New Englishes are products of prolonged contact between English-speaking settlers and indigenous populations in colonial and postcolonial settings. They have emerged through the increasing contact and mutual accommodation between these groups (Schneider 2007). Essentially, the New Englishes tend to partake in nativization processes, i.e. they are characterized by distinctive features on the levels of lexis, pronunciation and grammar, many of which can be accounted for as products of contact with indigenous languages. His chapter surveys and systematizes the contact conditions and effects that have played a substantial role in the emergence of the New Englishes. Schneider first looks at extralinguistic conditions (historical background; colonization types; characteristic contact conditions in situations of colonial settlement; demographic factors; power relationships; changing conditions in the course of time; nation building; elitist diffusion of English in some countries; increasing demand for and grassroots spread of English in recent decades; attitudes and language policies) and then goes on to investigate widespread structural outcomes (as documented, for instance, by Kortmann, Schneider, Mesthrie and Burridge 2004 or Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008), asking in particular to what extent these can be accounted for as products of language contact (or, alternatively, of internal developments or other factors). He claims that the New Englishes are influenced but not exclusively shaped by language contact conditions.

Daniel Schreier, in [Chapter 9](#), ‘English as a contact language: lesser-known varieties’, calls for more focused attention to be paid to hitherto overlooked varieties of English. He argues that research on English as a world language has traditionally concentrated on ‘inner-circle’ varieties. Even though varieties from the outer and expanding circles (Kachru 1986) have been added to the research canon over the last twenty years (see Kortmann *et al.* 2004), a number of fully nativized varieties have simply been overlooked to the present day. The chapter takes a closer look at the so-called ‘lesser-known varieties of English’ (LKVEs; Schreier, Trudgill, Schneider and Williams 2010). LKVEs share a number of characteristics: (1) they are typically spoken by minorities, delimited (not necessarily ‘isolated’ but socially or regionally distinct) to small communities embedded into a larger (regional) population ecology; (2) many of them were originally transmitted by settler communities or adopted by newly formed social communities that emerged early in the colonial era, so that they substantially derive from British inputs; and (3) they were formed by processes of dialect and/or

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language contact (which makes it impossible to ascribe to them genetic status, e.g. as either creoles or koinés). On a macro-level, LKVEs thus pose a challenge to existing models of English as a world language; on a micro-level, they allow for in-depth case studies of contact-induced language change, both with its internal conditioning factors (input characteristics, structural features, systemic patterns, etc.) and its external correlates (socio-demographics, settlement movements, etc.). Drawing on case studies from North America, the Caribbean and the South Atlantic, Schreier argues that the study of English around the world will benefit considerably from analysing varieties that have not or hardly been researched to date. Documenting and studying LKVEs encourages researchers both to rethink (and perhaps revise) existing models and to assess their significance for the classification of English as a contact language.

Chapter 10, ‘The role of mundane mobility and contact in dialect death and dialect birth’ by David Britain, looks into the role of increasing mobility in the emergence and disappearance of dialects. Britain starts his line of argument by stating that dialect contact has been implicated as a major contributor to ongoing convergence of varieties of English, especially since the mid twentieth century, but convergence has not occurred in all cases. Britain argues that sociolinguists need to place speakers at the forefront of our understanding of contact in order to account for ‘failure of convergence’. His aim is to examine dialect contact by looking at the linguistic consequences of the diverse, socially imbued mobilities that speakers engage(d) in as they go about their everyday lives. Britain thus examines evidence that sociogeographical processes such as migration, urbanization and counterurbanization, as well as mobilities resulting from institutional policymaking, routinized consumption choices and travel patterns, have triggered forms of dialect contact that *can* lead to convergence, but can equally, in the right social, geographical and historical circumstances, lead to dialectal diversification, creating new dialects on the way. Dialect contact may well have a set of fairly well-established outcomes, but the mobility events that cause contact are historically, socially and geographically contingent, and so the linguistic outputs of that contact will reflect the diverse times, places and contexts of their making. This contingency enables contact itself to produce a rich tapestry of outcomes from one common process. Britain’s central concern is speakers and their mobilities, rather than decontextualized contact processes, and this not only allows us to understand how contact can lead to dialect birth as well as dialect death, but also how centrally dialect contact should be placed in explanations of language change in general.

Marianne Hundt, in Chapter 11, ‘The diversification of English: old, new and emerging epicentres’, looks at the development of English from a mono- to a bi- and finally to a pluricentric language. In addition to the well-established regional norms of British and American English, various

regionally relevant norm-developing centres have emerged. These are likely to exert an influence on the formation and development of the English language in neighbouring areas. Leitner (1992) uses the term ‘epicentre’ for these (recent) foci of influence. Peters (2009) applies the notion of the epicentre to historical data and attempts to ascertain epicentre-status for Australian English vis-à-vis New Zealand English. Two other corpus-based studies (Hoffmann, Hundt and Mukherjee 2011, Hundt, Hoffmann and Mukherjee 2012) use web-derived evidence to determine how far Indian English as the dominant variety in South Asia shapes the norms in Standard (izing) Englishes in the neighbouring countries such as Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Biewer (2012) and Zipp (2010) investigate whether NZE is or has developed into an additional regional epicentre in the South Pacific for varieties such as Fiji English or Samoan English. One challenge that these empirical studies encounter is that the notion of the epicentre is rather ill-defined. The aim of Hundt’s chapter thus is to take stock of the existing research on old, new and emerging epicentres and to evaluate them critically. As a corpus linguist, she is particularly interested in the question of whether the term is applicable to diachronic or synchronic data and whether and to what extent it is feasible to verify a variety’s ‘epicentral status’.

Chapters 12–18 are dedicated to recent advances and theoretical issues in contact linguistics, such as: population ecologies and peopling, substrate influence and universals, the role of substrate influence in interlanguage development and language learning, the role of contact in dialect death and birth as well as in historically continuous migrant communities, the role of agency in contact-based innovation (with focus on adults and adolescents) and the role of the digital revolution in cyberspace and the ensuing ‘de-territorialization’ of varieties.

Salikoko S. Mufwene, in Chapter 12, ‘Driving forces in English contact linguistics’, states that the typical discourse on the evolution of English has primarily focused on population-wide patterns but largely neglected how these patterns emerged. Thus, it has been suggested that indigenized Englishes are different from metropolitan Englishes because their speakers cum creators have transferred structural properties from their first language(s) to the colonial language. Mufwene’s argument is that these explanations pay little attention to the fact that speakers vary in their learning skills; thus, they do not necessarily transfer the same substrate elements into the target language even if they happen to speak the same mother tongue. Structural differences between the target and source languages do not necessarily entail transfer of features of the source language into the target language. When transfer occurs, not every speaker/learner necessarily transfers the same features. Speakers have their differing speaker-specific interactional histories, including where they learned the language and which teachers/models they had, but also with whom they interacted on a regular basis. The conclusion is that one cannot account for the emergence of

New Englishes without addressing factors such as competition and selection, mutual accommodations, learner strategies and individual speakers. Mufwene's chapter ties in with Hickey's taxonomy of language shift processes and Schneider's analysis of the New Englishes in that it asks how patterns emerge, who the innovators and who the copiers/spreaders in respect to the specific features are, and under what ecological conditions dialect birth occurs. He makes a plea for linguists to address the actuation question that is often neglected in historical linguistics and points out that this is an area where the scholarship on indigenized Englishes can make a contribution to genetic linguistics and the study of language evolution in general.

The interplay between language universals and substrate influence has long been a contentious issue in the study of contact Englishes, including indigenized varieties and creoles. It is the focus of [Chapter 13](#), 'Substrate influence and universals in the emergence of contact Englishes: re-evaluating the evidence' by Don Winford. Tense/aspect systems have received a great deal of attention in this debate. On the one hand, it has been argued that certain aspects of their grammars are shaped by innate universals of language design (Bickerton 1984; Ansaldo 2004). On the other, it has been claimed that substrate influence accounts for many grammatical features that distinguish these new creations from their lexifier language (Bao 2005; Siegel 2000). Winford examines the emergence of tense/aspect categories in various contact Englishes, with a view to evaluating the interaction between universals and substrate influence in their creation and evolution. The debate over this in many ways reflects current disagreement as to whether linguistic universals should be conceived of as innate generalizations written into Universal Grammar (Kiparsky 2008), or rather as universal mechanisms of change that are recurrent across all languages (Bybee 2008). In his chapter, Winford argues that tense/aspect systems across contact Englishes provide evidence for both positions on the relationship between universal principles and paths of change. Certain tense/aspect categories such as 'Future' and 'Past' result from internally motivated patterns of grammaticalization, found universally in language change. Other tense/aspect categories – such as Perfects and Progressives – are more idiosyncratic in nature, shaped by substrate influence in a process of contact-induced grammaticalization. The mechanism of change underlying this process is imposition, which involves assigning semantic and structural properties of an L1 category to an L2 lexeme via analogy (Winford 2006). The creation of all tense/aspect categories, whether internally or externally motivated, follows universal cognitive tendencies that come into play in language production and processing. Ultimately, it is possible that such tendencies derive from innate principles that are not restricted to language alone, but are part of more general cognitive capacities peculiar to human beings.

Rajend Mesthrie deals with the topic of migrant communities and persistence in [Chapter 14](#), 'Transfer and contact in migrant and multiethnic

communities: the conversational historical *be* + *-ing* present in South African Indian English'. Mesthrie examines the spread of English as a second language and its stabilization in some communities in relation to issues pertaining to ethnicity (thus complementing the North American data analysed by Wolfram). In particular, he shows how the adoption of English as an L1 does not necessarily confer 'English' status or consciousness amongst speakers. This paradox can be clarified when one examines the coexistence of different subvarieties of English within such communities, each harnessed to different functions, viz. the formal, public and intellectual components associated with more standard varieties and the privacy, intimacy and community orientation of more vernacular varieties. The primary exemplification comes from the rise of Indian English in South Africa and the tenacity of its non-standard syntax in community contexts and a case study on narrative *be* + *-ing*. The overuse of present *be* + *-ing* and in particular the use of *-ing* with stative verbs is well known in New English studies (Platt, Weber and Ho 1984). Mesthrie finds that this overgeneralization was used in hyper-stereotypes of Indian English in colonial Natal (South Africa) in the mid twentieth century (Mesthrie 2005). At the same time, a new function of *be* + *-ing* stabilized in vernacular styles of personal narration. This function, which corresponds to the conversational historical present in mainstream English, is described in detail, based on a corpus of informal oral interviews. Mesthrie argues that *be* + *-ing* serves a cognitive narrative function and that it has been refunctionalized into an emblem of solidarity in the South African Indian community.

The next two chapters complement each other in that they consider two distinct age groups in terms of their potential for agency in language change. Chapter 15, 'English as a contact language: the role of children and adolescents', by Paul Kerswill, Jenny Cheshire, Sue Fox and Eivind Torgersen, begins with a review of the central axiom in variationist sociolinguistics that it is adolescents who constitute the key age group in the propagation of language change: the so-called incrementation model, in which the 'adolescent peak' plays a central part (Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2009) and according to which children and young people advance a change as they grow older by accentuation, only to cease in late adolescence. In contrast, Kerswill *et al.* find that there is very little literature on the role of young children in this process. They address this issue and investigate it by drawing on their past and ongoing research on children's acquisition of accent and dialect features, focusing in particular on recent research on the acquisition of a set of new multiethnolectal features in inner London. They report analyses of innovation and change in the English spoken by bilingual and monolingual children aged 5, 8 and 12, adolescents aged 16–19, and young adults. The central point in their argument is that the role of different age groups in language change is different in contexts of high language contact and dialect contact, such as inner London, from more stable speech

communities for which the incrementation model was developed. They also use these analyses to question the conventional wisdom that morphology and syntax are the least likely components of language to be affected by language contact.

The picture is completed by Sarah G. Thomason in [Chapter 16](#), 'Innovation and contact: the role of adults (and children)'. Thomason emphasizes that some linguists have claimed that language change, including contact-induced change, only occurs during child language acquisition; others have claimed that adults are the main agents in language change. In her chapter, she argues that adults are often, and perhaps predominantly, responsible for language change. Both adults and young children can be shown to play a role in initiating change, for instance, but they are not necessarily responsible for the same kinds of change. In particular, Thomason argues that it is unlikely that very young children participate in initiating shift-induced interference, which is due to imperfect learning of a target language by members of a speech community. The spread of an innovation through a speech community, in turn, must necessarily involve both children and adults. Regardless of where an innovation first appears, it cannot become a change in a language unless and until it (1) forms part of the input to children acquiring their first language and (2) spreads to adults in the speech community via social networks. Thomason brings us full circle in referring to English historical linguistics in this context, pointing out that the main sources in the history of English in England of lexical and structural interference were Latin, Old French and Old Norse. Old Norse and Old French features must surely have been introduced into English at least in part by adults, though children may also have contributed to the innovations; Latin influence, on the other hand, was almost entirely due to adult agency. In many of the New Englishes, adult agency has also been primary. Thomason's chapter explores a variety of contact situations involving English, in the British Isles and elsewhere, in an effort to determine which kinds of change are most likely to reflect adult contributions. Although her focus is on contact-induced change, many of her claims about the innovation phase of a linguistic change are also relevant for internally motivated change.

In [Chapter 17](#), 'Accelerator or inhibitor? On the role of substrate influence in interlanguage development', Terence Odlin retraces the thinking about substrate influence and the related notion of language transfer and finds that it has directly or indirectly invoked a claim of Weinreich (1953: 1): 'The greater the differences between systems [languages or dialects], i.e. the more numerous the mutually exclusive forms and patterns in each, the greater is the learning problem and the potential area of interference.' This is in line with Lado's (1957) Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis that proved controversial during the 1970s. Debates over the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (Wardhaugh 1970) have subsided over the last twenty-five

years, and much recent work on transfer has emphasized the facilitating effects of cross-linguistic similarity. However, discussions of cross-linguistic influence have only sporadically addressed general implications of cross-linguistic similarity. Most important is the likelihood that even typologically very different languages may share certain commonalities. Finnish and English offer just such an example. The languages differ in how they code domains such as spatial reference, with English relying mainly on prepositions and Finnish on nominal case inflections and postpositions; even so, English and Finnish differ much less in how subordinate clauses are formed, with both languages showing several commonalities in the form and function of relative clauses, nominal clauses, and adverbial clauses. Drawing on a database of 140 English narratives written by Finnish learners, Odlin shows that similarities in subordination provide an advantage to these learners, in contrast to other areas (e.g. spatial reference) where the similarities are less salient. The relatively easy acquisition of subordination has implications both for language contact and second language development.

In Chapter 18, 'Speculating on the future of English as a contact language', Christian Mair begins with a tongue-in-cheek survey of the large and heterogeneous body of scholarly and popular writings on the related topics of 'the future shape of English' and its 'future role' in the world. He shows that these publications contain a large number of claims and predictions in relation to language contact that, in hindsight, turn out to have been rather ill-founded. He largely refrains from trying to predict specific contact-induced structural changes but, with all due caution, proposes a number of prognostic generalizations. His main points are that Standard English continues to be in contact with other languages: owing to its present status as the major world language, English will maintain its role as an influence on a lot of other languages in the world. This influence obviously concerns the lexicon but also matters of discourse and textual organization, a fact frequently underestimated in the relevant literature. At the same time, non-standard varieties of English will continue to be in contact with other varieties of English. Current levels of global migration – forced and voluntary – and the recent advances in communication technology have led to a de-territorialization of vernacular varieties. This, in turn, has dramatically increased the intensity and variety of dialect contact. The early twenty-first century witnesses only the beginnings of this development, but profound consequences for the future role of English as a contact language are to be expected. Mair illustrates this with examples from the globalization of vernacular features, so-called 'crossing', and the emergence of ethnic communication styles in non-native speakers.

The range of topics dealt with in this volume attests to the diversity and vitality of contact linguistics. In fact, readers are likely to notice that on some crucial points there still is no agreement. These relate to central questions such as: who is instrumental in forming new varieties? How does nativization

manifest itself? Did Celtic leave a permanent structural substrate in OE or not? Are grammatical properties in some sense shaped, if not predetermined, by innate universals of language design or is it substrate influence that accounts for many grammatical features that distinguish new offspring varieties from their lexifier language? Were OE and NZE shaped via similar processes of new-dialect formation? All these are substantial questions, and though we have some promising points of departure, we cannot embolden ourselves to provide definite answers here. Notwithstanding, we firmly believe that as much information as possible is needed if we ever wish to be in a position to do so and that this volume goes some way towards achieving that goal.

At the same time, many of the chapters are interconnected and it is striking to find that throughout the volume, contributors ask similar questions in different contexts, frequently referring to each other's work. As a result, despite the differences of opinion, parallels and common approaches underlie much of the discussion. Sarah G. Thomason, for instance, emphasizes that it must have been adults, not adolescents, who functioned as agents of contact between OE and Old Norse, in fact solely so in contact between English and Latin; this ties in with Olga Fischer's analysis of grammatical change in OE and ME, in which the outcome of borrowing is a consequence of exactly who is in contact (this is pointed out by Juhani Klemola and Raymond Hickey as well). Or consider the question precisely who enters into contact. It is certainly important that only sections of the total population were in contact, for instance the learned and literate in the OE and ME Latin contact scenario; this point, made by Herbert Schendl in his study of code-alternation in ME texts, is also made by Salikoko Mufwene, who discusses the emergence of communal norms and the ecological conditions that influence the outcome of competition and selection processes.

The study of New Englishes, on the other hand, seems to call for multiple approaches: Schneider argues that they partake in nativization processes and that they are themselves products of language contact, often language shift, and second language acquisition. Terence Odlin's research on second-language acquisition of English shows that speakers of a typologically similar language (Swedish) have a consistent advantage over speakers of a typologically different one (Finnish) and Hickey provides a detailed taxonomy of the outcomes of language-induced shifting. A list of parallels includes substratal persistence and their potential for distinctive ethnolects based on substratal properties (Klemola, Mesthrie, Wolfram), the role of mobility and peopling (Britain, Kerswill *et al.*), language diversification and contact-induced differentiation of English as a world language (Schreier, Hundt, Mair) or regionally distinct patterns of shift and their eventual outcomes (Hickey, Mesthrie).

To conclude, our aim has been to bring together insights from a number of disciplines that interact in complex ways, and it is our hope that the present volume may help to advance the current state of English contact linguistics. The chapters provide evidence from different domains, evaluate and contextualize findings from distinct periods of the language, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Thus, the authors of this volume arrive at innovative insights and ask some provocative questions. Notwithstanding different viewpoints, what relates all the contributions is the strong conviction that, in addition to the potential for internal innovation, contact-induced language change plays a significant role in English and elsewhere. (English) historical linguists have long concentrated on language-internal processes and treated language contact as marginal. It is time to turn the tables and redress the imbalance, because at the end of the day, English has never been anything else but a contact language.

2 The role of contact in English syntactic change in the Old and Middle English periods

OLGA FISCHER

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we will have a look at the role contact has played in the way the grammatical system of English developed in the medieval period. I will first introduce ([Section 2.1.1](#)) the theoretical background or framework that will be used in this chapter, and the terminology current in discussions of contact change. As we will see, an important distinction is that between ‘borrowing’ and ‘substratum influence’ because of their different effects on the receiving language. In [Section 2.1.2](#), we will look more closely at the historical situation and the social forces that determine the effect contact has, and how these in turn may be influenced by the internal grammatical system already in place. The first section ends ([2.1.3](#)) with a brief description of methodological observations.

In [Section 2.2](#), the influence of three contact languages, namely that of Latin, Old Norse and French, will be considered as they affected English in the Old and Middle English periods (see Schendl, this volume, and Wright, this volume). The possible influence of Celtic will be left out of account here, since this is dealt with separately in [Chapter 5](#). I will first give a description of the sociohistorical circumstances under which this contact took place, after which, in a number of subsections, the influence of the three languages will be discussed in more detail. The chapter will be rounded off by some brief concluding remarks in [Section 2.3](#).

2.1.1 Syntactic change and contact: theoretical background and terminology

English has undergone an enormous amount of change in the course of its development, more so than other Germanic languages (see Van de Velde 2009). This is to a large extent due to invasion and conquest, which had an impact on all linguistic levels but most notably, and recognizably, on the lexical level.

Whereas lexical change and lexical loans are fairly easy to spot, syntactic change and syntactic loans are much harder to observe because this usually involves abstract patterns rather than concrete lexical items. Thomason

(2003: 709) notes in this connection that ‘the easy cases are those in which both form and function have been adopted from another language’ pointing to a case in the Kadai language Mulam, which has taken over conjunctions from Han Chinese together with ‘un-Kadai-like Chinese syntactic patterns’. But such cases are rare: ‘the hard cases are those in which the interference features consist of structure alone’ (ibid.). Another factor that makes syntactic interference harder to spot is that syntax as ‘the most central component of language’ is ‘most open to interaction with other components ... syntax is too much the opposite of a closed system for the effects external forces can have on it to be easily predictable’ (Gerritsen and Stein 1992: 12). It may be the case, for instance, that the syntax is affected by contact only indirectly, i.e. via changes on the morphological or lexical level. In this respect, a distinction is often made between ‘contact-induced changes’ and ‘shift-induced interference’ (see Thomason 2003: 709), where the former is direct and the latter indirect. Contact-induced changes are especially prevalent when there is full bilingualism, and where code-switching is also prevalent, while shift-induced interference is usually the result of imperfect learning (i.e. in cases where a first language interferes in the learning of a later adopted language).

Van Coetsem (1988: 7ff) uses the terms ‘recipient language agentivity’ vs ‘source language agentivity’ to distinguish between borrowing (contact-induced change) and imposition (shift-induced interference), and to mark aspects of ‘dominance’. With respect to the latter, he refers (i) to the relative freedom speakers have in using items from the source language in their own (recipient) language – here the *recipient* language is dominant; and (ii) the almost inevitable or passive use that we see with imperfect learners, when they adopt patterns of their own (source) language into the new, recipient language – this makes the *source* language dominant. In (i), the primary mechanism is ‘imitation’, which only affects the message and does not affect the speaker’s native code, while in (ii), the primary mechanism is ‘adaptation’, where the message *is* affected by the speaker’s native code. Not surprisingly, Van Coetsem (1988: 12) describes recipient-language agentivity as ‘more deliberate’, and source-language agentivity as something that speakers are not necessarily conscious of. In source-language agentivity, the more stable or structured domains of language are involved (phonology and syntax), while in recipient-language agentivity, mostly the lexicon is involved, where obligatoriness decreases and ‘creative action’ increases (1988: 26).

The parameters that play a role in whether elements or structures are borrowed in the case of source-language agentivity involve: (a) frequency, (b) the number of items available in a domain (small in a closed-, large in open-class domains), and (c) the degree and depth of structuredness of the patterns in question (Van Coetsem 1988: 26). Whether individual innovations of imperfect learners ultimately affect the target (or recipient) language and its speakers, also

depends very much on (d) the size of the group learning the target language. All in all, it is not surprising that there is much more controversy about the amount and the degree of syntactic change that may be possible in any given instance due to contact.

Apart from these more practical details, there are also different schools of thought about syntactic change and the likelihood of ‘borrowing’, which are often closely linked to the theoretical framework used. Some generative historical linguists – because of their interest in the autonomy of syntax and the parameters and universal principles of ‘innate grammar’ – tend to ignore external factors, paying much more attention to internal ones. Approaching the issue from the other direction, there are the more functionally orientated linguists, who take languages in general rather than individual competence as a basis and seek explanations in typological universals. Other historical linguists with a more sociolinguistic background believe that, given enough intensity and/or length of contact, anything can happen (see Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 14; Harris and Campbell 1995: 149). Yet another group, which includes many philologically trained linguists, believes that the idea that virtually anything can ultimately be borrowed, puts far too much emphasis on the mere force of social pressures and neglects *quantitative* research, which could throw light on the interaction with internal developments. In this connection Sankoff (2002: 640–1) remarks:

in rejecting the contribution of internal linguistic structure T[homason] & K[aufman] have thrown out the baby with the bathwater. The cumulative weight of sociolinguistic research on language contact suggests that although it may be true that ‘anything can happen’ given enough social pressure, T & K are very far from the truth in their blanket rejection of internal constraints.

It appears that an open mind, not weighed down by the pre-eminence of a particular approach or model, is the best way to explore the possible occurrence of syntactic borrowing or interference. Methodologically, it is most sound to give heed to and study quite a number of aspects of both an external and an internal kind, having to do with the type of contact, the sociocultural makeup of the speech-community, and the state of the conventional internalized code that individuals in the community have developed during the period of language acquisition and beyond.

2.1.2 *Contact: social background and language-internal developments*

It is clear that ‘language contact is always the historical product of social forces’ (Sankoff 2002: 640). Therefore, in order to understand the linguistic consequences of any contact for the speech-community and ultimately for the language itself, we need to know what the contact involved/involves, whether it is the result of immigration or conquest, or mere social contact

between communities (see the distinction between source-language vs. recipient-language agency above). It is also possible that contact takes place via written or indirect oral sources (books, the internet, radio/TV etc.) without any speakers directly communicating, in which case the effect of the contact is usually less strong (cf. Britain 2002a: 609). In the case of immigration, we need to know how large the number of newcomers is in comparison to the native population, and what their social (economic, political) status is in the newly mixed community. More generally, we need to know the prestige status of the source language that provides the loans. In the case of language shift via substratum or imperfect learning, we also need to know how much access there is to the target language, whether schooling or a standard language is involved, whether the rate of language shift is rapid or slow, and what the amount of bilingualism is among the speakers. It is to be expected, for instance, that more structural borrowing will take place if the newcomers are not fluent speakers of the target language; in that case they will fall back on the already implemented structures of their own (source) language (see Thomason 2003: 691). Finally we need to know the ins and outs of the grammatical systems internalized in speakers of both the source and the target languages during the period of contact, and in addition we need to compare in a quantitative manner the constructions used in the target language before and after this period in order to throw more light on the effects the interaction may have.

As indicated above, contact often affects the syntax only indirectly: changes on one level may cause further changes on another. Sankoff (2002: 652) notes that linguists who are wary of direct-contact influence on syntax usually see it as a consequence of 'lexical or pragmatic interinfluence'. She points to (i) the diffusion of new syntactic structures via lexical borrowing (i.e. via structures associated with a lexical element); (ii) syntactic borrowing via a discourse-pragmatic path, where a native syntactic pattern acquires a new discourse function via the contact language because of a similarity in form; and finally, (iii) 'camouflage' or 'covert interference'.

This third type, covert interference, takes place in cases where substratal influence survives for a long time. Mougeon and Beniak (1991: 11) explain this as follows: it involves a phenomenon whereby a 'minority-language feature [e.g. of language A] may undergo a gradual decline and eventual loss because it lacks an interlingual counterpart in the majority language [B]'. This is accompanied by a concomitant rise in A in the use of an already existent feature *x* that does function *formally* as 'an interlingual counterpart', whereby *x* 'tak[es] over the function vacated by the disappearing feature', next to the function it already had.

Wald (1996, quoted in Sankoff 2002: 653) formulates two principles that govern this phenomenon: 'normative assimilation' and 'shortest path'. The second stage, the 'concomitant rise', involves a form of analogy whereby an existing, formal pattern *x* with meaning α in language A conforms in

meaning/function to a formally similar pattern x^i in B (but with a somewhat different meaning: β) because A had no special form available for meaning β . In other words, an already entrenched pattern in A assimilates towards the normative language B in meaning, without giving up its form, thus taking the 'shortest path' because it need not adopt a *new* structure. In this development, x becomes more frequent because it has acquired an extra function. It could be said that this process obeys the principle of economy, or what Hawkins (2004: 40) has termed the 'Minimize Form Principle':

Minimizations in unique form–property pairings are accomplished by expanding the compatibility of certain forms with a wider range of properties. Ambiguity, vagueness and zero specification are efficient, inasmuch as they reduce the total number of forms that are needed in a language.

In other words, the possibility of transfer of a syntactic structure from one language into another then depends very strongly on the availability of an analogous form, with an analogous meaning. This second stage is presumably also the pathway followed in the discourse–pragmatic case of (ii) above because there too an existing form acquires a new second function.

Different linguistic consequences may result in situations where the two languages in contact are more or less of equal status, and mutually intelligible (in which case they are more likely to be 'dialects' rather than separate languages). In such circumstances a koiné may arise. Transfer of structures or lexical items from one language to another may take place here too, but other aspects of a more indirect, internal kind, come more to the fore. Thus, Kerswill (2002: 671–772) remarks that, apart from a more thorough mixing, reduction is a frequent phenomenon in such situations, in the form of levelling and simplification, while Britain and Trudgill (1999: 235) state that the 'assimilation', discussed above, also occurs in koinés, but only after the mixing stage (and without the 'normative' aspect), which they have termed 'reallocation': 'Reallocation occurs where two or more variants in the dialect mix survive the leveling process but are refunctionalized, evolving new social or linguistic functions in the new dialect.' Levelling can be observed in the fact that marked forms are often removed and in an increase in morphological and syntactic regularity (see Kerswill 2002: 676–7).

2.1.3 *Some further general methodological considerations*

Apart from the specific details of the contact in question, it is also highly advisable to place the issue in a larger context, in order to find out more about the possible linguistic consequences. This can be done in a number of ways. First of all, we should make use of the present to explain the past (the uniformitarian 'principle', which is a necessary ingredient in any discipline

with a diachronic component). It is important to study contact situations in the present to find out how the different sociocultural and demographic factors mentioned above work out for the language in question. Here we have access to much more data, which should help to form ideas about similar contacts in the past (see Joseph and Janda 2003: 101; Mougeon and Beniak 1991; Kerswill 2002; Sankoff 2002). Secondly, we must look at parallels not only diachronically but also synchronically, that is, we must compare the developments in English to those taking place in its sister languages. It is possible that strong divergences in syntax between sisters may be related to substratum influence and language shift. Thirdly, we need to take into account universal principles that may operate in language learning (and hence also in imperfect L2 learning), i.e. general cognitive principles such as analogy and economy (already briefly referred to above), and both in relation to the issue of frequency (cf. Itkonen 2005; Wanner 2006, Fischer 2007).

2.2 The external circumstances affecting the linguistic consequences of contact with Latin, Old Norse and medieval French

Before turning to the linguistic details, I will summarize, on the basis of available studies, the circumstances of the contact situations themselves.¹

Table 2.1 takes into account the various parameters discussed in Section 2.1.

Some first conclusions can be drawn from this. The situations of Latin and French contact are fairly similar; they share the parameters given in (1), (4)–(6) and (12), and are closer to each other with respect to (2)–(3), (7)–(9) and (11) in comparison with the position of Scandinavian. Scandinavian shares no parameters with Latin and French, and takes the more extreme or opposite position on (2)–(3), (7)–(9) and (12). As far as (10) is concerned, it is noteworthy that Latin and French are each other's true opposites only here: the number of Latin loanwords in Old and Middle English is small especially when compared to the enormous amount of French loanwords that poured in during the Middle English period. This has a twofold explanation. On the external side, it can be related to the fact that communication in terms of Latin was far more indirect (mostly via translators of texts), and restricted to the more formal registers. Therefore, contact was never long and intensive for the population as a whole. Additionally, speakers of Latin were always bilingual and in politico-economic terms not particularly dominant. French speakers, on the other hand, as conquerors and subsequent rulers of the country, were highly dominant but not generally bilingual.

On the internal side, a lot had happened to the language during the Scandinavian occupation, which explains to some extent the heavy use of French words in the Middle English period. The language had lost native

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Table 2.1 *Sociocultural and external-linguistic parameters involved in contact with Latin, Scandinavian and French in the Old and Middle English periods*

Parameters (social and linguistic)	Latin contact – OE/ME period	Scandinavian contact – OE period	French contact – ME period
1. Type of language agentivity (primary mechanism)	recipient (imitation)	source (adaptation)	recipient (imitation)
2. Type of communication	indirect	direct	(in)direct
3. Length and intensity of communication	low	high	average
4. Percentage of population speaking the contact language	small	relatively large	small
5. Socioeconomic status	high	equal	high
6. Language prestige	high	equal	high
7. Bilingual speakers	yes	no	some
8. Schooling (providing access to target language)	yes	no	some
9. Existence of standard in source/target language	yes/yes	no/no	yes/no
10. Influence on the lexicon of the target language (types of loanword)	small (formal)	large in the Danelaw area (informal)	very large (mostly formal)
11. Influence on the phonology of the target language	no	yes	some
12. Linguistic similarity with target language	no	yes	no

ways of word-formation due to the phonological erosion of bound morphemes, and hence it was a ‘shorter path’ to borrow words rather than to make up one’s own, as was still the rule in the Old English period concerning the adoption of Latin words (cf. Godden 1992: 524, 528). Since French had prestige and was prevalent in both formal and literary writing until the thirteenth century, it is not surprising that English speakers started to use French words in their own language when English regained its position in the later Middle Ages.

Judging from the information collected in Table 2.1, we may therefore expect syntactic influence, direct or indirect, to be especially strong in the Scandinavian situation, and to be much weaker in the case of Latin and French because source-language agentivity was present only in the former. In the following subsections, we will look in more detail at the syntactic consequences linguists of various persuasions have noted for each contact in question. By linking what happened linguistically (in both qualitative and quantitative terms) to what happened historically, I hope to present a clearer view of both the general and the specific: a contribution to our knowledge of what we may expect in any contact situation as well as a better understanding of the degree and the amount to which Latin, Scandinavian and French shaped English syntactically.

2.2.1 The case of Latin

We are fortunate in having quite a few investigations on the influence of Latin on English syntax. Most of these concentrate on the absolute construction (*ablativus absolutus*), the passive infinitive, and the *nominativus*- and *accusativus-cum-infinitivo* constructions (*nci* and *aci* respectively). The conclusions concerning the putative influence are mixed. Most linguists agree that the absolute construction and the *nci* are mostly encountered in translations closely based on Latin and therefore did not truly affect English syntax (see Kohnen 2003; Nagucka 2003; Timofeeva 2010). Concerning the *aci* and the passive infinitive, opinions are more divided.

Timofeeva's (2010: 186–7) findings on the *nci* are as follows. In her subcorpus-1, based on glosses and direct translations from Latin, 39 instances were found in the Latin originals, of which only one is rendered by an *nci* (1a):

- (1) ... *cogebantur noua meditari* (*GregDial.* ii.3.142.20)²
 (a) ... *hi* ... *wæron geneadode niwe þing to smeagenne*
 ... they were compelled new things to consider
 (*GD ms H* 104.20)
 (b) ... *hi wæron genydede* ..., *þæt hi scoldon niwe wisan hycgan*
 ... they were compelled ... that they should new ways think
 & *smeagan*
 and consider (*GD ms C* 104.20)

The most usual technique is to use a *þæt*-clause (26 instances) as was indeed done in the C-version of *Gregory's Dialogues*, see (1b). In other cases the construction was either omitted or partly omitted (6 instances), the main verb made active (4 instances), or a participle was used (2 instances).

Timofeeva does not present quantitative evidence for the use of the *nci* in native Old English texts (her subcorpus-2), but simply gives one example from the *Peterborough Chronicle* to show that the *nci* was used in late Old English with the verb *seon* 'see'. I have checked all occurrences where *seon* is part of a passive predicate in the complete *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, and found only one more example in original Old English from the same chronicle:

- (2) & *þa uppon Eastron* ... *wæs gesewen forneah ofer eall*
 and then at Easter ... was seen nearly over all
þis land ... *swiðe mænifealdlice steorran of heofenan feollan*
 this land ... very manifold stars from heaven fall
 (*ChronE*, 1496 (1095.12))

What is interesting is that three other examples with passive *seon* do occur but with a present participle rather than an infinitive, a construction also found twice as a replacement in Timofeeva's subcorpus-1:

- (3) ... *ƿ fyrenne dracan wæron gesewene on þam lifte*
 ... and fiery dragons were seen in the air
*fleogende*³
 flying (*ChronD*, 0183 (793.1))

These participle constructions can comfortably be interpreted as native since the participle need not be directly dependent on the main verb but can be interpreted as dependent on the NP, *dracan*. Furthermore, since Old English allowed a bare infinitive as well as a participle after active predicates of *seon*, a construction with a participle here is also easily formed on analogy with the active construction. Further analogizing could then lead to the use of a bare infinitive even though the *nci* with a bare infinitive does not really fit the native grammar system, as the avoidance of *nci*'s in Timofeeva's subcorpus-1 makes abundantly clear. Even the construction of (1a) is understandable from the point of view of 'least salience' or analogy because the *to*-infinitive there can be seen as conveying purpose, and was in native use next to *þæt*-clauses after verbs of 'persuading and urging', to which *neodian* belongs (Los 2005: 51ff.). Thus, in all cases where a Latin *nci* can be shown or surmised to have influenced the text, the translator prefers to use a construction that is either native to Old English, or one that is analogous to a native construction, making it as non-salient as possible.

Concerning the ablative absolute, Nagucka (2003: 259) observes that 'typically, absolute constructions are substituted by native structures', e.g. *ab urbe condita* is translated in *Orosius* (78/1) as *æfter þæm þe Romeburg getimbred wæs* ('after that [time] that Rome-city built was'). Similarly Timofeeva (2010: 33ff.) found that of the 622 cases of ablative absolutes in her subcorpus-1, it is only the glosses that tend to use a literal rendering (96.94 per cent of the 98 cases are translated with a dative absolute construction), while in the direct translations (524 instances) this occurs only 21.76 per cent of the time. The following patterns were used instead (for details and the examples given, see Timofeeva 2010: 36ff.).

- (i) a prepositional phrase without a verb (*facto mane* 'morning reached' > *on mergen* 'in the morning')
- (ii) the use of a nominalized phrase instead of a participle (*imperante Constantino ... anno nono* 'Constantine reigning [in the] ninth year' > *þy nigodan gere Constantines rice* 'the ninth year of Constantine's reign')
- (iii) the use of a coordinate clause (*Et ascendente eo in navicula secuti sunt eum discipuli eius* 'And, him ascending on ship, his disciples followed him' > *And he astah on scyp and his leorningcnihtas hym fyligdon* 'and he went on [board] ship and his apostles followed him')
- (iv) the use of a subordinate clause (see the example from Nagucka above)
- (v) omission of the *nci* where possible and replacing it by an adverb when it contained old information (*qua accepta* 'this accepted' > *þa* 'then')

In her subcorpus-2 of native texts, Timofeeva (2010: 73) found 26 instances of dative absolutes, 16 of which are found in the writings of Ælfric. What is interesting is that most of these examples are modelled on *concrete* Latin phrases, e.g. *defuncto X > X forðgefarenum* ‘X having died’ (2010: 61). This shows that these are, as it were, ‘loan idioms’, which should be considered lexical rather than syntactic borrowings. It is an example of the indirect or gradient nature of many syntactic loans, as mentioned above in Section 2.1.2.

Van der Pol (2010) has also investigated the absolute construction, making use of a bigger corpus. She notes that the absolute construction could be seen as inherited from Indo-European since it occurs in other Indo-European languages. She argues that it was probably moribund in early Old English (where it is rare in her corpus) and that it revived under the influence of scholars familiar with Latin in the late Old English period. She admits that ‘loan idioms’ are a possibility since 83.69 per cent of the ablative absolutes based directly on Latin are indeed idiomatic, but at the same time she notes that non-translated texts, such as Ælfric’s *Homilies*, also contain ablative absolutes. What is remarkable is that the native examples from Ælfric given in Van der Pol all seem to admit an instrumental or simultaneity interpretation, thus coming very close to the instrumental meaning that the dative case could still carry in Old English, and where modern Germanic languages can still use a construction with *with*. They are of the type illustrated in (4a), and not of the type shown in (4b), which is directly based on Latin and indicates a temporal sequence:

- (4) a. *geendedum dagum þære freolstide / bescornum feaxe*
 ‘with the days of the festival having ended/with his hair shorn’
 (Ælfric *Homilies* 1,37: 501,130/1,32: 457,184)⁴
- b. *Ʒ ymne acwædene eodon ut on oelebearwes dune*
 ‘and a hymn having been sung, they went out onto the Mount of Olives’ (i.e. *after* they had sung a hymn, they went out)
 (Rushworth Matt.26.30)

The case with passive infinitives and *aci*’s is different because, in contrast to *nci*’s and absolute constructions, these did become part and parcel of the grammar system of English. Fischer’s (1991) investigation based on an Old and a Middle English corpus shows that passive infinitives are only fully grammatical in Old English after auxiliaries. They do not occur as a complement after the verb *be*, as an adjunct to an NP or adjective (with only one exception), nor as an adverbial adjunct. They are found occasionally in *aci* constructions and after impersonal verbs but mainly in direct translations from Latin. All above types only begin to emerge in the course of the Middle English period. Timofeeva (2010: 166ff) notes that passive infinitives in *aci*’s are ‘extremely rare’ in her subcorpus-1. She found only 5 examples out of a total of 788 passive infinitives in the Latin originals.

Concerning the *aci*, I will illustrate with the help of quantitative evidence of its occurrence in Old and Middle English, and comparative evidence from German and Dutch, to what extent the introduction of the *aci* was due to contact with Latin, and to what extent other factors were involved. The *aci* is a construction where an NP, which functions as the subject of the infinitive, is not syntactically governed by the infinitive but by the main predicate even though this predicate does not assign a semantic role to the NP in question. In Old English such a construction was only possible (and indeed part of the native code) with a bare infinitive after verbs of direct perception and causatives, where there was a semantic as well as a syntactic link between main verb and accusative NP, as in *I saw/let him go*, and where the situation was concrete and directly observable or the causation direct; in other words, there had to be a unity of tense-domain or direct entailment. In Latin-type *aci*'s, later also found in English with *to*-infinitives, such as *I judge this to be in your best interest* or *he expects it to be three to four years before SpaceShipTwo flies*,⁵ these two aspects are not present: the activity expressed by the infinitive is neither observable/entailed, nor part of the same tense-domain (see Fischer 1989; Fischer, Van Kemenade, Koopman and Van der Wurff 2000). The use of empty *it* in the second example also makes clear that there is no semantic relation between *it* and the main predicate.⁶

Many explanations have been offered for the rise of the *aci* in English. Quite a few linguists working within a traditional model of grammar believe it was native to English. Because the native and the Latin types of *aci* are in form not easily distinguishable on the surface, they tend to see them as belonging to one category (see Krickau 1877; Riggert 1909; Visser 1963–73). In such a model, construction changes also do not readily become visible. Others, such as Zeitlin (1908), believe that the *aci* construction spread naturally by means of analogy (in tandem with lexical diffusion) from verbs of physical perception to verbs of mental perception, and then to other cognition verbs and verbs of utterance. Yet other researchers believe it may be an extension of small clauses such as *I find him great* > *I find him to be great* (for more details, see Fischer 1989).

Lightfoot (1981), working in a generative model, ascribes the rise of the *aci* to the influence of Latin. This is surprising since he is otherwise reluctant to invoke foreign influence when parallel forms exist in two languages (cf. Lightfoot 1979: 383). He argues that the rule of S-bar deletion (current in the Principles and Parameters model allowing infinitival subjects to be governed), which was new to Middle English, is likely to be 'a result of translating Latin accusative + infinitive constructions', which 'then became part of the linguistic environment' (1981:113). In a later study (1991: 89ff), he considers the rise an internal development, arguing that the *aci* is due to a parameter shift in the status of *to*: *to* coalesced with the governing verb enabling this verb to transmit its head government and case properties. Both

proposals are highly theory-internal and technical, and both only work as long as the model in which the constructions function is upheld. This is in itself a problem, but more serious is the fact that the philological details to support the explanation are not correct. There is no space to go into this in detail (I refer the interested reader to my earlier discussion of this in Fischer *et al.* 2000: 211ff).

Here I would like to highlight the comparative aspect and the synchronic state of the grammar system of English at the time of the change. First of all, it is remarkable that the Latin-type *aci* construction did not spread in Dutch and German, even though the same contact situation as regards Latin applied here too in the same period (cf. Krickau 1877, Fischer 1994). If the sociocultural circumstances in all three cases can be considered more or less equal, an explanation for the rise must be found elsewhere. Secondly, the Latin-type *aci* spread into native English texts only *after* the Old English period. This raises the question of what was different about Middle English in comparison to both Old English, and German and Dutch. The quantitative evidence given for Old English in Timofeeva (2010), and for Middle English in Warner (1982) and Fischer (1992a) speaks for itself. Timofeeva (2010: 161, 163) found only 2 translated *aci*'s in her subcorpus-1 after verbs of cognition, out of a total of 37 Latin ones, and only 1 after verbs of utterance out of 48 possible ones. Fischer (1992a) finds a large number of passive infinitive constructions functioning as *aci*'s in a corpus of original Middle English texts (for the significance of the use of the passive, see below), namely 146 instances after perception verbs and causatives, and 19 after persuade-type verbs; this is followed in the course of time by more truly Latin-type *aci*'s after cognition verbs and verbs of utterance (30 instances, 17 of which are ambiguous, 6 have a passive infinitive).

Quite a number of studies have pointed to the role played by word order in the rise of new infinitival constructions (involving next to the *aci*, also the so-called *for* NP *to* V constructions; see Fischer *et al.* 2000, Los 2005, De Smet 2009). In the older Germanic languages the word order was still variable because the languages lacked a written standard; they were still in Givón's (1979: 223) 'Pragmatic Mode', rather than in his 'Syntactic Mode'. Basically, the older Germanic languages could be described as SOV, with verb-second regularly operating in main clauses, and with the possibility for pronouns to occur in clitic position before the finite verb, at least in Old English. However, none of these patterns was fully grammaticalized. Grammaticalization occurred in all three languages, probably as a consequence of the development of a written tradition and subsequent standardization, whereby Dutch and German remained strongly SOV, with a highly regular V2 rule, while English became more and more a strict SVO language.⁷ There is no necessity here to go deeper into these different developments, the point is that the move towards a fixed SVO word order in English created an environment in which the Latin *aci* fitted more easily than before because

- c. *sir Tristram harde a grete horne blowe*
 Sir Tristram heard a great horn blow
 (Malory *Morte Darthur* 729,17, Vinaver 1967)

It seems therefore highly likely that the rise of Latin-type *aci* constructions was helped along by the surge of new passive *aci*'s that preceded them. The passive infinitive (which as a form was already available in Old English after modal verbs) solved the word order problem noted above, and simultaneously made the connection between the predicate and the oblique NP looser. In (5a), there clearly is a semantic (argument) relation between *het* and *þone arcebisceop Wulfstan*. When a passive construction is used, as in *The king commanded a book to be prepared*, this relation is gone, turning *a book to be prepared* into a theme or complement. The development shows that the *aci* construction crept in at a 'weak' spot, where it was least salient, and then spread from there. Warner (1982) and Fischer (1992a, 1994) have found a few more weak spots that helped the construction along, such as the fact that the *aci* first occurred with reflexive oblique NPs, and in *wh*-movement constructions, again in places where the *aci* was least salient.

The conclusion must be that Latin influence on English syntax was only possible where the synchronic grammar system allowed it. Interesting in this connection is the case of 'parasitic gap' constructions looked at by Van der Wurff (1990). He found that clauses such as,

- (7) a book which you can't understand *t* unless you read *e* well (Van der Wurff 1990: 197)

which are highly marginal in Present-day English (normally the gap *e* is filled by an anaphoric pronoun, *it*), were quite common in Latinate-style writings from the Renaissance onwards, but they never really made it because there was 'no grammatical derivation' for them possible within the grammar system of English (1990: 196). And, we could add, there was no need for them because there was already a perfectly adequate construction making use of a pronoun.

2.2.2 The case of Old Norse

There is a lot of controversy about the influence Old Norse may have had on the English dialects spoken in Northern England and later, through migration of Northern and Midlands speakers into the London area, also on the developing Standard. The main problem is that it is not possible to link the archaeological (burial, sculptural and coinage) evidence and the evidence from place-names directly to the number of settlers (see Hadley 1997; Hadley and Richards 2000). Sawyer (1971), followed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 299, *passim*), had claimed on the basis of this evidence and the lack of continuity in a separate ethnicity of the Vikings that the number of settlers was relatively small. Hadley (1997: 70), however, notes:

The consensus reached by the end of the 1970s was that although the Viking armies were perhaps not as sizeable as was once thought, they were, nonetheless, not as small as Peter Sawyer had claimed.

Most scholars agree that there must have been a high degree of intermarriage and social mixing (see Allen 1997: 67; Hadley 1997: 86), and that this ‘makes it probable that it would soon have been difficult to distinguish people of exclusively English or Danish descent’ (Hadley 1997: 86). Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 281) concur when they write that the language contact situation must have been ‘intense’ (‘either category (3) borrowing or considerable influence through shift, or (more likely) both’),⁹ and that the ‘Norse influence on English was pervasive’; they add, however, that this was only ‘in the sense that results are found in all parts of the language, but it was not deep, except on the lexicon’ (1988: 302). They believe that ‘[i]n spite of the relatively large number of grammatical elements of Norse origin in Norsified ME [as shown in detail in their table 4b, pp. 278–79], their effect on English structure was almost trivial’ (1988: 298), and they do not believe that the contact with Old Norse caused simplification ‘because the simplifications we see in ME when compared to OE probably were taking place in OE before Norse influence became relevant’ (1988: 303). This seems to contradict their earlier statement (1988: 277): ‘Northern dialects . . . show a good deal of morphological simplification when compared to the OE stage or even to old Norse.’

Thomason and Kaufman, followed by Allen (1997), uphold that the simplifications that occurred should be seen as a natural development rather than one caused by contact. They defend this position by arguing that ‘most simplifications of Northern ME’ already took place in Old Northumbrian, and, secondly, that they are ‘not unusual when compared with Modern Dutch, Low German, Danish, or Swedish’ (1988: 280–1). Allen (1997) shows that reduction of forms and case syncretism is rife in the early Northern *Lindisfarne Gospels* glosses, and that the ‘details of syncretism differed considerably’ (1997: 86) from those taking place in the South, but she too attributes this to natural processes such as phonological weakening and analogy.

However, this does not answer the question why the developments in Northern English were, first, so much faster than in the Germanic sister languages, and, second, also much faster compared to the Southern English dialects, where there was no Viking settlement. Simplification (loss of variation) due to imperfect learning of the Vikings would have similar results (with analogy playing a major role) and, in addition, would explain the earlier occurrence. I agree that the ‘processes involved’ in this development would not have ‘differed fundamentally in the north from those . . . in the south’ (Allen 1997: 86), but the timing clearly did. The developments taking place later in the South would also have been speeded up (compared

to what happened in the other Germanic languages) by immigration from the North and Midlands, as described in Samuels (1969: 411–13), or by the development of an East Midland koiné or interlanguage as described in Poussa (1982).

Concerning the sister languages, loss of inflexions in Dutch only occurred some 500 years later, and this loss was not nearly as pervasive as the loss in Northern England, i.e. Modern Dutch still has two genders, remnants of strong and weak adjectives, and weak as well as strong plural nouns. A comparison with modern German dialects is even more striking, since they remained highly inflectional. Equally important is the fact that Dutch still has the variation in word order that was present in Old English, even though each variant is more grammaticalized; thus it still has Subject–Verb inversion after a topicalized element, SOV in subordinate clauses, and the verbal brace construction in main clauses. Word order in the more ‘progressive’ Scandinavian languages also is not totally fixed;¹⁰ they still have remnants of the V2 rule and are more highly inflectional, preserving gender and verbal agreement features, and some distinctions between weak and strong adjectives (see Bandle *et al.* 2005).

My position here, following McWhorter (2002), is that it is most unlikely that the contact situation between the Vikings and the Northern Englishmen, which was intense, as even Thomason and Kaufman admit, did not lead to a simplification of the language. Thomason and Kaufman base their conclusion on Sawyer’s argument that the number of settlers was quite small, and on their idea that they represented a ‘small elite’, who therefore ‘could have influenced the vocabulary of English-speaking peasants merely through a prestigious status’ (1988: 304). I would argue for the opposite position – namely that simplification must have taken place through shift or interference due to imperfect learning – on the basis of the following: (i) the archaeological evidence (the lack of continuity in ethnicity, see above) suggesting that the Vikings soon fitted in with their new environment; it is likely that this also resulted soon in a common new variety; (ii) intermarriage leading to a new mixed language in which the next generation, having to choose between alternative elements and structures, will tend to opt for the maximally simple via the process of abduction (analogy); (iii) the unlikelihood of prestige being involved since the Vikings and English were both farmers; additionally, prestige leads to lexical borrowing (cf. the Norman situation later) but not to a dramatic loss of inflexions and the borrowing of function words; (iv) the mutual intelligibility of Old Norse and Old English making it likely that koinéization occurred as a result of intensive contact (see Kerswill 2002: 669).

With respect to koinéization, Kerswill notes a number of characteristics. He writes that it typically takes two or three generations to complete, and is even achievable in one (2002: 670); it is composed of three processes: mixing, levelling, and simplification (2002: 672); koiné-formation typically involves continuity of both dialects, which makes it very different

from pidgin and creole genesis (2002: 696); there is no dominant language and prestige is not involved.

Mixing is indeed attested on various levels, phonological, morphological, lexical. We see it in the paradigm of the personal pronoun, which contains Norse (*they, their, them*) as well as English elements, and of the verb TO BE, which has ON *are, art* and *ware(n)*; we see it in the mixing of phonetic form and meaning, as in the word *dream*, a word that acquired its sound shape from English but its meaning from ON *draumr* (similarly with *dwell* and *bread*, which acquired their meanings from ON *dvelja* and *brauð*); we see it in hybrid compounds such as *liðsmann* ‘sailor’ (ON had *liðsmaðr*) from ON *lið* ‘fleet’ and OE *mann*;¹¹ sometimes a phoneme might change under the influence of ON as in OE *fæder, modor* which became *father, mother* under the influence of ON *fadir, modir*.¹² We see it in the mixed core vocabulary: words such as *die, take, both, though, till, leg* etc. and the forms *give, get* etc. rather than Southern *yive, yet*, derive from Old Norse.

Levelling is clear from the evidence given in Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 279); it affected the nominal case and number system, and most strongly the demonstrative pronoun *se/seo/þæt*, which in the early Middle English *Peterborough Chronicle* has been reduced mostly to *þe* in all its forms. Simplification is evident in the loss of distinction between strong and weak adjectives, loss of gender, loss of distinction between weak-class 1 and 2 verbs, loss of the Ablaut distinction between the singular and the plural past of strong verbs, loss of the distinction between indicative and subjunctive etc.¹³

On the basis of the above, it is not at all unlikely that Norsification also affected the syntax in terms of simplification. Thomason and Kaufman are extremely hesitant to admit influence here because they see a lack of sufficient evidence and problems with theoretical models making it hard to define ‘simplicity’ (see note 9). However, if it can be shown that it is the *variation* in syntactic patterns that is reduced, then we need not be concerned about whether one construction is more marked than another because the simplification is one of quantity not of quality.¹⁴

We are fortunate in having a quantitative study of syntactic patterns found in early Middle English Northern compared to Southern-Midland texts in Kroch and Taylor (1997). Kroch and Taylor note an important syntactic difference between these texts, which they relate to a difference between two types of V2-movement involving two different positions to which the verb may move: either to CP or to a lower IP position. They see these as representing a ‘typological distinction’ (1997: 297), involving a parameter shift. The technical details of their theoretical model need not concern us here; what is important is that they have found clear surface differences between Northern and Southern-Midland texts. Southern-Midland texts show the same constraints on V2 as Old English texts, i.e. we see regular Subject–Verb inversion after all preposed complements and

PP adjuncts, but only with full NP subjects not with pronominal ones. We also see that the inversion works differently with light adverbs such as ‘then’ and ‘now’, which already in Old English allowed inversion even with pronoun subjects. The numbers given by Kroch and Taylor are convincing. Excluding the adverbs ‘then’/‘now’, the inversion with full NPs averages between 75 and 100 per cent in early Southern-Midland texts (see their tables 1 and 2), with the exception of Adjuncts in the late Middle English *Ayenbite of Inmyt* (which is lower, i.e. 36 per cent), while with pronouns the inversion averages between 0 and 8 per cent, with the exception of Adjectival Complements in early Midland texts, which is higher (33 per cent).

In contrast, late Northern texts give a rather mixed picture, indicating that there is a lot of variation in the application of the V2-rule (see their table 3). In the earliest Northern prose text, the *Rule of St Benet*, the complex conditioning of Verb–Subject inversion found in Old English and Southern-Midland texts is virtually absent. Here full NP-inversion is found in all cases, even after ‘then’ (with PP adjuncts it amounts to ‘only’ 89 per cent), with pronoun inversion following closely, occurring between 91 and 100 per cent (except after Adjectival Complements, where it is 67 per cent). We may conclude from this that a considerable simplification has taken place in the North in that, in the application of the V2-rule, subject pronouns are now treated in exactly the same way as full subject NPs, and the variation after ‘then’ has disappeared; i.e. they have lost their clitic status.

Kroch and Taylor, however, do not accept this ‘simple’ solution because they have other evidence showing that the Old English clitic status of pronouns has been preserved even in the Northern texts. The evidence for this is not very convincing, however. The first three examples they quote (1997: 314–15) concern an empty pronoun or a case of stylistic fronting possible because of a ‘subject gap’, as in (8a, b) respectively. These cases are, however, clearly different from the normal anaphoric pronouns collected in their table 3.

- (8) a. *Bot yef it sua bi-tide, þat any falle in mis-trouz*
 But if it so may-betide that any may-fall into mistruth
 (*Benet* 19.30)
- b. *... þat erin hauis, herkins wat þe haly spirt sais in haly writ*
 ... who ears has listen-to what the holy spirit says in Holy Writ
 (*Benet* 2.4)

Note also that the subject position in (8b) is filled on the surface by *þat*, and I would therefore argue that this example only provides evidence within a model that observes the ‘subject-gap condition’. Other examples concern ‘doubly-filled Comp’ sentences, as in (9). These are stylistically very awkward, however, and possibly due to Latin influence. Or they occur in

comparative constructions (10), which can be said to be rather special in themselves. Note that the difference in Subject–Verb order after *þe mare* can be accounted for by the fact that the first *þe mare* introduces a subordinate clause (note the use of the complementizer *þat*), while the second heads a main clause in which it functions as an adverbial phrase causing the, by now, regular inversion. (For the finer technical, but highly theory-internal, details I refer the reader to the article itself.)

- (9) *I sal yu lere þe dute of god, his wille þat ze may do*
I shall you teach the duty of God, his will that you may do
(Benet 2.5, K&T:315)
- (10) *for þe mare þat sho est hezid ouir toþir þe mare*
For the more that she is raised over the-other, the more
azh sho ...
ought she ... (Benet 44.4, K&T:317)

More important perhaps is the fact that only a few exceptional constructions of this kind are attested (14 in all), in comparison with the much greater amount of regular constructions where the pronoun *need not* be interpreted as a clitic (226 instances in Kroch and Taylor's table 3). If one uses another theoretical framework, i.e. a usage-based model, which makes use of analogical learning rather than innate principles and parameters (e.g. Tomasello 2003), then the exceptions cited in (8)–(10) are not crucial at all. On the contrary, the picture that emerges is that there has been an overall simplification resulting in one simple inversion or V2-rule covering all cases: pronouns as well as nouns, complements as well as adjuncts and light adverbs. My suggestion, therefore, is that this simplification has been caused by imperfect learning due to language contact with Scandinavian, whereby the most frequent pattern, by analogy, replaces less frequent ones. There is no need to invoke a parameter change from an IP-V2- to a CP-V2-language, as Kroch and Taylor do, whose explanation has the additional disadvantage of being tied to a particular and rather abstract theoretical model.

This case shows remarkable resemblance to one of simplification in Modern Dutch also involving inversion. Imperfect learners, who do not understand the subtlety of Dutch inversion after adjuncts, tend to treat them all as the same pattern, as shown in (11)–(12) (for more details see Fischer 2007: 290ff):

- (11) *Eerlijk heb ik mijn mogelijkheden afgewogen, ik mist bijvoorbeeld dat ik het*
Honestly have I my possibilities weighed, I knew for-instance that I [the]
Hindi, de religieuze taal van India, zou moeten leren.
Hindi, the religious language of India, would have-to learn

'I have weighed my possibilities in an honest/open way, I knew, for instance, that I would have to learn Hindi, the religious language of India' (www.refdag.nl/oud/series/predikambt/990819klo7.html)

- (12) *En eerlijk, ik weet echt niet of hij de lipstick gestolen heeft of niet.*
And honestly, I know truly not if he the lipstick stolen has or not

'And honestly, I really do not know whether he has stolen the lipstick or not' (home.wanadoo.nl/prettyblowwy/lipstick.html)

- (13) *Eerlijk wil ik niet per se naar Armin kijken*
Honestly want I not specifically at Armin look,
tenzij er een (kleine) meeting is.
unless there a small meeting is
'Honestly/frankly I do not specifically want to watch Armin unless there is a small meeting' (www.tranceaddict.com/forums/showthread/t-181608.html)

In standard Dutch, there is inversion due to V2 when there is a complement or verbal adjunct at the beginning of the clause, as in (11). When the adjunct is used as a sentence adverbial, however, as in (12), it does not form part of the clause: it is treated as a separate proposition, leaving the normal Subject–Verb order of the clause intact. Learners of Dutch are not always able to make this distinction between a manner adverb (11) and a sentence adverb (12), and therefore tend to treat all sentences as simple V2 sentences, as shown in (13), where a sentence adverb is followed by Verb–Subject rather than regular Subject–Verb. They even do this with adverbs that always take Subject–Verb, such as *kortom* 'in short':

- (14) *Kortom heb ik geen machtiging aan u verstrekt en*
In-short have I no standing-order to you allowed and
vraag ik u dan ook om deze stop te zetten.
ask I you then also for this, stop to put
'In short, I have not allowed you to set up a standing order and I therefore ask you to annul it' (<http://forums.marokko.nl/showthread.php?t=2666214>)

In summary, the influence of Old Norse on English syntax seems to have been more profound than that of Latin influence, but it was not of a direct kind (if we leave the borrowing of some function words out of account).¹⁵ The suggestion here is that a koiné arose in the Danelaw which led to the simplification of Old English morphology and word order via shift-induced interference.

2.2.3 *The case of French*

Most linguists seem to agree that the influence of French on English was mainly restricted to the lexicon (including the use of new affixes), to orthographic changes, and to changes in style including the use of metre and rhyme in poetry. Blake (1992: 16) writes that ‘French vocabulary and syntax influence English’, but gives no examples of the latter. Where there is influence on syntax, it seems to be restricted to translations (such as has been noticed for Dan Michel of Northgate’s *Ayenbite of Inmyt*, which follows the French original very closely) and to cases where the syntactic structure is based on French vocabulary items (this includes most of the influence on ‘English phrasing’ that Prins (1952) has noted, e.g. examples such as ‘to take one’s end’ as a translation of *prendre fin*). In addition, a number of cases are cited where French influence may have reinforced developments in English syntax.

As to influence via French vocabulary, Fischer’s (2004, 2006) studies on the position of the adjective in Middle English, making use of a corpus of 1.3 million words, show that the use of post-nominal adjectives cannot be considered a result of French *syntactic* influence because it predominantly continues structures that were already common in Old English.¹⁶ Post-posed adjectives occurred in Old English when more than one adjective was involved (since adjectives could not be stacked as they can nowadays), and when the adjective was used predicatively, which happens mostly in indefinite NPs (see Fischer 2000, 2001). When these conditions were not observed, we may indeed find post-posed adjectives in a ‘French’ fashion, but it is significant that these cases usually concern French adjectives, and quite often even complete French phrases, i.e. where both noun and adjective are French. This makes the loan look lexical rather than syntactic.

Other cases where French influence has been suggested concern mostly structures where a native development can also be discerned, and indeed where similar developments have taken place in other Germanic languages. One concerns the development of the *of*-construction that partly replaces the genitive, which may have been helped along by French *de*. However, Dutch and German developed similar constructions (with *van* and *von* respectively), and they are part of a general replacement of cases by prepositions (cf. Fischer 1992b: 226).

Another area concerns *wh*-relatives, which developed only in Middle English. The discussion of the available literature in Fischer (1992b: 298ff) shows that a good case can be made for these relatives to have developed out of generalizing relatives, such as OE *sma hma/hwīlc sma* with loss of *sma*, as well as cases in which the interrogative pronoun (*hwæt* in (15)) was used in such a way that it could be reinterpreted as an independent relative (*that (which)*), or indefinite pronoun (*whatever*):

- (15) *Gif he næbbe hwæt he selle, sie he self beboht wið*
 If he not-have what he promises, be he himself sold against
ðam fio.
 that fee
 'If he does not have what he promises, then he may be sold
 himself for that amount' (*Law/Elf* 24)

Middle English examples like (16) show how the independent relative could be linked to a preceding (pro)noun (*he*) functioning as an antecedent, turning *hwa* into a regular relative:

- (16) *hwam mai he luue troweliche hwa ne luues*
 whom can he love truly who(ever) not love
his broðer
 his brother (*Wooing Lord*(Tit) 238–40)

It is possible that this development was strengthened by French *qu*-forms, but the fact that *wh*-forms are also found in Dutch and German relatives is suggestive. In addition, *wh*-forms are found earliest in connection with a preceding preposition, and they may therefore also have been used to fill a structural gap since the most frequent ME relative, *þat*, could not be used this way. It is also not likely that the more formal use of the relative, *the which*, is an imitation of French *liquel* since its earliest occurrences are in Northern texts where French influence was slight. It is more likely that *the which* is a contamination of the OE generalizing relatives *se/seo/þæt þe* (which have a pronoun/determiner followed by the relative particle) and *swa hwilc swa* (see Fischer 1992b: 303).

Another interesting case is the occurrence of causative *do* plus bare infinitive, which may have been modelled on French *faire* constructions as argued by Ellegård (1953: 90ff.), see (17)

- (17) *Vor he deþ ech þing praysi ase hit is be rihte worþ*
 (car il fet chascune chose prisier selom sa droite value)
 For he causes praise each thing [each thing to be praised], as it is
 according to its right value (*Ayenbite*, Morris 1866: 152,17)

It is a fact that causative *don* followed by an infinitive is not found in Old English, the normal construction is a *þæt*-clause. Many of these *þæt*-complements became infinitival constructions in Middle English (cf. Fischer *et al.* 2000, Los 2005), which may also have helped this development with *do*. However, this construction with *do* is rare in Middle English; normally *haten* or *leten* is used as a causative before an infinitive (cf. Denison 1985: 52). It is possible therefore that the *do* variant was influenced by French but the analogy with existing *leten/haten* constructions may have been a stronger force.

Haeblerli's (2010) study of Anglo-Norman influence on Middle English also comes to the conclusion that there is little evidence for such influence

except possibly in some cases related to Subject–Verb inversion. He shows by means of quantitative evidence that the loss of ‘then’ as a distinctive trigger for inversion may be due to the fact that in Continental French and Anglo-Norman ‘initial adverbs seem to be the weakest triggers of inversion in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries’ (2010: 151). He also believes French may be responsible for a ‘temporary increase of inversion with subject pronouns’ (2010: 161) because this was ‘entirely productive’ in both Continental French and Anglo-Norman. However, as argued in Section 2.2, this increase first occurred in the North and is visible already in early Middle English (as Haeberli also admits), and it is therefore more likely that koinéization with Old Norse is to ‘blame’ for this development, possibly further strengthened by French.

All in all, whenever a voice supporting French influence on syntax is raised, the arguments are usually not fully persuasive, however much effort may have been put into proving the case. We see this, for example, in Moessner (1999), where the case depends fully on dates: the presence of a construction found only since Malory’s translation of the French *Morte d’Artur*. However, the formal and semantic similarities between the constructions discussed are so slight that strong doubts must be raised.

2.3 Brief conclusion

I have tried to show that syntactic borrowing is unlikely to have occurred as a result of contact with Latin and French unless an analogous construction was available in the target language, as was the case with the Latin *aci* construction, and possibly French causative *faire*. In such a case the use of the native construction may have been given a boost, but the contact language has not really affected the native grammar system as such. In other cases, the similarity between the languages in contact may be accidental because it forms part of a natural native development, as can be shown in the case of relative *which* or the periphrastic genitive construction, which also occurred in other Germanic languages that had no close contact with French. Only in the case of Old Norse contact can we conclude that the syntax of English has been more deeply affected, but here too, not directly by imitation or borrowing, but by means of imperfect learning leading to a reduction of variant forms.

3 Multilingualism and code-switching as mechanisms of contact-induced lexical change in late Middle English

HERBERT SCHENDL

3.1 Introduction

It is a commonplace that the vocabulary of English is highly mixed and that a large percentage of lexical borrowings entered (or first appeared) in English in the Middle English period, particularly from Latin, French and, to a smaller degree, Scandinavian. Such large-scale borrowing typically results from extensive multilingualism and is often linked to the different status of the languages in contact. The extralinguistic background of language contact in medieval England has been described in detail, though there are some controversial points about the exact nature of the French and Scandinavian influence (for French see, e.g., Rothwell 1998, Wogan-Browne *et al.* 2009, Ingham 2010b; for the linguistic situation in the Danelaw area Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Dawson 2003).

Most histories of English and even specialized studies on the history of the English lexicon do not go much beyond these basic facts before they provide classified lists and a typology of borrowings and possibly reasons for the replacement of native lexical items. In other words, the study of lexical borrowing in medieval English has mainly focused on its *results*, i.e. on static aspects. The more dynamic and performance-related question of how contact-induced lexical change might actually have happened has been neglected in English historical linguistics.¹

In her introduction to *Language Contact*, Sarah Thomason lists seven ‘mechanisms’ of contact-induced language change, which she defines as ‘mechanisms which operate, singly or in combinations, to produce contact-induced changes of all kinds’ (2001: 129). The key terms in this definition, ‘mechanisms’, ‘operate’ and ‘produce’, clearly point to the dynamic and process-oriented nature of her concept. The first two in her list are (i) code-switching and (ii) code-alternation, with code-switching being defined as ‘the use of material from two (or more) languages by a single speaker in the same conversation’ (2001: 132), and code-alternation as the use of different languages by the same speaker in different situations (2001: 136).²

The present chapter will focus on the first mechanism, code-switching, and its occurrence and relevance for lexical change in late medieval texts.³

Mainstream English historical linguistics has neglected systematic research into this mechanism, though a large amount of relevant data from medieval England has survived in the form of mixed-language texts, where Latin, English and/or French co-occur in various patterns and with various functions. This neglect is also apparent in the disregard of such texts in histories of English or in modern discussions of code-switching.⁴ In the last two decades, however, there has been increasing linguistic interest in such texts and an awareness that they should be seen as written manifestations of code-switching. A fair number of linguistic studies on historical code-switching have appeared in the meantime, though these have not received the attention they would deserve. Furthermore, a number of medievalists have adopted a more linguistically oriented approach in their analyses of such texts, often with explicit reference to modern work on code-switching (see Fletcher 1994; Wenzel 1994; Voigts 1996). In his study on medieval mixed ('macaronic') sermons, Wenzel refers to them as 'bilingualism in action'. As written manifestations of switching, however, they are only the reflection of the actual process itself. At the same time, a closer analysis of such data enables us to gain, at least indirectly, insight into the working of code-switching as an important mechanism of contact-induced lexical change in the medieval period – a deeper insight than most other types of historical evidence can provide.

The aim of the present chapter is to illustrate the dynamic aspect of contact-induced lexical change by analysing some samples of mixed-language texts from late medieval England. In spite of the strong data-orientation of the chapter, I will try to show that such empirical analyses have some bearing on our theoretical understanding of the working of code-switching as a mechanism of contact-induced lexical change.

3.2 Recent research on medieval English code-switching

Most research on historical code-switching has either focused on a specific text or text type from a synchronic point of view or has aimed at describing the diachronic development of switching within one text type.⁵ Thus, Wenzel (1994) discussed functional and syntactic aspects of switching in a corpus of late medieval 'macaronic' sermons and proposed a classification based on linguistic criteria. His claim that such sermons may have been preached in this mixed form to a bilingual clerical audience was criticized by Fletcher (1994, in press).

The switching patterns and functions in late medieval London business accounts and their development into the Early Modern English period were extensively studied by Wright (e.g. 1995a, 2002a, 2010) on the basis of – frequently unedited – manuscripts. Wright stresses the communicative function of such texts in trade encounters and the importance of manuscript abbreviations and suspension marks as a means to neutralize the different

languages used. Trotter (2006, etc.), one of the editors of the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (AND), has investigated similar mixed text types from the point of view of the lexicographer (discussed in Sections 3.3 and 3.4 below).

Medical mixed-language texts have been the research topic of Voigts (1996), Hunt (2000) and Pahta (2004), bilingual letters were analysed in Schendl (2002a, b) and medieval yearbooks in Davidson (2005). As for mixed literary texts, Machan (1994) on *Piers Plowman*, Diller (1997/98) on medieval drama, and studies on ‘macaronic poems’ by Archibald (1992) and Putter (2009) should be mentioned. Most of these studies focus on functional aspects of code-switching, but some also deal with lexical (Trotter, Wright), morphological (Wright) and syntactic (Wright, Schendl; see also Ingham 2011, Halmari and Regetz 2011) questions. A discussion of the numerous findings of these studies is not possible here, but they all have furthered our understanding of the significance of historical code-switching.

However, one major aspect has been missing so far, namely an attempt to provide a picture of the overall distribution and use of medieval code-switching at one specific point or period of time in medieval England, looking at different text types and domains (including differences in form and function linked to them) as well as their geographical distribution. Such an approach not only shows that mixed-language text types such as sermons or poems are not unusual phenomena, but also that a large number of literate persons from, for instance, around 1400 must have been confronted with a variety of mixed-language texts on a regular basis, seeing them most likely as a written reflection of societal multilingualism. Only such a wider view of switching at one particular point in time will provide a deeper insight into the importance of code-switching as a mechanism of contact-induced change in historical stages of English. My chapter should be understood as a first but necessarily sketchy attempt at such an undertaking.

3.3 Code-switching around 1400 and its relevance for lexical change

In this section, a number of mixed-language texts from different text types will be analysed to discover features that point to the working of code-switching as a mechanism of contact-induced lexical change. The six groups of texts listed under (1) all date from around 1400 (plus/minus about a decade). They represent different text types from various domains, such as literary, religious, private, legal and administrative texts, and partly differ in regard to the attested patterns and functions of switching. They originate from various geographical areas, thus showing that this multilingual discourse strategy was not restricted to London. These texts also support my claim that code-switching was a widely accepted textual strategy in late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century England, a strategy which clearly

reflects the complex multilingualism of – at least the literate part of – medieval English society in the three main languages of written discourse, Latin, French and English.

Any lexical analysis of medieval mixed-language texts heavily relies on the information provided by the large historical dictionaries of the three main written languages of medieval Britain, the *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*), the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (*AND*) and the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (*DMLBS*; Latham and Howlett 1975); at the same time, this research also exposes the shortcomings of these dictionaries in their unsystematic treatment of lexical items from mixed-language texts as well as problems of dating and of etymology. Some of these problems will be discussed in the following analyses. There is no doubt that historical lexicography can profit from the insights to be gained from the analysis of mixed-language texts (see also Wright, this volume and forthcoming).

- (1) Analysed mixed-language texts from around 1400
 - 1.1 Poem (French – English – Latin), ?
 - 1.2 Sermon (Latin – English), Oxford
 - 1.3 Letter (French – English), Hereford
 - 1.4 Wills (Latin – English – French), York
 - 1.5 Accounts, Rochester Bridge (Latin – English; French – English), Rochester
 - 1.6 Accounts, ship repairs (Latin – English – French; French – English), London

The text samples analysed range from very consciously structured poetic (1.1) and religious (1.2) texts at the top of the list, where code-switching was most certainly used consciously and thus required a high degree of multilingual competence, to a more spontaneous semi-official letter (1.3), and finally to various legal and administrative texts, such as wills (1.4) and accounts (1.5, 1.6) at the bottom; these latter two types are more restricted and conventional in their switching patterns, and possibly required a lower level of bilingual competence.⁶ The base language of the texts is either Latin, the high language of various domains around 1400, or French, as a still prestigious vernacular of the court and of certain administrative texts, with frequent switches into the vernacular, mostly English, but partly also French, with quite a number of ambiguous cases.⁷

The arrangement of the texts in (1) furthermore reflects a possible continuum or ‘cline’ of mixed-language texts, at one end of which we find clear cases of code-switching involving a high degree of competence, while the texts at the other end represent a type of mixing which may represent less prototypical code-switching than the others and seems to have a fuzzy border against a certain type of monolingual texts (see example (11) below and the discussion whether these still represent code-switching in the established sense of the word in Section 3.4).

The first sample to be discussed is a trilingual poem from around 1400, where French, English and Latin alternate from one line to the next and are thus fully balanced. In the passage under (2), the English text only has lexical items of Germanic origin, but no French or Latin loans (see Putter 2009).

- (2) Poem: *De amico ad amicam* (F – E – L) (c. 1400) (Putter 2009: 399)

Sachéz bien, pleyasant
et beele

**That I am right in
good heele**

Laus Christo!

Et mon amour doné
vous ay,

**And also thin owene
nyght and day**

Incisto.

‘Be well assured, pleasing and
beautiful one

**That I am in very
good health**

Praise to Christ

And I have given you
my love

**And also thy own by
night and day**

I persevere’

There are a large number of medieval ‘macaronic’ poems, most of them bilingual and often highly artistic, but sometimes with less regular switching patterns and showing some lexical items whose language affiliation (English or Latin) is unclear (see Schendl 2000b: 84, 87). Frequently there is a correlation between metrical factors and switching sites, such as verse structure, metre or rhyme (Schendl 1997: 53–6), though these factors do not offer any real explanation for the occurrence of switching. In themselves, ‘macaronic’ poems hardly deserve much linguistic attention; however, if they, like other mixed-language literary texts, are seen in the context of the large amount of non-literary mixed texts, their relevance as linguistic data becomes obvious.

The sample under (3) illustrates a mixed sermon from an Oxford manuscript containing more than twenty similar sermons and dating from the early fifteenth century (see Wenzel 1994 and the edition by Horner 2006). Such predominantly Latin sermons with numerous switches into English are frequent from the 1350s to the 1450s (Wenzel 1994).

- (3) Sermon: *Videbant signa* (L – E) (early fifteenth century), Oxford (Horner 2006: 221)

Quamdiu clerus **and þe laife** huius terre **wer knet togedur** in
vno **fagot and brenden** super istum ignem, istud regnum **was**
ful warme and ful wel at hese. Caritas **brande so hote, þe ley**
of loue was so huge quod non **Scottich miste ne no Frensche**
scouris quiuerunt extinguere istam flammam. Set nunc, prodolor,
perfectus amor **is laid o watur**, caritas fere extinguitur, iste ignis
is almost out. Quere vbi vis infra villam ex extra, poteris blowe
super vngues tuos **for any hete of loue**. [. . .] Ex quo igitur
confidencia est verum signum amoris, vbi nulla est confidencia
ignis amoris **is out, þe ignis perfecte caritatis is puffed out**.

Si igitur extinctio ignis materialis erat verum signum vindicte
 que **fel** super eos, consulo quod timeatis istum signum
 ‘As long as clergy **and the laity** of this land **were knit together**
 in one **brand and burned** on this fire, this kingdom **was quite**
warm and very much at ease. Charity **burned so hot**, the lay
 of love **was so large** that no **Scottish mist nor any French**
showers were able to extinguish this flame. But now, for shame,
 perfect love **is laid to waste**, charity is entirely extinguished, this
 fire **is almost out**. Seek where you wish within the village or
 outside, you might as well **blow** on your two fingers **for any**
warmth of love. [. . .] So since confidence is a true sign of love,
 where there is no confidence, the fire of love **has gone out**, the
 fire of perfect charity **is snuffed out**. So if the extinguishing of
 the material fire is a true sign of (the) vengeance that **fell** upon
 them, I advise you that you fear this sign’

All sermons in this manuscript show an intimate mixture of Latin and English, which results from the frequency of *intrasentential* switching and a relatively high percentage of single- and two-word switches and the fact that switch points occur not only *between* major sentence constituents, but also *within* these constituents (e.g. *clerus and þe laife, quid pro scharpe schowris infra*; see Schendl 2000a and in press). Though they are sometimes related to structural and stylistic requirements (e.g. discourse structure, figures of speech), there is no clear functional explanation for the majority of switches (Wenzel 1994: ch. 5; Schendl in press). Nevertheless, the two languages remain clearly distinct except for a small number of single words which are already attested as Latin borrowings in English at this time (e.g. *error, doctor*). Such scholastic sermons tend to be highly structured and employ a range of stylistic devices frequently involving code-switching.

The text under (4) seems less consciously structured than the first two. It is a rather personal bilingual letter by Richard Kingston, archdeacon of Hereford, to King Henry IV, a plea for help during the Welsh rebellion.⁸ This letter is clear evidence that code-switching was not stigmatized and could be used in a letter to the king, which was certainly closely monitored before being sent off (Schendl 2002a, b). Intersentential switching predominates and there is a functional difference between the two languages, with English conveying a more emotional and personal tone (‘we’ code), against the more prestigious French used for more objective statements (‘they’ code) (Schendl 2002b).

- (4) Richard Kingston to Henry IV (F – E) (1403), Hereford
 (Schendl 2002b: 254–6)
 Mon tressouveraigne et tresredoute Seignour. [. . .] *please* a
 vostre tresgraciously Seignourie entendre que a jourduy, apres
noo[ne] [. . .] q’ils furent venuz deinz nostre *countie* pluis de
 CCCC des les *rebelz* de Owyne, Glyn, Talgard, et pluseours
 autres *rebelz* [. . .]

Qar, mon tresredoute Seigneur, vous trouverez pour *certain* que si vous ne venez en vostre propre persone pour attendre [apres] voz *rebelx* en Galys, vous ne trouverez un gentil que veot *attendre* deinz vostre dit *Countee*.

War fore, for Goddesake, thinketh on 3our beste Frende, God, and thanke Hym as He hath deserved to 3owe; and leveth nought that 3e ne come for no man that may *counsaille* 3owe the *contrarie*; for, [. . .] the Walshmen *supposen* and trusten that 3e schulle nought come there, [. . .]. And that hit *plese* 3owe of 3our hegh Lordship for to have me *excused* of my comynge to 3owe, [. . .] for to with stande the *malice* of the *Rebelles* this day.

Tresexcellent [. . .] Seignour, autrement say a *present* nieez. Jeo prie a la Benoit Trinite que vous ottoirie bone vie ove tresentier sauntee a treslonge durre, and sende 3owe sone to ows in help and *prosperitee*; for, in god *fey*, I hope to Al Mighty God that, 3ef 3e come 3oure owne persone, 3e schulle have the *victorie* of alle 3oure *enemyes*. [. . .] Escript a Hereford, en tresgraunte *haste*, a trois de la *clocke* apres *noone*,

‘My most sovereign and most dread Lord, may it *please* your most gracious Lordship to consider that to day, after *noon* [. . .] there were come into our *county* more than four hundred of the *rebels* of Owen, Glynn, Talgard, and many other *rebels* besides [. . .] For, my most dread Lord, you will find for certain that, if you do not come in your own *person* to await your *rebels* in Wales, you will not find a single gentleman that will stop in your said *county*.

Wherefore, for God’s sake, think on your best friend, God, and thank Him, as He hath deserved of you; and leave nought that you do not come for no man that may counsel you the contrary: for, [. . .] the Welshmen suppose and trust that you shall not come there, [. . .]. And that it *please* you of your high Lordship to have me excused of my coming to you, [. . .] for to withstand the malice of the *rebels* this day.

Most excellent [. . .] Lord, I know nothing besides at present. I pray the Blessed Trinity to give you good life, with most complete good health, very long to endure, and send you soon to us in help and prosperity; for, in good faith, I hope to Almighty God, that, if you come your own person, you shall have the victory of all your *enemies*. [. . .] Written at Hereford, in very great *haste*, at three of the *clock* after *noon*,

The two languages French and English seem clearly distinct in this letter. A closer analysis, however, reveals that the lexis, especially nouns and verbs, establishes a close relation between the French and the English passages: on the one hand, the French passages contain a number of French words

which, according to the *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*), were by that time more or less well established in the Middle English lexicon, such as *countie* (?a.1400(a.1338), *MED* s.v. cōunteē n.(3), 2.(a)); *persone* (c.1230(?a.1200), *MED* s.v. persōune (n(1)), 1.(a)), *clocke* (1370), etc. These have been marked by bold italics in (4). On the other hand, the English passages show a rather high percentage of French-derived nouns and verbs, some of which are first attested in English only from the second half of the fourteenth century on, such as *suppose*⁹ or *please* (see below). Thus, these items may have been rather recent additions to the English lexicon for somebody who, like Richard Kingston, was living near the Welsh borders, quite far away from London and other cultural centres. First attestations in dictionaries are problematic for various reasons, even more so as both the *MED* and the *AND* often give examples from mixed texts and even from monolingual texts in another vernacular (see Wright 2011: 207: 12). Despite all of these problems, we depend on dictionary evidence in historical lexical studies.

The (underlined) word *rebels* is particularly interesting for our argument. It occurs three times in the French initial part of the letter in the forms *rebelz*, *rebelx*, and once in the English passage in the form *Rebelles*. The first English attestation of *rebels* in the present meaning in the *MED* dates from about 1425 (c.1425(a.1420) Lydgate, *MED* s.v. rebel (a)), i.e. about twenty-two years *after* the date of this letter, with the next example from (a.1442).¹⁰ On the basis of the dictionary evidence, it might be justified to classify *rebelles* in the English context as a code-switch back into French, taking up the closely preceding multiple use of the term in the French text. This is, in my view, an impressive example of how a mixed-language text may reflect the dynamic process of lexical integration of French lexemes into English: first, as in the present letter, as a switch in a bilingual text (or in bilingual speech), later, however, as an increasingly established borrowing. This is further support for the increasingly held view that code-switching and borrowing are not distinct phenomena for multilingual speakers, but rather form a continuum (see Myers-Scotton 2002: 153–63; Gardner-Chloros 2009: 30–3; Matras 2009: 110–14).

Another interesting lexical item in (4) is impersonal *please* (< OF *plaire*, *plaisir*) plus infinitive, which occurs both in the French and the English part and is first attested in English from the early 1380s (see *MED* s.v. plēsen, 3.(a)). Noteworthy idiomatic phrases in (4) are French *venez en vostre propre persone* corresponding to *come 3oure owne persone* in the English part, and the concluding formulaic French phrase *Escript en tresgraunte haste*; the second mixed letter by Kingston has the same French concluding phrase, but an additional English postscript which ends with the equivalent English phrase *Writen in rygt gret haste*, a phrase which is not attested in the *MED*. Both these English phrases are modelled on French equivalents. In sum, quite a number of lexical features point to the strong influence of French on English even in this short bilingual text sample. Apart from a number of

instances of recent French borrowings into English, the occurrence of *Rebelles* in the English part about twenty years before its first attestation in the *MED* is of particular importance since this new first attestation in an English context closely follows some instances of French *rebelz* in the immediately preceding French text. In my view, this provides strong evidence for contact-induced lexical change in operation.

The second group of examples comprises more formulaic legal and administrative texts, with the inserted vernacular material predominantly consisting of single words in a Latin or, more rarely, a French base language. Examples (5) to (9) are samples from the multilingual York wills. Here the base language is Latin, in which information about the will-makers and the legacies left to a variety of people is given in full sentences. Quite frequently, however, terms referring to details of these legacies are inserted in the vernacular, mostly English, more rarely French.

(5)–(9) Wills (L – E – F) (1398–1407), York

In (5) we not only find vernacular single nouns referring to bequeathed objects, but also an instance where such a noun is postmodified by a mixed phrase (*beste in domo* ‘the best in the house’). The resulting English syntagma *brade bordes beste* clearly constitutes a code-switch from Latin into English, followed by a switch back to Latin (*in domo*). In another will from 1402, however, we find *j meltyngpan de optimis* ‘j **meltingpan** of the best’, illustrating the frequent variation between Latin and English (near) synonyms; this shows that switching is not necessarily due to the lack of a word in the base language, as often claimed in earlier code-switching research.

- (5) (1400) Lego Willielmo Thorneton, servo meo, duo par forpicarum, & duas mensas pro cessurâ panni, & unum **platyngborde**, cum uno **strayte** [. . .], & vj **mostir bordes** & vj **brade bordes beste** in domo. (Raine 1836: 260)

‘I leave to my servant William Thornton, two pairs of tongs, & two tables/boards for the cutting of cloth, & one **folding-board**, with one (table) **cloth** [. . .] & vj **pattern-boards** & vj **broad-boards best** in the house.’

Variation in language choice is also frequent in particular syntactic constituents such as the construction ‘N + postmodifying PP’. Thus, under (6) we find *cum uno lavacro de messyng*, where Latin *lavacro* ‘wash-basin’ is postmodified by a mixed PP, with the Latin preposition *de* governing the English noun *messyng*; another pattern is illustrated by *unum recawnt de catenis ferries* ‘one **chain/pothook** of/with iron chain’, where a vernacular noun is postmodified by a monolingual Latin PP; in *unum pynt de pewter*, the function words are Latin, the nouns in the vernacular; finally, in *unum klok cum magnis spyndelis et rotis fereis* ‘a **clock** with a large **spindle** and an iron gear’, we find a mixed complex postmodifying PP.

- (6) (1400) unum **cl**ok cum magnis **spyn**delis et rotis fereis, [. . .] Item lego Katerinæ [. . .] unam pelvim cum uno lavacro de **messyng**, unum **quart** et unum **pynt** de **pewter**, unum par **tongis**, [. . .] unum **branderith**, et unum **recawnt** de catenis ferreis, [. . .] et sex **cuschynez**. (Raine 1836: 267f.)

‘one **clock** with a large **spindle** and iron wheels, [. . .] Also I leave to Catherine [. . .] one wash-basin of **brass**, one **quart** and one **pint** of **tin**, one pair (of) **tongs**, one **grate**, and one **pothook** of an iron chain, [. . .] and six **cushions**.’

Similar variation in code-choice occurs in postmodifying past participles, as in (7); here we find the English forms *paild*, *rayed*, and *enbordured* next to the synonymous French participle *enbroudez*, while other wills have the synonymous Latin postmodifying participle forms *brodatas/brodatum*, as in *de velveto rubeo brodatas* (1407) ‘of red velvet embroidered’, or *de velvet broudatum* (1403).¹¹

- (7) (1402) unum vestimentum sacerdotale [. . .], de serico, habens S litteram nigram *enbroudez* super *lez* **orfrays**. Et [. . .] unum vestimentum de serico de rubeo et albo **paild**, cum **curtins** et **costers** cum omnibus suis pertinenciis. Et [. . .] unum vestimentum de serico **rayed**, [. . .]. Et do et lego magistro Johani de Neuton [. . .] unum ciphum de argento coopertum **enbordured** cum S. litterâ. Et do et lego eidem Johanni unum equum, videlicet meum optimum **ambler**. Et do et lego domino Roberto Wyclif unum juvenem equum, videlicet j **colt**. [. . .] et unum lectum de **worstede** de rubeo et nigro **paild** (Raine 1836: 295–7)

‘one priest’s garment [. . .] of silk, having a black letter S *embroidered* over *the embroidery*. And [. . .] one garment of red and white silk **adorned**, with **drapes** and **hangings**, with everything belonging to it. And one silk garment **adorned**, [. . .] And I give and leave to master John of Newton [. . .] one cup covered with silver **adorned** with the letter S. And I give and leave to the same John one horse, namely my best **ambler**. And I give and leave to Robert Wyclif one young horse, namely j **colt**. [. . .] and one bed **adorned** with red and black **worsted**’

This well-attested variability in an identical syntactic constituent, as illustrated in (6) and (7), shows an amazing freedom in language choice even in such highly formalized texts, which is reminiscent of a skilful modern code-switching bilingual speaker. It is also an indication that such mixed syntagmas were not fixed ‘chunks’ or phrases, but were productively ‘assembled’ in the process of writing the text, another argument in favour of regarding these mixed constructions as instances of code-switching.

As for the semantic nature of switched vernacular nouns, Wright has observed in her analyses of medieval accounts (e.g. 1995b, c, 2000a, 2002a) that hyperonyms often tend to be in the higher language (here Latin), while hyponyms are often in the vernacular, though variation is frequent. This is also true of the wills, where we find examples such as *omnes clavi mei, vocate buclernayle* (1400) ‘all my nails called **bucklenails**’; *unum equum, videlicet meum optimum ambler* (1402) ‘one horse, namely my best **ambler**’, *unum juvenem equum, videlicet j colt* ‘one young horse, namely j **colt**’, the last two examples are from the same will quoted in (7). Variation in such terms is, for instance, attested in the Latin phrase *equum nigrum ambulantom* for ‘ambler’ in a will from 1403 and in the varying reference to a pair of tongs, which is given in Latin in example (5) above (*duo par forpicarum* ‘two pairs of tongs’), while in (6) we find the mixed phrase *unum par tongis* ‘one pair of tongs’. Such examples indicate that, even though everyday objects seem to be frequently referred to in the vernacular, there is no clear evidence that this is due to the lack of the Latin term.

There is some indication that the scribes of these mixed-language wills were aware of their using different codes: in a few cases, the term *anglice* ‘in English’ precedes an English term that provides a translation of a Latin term; see the two instances in (8). This serves as an explicit ‘flagging device’ indicating the switch from Latin into English.¹²

- (8) (1400) Item lego dominæ Beatrici Dominæ de Roos unum par preculum, anglice **bedys**, de auro, cum magno **perell**, et *les gaudys* cum scutis Sancti Georgii. [. . .] unum monile, anglice **nouche**,¹³ cum uno **ruby** in medio. (Raine 1836: 266)

‘Also I leave to lady Beatrice Lady of Roos one pair of “preculum”, in English **beads**, of gold, with a large **pearl**, and *the large beads* with the shield of St George [. . .] one necklace, in English **nouche** [**brooch**], with one **ruby** in the middle.’

Examples (7) and (8) above and (9) below show another feature which the wills share with other medieval administrative texts such as accounts, namely the frequent use of the French plural article *les* (besides singular *le*, more rarely *la*) before a vernacular noun. Trotter (2006) interprets this feature as marking a change from Latin into the vernacular, which would also classify it as a flagging device for switches from Latin into the vernacular (see also Wright 2010).¹⁴

- (9) (1400) Item lego fabricæ ecclesiæ ibidem totum merimium meum infra domum meam et extra, apud Cotyngham, et omnes *lez* **waynescots**, unum saculum plenum de **pomyse**, et omnes *lez* **hakkys**, **pykkys**, **spadis**, [. . .] et omnibus aliis hujusmodi instrumentis in eadem domo. (Raine 1836: 267)

'I also leave to the same church all my wood(work) inside and outside my house near Cottingham, and all *the* (fine) wood, one sack full of **pumice**, and all *the* **hacks, pickaxes, spades**, [...] and all other such instruments in the same house.'

The discussion of these samples illustrates the flexibility in switching from Latin into the vernacular, mostly English, and the widespread variation in language use both in specific syntactic constructions and with equivalent lexical items. This flexibility seems amazing in such rather formulaic legal texts, but is an indication of the productive use of switching by the scribes.

Let us finally look at some accounts.¹⁵ The samples from the Rochester Bridge archive under (10) show the typical non-finite syntactic structures of this text type. In (10a) the base language is Latin, and, as in the wills, switches to the vernacular especially occur with English terms referring to various objects,¹⁶ including an instance of flagging a code-switch by the French article *le* (*ligandum le Stokkys*).

- (10) Accounts, Rochester Bridge (1399–1413), Rochester
 a. Latin – English (1399–1400) Item in Maeremio quercino empto ad faciendum unum collistrigium j **Thewe** j **schelvyng stol** et j par de **stokkys** ad custodiendum libertatem domini de Tyllebery. precium xs. Item in ferro empto ad ligandum *le Stokkys* ponderanti xxxv libras cum clave ante facta (Becker 1930: 94)

'Item in oak timber bought to make one pillory, one **thewe**, one **shelving-stool** and one pair of **stocks** to guard the liberty of the Lordship of Tilbury, price 10/-. Item in iron bought to bind *the* **stocks**, weighing 35 pounds, with a key made beforehand'

In (10b), a somewhat later entry from the same accounts (1412–13), the base language is French. In this example, it is problematic to decide on the language of some nouns referring to objects and services.

- b. (1412–13) Item paye a ij *carpounters* pur amender le **Benchez** et lez *ffenesteres* et auteres *Necessaryis* de lez **Rentes** de Wamfforde par vij iours pernaunt [*sic*] checun par le iour viijd. checun iour a leur **Nounschenche** checun jd. (Becker 1930: 93)

'Item paid to 2 *carpenters* to mend the **benches** and the *windowes* and other *necessaries* of the **Rents** of Wangford, for 7 days, taking each for the day 8d, and each day for their **mid-day meal**, each 1d'

Of the six nouns marked in bold, two are of Germanic origin, namely *benchez* (< OE *benc*) and *nounschenche* (< OE *non* + *scenc*) 'a refreshment of food and/or liquor taken at midday or during the afternoon'.¹⁷ However, *benche* also appears as an entry in the *AND*, i.e. it is evidently

treated as an English borrowing into Anglo-French by the editors, even though this particular example from a mixed-language text is the only quotation given in the *AND*. The other lexemes in bold italics (*carpounters*, *ffenesteres*, *necessaryis*, *rentes*) all have (Anglo-)French etymology, but are equally attested in Middle English (see *MED*), most of them from the early fourteenth century on.¹⁸ In a monolingual English context these lexemes would without doubt be labelled as borrowings from French, in a monolingual French text as French words, while in a mixed-language text, the distinction becomes blurred, at least for the modern analyst of such texts. In his discussion of similar documents, Trotter (2006, 2010) has claimed that for medieval multilingual writers, differences between languages may not have existed in the same way as they do for the modern speaker, a view which will be further discussed in Section 3.4.

The last two samples under (11) are from an account on ship repairs from London. In (11a) the base language is French, though similar Latin documents exist in the same archive.¹⁹

- (11) Accounts, ship repairs (French – English) (1409–11), London
 a. vn **Sailyerd** fait de deux *peces* vn *Trusparaill'* pour mesme le **mast** iiij. *Triefs* oue lez **Boltropes** vn *Haucer* graunt de quell' furent faitz ij. **Vptyes** pour la *Galey*
 [. . .] vn **Bowespret** oue ij. *Polyves* vn **Rakke** oue ij. **Sustres** vn *Trusparaill'* oue ij. **Sustres** iiij. *fforstyes*. (Sandahl 1958: 122)
 ‘one **sailyard** made of two *pieces*, one **truss-parrel** for the same **mast**, four *sails* with **pin-ropes**, one big *hamser* of which were made two (specific) **ropes** for the *galley* . . . one **bowsprit** with two *pulleys*, one **rack** with two **sisters**, one *truss-parrel* with two **sisters**, three (special) *ropes*.’

The passage shows a number of nouns of Germanic origin (marked in bold), such as *sailyerd*, *mast*, *boltrope*, *vptye*, *rakke* and *sustre*, all going back to Old English, while *bowespret* seems to be a borrowing from Middle Dutch or Middle Low German,²⁰ though both *bow* and *spret* have Old English correspondents (see Sandahl 1958: 24ff.); however, all these Germanic words except *rakke* and *sustre* are also given as headwords in the *AND*, mostly only with this particular quotation or a similar one in a mixed-language context.²¹ The remaining nouns in (11a), marked by bold italics, have a French etymology and are given as headwords both in the *AND* and in the *MED*,²² except for *fforstyes* (< *for* + *OF estai*, see *MED*, s.v. *for(e-stai)*) and possibly *trusparaill'*, which are hybrid formations (see Sandahl 1958: 122). The frequency with which the first dictionary attestations of most of these nautical terms are from quotations in mixed-language contexts lends further support to our claim that there is clear evidence for

code-switching acting as a mechanism of contact-induced lexical change in the Middle English period.

Interestingly, part of the account quoted in (11a) is also found in Latin in the same manuscript (see Sandahl 1958: 122, note 1); here the French preposition *oue* is replaced by the equivalent Latin *cum*, the French numerals are rendered in language-neutral Latin numbers, while the nautical terms have the same morphological form as in the French version and would have to be interpreted as switches from Latin into the vernacular (see under (11b)):

- b. j. bowsprit cum ij. Poliues j. Rakke cum ij. Susters iij.
forsteyes ij. ij. trusparaill cum iiij. sustres

For examples like (11a and b), our informal concept of ‘base language’ is evidently no longer sufficient and it seems best to take the language of the function morphemes as criterion for determining the matrix language of a text (see Myers-Scotton 2002: ch. 3); such a procedure would classify (11a) as French, and (11b) as Latin, though the nouns (*bowsprit*, *poliues*, *rakke*, etc.) are identical in both texts. Now, if we again exchanged the relevant function word, i.e. the preposition, for the equivalent English preposition *with*, the resulting (unattested) phrase given in (11c) would most likely pass as a monolingual English phrase with a high amount of borrowings quite typical of a technical nautical text. Though this argument is of limited value since a complete account would most likely have further content and function morphemes, (11c) nevertheless demonstrates how close technical mixed-language texts can actually be to ‘monolingual’ texts of the same text type and thus supports our claim of a continuum of code-switched texts having at one end a fuzzy border with monolingual texts with a large number of technical terms.

- c. *j. bowsprit with ij. Poliues j. Rakke with ij. Susters iij.
forsteyes ij. ij. trusparaill with iiij. sustres

3.4 Code-switching or language mixing?

The aim of this chapter has been to show that code-switching is an important mechanism of contact-induced lexical change in late Middle English. This leads back to the question briefly addressed before, namely whether all samples analysed represent instances of code-switching in the first place. The answer is intimately linked to the definition of code-switching and the question whether borrowing and code-switching are two different or rather closely related phenomena.

Following Thomason (2001: 132), I defined code-switching as ‘the use of material from two (or more) languages by a single speaker in the same conversation’, replacing ‘speaker’ with ‘author or scribe’, and ‘conversation’

with ‘text’. This definition makes no reference to the writers’ consciousness of mixing languages, which is usually not recoverable in historical texts. The first three texts (poem, sermon, letter) seem uncontroversial instances of written code-switching. I would equally claim that this definition also covers the multilingual wills, especially since we find both cases of ‘flagging’ a following switch (cf. the use of the French article *le(s)* and of *anglice*) as well as longer vernacular syntagmas, which are clearly instances of switching; see [Section 3.3](#). Furthermore, in all four groups, the authors of the texts were evidently bi- or multilingual (Latin, English and/or French) and able to use the different languages in a flexible and ‘productive’ way, which is not restricted to using ‘prefabricated chunks’.

However, the classification as code-switching is more controversial in the various accounts, partly because of the unclear definition of the term *code* (see Gardner-Chloros 2009: 11). Both Wright (2011) and Trotter (2011) have been reluctant to classify these texts as instances of code-switching, preferring to use the – equally ambiguous – terms ‘language mixing’ or ‘mixed-language’ texts. There seem to be two reasons for their uneasiness with the term code-switching: on the one hand, the predominant restriction of the switched material to nouns, on the other, the frequent difficulties in deciding the etymology of vernacular words or the ambiguous status of words of French or English in a given text (see [Section 3.3](#)).

As for the predominance of ‘switched’ nouns, no current definition of code-switching explicitly excludes a text with switched nouns only; on the contrary, content words such as nouns and adjectives are the most typical candidates for switching, while the language of certain function (or ‘system’) words (or ‘morphemes’) is often used as a criterion for determining the ‘matrix language’ of a bilingual text (see Myers-Scotton 2002: 69–72). Furthermore, in accounts where the base (or ‘matrix’) language is Latin, there is no doubt for me that the scribes must have had a basic competence in the administrative language Latin and at least one vernacular as their L1, possibly having some competence in a second vernacular. Thus the inserted vernacular material must have been generally recognized as such, which is also supported by the use of the French article *le(s)* as a flagging device, even if the inserted vernacular material may be ambiguous in regard to being French or English, or even from another language (see [Section 3.3](#) and especially Trotter 2006, 2010 and 2011, who sees a move from a trilingual linguistic system in mixed-language texts (i.e. Latin, French and English), to a binary system consisting of medieval Latin versus vernacular by the late fourteenth century; see also Schendl and Wright 2011).

However, in accounts where the base (or ‘matrix’) language is one of the vernaculars French or English, the picture becomes less clear, as our discussion of examples (10b) and (11a–b) has shown. These texts could also

be written by monolingual speakers having acquired a certain amount of French or Latin function words and/or of foreign, especially technical, content words; i.e. their classification would depend on the extralinguistic information on the multilingualism of their scribes. Since I consider code-switching and borrowing as being placed on a continuum (see [Section 3.3](#)), (10b) and (11a-b) could be classified as less prototypical examples of code-switching if they were also produced by multilingual writers, a view which is compatible with our analysis of switching and borrowing as non-discrete phenomena.

The discussion of the different examples in [Section 3.3](#) has also illustrated that there are certain text-type-related conventions for written code-switching: in the case of poems, these are metrical and genre-specific requirements (verse line, rhyme, etc.); in the case of the sermon, certain patterns of switching related to structural and stylistic requirements (discourse structure, figures of speech); in the letter the functional differentiation of codes ('we' vs 'they' code). In the wills and in the accounts, the text-type-specific conventions widely restrict switching to the use of (nominal) terms referring to objects and services, but these conventions, in our view, do not affect the status of the inserted vernacular material as code-switches in these text types.²³

3.5 Conclusion

Late medieval mixed-language texts provide important insights into the way in which code-switching must have acted as a mechanism of contact-induced lexical change in the history of English. The wide range of such multilingual texts from different text types and locations, but from one particular period of time, shows that written code-switching was a widely used strategy in late medieval literate English society. Though the patterns of language-mixing discussed vary considerably, they all represent basically one and the same phenomenon of switching between different linguistic systems, for different functions and in different patterns, a phenomenon conveniently termed code-switching – a fact that is not affected by various text-type-specific conventions. The different texts may be seen as situated on a continuum, forming a cline in much the same way as code-switching and borrowing are seen as forming a continuum, and they provide convincing evidence for the relevance of code-switching as a mechanism of contact-induced lexical change, in particular Kingston's letters and the analysed legal and administrative texts. The ease and flexibility with which late medieval multilingual authors and scribes switch from one language to another and use lexical material from different languages impressively reflect their multilingualism even at a time when French, like Latin, was most likely a learned second or third language. That is, contact-induced

change can be triggered not only by the more or less ‘naturally’ acquired L1 or L2 of speakers, but also by the widely used and taught ‘higher’ languages Latin and French. The obvious lexical ‘permeability’ between languages in late medieval England seems to have played a major role in the large-scale acceptance of foreign lexical items, with code-switching being an important mechanism in this process.²⁴

4 The contact origins of Standard English

LAURA WRIGHT

4.1 Introduction

To date, the emphasis on the development of Standard English has been on the fixedness of spelling, and, to a somewhat lesser extent, on the choice of morphology, syntax and lexicon. The most influential work has been that of Michael Samuels of the University of Glasgow, who in 1963 presented his four Types of late Middle English writing as likely sources of Standard English. He suggested that the spellings found in ‘Chancery Standard’ – the spellings that predominated in documents issued from the King’s secretariat, the Office of Chancery – were the precursor of Standard English spellings. ‘Its differences from the language of Chaucer are well known, and it is this type, not its predecessors in London English, that is the basis of modern written English’ (Samuels 1963: 71). This is the version of the development of Standard English that is to be found in student handbooks, refined later by Samuels as stemming predominantly from the Central Midlands dialect.¹ Since 1963 several scholars have tried to track this process of Chancery spellings influencing early Standard English spellings, although none with straightforward success.² This kind of investigation has always been undertaken on monolingual English texts, and has centred mainly on the spelling of common lexemes.

My focus is on mixed-language texts written in London in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (see also Schendl, this volume), which, I suggest, had a significant role in the development of Standard English. My argument is twofold. Firstly, mixed-language business documents were prevalent in the four hundred years after the Norman Conquest, whereas writing in monolingual English was comparatively rare during this period. Anyone in business in Britain who needed to keep accounts did so in the mixed-language system, not in monolingual English. Writing in Britain was demonstrably a trilingual affair during this period,³ as can be seen by perusing the *Middle English Dictionary*, the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* and the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, and considering the overlap. In a recent paper Rothwell (2010: 20) relates ‘Frankwalt Möhren’s perceptive statement at a conference some time ago to the effect

that the *MED* is “un très bon dictionnaire de l’ancien français”, with the caveat that this would be ‘even more compelling if *l’anglo-français* were substituted for *l’ancien français*’. Making the same point, he says: ‘continuity of vocabulary between one language and another in medieval England is widespread throughout different registers. All three languages were in use by the same educated section of the population to express through a largely common vocabulary a common civilization that developed out of the Conquest’ (Rothwell 2010: 9), and ‘[t]he modern concept of discrete lexes does not apply in medieval languages’ (Rothwell 2010: 10 fn 28). The boundaries between Middle English, Medieval Latin and Anglo-Norman were fuzzy by modern standards, by which I mean that much vocabulary was common to all three, writers added morphemes from one language to roots from another to create new composites, and used graph-sequences permitted in one language only to lexis derived from another.⁴ Secondly, the language system that replaced the late medieval mixed-language system in the last quarter of the fifteenth century – what I will refer to as proto-Standard English – bears that hallmark of language contact by adult speakers: simplification (simplification will be considered in Section 4.5).

In this chapter I shall suggest that changing trade patterns resulted in dialect contact and, afterwards, language contact, with Standard English as the upshot. I shall differentiate between two concepts: elimination and selection, and unlike my predecessors I shall focus on elimination of variants. Before that, however, I shall outline the trilingual medieval mixed-language business system that preceded proto-Standard English.

4.2 The mixed-language business system

I have described the historical significance of trilingual writing elsewhere (Wright 1995a, b, 1996a, 1999a, 2000a, 2001b, 2002a, b, 2005, 2010, in press) and so will not rehearse it in great detail here. Instead, I proceed to two very brief illustrative examples, taken nearly ninety years apart, from the accounts of London Bridge, for the financial years 1387–8 and 1474–5. This archive has been chosen to illustrate the process of language standardization because its accounts run uninterruptedly from 1380 onwards (with its deeds dating from the eleventh century) and, as one of the major landowners in the City, it is the written record of one of the most powerful perpetual institutions.

- (1) *Itm solut Johi Oxenforde Wittmo Wycharde & Johi atte Hegges
dobatoribz p xiiij nouis shopis in Patnosterrowe latthandȝ dobandȝ
ocriandȝ & vnyssand ex cerca conuenc cum eisdem fact in grosß ix tī
xiiij s iiij d*
‘And paid to John Oxenforde, William Wycharde and
John at the Hegges, daubers, for 13 new shops in Paternoster
Row, lathing, daubing, covering with ochre and varnishing,

in accordance with a contract made with them, in gross, £9 13s 4d' (London Metropolitan Archives, Bridge House Account Roll 7, m.8, 1387x1388; in this and the following examples, 'x' indicates 'text internally dated')

- (2) *It eidm̄ opant in latthyng & tegulacōe vnus dom⁹ hoc anno de nouo construct apud depford stronde p sex dies capient pro se & suo laborar p diem xij d – vj s. It eidem p vij busshelles de tilepynnes hoc anno expn̄ in opibz p dict p c cuius tt b3 v d – ij s xj d.*
 'Item, to the same worker in lathing and tiling one house this year of new construction at Deptford Strand for six days, taking for himself and his mate per day 12d – 6s. Item, to the same for 7 bushels of tilepins this year used in the works aforesaid, price of each bushel 5d – 2s 11d.' (London Metropolitan Archives, Bridge House Rental 3, fo 246, 1474x1475)

Briefly, the 'rules' of the mixed-language business variety included the following:

- do not write in monolingual Medieval Latin or Anglo-Norman, but pick one as the matrix, and then include English nouns, stems of verbs, adjectives and *-ing* forms, variably – that is to say, sometimes use the Latin or French word, and sometimes its English calque
- use both Germanic and Romance word orders in the NP
- use a multiplicity of suffixes to indicate verbal nouns⁵
- visually merge any material that can be merged with the abbreviation and suspension system, and do so variably – that is to say, sometimes spell out the suffixes, and sometimes use an abbreviation or suspension mark
- calque Romance nouns with English nouns – in particular, use English for compound words and Romance for simplex ones
- use both *le* and *lez* with plural nouns
- use *le* to qualify a vernacular noun (if so, do not mark the constituents of the NP with Latin morphology; see Schendl, this volume)
- use both *le* and *la* to modify the same noun (this tends to occur after 1420)
- vary that which can be varied (consistency was not a medieval virtue!)

In a nutshell, the matrix was Anglo-Norman or Medieval Latin with function words in one of these languages, but English was used variably for nouns, verb stems, *-ing* forms and adjectives. In extracts (1) and (2), the matrix language is Medieval Latin, but the following elements are not:

latthyng and the root of *latthand*: OE *lett* 'strip of wood upon which to fasten tiles'.

The root of *doband*, *dobatoribz*: AN *dauber*, from L *dealbare* 'to whiten over, whitewash, plaster'.

The root of *ocriand*: AN *ocre*, from L *ochre* 'to cover with ochre'. Although known to dictionaries of Medieval Latin, this verb is not listed in *MED*

or *AND*, and only mentioned in *OED* from 1553 (ochre v.).

The root of *vnyssand*: AN *vernis* ‘varnish’, ultimately of unknown origin.
busselles: AN *bussel* ‘measure for liquids or grain, etc.’, diminutive of
boiste ‘box’.

tilepynnes: OE *tizule* + OE *pinn*; *tile-* is calqued by the verbal noun root
tegula-.

It should not be surprising that several languages were used simultaneously; England was multilingual, the use of more than one language in a speech act was a norm, and the main word class to be affected by switching was nouns (see Matras 2009: 168 on the high borrowability of nouns). Matras discusses two hypotheses as to why speakers commonly switch into another language: the ‘gap’ hypothesis and the ‘prestige’ hypothesis. The ‘gap’ hypothesis suggests that switching occurs because the language in question has no word for the concept under discussion and the speaker momentarily borrows a word from another language to fill the gap. This has been the (implicit or explicit) assumption of historians⁶ noting in passing the medieval mixed-language business variety and has been discussed in Wright (1997a). It is easily disproved by the presence of calques. Such switches were not due to deficiencies but to speakers availing ‘themselves of their full inventory of linguistic resources’ (Matras 2009: 150). The ‘prestige’ hypothesis accounts for why Medieval Latin and Anglo-Norman occurred as matrices, whereas the vernacular, Middle English, did not.

This system was about to change. Extract (3) is from the same archive, thirty years later:

- (3) *Thacompte of William Maryner and Xpofer Eliot wardeyns of londonbridge fro Mighelmas in the xvij yere of kyng harry the vij vnto Mighelmas than next ensuyng that is to witte by an hole yere*
The same wardeyns accompten for Mt iijjxx viij tī ix d ob q^a of tharreragis of William Holte and Edward Grene last accomptaunte here as it apperith in the fote of the same accompte Ml iijjxx viij li ix d ob qa.
The Charge Rentalt of the propre rente of the bridgelyfelode extendiith by the yere to the sūme of Dlxij tī xvijjs. And the fforeyn rente lix tī xjs vijd ob as it apperith in the Rentalt therof made in the begynnynng of this p̄sent boke. Sm^a DCxxij tī ix s vijd ob. fferme of the fishmongers Sellyng fishe at the stokkes oñ that party callyd the fysshemarket there / letten to William Barker for terme of yeres payng therfor yerely duryng the same termes xx tī. And Bochers selling fleshe on that pty callyd the flesshe market there payng therfor euȝ weke out of lenton xvjs jd Sm^a xxxv j tī xixs xd Sm^a togyder Lvj tī xixs xd.
 ‘The account of William Maryner and Christopher Eliot, wardens of London Bridge from Michaelmas in the seventeenth year of King Henry the seventh to Michaelmas the next

ensuing, that is to wit, by a whole year. The same wardens account for £1,088 9d and three farthings of the arrearages of William Holte and Edward Grene, last accountants here, as it appears in the foot of the same account. £1,088 9d three farthings. The Charge Rental of the proper rent of the bridge livelihood extends by the year to the sum of £562 18s. And the foreign rent £59 11s 7d halfpenny, as it appears in the Rental thereof made in the beginning of this present book. Sum: £622 9s 7d halfpenny. Farm of the fishmongers selling fish at the Stocks on that part called the fishmarket there let to William Barker for term of years, paying for there yearly during the same terms £20. And butchers selling flesh on that part called the Fleshmarket there, paying for there every week outside Lent 16s 1d. Sum £36 19s 10d. Sum together £56 19s 10d' (London Metropolitan Archives, MS Bridge House Rental, vol. 4, fo 221v, 1501X1502)

By 1500 this archive had switched to monolingual English (the switchover happened in this archive in the years 1479/80, although many other archives switched earlier. It took about a century for the mixed-language system to be entirely abandoned, with the first monolingual English texts appearing in the late fourteenth century and the last to be affected appearing in the late fifteenth century). Should we regard extract (3) as proto-Standard English, or is this simply sixteenth-century London English and did standardization happen elsewhere? I suggest that it depends on which set of criteria we use. Looking at verb morphology we find that

- the Southern English variant *-th* is still in use in the third-person present-tense singular indicative (*it apperith, extendith*). The modern Standard variant *-s* entered texts written in London in the fourteenth century but remained rare (Lass 1999: 163) and did not become the norm until around 1600. In the whole entry for the financial year from which extract (3) is taken, there are 34 third-person singular tokens, 100 per cent of which take the *-th* suffix. They break down into 29 <-th>, 5 <-the> spellings.
- The main third-person present-tense plural indicative form is *-en* (*wardeyns accompten*). The modern Standard plural form in zero is a reduced form of *-en*, which is the usual variant in London writing of around 1500 (Lass 1999: 165). London English during the medieval period is usually reported as having used the Southern *-eth* morpheme to indicate the present-tense plural and *-en* is regarded as the Midland form, but I would be more inclined to say that in all the London writing that I have seen, the late Middle English London paradigm was mixed between *-en*, *-e* and zero (*-e* and zero are reduced forms of *-en*) and *-th*, with, as time went on, an increasing ratio of *-s* variants.⁷ In the entry for the financial year from which extract (3) is taken there are 10 third-person

plural tokens, which break down into 5 <-en>, 3 <-e>, 1 <-th> and 1 zero (in other words, 9 <-(e)n> forms and 1 <-th> form).

- Past participles, weak and strong (*letten*, *made*, *callyd*) are varied; standardization of past participle forms was not to settle down until the end of the eighteenth century (Lass 1999: 167). In the entry for the financial year from which extract (3) is taken there are 158 weak past participles, which break down into 66 <-yd>, 63 <-ed>, 15 <-id>, 8 <-de>, 6 <-te>. There are 36 strong past participles, of which 31 take <-n> and 5 have zero suffixes.
- The infinitive form *to witte* still retains the <e> of the former *-en* suffix (Lass 1999: 11). There are 10 infinitive tokens in the entry for 1501–2, of which 7 take <-e> and 3 take zero.
- Not shown in extract (3) but occurring in the entry for the same financial year is the present-tense third-person plural form of the verb ‘to be’, which in this text is still realized as the Southern form *be*. *Are* was not fully stabilized until the seventeenth century (Lass 1999: 176). There are 5 tokens: 3 <been>, 1 <ben>, 1 <be>.

So a perusal of verb morphology would lead us to conclude that immediately after the switchover from the mixed-language system to monolingual English, predominantly local London Southern verb morphology was still being used in this particular archive, and that therefore, the mixed-language system had little or no influence on the emergent Standard.

4.3 Elimination and selection

However, verb morphology, although striking, is not the most remarkable thing about extract (3). If, instead of selection (in this case, of verb morphology), we concentrate on elimination of variants, then a different picture emerges. Extract (3) has less variation when compared with London writing of a similar text type of a hundred years earlier:

- Verb morphology is becoming far more consistent. The third-person present-tense singular suffix is *-th*, whereas in my survey of London monolingual texts of 1389 it is *-e* (52%), *-th* (41%), zero (5%), *-n* (1.5%), *-s* (0.5%).⁸ The third-person present-tense plural suffix is *-en* and reduced forms thereof with only 1% <-th>; the 1389 texts have *-e(n)* (92%), *-th* (8%). Singular *shall* is spelt *shall*, whereas in 1389 it is spelt *shal*, *shal*, *shall*, *shul*, *sshal*, *schul*, *schule*, *shull*, *sha*.⁹ 31/36 past participles take <-n>, that is, 86%. Some of these past participles in <-n> were to be reversed later, but in this snapshot of 1501–2 the trend was towards regularization of the paradigm.
- Proclitic *th-*, the elision of the definite article (*Thaccompte*, *tharreragis*) when followed by a word beginning with a vowel, occurs 22/37 times (60%). This feature did not survive into modern Standard English but

was common around 1400–1500 in formal London writing, lasting into the seventeenth century.¹⁰ *The* is always written with a <th> digraph (552/552 tokens) and never with a thorn or *y*-graph (*te*, *ye*) as it was, variably, a hundred years earlier.

- Graph-sequences have settled down to a major and a minor variant. The graph-sequence for /ʃ/, which was variable in formal London writing a hundred years earlier (<sch, ssh, sh>) (Wright 2001a: 89, 92) and considerably more varied in the hundred years before that (<s, ss, sc, sch, ch, ssh, sh>) (Wright 1996a: 191), has settled down to <sh> word-initially and <-ssh> word-medially and finally 91% of the time. In our text from 1501–1502 there are 79 tokens of /ʃ/ realizations, with only 8 exceptions to this pattern, all in the direction of modern Standard English (i.e. *fishe*, *fleshe*, *bishop*, *workemanship*).
- Spelling of lexis is consistent when compared with earlier years. I counted the spellings for the word *bridge* in the Bridge House Account Rolls, which cover (with gaps) the years 1380–1405. Although the entries for these years are written in the mixed-language variety, the compound words *bridge-house*, *bridgenail*, *drawbridge* and *Bridge Street* appear in English 153 times, with the following token distribution: <breg-> 116, <brig-> 21, <-brigge-> 7, <bryge-> 3, <bregge-> 2, <bryg-> 2, <brygge-> 1, <-brigg> 1. In the fourteenth century the <u> letter-graph was also used, e.g. <brug-> (1460–1461). By contrast, in the financial year 1501–2, 100% of the 77 tokens of the word *bridge* are spelt <bridge>.

In sum, if viewed from a point of view of elimination of variants like these, the London Bridge accounts for the year 1501–2 no longer look like written Southern English but like proto-Standard English, even though the variant selected was not usually the one that subsequently became the modern standard (i.e. third-person singular *-eth*, third-person plural *been* past participle *letten*).¹¹ There is a way of expressing this with regard to naturalness: natural languages obey Zipf's Law (also known as the rank-size rule).¹² The Zipf/Mandelbrot distribution leads us to predict that the frequency of any word is inversely proportional to its rank in the frequency table. Thus the most frequent word will occur approximately twice as often as the second most frequent word, and the third most frequent word will occur approximately a third as often as the first, and so on. In terms of written variation in our texts, it means that clerks wrote a majority form for a given feature, a substantial minority form, and then a tail-off of several minority forms at very low rates. Let us look at this distribution in spellings for *shall* singular and *shall* plural in ten London guild returns of 1389, that is, when standardization was in the very early stages:¹³

Singular: *shal* 106 (77%), *shal* 16 (11%), *shall* 5 (4%), *shul* 4 (3%), *sshal* 2 (1%), *schul* 1 (1%), *schule* 1 (1%), *shull* 1 (1%), *sha* 1 (1%);

Plural: *schul* 54 (58%), *shul* 18 (19%), *shulle* 4 (4%), *shull* (4%), *schal* (3%), *schulle* 3 (3%), *schuln* 3 (3%), *shal* 2 (2%), *shole* 1 (1%), *shullen* 1 (1%)

These variant forms show that there was still a tendency towards syntheticity at this point in time, with <a> forms marking the singular and <u> (and, to a far lesser extent, <-n>) forms marking the plural, and with low frequencies of the former in the latter category and vice versa. This is what we expect of Middle English writing. Frequency ratios for *shall* singular can be expressed as 77:11:4:3:1:1:1:1, where N = 137, and *shall* plural as 58:19:4:4:3:3:2:1:1, where N = 93. To use a comet metaphor, the head (77 and 58), body (11 and 19) and long tail (4:3:1:1:1:1:1 and 4:4:3:3:3:2:1:1) are visible. By contrast, in the 1501–2 text there is a reduction to just a majority plus one or, at the most, two minority forms for all features. The long tail-off of forms at low ratios has disappeared. *Shall* is spelt <shall>, 100 per cent, singular and plural – and this is the effect of standardization.

There is nothing ‘natural’ about this process of reduction in that it has only happened once in the history of written English. Elimination of variants and subsequent selection of one dominant feature is so common in written standardized language nowadays that we take it for granted, but in 1500 it was typologically unusual, with Latin being the obvious local precedent. There is an obvious reason as to why written Medieval Latin and Anglo-Norman might not obey Zipf’s Law by the fifteenth century: they were no longer languages learnt naturally in infancy via maternal speech, but had become languages learnt consciously by tuition. Recent work by Ingham¹⁴ has suggested that it was precisely the late fourteenth century (the point when monolingual English civic, bureaucratic documents such as the Guild Certificates begin to appear) when Anglo-Norman finally ceased to be spoken in Britain.

Despite elimination, the pool of variants in 1500 remained wide. This is because different scribes selected different variants as their preferred majority and minority forms. For example, from 1479 (when the London Bridge annual accounts switched to monolingual English) to 1535, a chapel cleric was paid for the opening and the shutting of the chapel doors. The clerks who wrote the accounts during this period were William Bouchier (1479–81), John Pees (1482–87), John Normavyle (1488–1501), Walter Smyth (1502–21) and John Halmer (1522–35). Taking the word *shutting* (from OE *scyttan* ‘to shut’), we find the variants listed in Table 4.1 in this fifty-five-year period.

Thus the pool of spellings for the reflex of OE /y/ in formal London writing included <i, u, e, o, y>, but no clerk used all five variants, or even four.¹⁵ The trend was not towards selection of <u>; rather, the <i> variant was dominant during these years with 29 tokens out of 59, or 50 per cent.

Table 4.1 *Variants of the word shutting (1479–1535)*

Clerk	Spelling	Tokens
Bouchier	shitting	3
Pees	shitting	5
Pees	shutting	1
Normavyle	shitting	12
Normavyle	shetting	1
Normavyle	shotting	1
Smyth	shetting	14
Smyth	shotting	5
Smyth	shitting	3
Halmer	shitting	6
Halmer	shetting	5
Halmer	shytting	3

Selection of one dominant form and its subsequent acceptance by convention was something that occurred considerably later.

This process of elimination of minor variants or comet-tail reduction did not happen overnight; it had been developing over the fifteenth century, and its beginnings can be traced to the late fourteenth century. Overall, in the fifteenth century, London writing of the relevant register came to be relatively invariant (the caveats are there because of course Standard English is still not completely invariant to this day, and Standard English is not always used for writings of all registers). The actual whittling-down process to one supreme variant used by everybody happened well after 1500, and thus after the period of ‘Chancery Standard’. To state this categorically, the fifteenth century was not one of selection, but one of elimination. To put it in simplistic terms, Chancery spellings (by which is meant the spellings which were numerically dominant in a text, because Chancery spellings were variable) are not the forerunner of Standard spellings. To return to my introduction, I too believe that Samuels was reporting a very real phenomenon, but I suggest that it is the process of elimination that is so remarkable about writing from 1500 as compared to that of a hundred years earlier, rather than selection.

4.4 Changing trade patterns

We move now to a consideration of who needed to use the mixed-language business system and why they might have had reason to abandon it, in order to answer the question of why formal written English came to eliminate the minor variants so prevalent in Middle English writing and to emulate the comparatively invariant system of Medieval Latin. This process began in the late fourteenth century and was over (to all intents and purposes) by the end of the sixteenth. I suggest that the process of standardization was directly linked to changes in trading practices.

The medieval mixed-language business system was used wherever people needed to keep track of money in and money out. This included the most powerful perpetual institutions in the land (such as the Bridge House Estate illustrated above, the records of the City Livery Companies, those of St Paul's Cathedral, customs officials recording the value of cargoes at the ports, stewards recording the incomings and outgoings of palaces, landed estates, colleges and religious houses), down to individuals recording their personal credits and debits. One way of mapping this influx and efflux of cash is to plot the people who owed debts to Londoners and to whom they owed debts, and this has been done by Keene, Galloway and Murphy at the University of London (Keene 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, Galloway 1999, 2000; Map 4.1).

In the early fourteenth century, the main food-supply zone for London was the immediate hinterland, spreading into the South-East and south-east Midlands, with some interaction with Norwich, the second largest city in England. This can be thought of as speakers travelling to and from these marked points into the capital, speaking to people en route as they walked or rode by horse or donkey. A hundred years later, this pattern had changed markedly (Map 4.2).

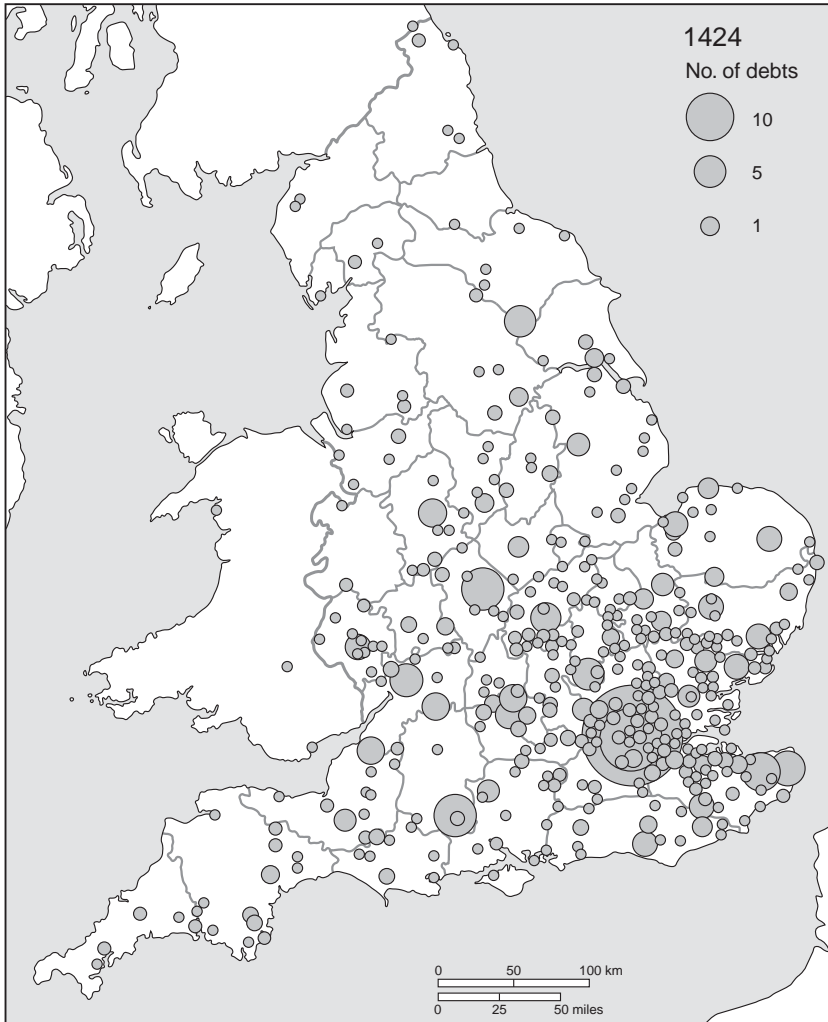
In 1424, Londoners continued to interact with speakers as before, but the density of speaker interaction had increased, and the area from which they came covered much of the country. The change in trade patterns can be explained as follows. In the fourteenth century, foreign traders coming to Britain individually toured the provincial markets, spoke to local suppliers and bought raw commodities, particularly wool. They did not deal through London middlemen, and London was not the most important commercial centre in the region – that was Bruges. During the next hundred years, transport systems changed and as a result, Antwerp came to be the hub of financial activity. London, being close enough to both Bruges and Antwerp, was affected by the traffic. Meanwhile, over the fourteenth century there was considerable depopulation in England, due to, amongst other things, the Black Death of 1348–9, and this caused a change in the social order. The population became smaller, which exerted less pressure on basic resources and redistributed some of the wealth to the poor. The increase in living standards resulted in an increased demand for manufactured goods, which were supplied by the expanding markets of Antwerp, Bruges and Ghent. This change in consumer patterns meant that British craftsmen could now make a living from selling their skills rather than agricultural subsistence. London became a hub for British manufactured produce, and foreign traders no longer toured the country but repeatedly visited London to buy not raw wool but woven cloth. From the 1370s, the average wage rose, people became wealthier and prices fell. Increased commercialization and the demise of the provincial middleman meant that London became the single central market within England. British goods were now traded through London en route for Antwerp and the continental market, so that



Map 4.1 Debts owed to Londoners in 1329 (map by Keene, Galloway and Murphy, reproduced in Wright 2001b: 201; 2005: 394)

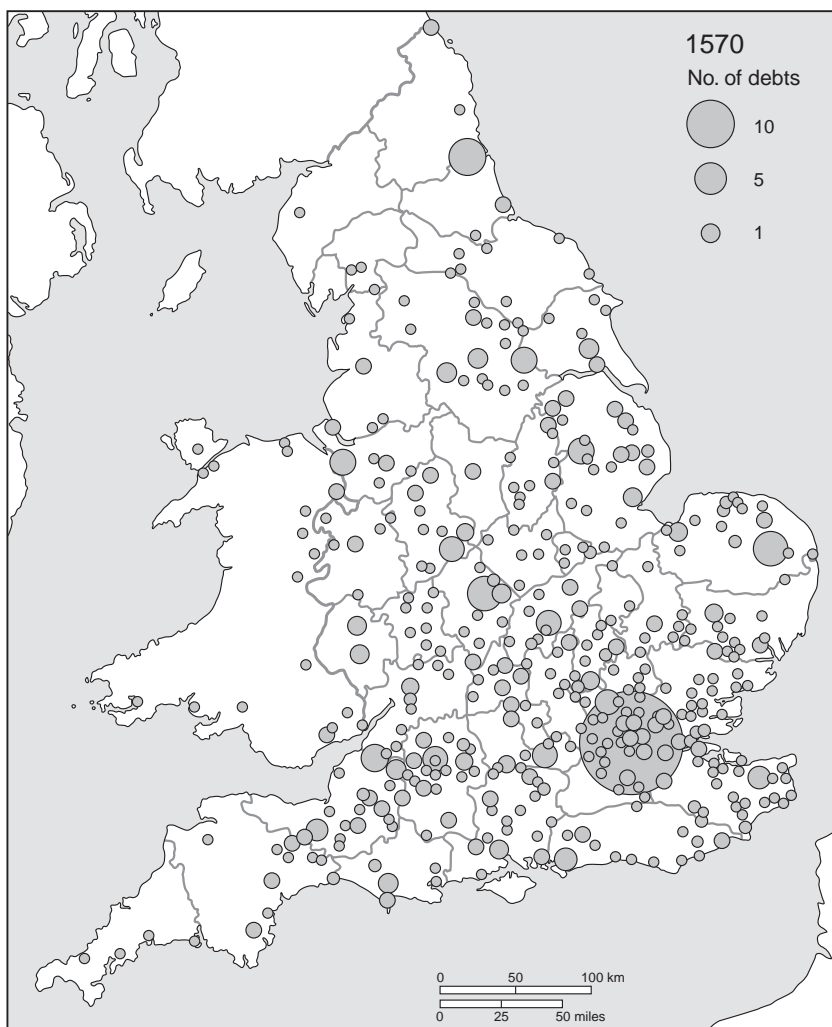
both provincial sellers and buyers and foreign buyers interacted in the capital. Around 1470 the Antwerp and Bruges markets increased considerably, and as they expanded their reach on the continent, the London market became dominant within Britain. By 1570 the map of people who owed debts to Londoners extends all over England (Map 4.3).

By 1570, the economic dominance of London was such that it became the centre of distribution of imported manufactured goods. Merchants from



Map 4.2 Debts owed to Londoners in 1424 (map by Keene, Galloway and Murphy, reproduced in Wright 2001b: 201; 2005: 395)

outside the capital had to make repeat visits or to move there permanently. Correspondingly, provincial industries which had been flourishing in 1424 declined, and the commercial role of provincial towns decreased with the exception of two regions, Exeter and East Anglia, both of which dealt directly with continental markets. The main axis of trade over the sixteenth century was north/south, with the main route along the east coast. Movement of heavy goods was largely done by sea, with each seaport along the



Map 4.3 Debts owed to Londoners in 1570 (map by Keene, Galloway and Murphy, reproduced in Wright 2001b: 202; 2005: 396)

way providing a point of dialect contact. Lighter goods were shifted by land along the Great North Road, with constant traffic up and down the country. In terms of speaker interaction, there was a chain of dialect contact at every staging-post and at every landing-stage.

Turning now to the variant pool of proto-Standard English, the following Northern morphological forms entered and eventually ousted all others (Fischer 1992; Lass 1992, 1999):

- Northern *are* took over as the plural third-person present form of the verb *to be* and earlier *be(n)* and *beth* were eventually lost. This took a long time to go to completion; some early seventeenth-century London texts still contain plural *be* as a minority variant.
- Third-person singular present tense indicative *-th* was replaced by Northern *-s*. However, singular *-th* was still used in London texts well into the seventeenth century.
- Adverbial suffixes reduced from Southern *-liche* to Northern *-ly*. This change can be regarded as either the introduction of the Northern form, or simply as the loss of the regionally marked final syllable.
- The Northern pronouns *they*, *them*, *their* were introduced and *hei*, *hem*, *here* were gradually lost, although *em* still exists as the low-stress form in speech.

These variants entered the proto-Standard pool but did not immediately replace the Southern variants – the process of selection was long and slow and not accomplished in one generation. Kitson has described the London dialect in the Middle English period as ‘an urban amalgam drawing on non-adjacent dialects’ (Kitson 2004: 227) (although this description applies better to proto-Standard English than it does to London English). Raumolin-Brunberg and Nevalainen, surveying Early Modern texts produced in London, find that ‘[s]ome of the spelling variation seemed, however, so frequent and so random that it could hardly be taken to reflect any dialectal features either in written or spoken language’ (1990: 124). Trudgill (2012), in criticism of the ‘single-ancestor theory’ of Standard English (be it Chancery Standard, East Midlands or Central Midlands), has selected a quote from Hope: ‘Hope (2000: 50) sums it up nicely when he says of the London speech which became standard that ‘it is tempting to ask what dialects were not present in this Londonish–East Midlandish–Northernish–Southernish “single” ancestor of Standard English’. I suggest that traffic along the trade routes described above accounts for the widening pool of variants found in formal writing over the relevant period, and that various dialect-contact features can be identified. In other words, as has been recently claimed for proto-Standard French,¹⁶ proto-Standard English was a koiné, and the written form of Standard English had a spoken form behind it.

4.5 On simplification in Standard English

Standard English has been described as a simplified variety: ‘Like most standard dialects, Standard English tended to be simpler than the regional vernaculars on which it was based, at least at its inception’ (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 306); ‘And crucially, and perhaps most importantly, dialect contact leads to simplification. This is actually itself a somewhat complicated

phenomenon, but one of the facets of simplification is loss of redundancy; and one of the forms that this takes is the loss of syntagmatic redundancy – which we saw illustrated in the history of Standard English’ (Trudgill 2012).

Standard English exhibits different kinds of simplification. One such is levelling. Levelled dialects resist features that speakers perceive to be salient markers of the input dialects. An example is the reduction of adverbial *-liche* to *-ly*. Another is the loss of regionally marked *-th*, *-n* and *-s* as the plural indicative present-tense marker and the subsequent adoption of zero. In the case of *are*, the *th*-pronouns, third-person singular *-s* and auxiliary *do*, what was originally a regionally marked form in the earlier part of the period became the unmarked universal form by the end of the sixteenth century, with third-person singular *-s* taking longer to go to completion. Another outcome of dialect contact is the creation of interdialect, where the new variety ends up with new features that did not exist in any of the input dialects. An example might be the preference of the new universal present participle *-ing* over regionally marked *-and(e)*, *-end(e)*, *-ind(e)*.¹⁷

Levelling can be regarded as part of the simplification process, yet present-day Standard English is complex (in some respects) by comparison with present-day regional dialects. Consider regularization across a paradigm: Standard English marks the third-person singular present-tense indicative *-s*. Contrast the regularization to zero of regional dialects such as that of present-day East Anglia (I/you/he/we/they *walk*), or regularization to *-s* of regional dialects such as that of present-day Devon (I/you/he/we/they *walks*). Such regularization is associated with both dialect and language contact and is regarded as a form of simplification, indeed, it is a universal norm.¹⁸ However, arresting the process mid-stream, as Standard English has done, is not. This apparent paradox (that traditional dialects have regularized whereas Standard English is arrested mid-process) is resolved by Trudgill (2009: 308–11), who points out that it is not the case that the non-standard dialects have regularized with Standard English failing, rather, the non-standard dialects have gone further along the path of regularization, and Standard English lags behind due to its inherent conservatism. Another form of simplification due to language contact is loss of redundancy, which can be divided into loss of morphological categories and reduction in repetition of information. (Trudgill (2009: 312) illustrates the former by the loss of *thou/thee/thy/thine* and the latter by the modern English verb system.) However, is the comet-tail elimination discussed in Sections 4.2 to 4.4 above to be regarded as loss of redundancy, or reduction in repetition of information: that is, a different form of simplification? Lack of variation of the kind seen in Standard English caused not regularization across the paradigm (that is, syntagmatic uniformity) but a kind of fossilized, fixed variation. The Standard English verb *to be* paradigm, for example, is still highly variable but it is a lexically marked variation; that is, speakers can

no longer select from a pool, they have little choice. Nonetheless, by referring to something that I will call the ‘Trudgill insight’,¹⁹ I suggest that reduction in variation should be regarded as a form of simplification, for the following reason.

The ‘Trudgill insight’ is that language contact in infancy leads to increased complexity, with creoles being the prototypical example, but that language contact in adulthood leads to simplification, with pidgins being the prototype. Pidgins show synthetic morphological reduction and loss of redundancy. To return to the medieval mixed-language business variety, recall that one of the rules was ‘*either* mark the NP with the definite article *le*, in which case do not mark the modifiers and nouns with Latin suffixes, *or* do not mark it with *le*, in which case do use accusative, genitive or dative case endings, even if the root is English. Use both, but do not conflate them.’ Examples are the prepositional phrases *apud wherfam*, *pro wharfagio*, *supra wharfam* versus *usque le briggequerff*, *apud le ffresshwharf* ‘at the wharf, for wharfage, on the wharf’, v. ‘towards the Bridge Wharf, at the Fresh Wharf’ (examples taken from Wright 2010: 133–4), where the root *wharf* is from OE *hwearf*. It was not a free-for-all mix; there was sensitivity to repetition of information, as use of *le* blocked suffixes. Trudgill’s insight shows us that such simplified features as loss of synthetic morphology and loss of redundancy result from languages learnt in adulthood, after the critical period for language learning has passed. My argument, then, with regard to why written proto-Standard English shows so few of the variants typical of Middle English writing (why there are no comet-tails) is:

- Step One: adult clerks learnt Anglo-Norman and Medieval Latin as a written language as part of their training. They may not have been adult in the modern sense – they may have been young – but they did not learn these languages orally from infancy from their mothers as a first language.
- Step Two: as a result of learning these languages by tuition, language-contact features that we label as ‘simplified’ accrued.
- Step Three: when the mixed-language business variety became replaced by proto-Standard English as a result of changed trade patterns, these simplified habits were ported into the new, written form of proto-Standard English. As a result, variation became greatly reduced and, eventually (probably as a process of lexical diffusion), spelling became fixed. A long time afterwards, in the seventeenth century, self-proclaimed experts designated some features (spellings, words, pronunciations) as socially desirable and contraindicated others, mainly in order to make themselves money.²⁰

In sum, Standard English is simplified when compared to the Middle English dialects in that it is relatively invariant – the comet-tail phenomenon

has gone, and Zipf's Law can no longer be applied to English orthography. But the pool of spellings and morphemes remains wide to this day; regularization has not gone to completion in many cases (e.g. the strong past participles, which are a reduced set when compared to Middle English, but which look varied when compared to proto-Standard English, when regularization was actively occurring). The present contribution to understanding the development of Standard English emphasizes two things: that elimination is every bit as important as selection, and that elimination preceded selection, and not the other way around. Elimination, it is suggested, is a language-contact feature (in that Latin is the obvious, local precedent for a relatively invariant spelling system, and by the late fourteenth century British scribes had had three hundred years of practice in writing Latin for administrative and business purposes), whereas the individual features selected came, and continued to come for several generations, from various dialects.

5 English as a contact language in the British Isles

JUHANI KLEMOLA

5.1 Introduction

From the *Adventus Saxonum*, the development of the English language in the British Isles has been shaped by contacts with other languages. Depending on the type and intensity of the contact, the linguistic consequences of these contacts have varied. Thus it is generally acknowledged that Latin and French influence have played a major role in the development of the English lexicon, and that the more intimate Scandinavian contacts resulted in the borrowing of even such closed class items as pronouns and prepositions. In stark contrast to the above, it has traditionally been argued that there is one group of languages – the Insular Celtic languages – that has left virtually no traces in the English language despite a close coexistence in the British Isles for more than one and a half millennia. The small number of Celtic loanwords is often offered as a definitive proof of the negligible influence of the Celtic languages on English.

The focus in my chapter will be on the role of the Celtic contacts in the evolution of the English language. I will argue that the traditional view of the negligible impact of the Celtic languages on the development of the English language is based, among other factors, on an outdated view of the nature of contact-induced language change. The Celtic contacts in the British Isles represent the type of language shift situations that, according to Thomason and Kaufman (1988), result in moderately heavy substratum influence especially in the syntax and phonology of the target language rather than lexical borrowings as argued, among others, by Filppula, Klemola and Paulasto (2008) and the contributions in Filppula and Klemola (2009).

The chapter is organized as follows: Section 5.2 will discuss the archaeological, demographic and historical background to the Celtic contacts. This is followed by three case studies of Celtic influence on English in Section 5.3: (i) the so-called Northern Subject Rule, which is offered as an example of early

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Celtic influence, (ii) the evolution of the *self*-forms as intensifiers and reflexives, a case of a Middle English development probably due to Celtic influence; and (iii) third-person singular pronoun *en* in the south-western dialects of English, representing an example of Celtic influence at the level of non-standard dialects. Finally, a short conclusion in Section 5.4 returns to the question of the role of Celtic contacts in the development of the English language.

5.2 Archaeological, demographic and historical evidence for contact with Celtic

It is generally acknowledged that linguistic contact effects presuppose (more or less) active interaction between speakers of two or more languages, and this is exactly what is denied in the most extreme traditional accounts of the Anglo-Saxon invasions. The consensus view amongst nineteenth-century historians like Freeman (1869) and Stubbs (1870) was that the Anglo-Saxon newcomers drove out or exterminated virtually all of the native British and Romano-British population and usurped their lands and property. This ‘Anglo-Saxonist’ view of the early history of England is well encapsulated in the following quotation from Stubbs:

This new race was the main stock of our forefathers: sharing the primaeval German pride of purity of extraction ... and strictly careful of the distinction between themselves and the tolerated remnant of their predecessors ... Our whole internal history testifies unmistakably to our inheritance of Teutonic institutions from the first immigrant. (Stubbs 1870: 1–3; quoted here from Higham 1992: 3)

This ‘replacement’ or ‘ethnic cleansing’ theory still has its supporters, although the most recent archaeological, historical and population genetic evidence does not support it. The extent of survival of the indigenous Romano-British population must have varied from one place to another, but there is no firm evidence of widespread massacre of the indigenous population in either towns or rural areas. This is the conclusion of, for example, Laing and Laing (1990) on the basis of their discussion of various kinds of early medieval archaeological finds. Instead of sharp polarization between the two populations, they consider widespread intermingling of the two cultures to have been a much more likely scenario in the Britain of that period (see Hickey, this volume). In a similar vein, Oppenheimer (2006) cites the view of British archaeologist Helena Hamerow, who also concludes that the archaeological evidence does not lend support to the replacement theory but rather suggests ‘a substantial degree of continuity’ (Hamerow 1997: 40; quoted here from Oppenheimer 2006: 347).

The replacement theory is not supported by the estimated population statistics either. The Germanic immigrants formed only a small proportion of the population of the country. The size of the (Romano-)British population c. 450 AD has been estimated to have been about 1 million, but there are

wide differences in estimates of the immigrant:native ratio. The most 'minimalist' stand is represented by the historian Nick Higham, who puts the figure at 1:100 (Higham 1992). At the other extreme is the archaeologist Heinrich Härke, who places the ratio at 1:5 (Härke 2003), while the archaeologists Laing and Laing adopt a medium position, proposing 1:20 or 1:50 (Laing and Laing 1990). What is significant, however, is that even Härke agrees that instead of a wholesale extermination of the Britons, what happened in most places (excepting some areas in eastern and central England) was a process of *acculturation* over the couple of centuries following the arrival of the Germanic tribes.

Support for the 'acculturation theory' can be also obtained from recent population genetic studies. Capelli *et al.* (2003) conducted an analysis of Y-chromosome variation based on a sample of 1,772 males from 25 small urban locations in the British Isles and Ireland, involving also comparative sample sets from Norway, Denmark and North Germany. Capelli *et al.*'s quantitative analysis of the results shows that 'there has not been complete population replacement anywhere in the British Isles' (Capelli *et al.* 2003: 981–2). Another study similar to that of Capelli *et al.* was conducted under the auspices of the Oxford Genetic Atlas Project (Sykes 2006). The analysis of both matrilineal mitochondrial DNA and patrilineal Y-chromosome samples of over 10,000 subjects from all over Britain and Ireland reported in Sykes (2006) also supports significant continuity of the indigenous Celtic-speaking population in Britain and Ireland. As Sykes himself puts it, 'the genetic structure of the Isles is stubbornly Celtic, if by that we mean descent from people who were here before the Romans and who spoke a Celtic language' (Sykes 2006: 287).

Despite some continuing controversies in these areas of study, there is enough evidence to conclude that the demographic and sociohistorical circumstances surrounding the *Adventus Saxonum* were such that linguistic contact influences were not just possible but most likely. It is highly probable that there was a period of extensive bilingualism for a considerable length of time after the *Adventus* (see Jackson 1953: 241–6). During this period, the Britons shifted to English and were gradually assimilated to the Anglo-Saxon population both culturally and linguistically. The linguistic consequences of this process of assimilation are explored in the three case studies that follow.

5.3 Three case studies of Celtic influence in English

5.3.1 *The Northern Subject Rule*

The standard English subject–verb agreement pattern, where the inflectional marker *-s* is only attached to third-person singular forms, is a badly mutilated survivor of an earlier, considerably richer Germanic agreement pattern. Thus it is not surprising that in regional dialects of English at least

three alternative patterns have evolved. A typical agreement pattern in some traditional dialects in the south-east of England and East Anglia, as exemplified in (1), has done away with the inflectional marker *-s* altogether (see Wakelin 1977: 119–20):

- (1) I/you/he/she/it/we/you/they *read*

whereas in some southern/south-western dialects the inflectional marker *-s* has been generalized over the whole paradigm, as in (2):

- (2) I/you/he/she/it/we/you/they *reads*

The third variant of the subject–verb agreement paradigm, the so-called Northern Subject Rule, is employed in many traditional northern and North Midlands dialects. In these varieties, the presence of the inflectional marker *-s* depends on the nature and position of the subject, as in the following examples from Ihalainen (1994: 221):

- (3) They *peel* them and *boils* them.

- (4) Birds *sings*.

The label ‘Northern Subject Rule’ for this construction type was coined by Ossi Ihalainen (1994: 221). The Northern Subject Rule (NSR) states essentially that in the present tense, the verb takes the *-s* ending in all persons, singular and plural, unless it is adjacent to a personal pronoun subject (except for the third-person singular, where the *-s* ending is used regardless of the type and proximity of the subject NP). Thus in *They peel them*, where the subject is an adjacent personal pronoun, no ending is used, whereas in *Birds sings*, where the subject is a full noun phrase, or in *They peel them and boils them*, where the subject of *boils* is not adjacent to the verb, the inflectional ending *-s* is used. In this section I will discuss the geographical distribution and history of the NSR and suggest that the occurrence of this agreement pattern in northern dialects of English is due to Brythonic substratal influence.

James Murray, in his *Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland* (1873), is one of the first scholars to draw attention to the peculiar agreement pattern in the dialects of Scotland and northern England. Murray (1873: 211–12) states that

[i]n the PRESENT TENSE, aa *leyke*, wey *leyke*, yee *leyke*, thay *leyke*, are only used when the verb is accompanied by its proper pronoun; when the subject is a noun, adjective, interrogative or relative pronoun, or when the verb and subject are separated by a clause, the verb takes the termination *-s* in all persons. [. . .] Such expressions as ‘the men *syt/s*’ are not vulgar corruptions, but strictly grammatical in the Northern dialect.

Slightly later, Joseph Wright in his *English Dialect Grammar* (1905: 296) presents a relatively detailed description of the geographical distribution of the NSR construction in late nineteenth-century English dialects:

§ 435. Present: In Sh. & Or.I. Sc. Irel. n.Cy [north country] and most of the north-midland dialects all persons, singular and plural, take *s*, *z*, or *æz* when not immediately preceded or followed by their proper pronoun; that is when the subject is a noun, an interrogative or relative pronoun, or when the verb and subject are separated by a clause. [...] When the verb is immediately preceded or followed by its proper pronoun, the first pers. sing. and the whole of the plural gen. have no special endings in the above dialects, except occasionally in parts of Yks. Lan. and Lin.

Evidence from the *Survey of English Dialects* (*SED*) analysed in Klemola (2000) presents a roughly similar geographical distribution of the NSR construction in traditional mid-twentieth-century dialects of English English; the *SED* data discussed in Klemola (2000: 331–5) indicate that the NSR was, at the time the *SED* fieldwork was conducted, in use in the pre-1974 counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham and Westmorland, and to some extent in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. In other words, the geographical distribution of the construction seems to have remained stable over the roughly one hundred-year period from Wright to the *SED*.

Turning to the earlier history of the NSR, Mustanoja (1960: 481–2) briefly mentions the NSR type agreement pattern as a feature of northern Middle English and Middle Scots, and furthermore, points out that the rule is generally followed in these northern varieties of Middle English and that ‘the exceptions to this rule are mostly due to the requirements of the metre or to southern influence’. As far as the geographical distribution of the NSR is concerned, McIntosh (1989) shows that in late Middle English at least, subject–verb agreement followed the NSR in the area north of a line which runs across England roughly from Chester to the Wash.

Unfortunately, very few texts written in northern dialects have survived from the early Middle English period, and the texts that have survived are too short to give any reliable picture of the agreement system in northern dialects at the time. But the evidence from late Middle English texts indicates that the NSR was already fully established at the time during the fourteenth century when Northern Middle English texts become more common. It is probably this that led Murray (1873: 212) to argue that the NSR-type agreement pattern predates the first written records of Northern Middle English: ‘before the date of the earliest Northern writings of the thirteenth century, the form without the *-s* had been extended to all cases in which the verb was accompanied by its proper pronoun, whether before or after it, leaving the full form in *-s* to be used with other nominatives only’. This provides us with a *terminus ante quem* for the introduction of the NSR in the northern varieties of Middle English; how long the construction may have been in use in spoken language before its first attestation in written documents must unfortunately remain an unanswerable question.

Although NSR was already described by such eminent nineteenth-century philologists as James Murray and Joseph Wright, it was Otto Jespersen who offered explanations for the origin of this type of an agreement pattern. Jespersen (*MEG* vi: § 3.2) considers the NSR a development of an Old English agreement pattern (see Campbell 1959: §730):

In OE a difference is made in the plural, according as the verb precedes *we* or *ge* or not (*binde we*, *binde ge*, but *we bindaþ*, *ge bindaþ*). This is the germ of the more radical difference now carried through consistently in the Scottish dialect, where the *s* is only added when the vb is not accompanied with its proper pronoun, but in that case it is used in all persons.

King (1997), having cited Macafee's (1992–3: 21) statement that 'it is unclear how this double system of concord arose', proceeds to explain the rise of the NSR construction in essentially the same terms as Jespersen. She refers to Campbell's (1959: §730) discussion of the Old English usage where the plural endings *-aþ*, *-on*, *-en* can be reduced to *-e* when the pronouns *we* or *ge* follow the verb, and concludes:

As a result of this reduction, verb forms with this <e> (presumably representing schwa) would cease to be distinctive for person in the present tense or for mood, since both singular and plural in the subjunctive would become identical in <e> . . . Where loss of person markings in verbs is concerned, in both Old and Middle English periods (especially for the latter in the North), the forms of most of the personal pronouns were distinct enough from each other to supply any 'missing' information on person. (King 1997: 176–7)

The attempts to explain the NSR as a system-internal development in northern dialects of Middle English have not managed to give a satisfactory explanation for the agreement pattern that is governed simultaneously by the type of the subject NP (lexical noun vs pronoun) and its proximity to the verb. However, Eric Hamp (1975–76), in an addendum to an article that focused on the lack of NP–VP concord in British Celtic, already hints at the possibility of an external, contact-induced explanation for the construction:

Angus McIntosh points out to me in conversation that Northern English, in earlier documents and in some surviving dialects, requires 3sg. verb with a noun subject (*horses runs*) but plural with a pronoun (*þai run*) provided no expression intervenes; therefore, with a relative, *þai þat runs*. This looks for all the world like an independent witness from Cumbrian or Strathclyde substratum syntax. (Hamp 1975–6: 73)

From a typological point of view, agreement systems of the type exemplified by the NSR appear to be extremely rare. In general, this type of agreement seems to be found in verb-initial languages. Thus, for example, Vennemann (2001) points out that similar agreement patterns are found in Semitic

languages. However, the closest parallel, both structurally and geographically, to the construction type is found in the Brythonic languages, Welsh, Cornish and Breton (see Evans 1971: 49). In his grammar of Modern Welsh, King (1993: 137) states that '3rd pers. pl. forms are only used when the corresponding pronoun *nhw* (*they*) is explicitly stated. In all other cases where the subject is 3rd pers. pl., the 3rd pers. sing. form must be used' (see also Evans 1971: 42). The examples King gives are:

- | | | |
|-----|--|--------------|
| (5) | <i>Maen nhw</i> 'n dysgu Cymraeg.
'They are learning Welsh.' | [pl. verb] |
| (6) | <i>Mae</i> Kev a Gina yn dysgu Cymraeg
'Kev and Gina are learning Welsh.' | [sing. verb] |
| (7) | <i>Gân nhw</i> ailwneud y gwaith 'ma yfory
'They can redo this work tomorrow.' | [pl. verb] |
| (8) | <i>Geith</i> y myfyrwyr ailwneud y gwaith 'ma yfory
'The students can redo this work tomorrow.' | [sing. verb] |

Furthermore, a third-person singular form of the verb is used in relative clauses, where the (plural) relative is the subject (Evans 1971: 43).

In Modern Welsh, in other words, the third-person singular form of the verb is used when the subject is a full noun phrase in the plural. With an adjacent pronominal subject, or when there is no overt subject, third-person plural agreement is used. The paradigm for Modern Welsh is thus:

1. maent [they] are
2. maent hwy they are
3. mae 'r bechgyn the boys are

where 1 (no overt subject) and 2 (adjacent personal pronoun subject) are grouped together as against 3 (full noun phrase subject). This system, although it is not identical with the NSR paradigm (where 1 and 3 are grouped together as against 2), is still remarkably similar to the northern English agreement pattern.

There is some disagreement about the antiquity of this agreement pattern in written Welsh (see Evans 1971; Greene 1971, Hamp 1975–6, Jackson 1973–4). Evans (1971), however, is convinced that this agreement pattern has always been a feature of spoken Welsh: 'on the basis of what evidence is available, it appears safe to conclude that lack of concord was the normal practice in spoken Welsh from the very beginning' (Evans 1971: 50). Furthermore, Evans (1971: 49) points out that similar agreement patterns are also found in Cornish and Breton, and suggests tentatively that 'the three languages could have inherited lack of concord from the parent British', in other words, that the agreement pattern dates back to the sixth century or earlier (see also Jackson 1973–4: 2–3, Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 269).

To conclude this section, the Northern Subject Rule is often considered to provide one of the strongest arguments in support of relatively early Celtic substratum influence in English (see, e.g., Vennemann 2001, McWhorter 2008; Coates 2010). Most recently, Benskin (forthcoming) offers a very thorough review of the philological evidence and arguments for and against Celtic influence on the rise of the NSR, and ends up – almost grudgingly – affirming the possibility of Celtic influence on the rise of the construction.

5.3.2 *The development of the self-forms as intensifiers and reflexives*

In Modern English, *self*-forms are used both as reflexive pronouns or reflexive anaphors to mark coreference, e.g. between the subject and object of a sentence (as in *John hurt himself very badly*), and as intensifiers to assign prominence to some constituent of a sentence (as in *John himself was very badly hurt*). Modern English is, in fact, unique amongst Germanic languages with respect to the uses of these forms and also different from Old English, which followed the Germanic pattern. This obviously raises the question of possible external influence on English, and indeed, such suggestions have been made in the literature. Vezzosi (2005a, b) discusses the parallel development of the intensifying *self*-forms in English and in Brythonic languages (Welsh and Breton), suggesting that the English forms are modelled on the latter on the basis of their typological characteristics and the clear chronological precedence of the Brythonic forms.

As Vezzosi (2005a: 228) shows, the Modern English uses of the *self*-forms differ from the other Germanic languages in two major respects: first, Modern English uses the same forms for both the intensifier function and for reflexive anaphora, unlike the other Germanic languages, which have two different forms for these functions (e.g. the German intensifier *selbst* vs the reflexive series *mich/dich/sich* etc.). Secondly, Modern English has its own *self*-form for each person (*myself, yourself, him-/herself* etc.), whereas the other Germanic languages have a special reflexive form only for the third person (e.g. G. *sich*); for the other persons objective forms of the ‘ordinary’ personal pronouns must be used. As Vezzosi (2005b: 176) points out, this latter feature makes English rather unique even from a wider cross-linguistic perspective and – what is of particular interest to us in this connection – is shared only by the Celtic languages and creoles.

Old English, however, still retained the Germanic system – as does Frisian, the closest cognate language of English, even at the present day, as Vezzosi points out (2005a: 228). Mitchell (1985: §265) observes in his description of the Old English system of reflexives that ‘[t]he personal pronoun serves as a reflexive, either alone or emphasized by *self*, which is usually declined to agree with the pronoun in number, gender, and case’. This means that the reflexive pronoun system and the intensifier *self* were formally distinct in Old English, with the latter being mainly used to

emphasize or to avoid ambiguity. On the other hand, Mitchell emphasizes the role of the context in disambiguating between reflexive and non-reflexive uses of, e.g. *hine* and *hine selfne* in Old English texts (1985: §276). However, he accepts the view that in Old English, *self* was not a reflexive marker but was used for emphasis (1985: §475). In any case, the dual function of the *self*-forms as intensifiers and reflexive markers does not get established until the Middle English period (Visser 1963–73: §438; Vezzosi 2005a: 228).

Vezzosi surveys several of the earlier suggestions as to how the language changed to give way, first, to the gradually increasing use of the *self*-forms in Middle English as both intensifiers and coreference markers, and then to the establishment of these in their Modern English functions in early Modern English. Among these is Keenan's (2001) proposal, according to which the *self*-forms are the result of a reanalysis of sequences consisting of a 'pleonastic reflexive' (see Mitchell 1985: §271) and the intensifier *self* as one unit. Vezzosi questions Keenan's account on the grounds that it does not explain why the *self*-forms replaced the old Germanic system of Old English; why the *self*-forms came to be used for all persons; and why these changes occurred in the Middle English period and not before (2005a: 229–30).

Vezzosi also discusses van Gelderen's (2000) analysis. She argues that the *self*-forms emerged as a result of two interacting processes or factors: a reanalysis of *self* as a noun and the differing 'pronominal' or 'deictic force' of the personal pronouns. The former accounts for the emergence of the so-called 'nominal' series of reflexives, consisting of the possessive pronominal forms + *self* (*myself*, *yourself*, etc.). The latter, in turn, explains why the *self*-form is first attested with the third person, which has greater deictic force than the first- or second-person pronouns, thus preventing its anaphoric use; being 'weaker' and therefore less liable to cause problems for the identification of the intended referent, the first- and second-person pronouns better allow themselves to be used anaphorically. Vezzosi's response to van Gelderen's analysis is that the third-person pronoun has a deictic force in all old Indo-European languages by its nature and that as early as Old English there are cases of *himself* used as an intensifier without a pronominal focus. She also sees no motivation for an adjective to change into a noun and especially into one which has such severe distributional constraints as *self* (2005a: 230).

The third proposal Vezzosi discusses is the one by König and Siemund (2000). They claim that, from a cross-linguistic perspective, intensifiers can undergo semantic change into reflexive anaphors. According to them, such a change has taken place in Rhetoromance and Brazilian Portuguese. Vezzosi counters this argument by noting that it does not explain why *himself* first appears as an intensifier and only later as a reflexive anaphor (Vezzosi 2005a: 230–1). On the other hand, in an earlier context (see Vezzosi 2003), Vezzosi herself considered the possibility of explaining the rise of the reflexive anaphor *himself* in the light of the kind of grammaticalization theory represented by

König and Siemund (2000). On this account, reflexive anaphors first arise to solve possible referential ambiguities by adding the intensifier *self* to the simple pronoun; after a while, the old usage without the intensifier gives way to the *self*-form as the primary disambiguating strategy and eventually gets completely lost, except in certain well-defined contexts (such as after prepositions where the two strategies can still be used interchangeably).

What the grammaticalization hypothesis leaves unexplained according to Vezzosi is, first, why the grammaticalization of *self*-forms does not follow the expected course of development, starting with anaphors in object position, which are in greatest need of disambiguation, and proceeding only after that to prepositional phrases. Vezzosi cites evidence from Old English texts to show that *self*-forms appear in prepositional object position as early as in direct object position (2005a: 233). Secondly, the grammaticalization hypothesis cannot explain why the Germanic-type monomorphemic intensifier was replaced by the kind of *self*-forms that English now has, or why they were extended to all persons as reflexive markers, unlike in the other Germanic languages (2005a: 233).

Vezzosi's conclusion is that the Celtic hypothesis offers the best explanation for the special features of the English *self*-forms and the observed differences between English and the other Germanic languages. The parallelism between the English and the Celtic systems is, indeed, very close: in both Middle Welsh and Middle Breton the intensifier is composed of a pronoun in the genitive case followed by *hun/an* 'one; self'. Vezzosi (2005a: 237) cites examples of *e hun* 'himself' from various Middle Welsh and Breton sources to illustrate the Celtic contexts of use, which – as she points out – are very similar to those of the *self*-forms in Middle English. A further factor speaking for Celtic influence on the rise of the *self*-forms is the areal distribution of *himself* in the Middle English period: on the basis of the evidence from the *Helsinki Corpus* and the *Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English* (LAEME), Vezzosi is able to show that *himself* as reflexive anaphor occurs more frequently in West Midland texts than in those from other parts of England (Vezzosi 2005a: 239). As a further piece of supporting evidence she mentions the word *oneself*, which also has a counterpart in all Insular Celtic languages (*an-unan* 'oneself'). Attested relatively late, this word has previously been explained as an analogical extension of the *self*-forms to the 'impersonal pronoun'. For Vezzosi, however, the Celtic counterpart is a more plausible source, given the general parallelism between the systems of these languages (2005a: 239).

5.3.3 Third-person singular *en* /ən/

The third case study focuses on an interesting feature in the pronominal morphosyntax of south-western dialects of English English. The third-person singular personal pronoun has, in these dialects, an oblique form

en /ən/, which is unique to this dialect area. As shown by examples (9) and (10) from the *SED* tape-recordings, *en* can refer both to inanimate referents (*chimney*) and human ones.

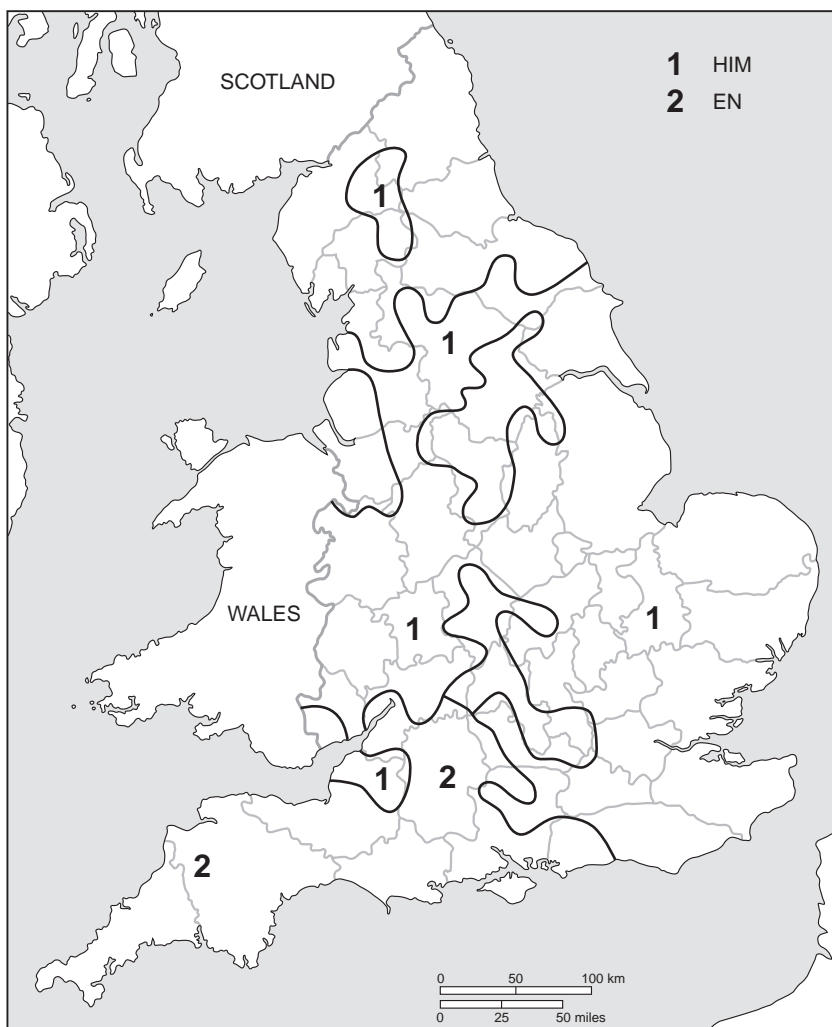
- (9) I said, 'Well, I'm on the six to two next week. I'll come home one day and sweep the chimney.' Said, 'How art going to sweep *en*?' I said, 'I'll sweep *en* same as we used to up in the country up the Kimbers.' (So1: Somerset, Weston)
- (10) Sep Smith or Peg Smith. One of the two. Anybody could fling a stone further than him, they'd give him a sovereign. Nobody couldn't beat *en*. (So1: Somerset, Weston)

Britton (1994: 16), in his discussion on the origin of this form, observes that 'Murray in *OED* s.v. *him*, *hine* derived this variant form from <hine> /xine/, the Old English accusative form of the masculine pronoun, and this etymology has been accepted in all subsequent references to the history of <'en>'. Britton, however, challenges the etymology offered by Murray, and argues instead that the <'en> form in southern and south-western dialects of English descends from <him> as a result of a phonological change under reduced stress. Britton (1994: 18) dates this change – primarily on the basis of lack of earlier textual evidence – to 'roughly the first hundred years of the early Modern English period', i.e. to the sixteenth century.

While not arguing directly against either Murray's or Britton's etymology for *en*, I would like to open up a further dimension to the question of the possible origins of the south-western dialectal *en* 'him, it'. First of all, as even a quick perusal of the *Linguistic Atlas of England* (*LAE*) clearly indicates (see Map 5.1), *en* is a south-western/southern feature, not found in the West Midlands dialects. This is also corroborated by the *SED* tape-recordings data, where *en* is only found in a clearly delimited geographical area, comprising Devon, Dorset, Somerset, and parts of Cornwall, Wiltshire and Hampshire.

The significance of the geographical distribution of *en* is linked to the fact that the infixed form of the third-person singular masculine pronoun <n> in Cornish (and <en, hen> in Breton; see Lewis and Pedersen 1961: 209, 212) is practically identical in form with the south-western third-person singular *en* /ən/, whereas the corresponding Middle Welsh forms are 'e, 'y and 's (Evans 1964: 55). Jenner (1904: 99) gives 'n: *mí a'n pes* 'I pray him' as an example of the Cornish third person singular masculine pronoun, and comments (1904: 99): 'This form is commonly used in the earlier MSS. It represents an accusative *en* or *hen* which still exists in Breton.'

Whether Murray is correct in arguing that the south-western dialectal /ən/ derives directly from Old English *hine*, or Britton is correct in arguing that it is a later south-western innovation that arose *via* a phonological change from *him*, the fact remains that the *en* /ən/ form is, and as far as



Map 5.1 The geographical distribution of third-person singular *en* /ən/ (based on *LAE* M70; Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson 1978)

we can tell, always has been, a dialectal form restricted to the south-western dialects of English English. This dialectal distribution warrants the question: why is this innovation restricted to south-western dialects of English English and not found elsewhere in England? While it would be somewhat rash to argue that the south-western third-person singular *en* /ən/ represents a case of direct substratal influence from Cornish, the formal and functional similarities between the Cornish <'n> and the south-western

dialectal *en* /ən/ do point towards the conclusion that the Cornish pronoun has acted as a reinforcing influence in the development of the south-western dialectal form. Contacts between speakers of Cornish and the adjacent English dialects would go some way towards explaining why the *en* /ən/ pronoun has the geographical distribution in the south-west of England that it has.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have endeavoured to demonstrate that recent archaeological, demographic and historical evidence points towards the conclusion that the *Adventus Saxonum* did not result in the kind of population replacement that the traditional Anglo-Saxonist view of the early history of England has assumed. On the contrary, the demographic and sociohistorical circumstances surrounding the *Adventus Saxonum* were such that linguistic contact influences were not just possible but very likely. Against this background, I have argued, through the three case studies, that transfer from (Brythonic) Celtic languages can be shown to be the likeliest explanation for some pre-Conquest (the Northern Subject Rule) and Middle English changes (the evolution of the *self*-forms as intensifiers and reflexives), as well as changes that have primarily affected non-standard dialects only (third-person singular *en*).

It is of course very difficult – perhaps impossible – to prove conclusively that language contact in the relatively distant past has led to a change in the structure of a given language. However, by accumulating evidence that points towards the likelihood of contact-induced change in the past, I believe we can gradually build an ever stronger case for Celtic influence having played a substantial role in the development of the English language in the British Isles.

6 English as a contact language in Ireland and Scotland

RAYMOND HICKEY

6.1 Introduction

Among the contact scenarios in the anglophone world there is a subgroup that during its recent history has involved language shift to English, now forming a typological class in the arena of present-day forms of the language. These varieties are characterized by non-standard syntactic features but not by morphological ones, unless the forms of English which acted as a target during the language shift themselves showed non-standard morphological features. Furthermore, the phonology of language shift varieties generally bears traits of the original language in the shift process. In this respect, language shift varieties are closer to present-day contact varieties in Asia and Africa, so-called ‘New Englishes’ (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008), and further removed from settler varieties (Hickey 2004b).

Many of the instances of language shift in the anglophone world have concerned small numbers of speakers and have not been well documented. This is generally true of native Americans in the United States and First Nations peoples from Canada as well as Aborigines in Australia who have shifted to English. In some cases where speakers of the outset languages are to some extent still present the source of shift features can be recognized, as is the case with Maori English in New Zealand and in forms of South African Indian English (Mesthrie 1992), largely in KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa (Hickey 2006). The term ‘language shift’ is used when discussing those locations of the anglophone world where the majority of the population abandoned its original language and shifted to English. Among European Englishes this is the case above all in Ireland and Scotland though other anglophone locations, such as Gibraltar, Malta and the Channel Islands are, and have been, characterized by intensive contact with Romance languages (and Maltese, a Semitic language, in the case of Malta).

The language shift situation in Ireland and Scotland is well documented (Filppula 1999; Hickey 2007; Corrigan 2010; Sabban 1982) and the structures of the outset languages – Irish and Scottish Gaelic, respectively – are well known. This also holds true for the varieties of English endangered by the shift which can still be largely observed today, both in a general

form and in specific contact varieties in the remaining Celtic-speaking areas of Ireland and Scotland.¹

Although contact and shift are the major processes in the genesis of Irish English and of Scottish English in the highlands and islands of Scotland, it would be erroneous to imagine that the respective outset languages are the sole source of non-standard features in both kinds of English. The varieties of English spoken during the period and in the regions of contact were decisive here. Recent research has also pointed to the role the acquisitional situation probably played in the rise of non-standard features in Ireland and Scotland. In the following sections the case for contact will be examined, primarily with reference to Ireland but also considering Scottish parallels. While Irish and Scottish English are now established varieties with a language shift background, the linguistic insights to be gained from examining the language contact and shift of their recent histories can help to throw light on similar processes at work elsewhere, namely of newer varieties of English such as in various parts of Africa, South and South-East Asia or the South Pacific (Schneider, this volume; Schreier, this volume).

6.2 The case for contact

In recent years the field of contact linguistics has seen many new publications. Individual studies and collections have been published, e.g. McWhorter (2000), Thomason (2001), Myers-Scotton (2002), Migge (2003), Winford (2003a), Heine and Kuteva (2004), Holm (2004), Clyne (2003), all of which consider the effect of contact between languages on their further development. These considerations have sometimes been programmatic, e.g. Heine and Kuteva (2004), which pushes the case for grammaticalization as virtually the only valid model in contact linguistics; while other studies have focused explicitly on contact with Celtic in the development of English, e.g. Filppula, Klemola and Pitkänen (2008), Hickey (in press a, b) and Paulasto (2006), which is a detailed examination of the effect on English in Welsh grammar.

What all these studies have in common is the goal of putting contact explanations on a firm objective footing. Within the Irish context, such an aim is welcome as too many former accounts of non-standard features assumed transfer during language contact as their sole source. The reaction which set in against contact explanations in the 1980s, and which is most obvious in Harris (1984), was modified somewhat in the 1990s by more research on contact effects, e.g. by Filppula (2001), Corrigan (2010) and Hickey (1995a). This type of approach also informs the present chapter. The different sources which may have played a role in the genesis of Irish English are listed in Table 6.1.

Sources 2a and 2b have been separated for this listing but, of course, they may well coincide in the input forms of English. The conservative nature of

Table 6.1 *Possible sources of features in Irish English*

1.	Transfer from Irish
2.	a. Dialect forms of English b. Archaic forms of English
3.	Features deriving from the context in which English was learned
4.	Features with no recognizable source (independent developments)

English in Ireland is particularly clear when one considers forms which go back to the early anglophone settlement of the island and which are found chiefly on the east coast (Hickey 2002a, b). In early English input, there were many dialect words which have continued to exist in Irish English, e.g. *chiseler* ‘young child’, *mitch* ‘play truant’. On the level of syntax one could mention the variable marking of verb forms with inflectional *-s* in the present tense (see Klemola, this volume).

The above division of sources raises a major question, namely, whether one can unambiguously assign a specific feature to a certain source. There are really only a few traits of Irish English on which there has been general agreement among scholars with regard to their Irish origin (see Harris 1984). First and foremost, this is true of the *after*-perfective, but even there the development over a few centuries has been quite intricate and is much more than a simple case of transfer from Irish to Irish English (see the detailed history offered in McCafferty 2004).

Further factors in the genesis of Irish English must also be taken into account. The specific conditions of language shift may well have led to characteristics of unguided second language acquisition coming to the fore (see Kerswill, Cheshire, Fox and Torgersen, this volume). The analogical extension of epistemic *must* and the analogical plural form *youse* are instances of this. Other instances may be gathered under the heading ‘universals of language acquisition’ and have been considered by a number of authors recently. For Siemund (2003), they have attained the status of a ‘third way’ alongside contact and retention. It is claimed that adult speakers make certain assumptions about the structure of the language they are acquiring in a non-prescriptive environment. Siemund (2003) maintains that there are unmarked values for categories which are preferred in these situations, e.g. nominative over accusative. In individual cases, the validity of these analyses has been disputed, but the general assumption that certain unmarked, or default, characteristics of language are favoured in situations of unguided language acquisition is generally uncontested (Hickey 1997). These traits also surface in so-called New Englishes (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008), where English is acquired as a second language variety used in an environment of one or more indigenous languages (see the discussion in Hickey 2004b in the context of English in Africa and Asia).

Table 6.2 *Features of unguided adult language acquisition*

-
-
- | | |
|----|---|
| 1. | Omission of the definite article |
| 2. | Omission of finite <i>be</i> (in equative sentences) |
| 3. | Reduction and/or generalization of verbal and nominal inflections |
| 4. | Reduction of tense distinctions, e.g. use of present for present perfect |
| 5. | Avoidance of subordinating conjunctions (parataxis favoured over hypotaxis) |
| 6. | Various topicalization strategies such as fronting |
-
-

Some of these characteristics are attested in Irish English, while others are not. Of those listed in Table 6.2, the first is not found in Irish English, while 3–6 are. The omission of finite *be* is attested in south-east Irish English, but it is not a general feature of Irish English.

Table 6.2 shows features which stem from the removal of redundancy and the reduction of structural distinctions, both processes typical of unguided adult language acquisition. It also shows, in feature 6, how pragmatic highlighting can be used to foreground information in discourse.

These features occurred during the historical language shift in Ireland and have clear counterparts in later forms of vernacular Irish English, as will be discussed below.

6.3 Generalizations concerning contact

There would seem to be a general principle whereby the ‘deeper kernel’ of grammar in a language (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 5) is more resistant to change because it is highly structured and acquired early by native speakers. Hence it is not surprising that inflectional morphology, along with core vocabulary, is used as a defining criterion for determining genetic relationships. For any highly structured subsystem there is a standard wisdom that, if it travels, then this is most likely when it fits easily into the recipient language. Similarly, free-standing discourse elements also migrate easily, see Irish *bhuel* for English *well* or (former) Irish English *arra* from Irish. The reason for this is probably that such elements are not integrated into the grammatical lattice of a language and are free to move without structural consequences.

The resistance to structural influence is connected with the duration and extent of contact. Long-term substratum interference can lead to a typological reorientation of a language but within a time frame of several centuries at least (Hickey 1995a). That is definitely too long for the switch from Irish to English, which was long enough for considerable grammatical influence, but not for a major typological realignment of English in Ireland.

With language contact the various linguistic levels are affected to differing degrees. The lexicon, as an open class, enjoys a higher degree of awareness among speakers. Given the fact that Irish was the substrate language in the

contact scenario, then extensive transfer of lexical material was not to be expected and it did not occur. One can generalize this point and maintain that, in a language shift situation, lexical borrowing is unlikely (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 129). Speakers orient themselves towards the target language which enjoys greater prestige for them; this is probably the reason for the shift anyway. They are not likely to take salient elements like words from the language they are shifting away from. With cultural contact, for instance, in the Middle English period with English and French, the position was quite different. Speakers were not shifting to French, so the adoption of words from the prestige code into English took place, although there may well have been a degree of imposition from the French-speaking minority who shifted to English.

In a large-scale shift scenario, the phonology of the substrate language plays a significant role. When speakers are acquiring the target language in adult life, they will retain the accent of their native language. Such massive phonological influence of Irish on early Irish English is evident in the many eye dialect representations in the early modern period. It is true that many of these are exaggerations, but the reoccurrence of so many features across different genres with different authors at different times would justify the assumption that these features were indeed characteristic of early Irish English. Once the shift variety became established, subsequent generations continued it, but there was a toning down of salient phonological features, especially as later speakers became aware of what constitutes a standard pronunciation of the target language and also due to the fact that a native speaker model in the shifting community was (largely) absent (due to few speakers).

6.3.1 *When does contact-induced change appear?*

Contact-induced change (Winford 2005) is not confined to transfer by the generations directly involved in the language shift. The seed for later change may be planted during the shift, but the effect may only be apparent much later. For instance, low-level phonetic influence from one language can lead to far-reaching changes in the other over a longer time span. This type can be termed ‘delayed effect’ contact. There is no structural upheaval in the recipient language but a gradual penetration due to prolonged exposure to another language by largely bilingual sections of a community. In such a scenario ‘speech habits’ migrate from one language to another. In time, this may even lead to typological change. Within the history of English, an example is provided by Celtic influence on Old English (see Hickey 1995b for details) where the speech habits of the British Celts – which included considerable phonetic lenition – may well have furthered, if not actually triggered, the phonetic reduction of unstressed syllables in Old English and thus contributed centrally to the demise of inflectional endings, the

precondition for the typological shift from synthetic to analytic in the history of English. Furthermore, given that speech habits are largely unconscious for speakers, the question of the relative prestige of languages does not play an important role, i.e. they can be adopted from a language of relatively low social status. This kind of delay in the appearance of contact-induced features may be evident in the rise of the *do(es) be* habitual in Irish English. This is only attested on a wide scale after the middle of the nineteenth century, a time when language shift was past its peak.

6.3.2 *What can be traced to contact?*

If a structure in one language is suspected of having arisen through contact with another, then a case can be made for contact when there is a good structural match between both languages. However, the case for contact as a source, at least as the sole source, is considerably weakened if the structure in question is attested in older forms of the language. Many of the features of Irish English are of this type, that is they could have a source either in older forms of English taken to Ireland or in Irish through contact. An example of this is provided by doubly marked comparatives. In Irish, comparatives are formed by placing the particle *níos* 'more' and inflecting the adjective as well. For instance, *déanach* 'late', consisting of the stem *déan-* and the stem-extending suffix *-ach*, changes to *déanaí* in the comparative although the comparative particle *níos* is used as well.

- (1) *Beimid ag teacht níos déanaí.*
 will-be-we at coming more later
 'We will be coming later.'

This double marking may have been transferred in the language shift situation. But such marking is also typical of earlier forms of English (Barber 1997 [1976]: 200ff.) and may well have been present in input forms of English in Ireland. It is still well attested today, as in the following examples.

- (2) a. *He's working more harder with the new job.* (WER, F50+)
 b. *We got there more later than we thought.* (DER, M60+)

In such cases, it is impossible to identify the source. Indeed it is probably more sensible to postulate a double source, and to interpret the structure as a case of convergence.

Before broaching the details of the case for contact, it is important to consider the difference between the presence of a grammatical category in a certain language and the exponence of this category. For instance, the category 'future' exists in the verb systems of both English and Irish but the exponence is different, i.e. via an auxiliary *will/shall* in English but via a suffix in Irish. This type of distinction is useful when comparing Irish

Table 6.3 Category and exponence in Irish and Irish English

Category	Exponence in Irish English	Exponence in Irish
Habitual	1. <i>do(es) be + V-ing</i> <i>They <u>do be</u> fighting a lot.</i>	<i>bionn + non-finite verb form</i> <i>Bionn siad ag troid go minic.</i>
	2. <i>bees (northern)</i> <i>The lads bees out a lot.</i>	[is-HABITUAL they at fighting often]
	3. verbal <i>-s</i> (first person) <i>I <u>gets</u> tired of waiting for things to change.</i>	

English with Irish (Ó Sé 2001: 123–5), for instance when comparing habitual aspect in both languages, as can be seen in Table 6.3.

6.3.3 The search for categorial equivalence

Many scholars, who have considered the initial stages of language change, have posited that low-profile sites in the syntax of a language, such as subordinate clauses or weak affirmatives, are often the loci for variables which are incoming and are being adopted by diffusion into a community (see Cheshire 1996). Authors also distinguish between pronunciation, which is always available for sociolinguistic assessment, and grammar, which is linked more to situational or stylistic conditioning. These factors are mentioned because they show the major difference between change being adopted into a variety and change resulting from language contact and shift.

When switching to another language, temporarily or permanently, adults process grammatical distinctions in the target language with reference to their native language. To this end, they search for equivalents in the target to categories they are familiar with. This process is an unconscious one and persists even with speakers who have considerable target-language proficiency. If the categories of the outset language are semantically motivated then the search to find an equivalent in the target is all the more obvious. A simple example can be taken to illustrate this. In Irish, there is a distinction between the second-person singular and plural pronoun but not in standard English. In the genesis of Irish English, speakers would seem to have felt the need for this non-existent distinction in English and three solutions to this quandary arose.

- (3) a. the use of available material, yielding *you # ye*
(*ye* available from early English input)
- b. the analogical formation of a plural: *you # youse < you + {S}*
(not attested before the early to mid-nineteenth century)
- c. a combination of both (a) and (b) as in *you # yez < ye + {S}*
(not found before the mid-nineteenth century)

Table 6.4 *Factors favouring transfer of grammatical categories*

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-
- | | |
|----|---|
| 1. | The target language has a formal means of expressing this category |
| 2. | There is little variation in the expression of this category |
| 3. | The expression of this category is not homophonous with another one |
| 4. | The category marker in the outset language can be identified – is structurally transparent – and can be easily extracted from source contexts |
-
-

In all these cases the search for an equivalent category of second-person plural was solved in English by the manipulation of material already in this language. At no stage does the Irish *sibh* [ʃiv] ‘you-PL’ seem to have been used, in contrast, for instance, to the use of West African *unu* ‘you-PL’ found in Caribbean English (Hickey 2003b).²

Apart from restructuring elements in the target, speakers can transfer elements from their native language. This transfer of grammatical categories is favoured, if the conditions listed in Table 6.4 apply.

In a language shift situation, transfer must first occur on an individual level, perhaps with several individuals at the same time. But for it to become established, it must be accepted by the community as a whole. If such transfer is to be successful, then it must adhere to the principle of economy: it must embody only as much change in the target as is necessary for other speakers in the community to recognize what native structure it is intended to reflect.

To illustrate how this process of transfer is imagined to have occurred in the historical Irish context, consider the example of the immediate perfective formed by the use of the prepositional phrase *tar éis* ‘after’, which is employed temporally in this case.

- (4) *Tá siad tar éis an obair a dhéanamh.*
 is they after the work COMP do
 ‘They are after doing the work.’

The pivotal elements in this construction are listed below; the complementizer *a* is of no semantic significance.

- (5) a. adverbial phrase *tar éis* ‘after’
 b. non-finite verb form *dhéanamh* ‘doing’
 c. direct object *obair* ‘work’

It would appear that the Irish constructed an equivalent to the output structure using English syntactic means. Item (a) was translated literally as ‘after’, (b) was rendered by the non-finite V-*ing* form yielding sentences like *They’re after doing the work*. With a translation for *tar éis* and a corresponding non-finite form the task of reaching a categorial equivalent would appear to have been completed. Importantly, the Irish word order ‘object + verb’ was not carried over into English (**They’re after the work doing*).

It betrays a basic misunderstanding of the mechanism of transfer for authors to express reservations – as Harris (1991: 205) does – because the order of non-finite verb form and object is different in Irish and English in the construction being discussed here. The aim in the contact situation was to arrive at a construction which was functionally equivalent to that in the outset language. A word order such as that in *John is after the house selling* would not only unnecessarily flout the sequence of verb and object in English (unnecessary as it would not convey additional information), but also give rise to possible confusion with the resultative perfective which in Irish English is realized by means of a past participle following its object.

In the transfer of structure during language shift, it would seem both necessary and sufficient to achieve correlates to the key elements in the source structure. Another instance of this principle can be seen with the resultative perfective of Irish English.

- (6) *Tá an obair déanta acu.*
 is the work done at-them
 IrEng: 'They have the work done.'
 'They have finished the work.'

Essential to the semantics of the Irish construction is the order 'object + past participle'. Consequently, it is this order which is realized in the Irish English equivalent. The prepositional pronoun *acu* 'at-them' (or any other similar form) plays no role in the formation of the resultative perfective in Irish, but is the means to express the semantic subject of the sentence. As this is incidental to the perfective aspect expressed in the sentence, it was neglected in Irish English.

The immediate perfective with *after* does not appear to have had any model in archaic or regional English (Filppula 1999: 99–107). With the resultative perfective, on the other hand, there was previously a formal equivalent, i.e. the word order 'object + past participle'. However, even if there were instances of this word order in the input varieties of English, in Ireland this does not mean that these are responsible for its continuing existence in Irish English. This word order could just as well have disappeared from Irish English as it has in forms of mainland English. However, the retention in Irish English and the use of this word order to express a resultative perfective can in large part be accounted for by the wish of Irish learners of English to reach an equivalent to the category of resultative perfective which they had in their native language.

Another issue to consider, when the question of contact has been discussed, is whether the structures which were transferred still apply in the same sense in which they were used in previous centuries. It would be too simplistic to assume that the structures which historically derive from Irish by transfer have precisely the same meaning in present-day Irish English. For instance, the immediate perfective with *after* has continued to develop shades of meaning not necessarily found in the Irish original, as Kallen (1989) has shown in his study.

(9) a. *She's after breaking the glass.*
 Tá sí tréis an ghloine a bhriseadh.
 b. *He's after his dinner.*
 Tá sé tréis a dhinnéir.

A similar prosodic correspondence can be recognized in a further structure, labelled 'subordinating *and*', in both Irish and Irish English.

- Again, there is a correlation between stressed syllable and major syntactic category, although the total number of syllables in the Irish structure is greater (due to the number of weak syllables). The equivalence intonationally is reached by having the same number of feet, i.e. stressed syllables, irrespective of the distance between them in terms of intervening unstressed syllables. And again, a stressed syllable introduces the clause.

(II) *An bhfuil tú ag dul go dtí an cluiche amárach?*
 [INTERROG is you-SG go-NF to the match tomorrow]
Tá. [t̪a:][✓] *Níl.* [nʲi:lʲ][✓]
 [is] [not-is]

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- (12) *Are you getting support from the EU for sheep farming?* (RH)
I am [∇] (CCE-S, M60+)

A falling pattern (without the rise in *tá* and *níl*) is found with a stressed short vowel which occurs when negating something in the past.

- (13) a. *An raibh tú riamh i Meiriceá?* *Ní raibh.* [∇] (CCE-S, M60+)
 [INTERROG were you ever in America] [not was]
 b. *Did your brother work on the farm as well?* (RH)
He did not. [∇] (CCE-W, M75+)

Yet another case, where prosodic equivalence can be assumed to have motivated a non-standard feature, concerns comparative clauses. These are normally introduced in Irish by two equally stressed words /*ná* /*mar* 'than like', as in the following example.

- (14) *Tá sé i bhfad níos fearr anois* ¹*ná* ¹*mar* a bhí.
 [is it further more better now not like COMP was]
 'It's now much better than it was.'

Several speakers from Irish-speaking regions, or those which were so in the recent past, show the use of *than what* to introduce comparative clauses.

- (15) a. *It's far better than what it used to be.* (TRS-D, C42-I, F)
 b. *To go to a dance that time was far better than what it is now.*
 (TRS-D, C42-I, F)
 c. *Life is much easier than what it was.* (TRS-D, C42-I, F)
 d. *They could tell you more about this country than what we could.*
 (TRS-D, M7, M)

It is true that Irish *mar* does not mean 'what', but *what* can introduce clauses in other instances and so it was probably regarded as suitable to combine with *that* in cases like those above. From the standpoint of prosody ¹*than what* provided a combination of two equally stressed words which match the similar pair in equivalent Irish clauses.

The use of *than what* for comparatives was already established in the nineteenth century and is attested in many emigrant letters such as those written from Australia back to Ireland, e.g. the following letter written in 1854: *I have more of my old Neighbours here along with me than what I thought* (Fitzpatrick 1994: 69). It is also significant that the prosodically similar structure *like what* is attested in the east of Ireland where Irish was replaced by English earliest, e.g. *There were no hand machines like what you have today* (SADIF, M85, Lusk, Co. Dublin).

6.3.5 Coincidental parallels

Despite the typological differences between Irish and English (Hickey 2001), there are nonetheless a number of unexpected parallels which should

not be misinterpreted as the result of contact. Some cases are easy, such as the homophony between Irish *sí* /ʃi:/ ‘she’ and English *she* (the result of the vowel shift of /e:/ to /i:/ in Early Modern English); see further discussion below. A similar homophony exists for Irish *bí* ‘be’ and English *be*, though again the pronunciation of the latter with /i:/ is due to the Great Vowel Shift.

Other instances involve parallel categories, e.g. the continuous forms of verbs in both languages: *Tá mé ag caint léi* [is me at talk-NON_FINITE with-her] ‘I am talking to her’. Indeed the parallels among verbal distinctions may have been a trigger historically for the development of non-standard distinctions in Irish English, i.e. speakers during the language shift who found equivalents to most of the verbal categories from Irish expected to find equivalents to all of these. An example of this is habitual aspect, which is realized in Irish by the choice of a different verb form (*bíonn* habitual versus *tá* non-habitual).

- (16) *Bíonn sé ag caint léi.*
 is-HABITUAL he at talking with-her
 IrEng: ‘He does be talking to her.’
 ‘He talks to her repeatedly.’

Another coincidental parallel between the two languages involves word order, despite the differences in clause alignment which both languages show. In both Irish and English prepositions may occur at the end of a clause. A prepositional pronoun is the most likely form in Irish because it incorporates a pronoun which is missing in English.

- (17) *An buachaill a raibh mé ag caint leis.*
 the boy that was I at talk-NON_FINITE with-him
 ‘The boy I was talking to.’

Further parallels may be due to contact which predates the coming of English to Ireland. For example, the use of possessive pronouns in instances of inalienable possession is common to both English and Irish.

- (18) *Ghortaigh sé a ghlúin.*
 injured he his knee
 ‘He injured his knee.’

This may well be a feature of Insular Celtic which was adopted into English (Vennemann 2000, 2001), especially given that other Germanic languages do not necessarily use possessive pronouns in such contexts, cf. German *Er hat sich am Knie verletzt*, lit. ‘He has himself at-the knee injured’.

6.3.6 What does not get transferred?

If the expectation of categories in the target language which are present in the outset language is a guiding principle in language shift, then it is

not surprising to find that grammatical distinctions which are only found in the target language tend to be neglected by speakers undergoing the shift.

The reason for this neglect is that speakers tend not to be aware of grammatical distinctions which are not present in their native language; at least this is true in situations of unguided adult learning of a second language. What is termed here ‘neglect of distinctions’ is closely related to the phenomenon of underdifferentiation, which is known from second language teaching (Major 2001). This is the situation in which second language learners do not engage in categorial distinctions which are present in the target language, for instance when German speakers use the verb ‘swim’ to cover the meanings of both ‘swim’ and ‘float’ in English (*schwimmen* is the sole verb in German) or when they do not distinguish between *when* and *if* clauses (both take *wenn* in German). This neglect can be illustrated by the use of *and* as a clause co-ordinator with a qualifying or concessive meaning in Irish English.

- (19) *Chuaigh sé amach agus é ag cur báistí.*
 went he out and it at putting rain-GEN
 IrEng: ‘He went out and it raining.’
 ‘He went out although it was raining.’

To account for the neglect of distinctions in more detail, one must introduce a distinction between features which carry semantic value and those which are of a more formal character. Word order is an example of the latter type: Irish is a consistently post-specifying language with VSO as the canonical word order along with Noun + Adjective, Noun + Genitive for nominal modifiers. There is no trace of post-specification in Irish English, either historically or in present-day contact varieties of English in Ireland. The use of the specifically Irish word order would, *per se*, have had no informational value for Irish speakers of English in the language shift situation.

Another example, from a different level of language, would be the distinction between palatal and non-palatal consonants in Irish phonology. This difference in the articulation of consonants lies at the core of the sound structure of Irish. It has no equivalent in English and the grammatical categories in the nominal and verbal areas which it is used to indicate are realized quite differently in English (by word order, use of prepositions, suffixal inflections, etc.).

An awareness of the semantic versus formal distinction helps to account for other cases of non-transfer from Irish. For instance, phonemes which do not exist in English, such as /x/ and /ɣ/, have not been transferred to English, although there are words in Irish English, such as *taoiseach* ‘prime minister’, pronounced [ti:ʃək], with a final [-k] and not [-x], which could have provided an instance of such transfer. Although the /k/ versus /x/

Table 6.5 Non-occurring features of Irish in *A Collection of Contact English*

1.	Verb-initial sentences or clauses <i>Tiocfaidh mé thart ar a hocht.</i> 'I'll come by around eight.' (lit. 'come-FUTURE I. . .')
2.	Pro-drop (absence of personal pronoun in present tense) <i>Ní thuigim an dream óg.</i> 'I don't understand the young crowd.' (lit. 'not understand-1ST_PERS_SG. . .')
3.	Post-posed adjectives <i>an fear bocht</i> 'the poor man' (lit. 'the man poor')
4.	Post-posed genitives <i>teach Sheáin</i> 'John's house' (lit. 'house John-GEN')
5.	Order prepositional object + pronominal object <i>Chonaic mé thuas ar an trá í.</i> 'I saw her up on the strand.' (lit. 'saw I up on the strand her')
6.	Split demonstratives <i>an gluasteán sin</i> 'that car' (lit. 'the car that')
7.	Autonomous verb form <i>Rinneadh an obair.</i> 'The work was done.' (lit. 'done-was the work') <i>Rugadh mac di.</i> 'She bore a son.' (lit. 'born-was a son to-her')
8.	Zero realization of indefinite article <i>Chas sí le déagóir.</i> 'She met a teenager.' (lit. 'met she with teenager')
9.	Initial mutation <i>Chuir [ch x < k] mé an cheist [ch x < k] chuici.</i> 'I put the question to her.' (lit. 'put me the question to-her')

distinction is semantically relevant in Irish, it would not be so in English and hence transfer would not have helped realize any semantic distinctions in the target language. A further conclusion from these considerations is that the source of a sound like /x/ in Ireland can only be retention from earlier varieties of English. This explains its occurrence in Ulster Scots and in some forms of Mid-Ulster English, but also its absence elsewhere, although it is present in all dialects of Irish.

The literature on Irish English contains remarks on the relative infrequency of the present perfect in Irish English (as early as Hume 1878, see Kallen 1990). This is a category which has no equivalent in Irish and so it is not surprising that it is underrepresented in Irish English, as seen in the following examples.

- (20) a. *I'm seven years home now.* (TRS-D, C42-2, F)
 b. *She's there for six years.* (TRS-D, C42-2, F)

Several features from Irish syntax are conspicuously absent from historical documents in Irish English and Table 6.5 lists some salient features of Irish grammar which were never transferred into English, even in discourse situations with considerable code-switching.

6.3.7 *The argument from parameter setting*

Irish is a post-specifying language (VSO, N+Gen, N+Adj) and the fact that English is pre-specifying (SVO, Gen+N, Adj+N) is recognized quickly by language learners, and would have been in the historical language shift as well. This recognition then blocks (and blocked in the past) the transfer of any post-specifying strategies from Irish to English. The view that the direction of specification is a parameter of language, which needs to be recognized by only one setting and which is then fixed for all others, is supported by the data in *A Collection of Contact English* and by the history of Irish English.

6.3.8 *The question of structural match*

Initial mutation in Irish (see last item in Table 6.5) is a central device for indicating essential grammatical categories such as tense, number, gender, case, etc. And yet it is a structural principle which is never transferred to English. The reason probably lies in its unique phonological character. There is no way of matching it to any grammatical process in English and then transferring it, something which has been possible with many syntactic structures which can be mapped reasonably well onto English syntax.

6.3.9 *Other factors in the neglect of features*

The neglect of a form in the target language may in some instances be motivated not so much by its absence in the outset language, but by some other factor. Take, for example, the lack of *do* support with negated *have* in Irish English (Trudgill, Schreier, Long and Williams 2004). Here *not* is cliticized onto *have* and not onto *do*, which is absent in negated sentences of this type.

- (21) a. *You haven't much trouble at all with it.* (WER, M55+)
 (cf. *You don't have. . .*)
 b. *You haven't to dry it or anything.* (WER, F55+)
 (cf. *You don't have. . .*)

One explanation for this is that the use of *do* in habitual structures (as of the nineteenth century in Irish English) may well have triggered its avoidance in sentences with negated *have*. Another instance of this avoidance would be the past of *use to* which does not occur with *do* in (southern) Irish English, e.g. *He usen't to drive to work*, not *He didn't use to drive to work*.

6.3.10 *Overrepresentation*

The mirror image of the neglect of distinctions is the overrepresentation of features, that is the scope of a feature in the outset is applied to the target

language where this scope is usually smaller. The Irish English use of the conditional illustrates this phenomenon. It is non-standard inasmuch as it represents an overuse compared with other forms of English, e.g. as an equivalent to the imperative or in interrogatives, as in the following examples.

- (22) a. Would you hurry up with your tea! (WER, M55+)
 b. Would the both of youse get off out of here! (DER, M35+)
 c. Would you be able to cook if you had to? (WER, M50+)

This overrepresentation also applied to the definite article. Curiously, the indefinite article, which does not exist in Irish, is not dropped in English. This might be expected because it is known from other languages, such as Russian, that the lack of an article (here the definite article) leads to its neglect in a target language, such as English, which has one.

6.4 Scottish parallels

Sabban, in her study of contact English in Scotland, has a section devoted to the *after*-perfective (Sabban 1982: 155–68). In it she explicitly compares this to the identical construction in Irish English (1982: 163f.). All her examples are of *after* + *V-ing* with past reference. She does, however, mention one or two examples of future and conditional reference which she found in literary works but dismisses these as ‘fehl am Platze’ (‘not appropriate’ – RH). She does not broach the question of how this structure developed historically and whether it also had future reference in earlier forms of contact English in Scotland.

The position in Gaelic is considered by Sabban (1982: 162). She notes that Gaelic has the construction as in *tha e air bualadh* [is he after striking] ‘he is after striking’. This shows the form *air* ‘after, behind’ (Irish *iar*) which used to exist in Irish and which was later replaced by *tar éis/i ndiaidh* (both meaning ‘after’), but a long time after the transportation of Irish to Scotland. This structure is, if anything, more common in Scottish Gaelic (Watson 1994: 694; Adger 2010: 312–17) than in Irish as it is used where the latter would have the verbal adjective; compare Scottish Gaelic *tha e air briseadh* [is it after breaking] with Irish *tá sé briste* [is it broken], both meaning ‘it is broken’ (MacIannan 1979 [1925]: 7). Sabban regards the Gaelic structure as the source of the contact English construction (Filppula 1997b), which was transferred during language shift, much as in Ireland. Indeed the case for a contact origin is ever stronger in Scotland, given the greater range of the *air* ‘after’ structure in Scottish Gaelic, i.e. the likelihood of transfer during language shift would have been greater than with Irish.

The double use of *air* ‘after’ for both perfective and resultative aspect in Scottish Gaelic is confirmed by authors working in Celtic. Cox (1996: 85) states explicitly that ‘a perfective aspect is conveyed by *air* “after”’: *tha mi air*

òl “I have drunk”’. MacAulay (1996: 201) confirms this and quotes two different meanings of *air* which correspond to the perfective and resultative aspect in Irish English.

- (23) a. *Tha Iain air a bhith ag ithe an arain.*
 is Iain after COMP been at eating the bread
 ‘Iain is after eating the bread.’
 b. *Tha Iain air an t-aran ithe.*
 is Iain after the bread eating
 ‘Iain has the bread eaten.’

In her book Sabban also considers very briefly the question of possible influence from Ireland on contact English in Scotland. She notes (1982: 164) that many Irish immigrants settled in Scotland and that they might have brought the structure with them, leading to convergence with the transfer of the same structure from Gaelic in Scotland. However, this was probably only a very minor influence on contact English in the Outer Hebrides (the region where she did her fieldwork), as opposed to further south in the region of Glasgow.³

6.5 Conclusion

The considerations in this chapter hopefully show that language-contact effects in a shift situation are various and complex. The role of additional aspects of language, such as prosody, actually strengthen the case for contact and parallels to the Irish/Scottish situation on this level can be found in very diverse parts of the world, e.g. in South-East Asia (Ansaldò and Lim 2011) where tone shows similar transfer patterns to those found with prosody in the present context.

But transfer from the outset language can only be one source of non-standard features in shift varieties of English. Alongside the nature of the local target variety of English more general factors play a role, above all those which derive from the manner in which English is acquired. If this takes place in a non-restrictive context, i.e. in an unguided manner without formal instruction, then general traits of adult second-language acquisition can be observed; these may become established in the later contact variety. Just what features of the actual contact situation become community-wide features and survive in the language of following generations is a further issue which requires research and which would yield insights into post-shift scenarios across the anglophone world.

7 The contact dynamics of socioethnic varieties in North America

WALT WOLFRAM

7.1 Introduction

The imprint of contact situations is everywhere in North America, from the thousands of Native American place names that bear witness to the hundreds of Native American languages that came into contact with English in the earliest European invasion to the conspicuous linguistic imposition of current heritage languages on emerging varieties of English associated with new immigrant populations settling throughout North America. The outcomes of language contact have included the dynamic incorporation of structural traits from heritage languages, the accommodation of local and regional structural traits in emerging socioethnic varieties, the reallocation and reconfiguration of traits derived from the contact situation itself, and linguistic innovation taking place within developing and durable socioethnic varieties. These structural effects, in turn, become associated with regional and/or socioethnic group identity and thus assume symbolic ethnolinguistic significance. How do these processes take place? How do contact effects figure in trajectories of convergence and divergence over time, place, and socioethnic group? Are there sociolinguistic constraints and/or principles that may apply to the incorporation of structural traits in the construction of distinctive ethnolinguistic varieties? In this chapter, we focus on some representative English ethnolinguistic varieties, from North America's most extensively researched ethnic variety, African American English (AAE), to relatively obscure varieties of Native American Indian English such as Lumbee English (Wolfram and Dannenberg 1999; Wolfram, Dannenberg, Knick, and Oxendine 2002). Although language change is naturally ongoing, some of these established socioethnic communities have been relatively stable for centuries, thus providing an opportunity to consider durable substrate influence, accommodation, and innovation.

As a complement to these enduring communities, we consider incipient communities in the process of constructing their ethnolinguistic status, such

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as the transplanted Vietnamese communities that developed rapidly in North America after the fall of Saigon in 1975 (Wolfram, Christian, and Hatfield 1983; Wolfram and Hatfield 1984, 1986) and the newly developing Hispanic communities in the Mid-Atlantic South where large numbers of Hispanic immigrants have been migrating in the last couple of decades (Wolfram, Carter, and Moriello 2004; Kohn 2008; Kohn and Askin Franz 2009; Callahan 2008). By comparing the developing structural traits of these emerging varieties in process with the structural composition exhibited in the speech of long-standing, relatively stable communities, we can move towards an understanding of both the dynamic process and the resultant product of language contact situations in the construction of socioethnic varieties. The diverse, representative situations considered here may, in turn, offer insight into more general, sociolinguistic principles that enable or inhibit substrate effects and/or local accommodation in language contact situations.

The examination of a representative set of English phonological variables (e.g. syllable-coda consonant cluster reduction, syllable timing, vowel production) along with a set of morphosyntactic variables (e.g. past tense marking, third-person singular-*s* absence) reveals a number of different patterns and permutations in terms of the immediate and long-term trajectories of structural adaptation. Perhaps most significantly, the data indicate that although there may be some general principles that emerge from this examination, there are no transparent, unitary explanations that can be appealed to in understanding how language contact has influenced and contributed to the development and maintenance of socioethnic varieties of North American English.

7.2 Discreteness, transfer, and accommodation

Traditional typologies of language contact situations often consider outcomes in terms of discrete categories such as transfer (Odlin 1989) (alternatively “imposition” (Winford 2003b) or “importation”) from a source or input language (Weinreich 1953, Thomason and Kauffman 1988; Thomason 2001), accommodation to the traits of a particular regional and/or socioethnic model of the target or replica language, or acquisitional and interlanguage structural traits (Selinker 1972; Tarone 1988, 2001) derived from the second language acquisition process itself. At the same time, such models may allow for the possibility of innovation and interdialectalism, that is, forms that occur in neither contact variety but derive from the contact situation itself (Trudgill 1986; Mendoza Denton 2008). The empirical investigation of transfer and accommodation, however, is a more nuanced, interactive process than the traditional typologies of language contact would suggest. For example, our examination of accommodation and transfer in emerging Hispanic varieties of English in the Mid-Atlantic South (Wolfram *et al.* 2004; Callahan 2008; Kohn 2008; Kohn and Askin Franz 2009)

indicates intermediacy and variability in the transfer of structural traits and the accommodation of features from distinctive English varieties.

Though stable Hispanic communities have existed in some regions of North America for centuries now (Fought 2003), other regions, including rural regions in the Mid-Atlantic South US, are just beginning to witness the emergence of durable Hispanic communities. Between 1990 and 2000, for example, several hundred thousand migrants from Mexico, El Salvador, and other Central and South American countries, settled in North Carolina. Subsequently, North Carolina experienced a higher percentage of growth in its Latin American population during this period than any other state, and it currently has the largest percentage of monolingual Spanish speakers of any state in the US. The emergence of these communities raises a number of important questions about the development of new varieties of English. Is a new, regionally situated socioethnic variety of Hispanic English developing in these settings? Does the variety show the potential for a persistent substrate from Spanish transfer and fossilized interlanguage features that might define it ethnolinguistically? Do new Hispanic residents accommodate to the local, Southern dialect traits of their cohort English-speaking communities, and if so, to which community? What aspects of local dialects are most prominent in their speech and how are they combined with other constellations of English-language structures? New contact situations such as these, particularly as they compare with more durable, established Hispanic communities in other regions of North America (e.g. Fought 2003; Mendoza Denton 2008), offer a unique opportunity to examine the process of socioethnic dialect formation and convergence with or divergence from local norms in its incipient stages.

Wolfram *et al.* (2004) consider the issue of language transfer and dialect accommodation associated with the emergence of new Hispanic communities in the Mid-Atlantic South by examining two developing communities in North Carolina, one in the metropolitan area of Raleigh, the capital city of North Carolina, and one in Siler City, a relatively small, rural area about 50 miles west of Raleigh. The communities differ in size, as well as the urban and rural settings in which they are situated, but both communities share a common spatial segregation of the Hispanic community from their respective cohort community, similar social network patterns within the community, and of course the same native language background. The sample focused on younger speakers, aged 10 through 17, due to the fact that this is the group most flexible in terms of language learning as well as their potential to accommodate to the local dialect of the area.

Conversational interviews were conducted by bilingual fieldworkers who could converse with participants both in Spanish and English. For the sake of comparison, several interviews were also conducted with white and African American cohorts in order to examine benchmark English-dialect models available for Hispanic residents outside of the English-as-a-second-language classroom. The Southern European American dialect found in the

region falls well within the parameters of Southern Piedmont speech. Phonetic traits include a vowel system that indicates some Southern breaking, fronted back vowels, ungliding of the /ai/ diphthong, and back-upgliding of the vowel of *bought* and *caught*, as described in Labov (1994), Thomas (2001), and Labov, Ash, and Boberg (2006). At the time of the study, the Hispanic communities in Raleigh and Siler City were obviously in the formative stages of development and still in the process of negotiating their accommodation to the benchmark English varieties of the region.

To examine the potential influence of a regionally diagnostic variable in detail, we have undertaken an instrumental analysis of the /ai/ diphthong, one of the most pervasive and symbolic variables associated with Southern American English. In non-Southern areas of the US, the diphthong has a significant offglide, but in most areas of the Southeastern US the glide may be reduced to the point that it is perceptually heard as a monophthong. In the Piedmont region of North Carolina where our study is situated, /ai/ is characterized by the weakening of the glide in non-prevoiced phonetic environments (i.e. prevoiced as *time* and *tide* or open syllables as in *bye* or *tie* (Thomas 2001: 194)). Throughout this region, /ai/ weakening is a widespread dialect trait that cuts across social class and ethnic boundaries, particularly in rural areas such as Siler City. In an urban area such as Raleigh, it is a less-saturated dialect trait and more sensitive to social stratification.

Spanish, like non-Southern varieties of English, has an /ai/ diphthong in words such as *bailar* 'dance,' *hay* 'there is,' and *caico* 'shoal,' which contrasts with /a/ in words such as *pan* 'bread,' *dama* 'woman,' and *tan* 'so.' The fact that both Spanish and English have a diphthong /ai/ does not, however, mean that they are phonetically identical (Borzone de Manrique 1979). Phonetically, diphthongs may differ in the position and steady state of the nucleus, the trajectory and steady state of the glide, and the duration of the glide in relation to the overall production of the vowel (Lindau, Norlin, and Svantesson 1990; Peeters 1991). To give an idea of the possible range of /ai/ in Spanish and English, we compare in Figure 7.1 the production of the /ai/ vowel for a set of eleven young speakers from Siler City. The graphic display of the mean for the measured tokens includes the position of the nucleus and the trajectory of the glide based on an instrumental analysis of their production. The duration of the glide, which includes its transition and steady state, and the overall vowel segment were also measured in milliseconds. Tokens for /ai/ were limited to prevoiced consonants for the sake of this comparison. Measurements of each nucleus were made .35 milliseconds into the vocoid; measurements of the glide trajectory include both the transition and the steady state of the glide. The position of the nucleus and the trajectory of the glide are based on the mean for six to ten prevoiced productions for each speaker, taken from conversational interviews conducted in English and

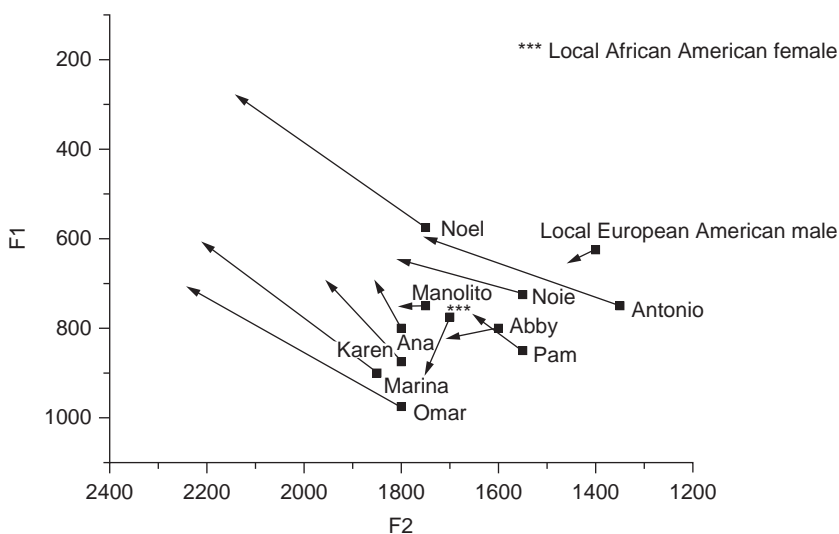


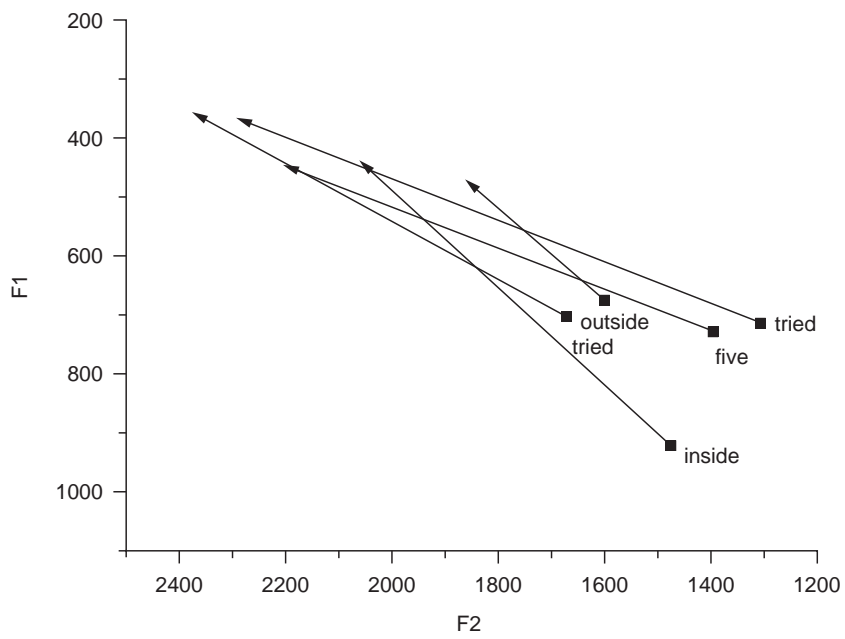
Figure 7.1 Nucleus and glide trajectory for selected Siler City Hispanic speakers

Spanish, respectively. One local African American and European American adolescent are included for a comparison of the local norm.

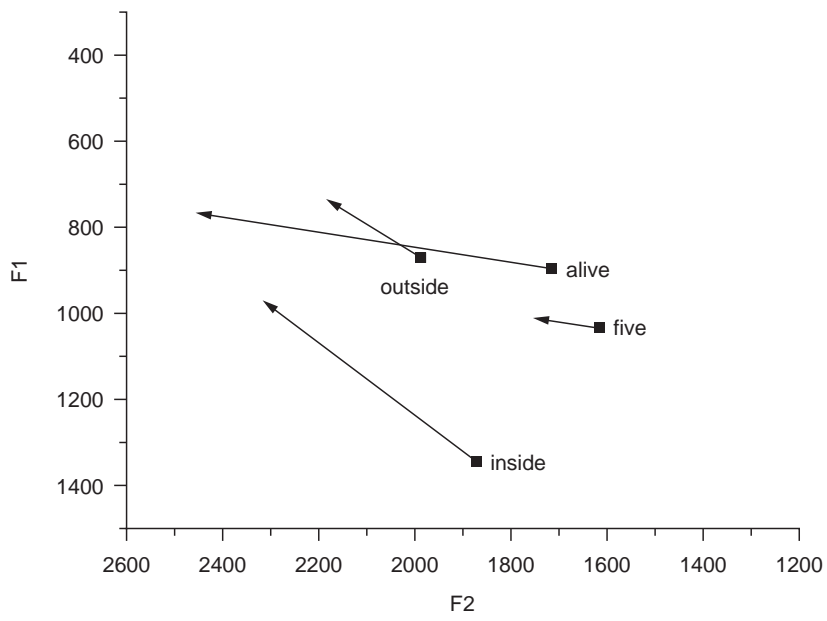
Both the European American and African American speakers included in Figure 7.1 show the kind of glide reduction that we would expect in this rural region of North Carolina (Thomas 2001: 194). The Hispanic speakers show a much wider range of variation, including speakers who have a more backed nucleus and relatively long glide trajectory. More heavily accented speakers, such as Antonio and Noel (pseudonyms), show a longer and higher glide trajectory, whereas speakers such as Manolito and Ana, who show better overall proficiency in English, indicate a much shorter glide. Though the data show some accommodation to local glide reduction by particular individuals, we do not find the pervasive /ai/ glide reduction that is typical of the regional variety represented by the non-Hispanic Siler City residents.

Though the comparison of speakers' means gives an overall picture of vowel trajectory, it does not reveal the variation among particular productions of items. To give an idea of this level of variation, we present in Figure 7.2 selected tokens of /ai/ for two speakers, a 15-year-old male, Marco (Figure 7.2a), who has a length of residency (LOR) of four years and is among the less proficient speakers in the sample, and Martin (Figure 7.2b), a 10-year-old male with an LOR of seven years and who is highly proficient in English.

Marco (Figure 7.2a), the less proficient English speaker, consistently has higher glide trajectories, whereas the more proficient speaker in Figure 7.2b

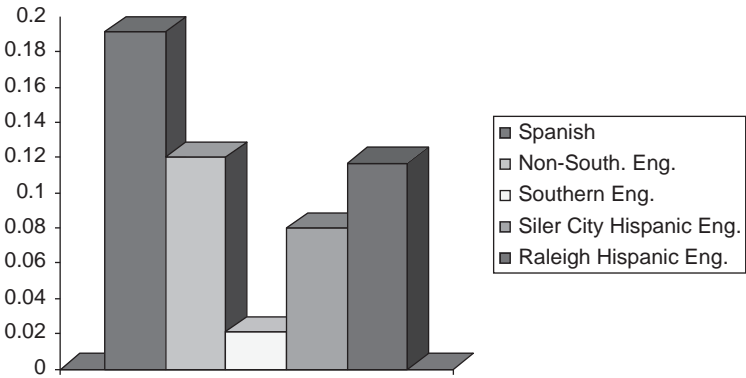


a. Marco (limited proficiency in English)



b. Martin (excellent proficiency in English)

Figure 7.2 Prevoiced /ai/ for selected tokens for two speakers
a. Marco (limited proficiency in English) b. Martin (excellent proficiency in English)



	Spanish	Non-Southern English	Southern English	Siler City Hispanic Eng.	Raleigh Hispanic English
Mean Glide (SD)	.191	.120	.021	.080 (.067)	.117 (.019)
Percentage of Glide	76.5%	47%	17.5%	42.4%	55.5%

Figure 7.3 Relationship of the glide to the overall vowel

shows a split; two items have longer glide trajectories and two have shorter ones. This pattern suggests a lexically based difference, or at least, considerable variance in the glide length and trajectory rather than a generalized shift in the glide. Of the four lexical items produced by Martin in Figure 7.2b, only the production of the word *five*, however, seems to be close to the Southern glide-reduced norm.

Another dimension of vowel production that may differ across different language varieties is the duration of the glide within the production of the overall vowel (Laver 1994: 284). Though glide duration may interact with acoustic distance in that a longer glide trajectory would be expected to take more time than a shorter one, not all differences in duration are directly related to acoustic range (Lindau *et al.* 1990). It is therefore instructive to consider the duration of the glide in relation to the overall vocalic segment. In Figure 7.3, we give the mean duration of the glide and the overall vocalic segment in milliseconds, including representative monolingual Spanish speakers, non-Southern speakers, Southern European American speakers,

Siler City Hispanic speakers, and Raleigh Hispanic speakers. The figures are also converted into the percentage of the vowel occupied by the glide in the accompanying table. For the Siler City and Raleigh groups where we have more representative numbers of speakers, the standard deviation (SD) is given as well as the mean.

Several observations can be made on the basis of Figure 7.3. Compared to the Southern benchmark variety, the Hispanic English speakers show that the glide occupies a much higher percentage of the vowel. Also, the mean duration of the overall vowel tends to be longer, though this is somewhat relative. There are also differences indicated between the Siler City and the Raleigh subsamples; Siler City speakers show considerably more variance than the Raleigh speakers. For the Raleigh speakers, the proportion of the glide ranges from 44 to 62 percent of the overall vowel, whereas it ranges from less than 10 to almost 90 percent for the Siler City speakers. Correspondingly, the standard deviation scores are much higher for Siler City than Raleigh.

We see that there is much more gradience and variation in the transition from a more Spanish phonetic production of /ai/ to the American English production of this diphthong than idealized models of language transfer assume. The phonetic transition from L_1 to L_2 productions of /ai/, Southern or otherwise, appears to be gradual and incremental rather than abrupt and discrete. It also appears to show a kind of phonetic intermediacy between Spanish and English that resembles Trudgill's (1986) definition of "interdialectal forms," that is, "forms that actually originally occurred in neither dialect" (Trudgill 1986: 62). These forms not only appear in the incipient stages of new dialect formation, but may be incorporated into a stable dialect as well. Thus, Mendoza Denton (1997) describes the production of the vowel in the *-ing* suffix as intermediate between the [i] vowel of Spanish and the reduced, schwa-like vowel of unstressed syllables in American English. The kind of acquisitional intermediacy indicated here may provide the phonetic foundation for the development of such interdialectal forms into an enduring, socioethnically affiliated variety of English.

We also see the prominent role of the lexicon in the early stages of development, not only in terms of the acquisition of particular lexical items but in terms of the acquisition of phonetic processes as well. Thus, some speakers may acquire a glide-reduced production of the /ai/ vowel in the lexical item *Carolina* well before – or even while resisting – the acquisition of a generalized version of prevoiced glide weakening. This suggests that the lexical diffusion may play a prominent role in the early stages of local dialect accommodation in second language acquisition, just as it does in second dialect acquisition (Chambers 1992).

A second empirical study of accommodation in the Hispanic community in the Mid-Atlantic South comes from the recent study of quotatives by

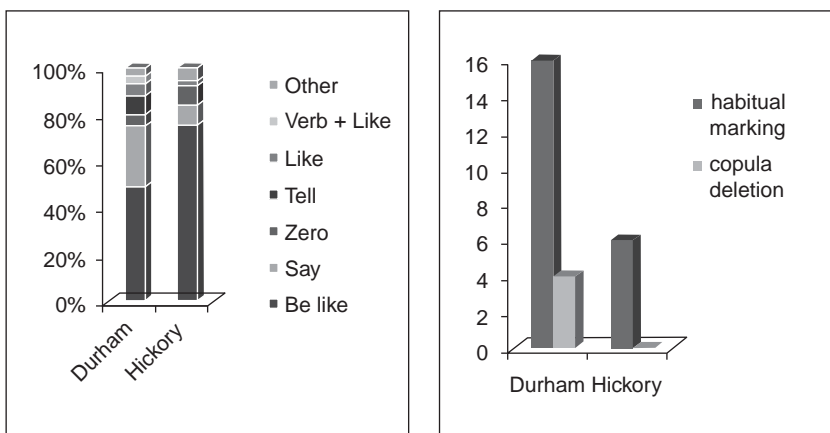


Figure 7.4 The use of different quotative forms for Hispanics in Hickory and Durham (adapted from Kohn and Askin Franz 2009)

Kohn (2008) and Kohn and Askin Franz (2009), particularly in the use of the rapidly diffusing *be like* as in *She's like, What?* or *I was like, Read the book*. The quotative frame syntactically brackets directly reported speech, thought, emotions, mimetic expressions, and so forth. Proliferating studies of this phenomenon have documented its rapid diffusion in World Englishes (Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2007; Buchstaller 2008) as well as its relatively rapid acquisition by speakers of English as a second language (Ferrara and Bell 1995). Kohn and Askin Franz (2009), in comparing two sites of emerging Latino/a communities in North Carolina, show that there are a number of structural linguistic constraints (e.g. *be like* is favored when the subject is first person, etc.), demographic (length of residency, regional location) variables, and interactional (e.g. Hispanics with more extended contacts with African American) factors that correlate with the distribution of different quotative forms. Figure 7.4, adapted from Kohn and Askin Franz (2009), compares the distribution of quotative forms for Hispanics in Hickory, a predominantly (77 percent) European American, rural community in western North Carolina, and for Durham, an urban population with a significant African American population (44 percent) in the Piedmont region of North Carolina.

The graph reveals more diversity among the types of quotative forms used by Hispanics in Durham than in Hickory. Findings further indicate that Hispanics in Durham are more likely to use an invariant form of *be like* with habitual aspect (e.g. *They always be like, Stop it*) based on their more extensive contact with the AAE cohort model in the urban context of Durham. We thus see how quotative distribution demonstrates variable, selective, and local accommodation in different contact situations.

7.3 Substrate effects

One of the most controversial and enduring questions about socioethnic varieties of English in North America is the potential persistence of substrate effects from the original contact situations. In some cases, the formative contact situation is now centuries removed and it is difficult to reconstruct the original contact dynamics based on limited and sometimes elusive sociohistorical background language data. At the same time, there are current contact situations in which we can observe emerging socioethnic varieties undergoing adaptation in process so that the application of the uniformitarian principle (Christy 1983; Labov 1994) allows us to understand the dynamics of language contact from the past based on our observation of language contact in the present.

In many respects, the reduction of syllable-coda consonant clusters (CCR) in vernacular English dialects is the paradigm case of systematic variability in variationist sociolinguistics as well as a prime candidate for a durable substrate effect in representative socioethnic varieties (Guy 1980; Wolfram *et al.* 2000; Schreier 2005). Although unresolved issues remain about the internal phonetic traits of CCR (Browman and Goldstein 1991, Surprenant and Goldstein 1998), minor descriptive details of the reduction process (Fasold 1972, Guy 1980), and the most adequate explanatory account of the process in which a syllable-coda stop preceded by another consonant of shared voicing (e.g. *fact*, *cold*, and *find* are licensed for reduction, but not *count* or *colt*) may be variably deleted (Guy 1991, 1997; Guy and Boberg 1997, Santa Ana 1996), there is widespread agreement on the types of clusters that may be affected by CCR and the kinds of structural linguistic contexts and social factors that favor CCR. One of the potential sources of influence on the relative incidence of CCR is language contact history, and varieties of English with heritage languages lacking syllable-coda clusters tend to have significantly higher levels of CCR than other varieties (Wolfram *et al.* 2000; Schreier 2005). Although all varieties of English have CCR in preconsonantal position (e.g. *wes' side* or *fin' time*), in prevocalic position significant levels of CCR are often indicative of English varieties influenced by language-contact situations rather than independent, internal linguistic change.

To look at the process of transfer and developing substrate effects for CCR in apparent time, we consider the case of two puebloan Native American varieties in New Mexico, Keres and Tewa, based on Wolfram, Christian, Leap, and Potter (1979). At the time the data were collected, both communities were in the process of shift from the heritage language to English, so that speakers over 60 years old were dominant in the heritage language and speakers under 20 dominant in English, if not monolingual. Middle-aged groups were transitioning bilinguals.

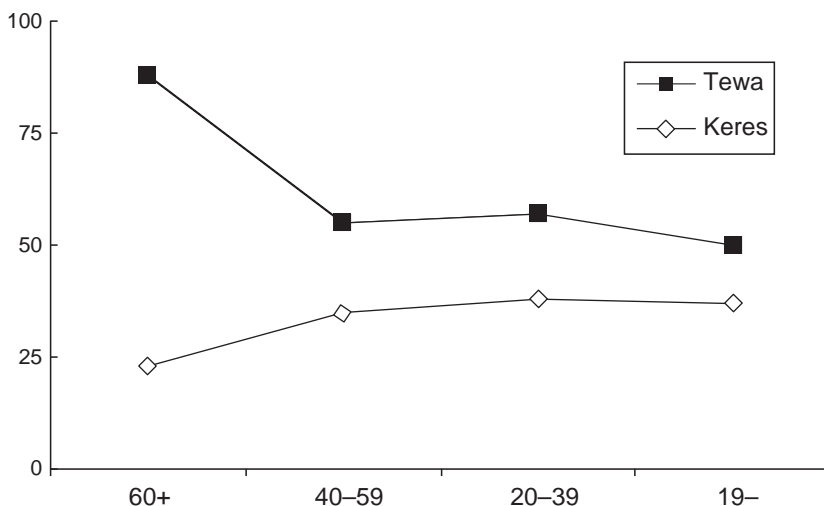


Figure 7.5 Incidence of prevocalic CCR for speakers from two puebloan Native American communities

There is an important structural linguistic difference in the respective heritage languages of these two puebloan communities. The Keres language (Spencer 1946: 234; Miller 1965: 17), an apparent language isolate, has a fairly extensive array of syllable-coda clusters while Tewa (Hoijer and Dozier 1949: 142; Speirs 1966: 78), a Kiowa-Tanoan language, does not have syllable-coda clusters. Figure 7.5 gives the incidence of prevocalic CCR, the most diagnostic phonetic context for differential reduction for speakers of different age levels in the two communities. Data are based on Wolfram *et al.* (1979).

Figure 7.5 shows the obvious transfer effect of the native language in older speakers in Tewa compared to older speakers in Keres, as well as its progressive reduction over subsequent generations of speakers as they transition into monolingual English. As the generations move toward dominant English they converge in their CCR, but we still see a remnant effect of the contact situation for Tewa speakers. A summary of the differential language backgrounds for different generations of speakers in relation to prevocalic CCR, based on Wolfram *et al.* (1979), is given in Table 7.1.

In a summary of prevocalic CCR in representative ethnic and social varieties of English, Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006) and of worldwide Englishes (Schreier 2005), it is shown that higher levels of prevocalic CCR are found in Hispanic English varieties (Wolfram 1974, Santa Ana 1991, 1996), Vietnamese English (Wolfram, Christian, and Hatfield 1986), and Puebloan Native American English (Wolfram 1980), all of which involve heritage languages that do not have syllable-coda consonant clusters. Therefore,

Table 7.1 *The changing status of syllable-coda CCR in terms of the language background for two puebloan Native American varieties*

Language Background	Tewa Type and incidence of CCR	Keres Type and incidence of CCR
Native American language dominant, English secondary language	Near categorical reduction of both bimorphemic and monomorphemic clusters; strong grammatical influence of native language	Limited cluster reduction of monomorphemic clusters, grammatical influence of native language influencing unmarked tense, including bimorphemic clusters
Functional bilingualism	Extensive but variable CCR in both monomorphemic and bimorphemic clusters, evidence of some grammatical influence on bimorphemic CCR	Limited cluster reduction of monomorphemic clusters, some grammatical influence on bimorphemic CCR from native language
English language dominant, Native American language secondary	Variable but reduced CCR, limited grammatical convergence on bimorphemic clusters	Limited CCR, vestigial grammatical convergence on the reduction of bimorphemic clusters

Wolfram *et al.* (2000) hypothesized that the higher levels of prevocalic CCR observed in Vietnamese English, Hispanic English, and Native American English are probably attributable to native language influence – either direct language transfer in speakers who have learned English as a second language or a substrate influence passed on to subsequent generations as a lingering effect and defining trait of the socioethnic variety.

The situation for Lumbee English, which lost its heritage language more than a century ago (Wolfram *et al.* 2002), is a little more complex, but there is still some indication that CCR was a persistent substrate effect for at least earlier generations of speakers. In the consideration of different generations of Lumbee speakers, Torbert (2001) compared speakers born pre-World War I with speakers born in the post-integration era (after 1970). The prevocalic CCR figures for the two different generations of Lumbees are aligned with the other communities reported in Wolfram *et al.* (2002) in Figure 7.6.

The figures for the pre-World War I Lumbee speakers seem to indicate a lingering substrate effect from their heritage language, a Siouan variety that did not have syllable-coda clusters (Wolfram *et al.* 2002), while post-integration Lumbee tend to align with their current European American cohorts. We see that substrate effects may thus change over time, but that there also may be lingering effects for generations.

Why would CCR be a reasonable candidate for durable substrate influence? Part of the explanation is probably related to its internal phonological structure, but part of the explanation may also be embedded in a socio-psychological explanation. The reduction of syllable-coda consonant clusters

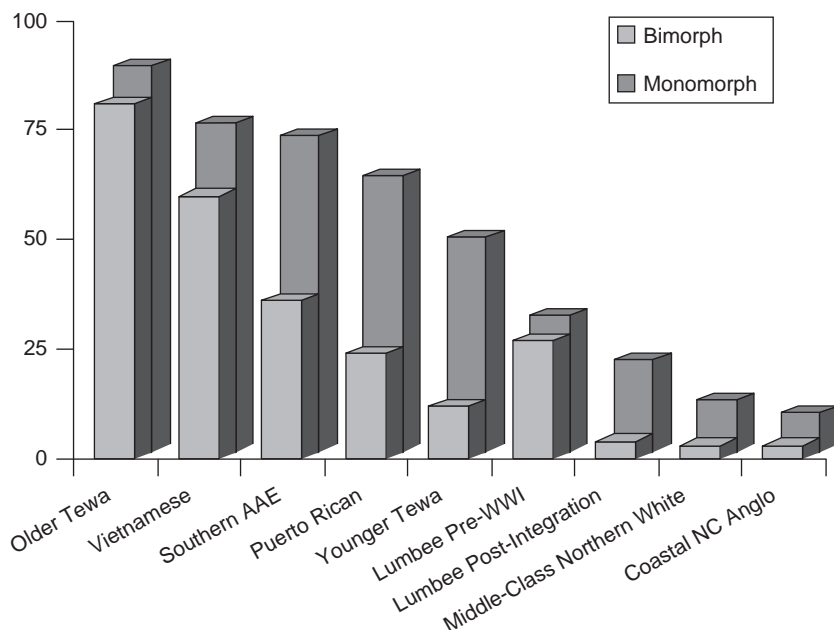


Figure 7.6 Prevocalic CCR for different regional, social, and ethnic varieties of American English

is a well-known trait of first language development (Ingram 1989), second language acquisition interlanguage (Tarone 1980, 1988, 2001), and phonological transfer (Weinreich 1953; Odlin 1989), as well as internal structural change (Schreier 2005). Furthermore, in contrast to segmental inventories, phonotactic transfer effects appear to be more durable. Sabino's study of Negerhollands (Sabino 1993, 1994), for example, shows the long-term persistence of phonotactic transfer patterns; she notes (1994: 16) that "250 years after the arrival of the first slave ship, a substrate phonotactic constraint was still partially evident in the language of the last speakers of the language." As it turns out, some of the most socially marked, continuous differences in socioethnic communities are found in phonotactic patterns. For example, traits such as *skr* for *str*, *aks* for *ask*, and a more generalized unstressed syllable deletion process (*'member* for *remember*) are among the most robust and prominent ethnic distinctions between African and European Americans we have uncovered (Wolfram and Thomas 2002: 131). Perhaps more importantly, these distinctions were maintained at the same time that other phonological traits, in particular, the vowel systems, converged with cohort local varieties of American English. Though we may be impressed with the long-term maintenance of CCR, we are hardly surprised that a structure involving a phonetically complex phonotactic sequence would be among those traits perpetuated as a substratal effect from an earlier language-contact situation.

The persistence of extensive levels of CCR as a substrate effect may also be supported by its relative lack of social saliency. Labov notes (2001:196, 28) that CCR “elicits only moderate style shifting and subjective reactions when compared to some other phonological features.” Style shifting is, of course, one of the primary indicators of social marking, as salient features are likely to show heightened sensitivity to stylistic manipulation (Labov 1966, 2001). The fact that CCR is a phonological process shared in part by practically all varieties of English may further lead to a type of CAMOUFLAGING effect (Spears 1982) in which a vernacular dialect form that appears to be like a closely related form in a standard variety may not be readily apparent to listeners. In standard varieties of English, CCR is quite common in some phonetic contexts, in particular in preconsonantal position (e.g. *tes' case*, *col' person*), in unstressed syllables (e.g. *breakfas'*), and in unstressed function words such as *an'* for *and*. In cases of partial structural overlap, social saliency might be reduced, thus disguising a diagnostic difference. Accordingly, CCR would seem to be a prime candidate for manifesting a subtle, enduring ethno-linguistic difference.

While we recognize that linguistic subtlety and phonetic naturalness may favor substrate effects, the social marking of a substrate feature may at times counter a linguistic predisposition by fulfilling a symbolic social function. For example, Dubois and Horvath (1998, 1999, 2003) identify a set of phonetic traits that is among the most salient characteristics of Cajun English spoken in Louisiana, including unglided vowels in the GOAT and the FACE words, similar to the production of the corresponding vowels in French, along with heavy nasalization of vowels. These traits are found in monolingual speakers of English as well as bilinguals. Consonants such as *p*, *t*, and *k* may be produced without the aspiration, and interdental fricatives in words like *think* and *that* are stopped, as in *tink* and *dat*. Practically all of these features can, of course, be traced to influence from the French varieties that have been dominant in some rural Louisiana jurisdictions, or *parishes*, until recent generations.

At one point, the features of Cajun English were viewed simply as reflections of transfer effects from French. However, as the heritage language associated with Cajun culture has receded, Cajun English has become the primary linguistic symbol of Cajun identity and Melançon (2001: 32) notes that “to be a Cajun these days, the necessary and sufficient condition seems to be that you must speak Cajun English.” The emblematic role now assumed by Cajun English vis-à-vis French is illustrated dramatically by changes in the use of linguistic features taking place across different generations of speakers. If the occurrence of features in the English of Cajuns were simply due to French influence, we would expect a steady decrease in their use across different generations of speakers, as English replaces French. We would expect the oldest speakers, for whom English was learned as a second language, to have a high incidence of transfer features

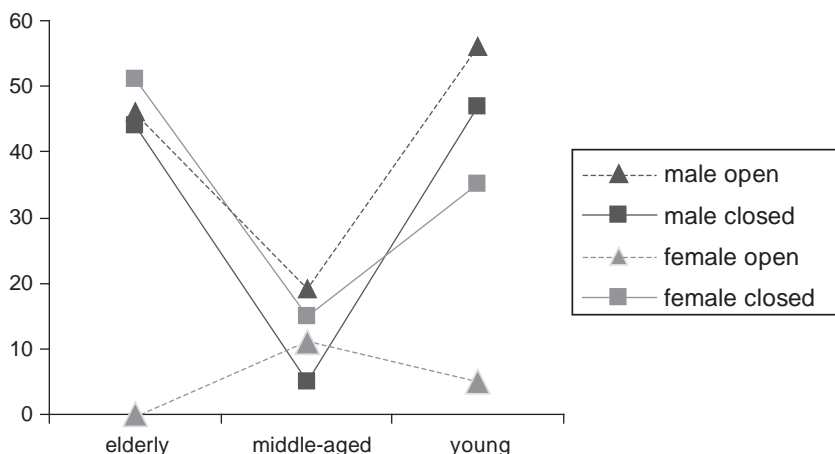


Figure 7.7 Percentage of distribution of [t] for /θ/ according to age, gender, and type of social network

from French; we would expect middle-aged speakers, who learned English along with Cajun French, to have a lower usage level; and we would expect the youngest generation of speakers, who are English-dominant, to have the lowest levels of usage. But Dubois and Horvath's (1998, 1999) study of three generations of Cajuns shows that this is not necessarily the case. In examining usage levels for several phonological features, including the stopping of interdental fricatives as in *tink* for *think*, the lack of aspiration on *p*, *t*, and *k*, and the heavy nasalization on words like *man* and *pin*, Dubois and Horvath found that some features showed a steady decline across age groups, but others did not. Instead, some features showed a curvilinear, or v-shaped, pattern of usage across the three generations of speakers, in which the youngest group of speakers was more like the oldest group rather than the middle group that showed reduced levels of usage. The unaspirated production of *p*, *t*, and *k*, for example, showed a progressive decrease in usage across the three generations of speakers, but the stopping of interdental fricatives and strong nasalization showed a reversal in usage rather than a progressive decline. Figure 7.7, based on Dubois and Horvath (1999), shows the use of the stop *t* for the interdental fricative /θ/ for three generations of male and female speakers of Cajun English in Louisiana in terms of sex, generation, and network affiliation, which are categorized as "open" or "closed" networks.

The pattern of usage in Figure 7.7 shows that some of the features associated with the traditional Cajun French accent are being recycled and intensified in the dialect of English that is becoming increasingly used to represent identity. The forms produced by the older generations of speakers

can be attributed to a transfer effect, but they play a very different role for younger speakers, for whom English is a dominant language. The resurgence of these features is linked to the Cajun cultural renaissance that has been taking place over the last several decades, even as the traditional heritage language has been receding. Dubois and her colleagues (Dubois and Melançon 2000; Dubois and Horvath 1998, 1999, 2003) note that Cajun identity, once disparaged and actively suppressed in schools and other institutions, is now socially and economically advantageous, and younger Cajuns can now express overt pride in their Cajun identity. However, there are complex age, gender, and social network effects on the revitalization of Cajun identity and Cajun English. For example, middle-aged and younger men are more likely to use features associated with Cajun French influence than their female counterparts. Further, young men in open social networks rather than closed networks lead the revival for most linguistic features. The male lead in recycling features may be explained in terms of the gendered nature of the cultural renaissance. Since the hallmarks of today's Cajun culture stem from traditional male activities, including hunting, fishing, performing Cajun music, and cooking special feast-day foods, Cajun identity is strongly associated with Cajun men, not only among Cajuns themselves but in the eyes of tourists and other non-Cajuns who pay to see performances and eat foods traditionally associated with Cajun male culture. As Dubois and Horvath observe (1999: 185), "[t]he young men are the ones who benefit the most from the change in attitudes to all things Cajun and they are the heirs of Cajun identity."

Cajun English shows how an ethnic group can socially reallocate some of the substrate structures originally associated with a heritage language to a variety of English. It further demonstrates how once-stigmatized, accented features can be recycled and reinterpreted to serve as symbolic tokens of cultural identity. At the same time, it indicates the complexity of such processes and the array of social and linguistic factors that may affect them, including social networks, gender roles, and gender-based activities, and even the commodification of cultural identity. While many people might have predicted the recession of Cajun French in Southern Louisiana a half-century ago, few anticipated the cultural renaissance that would lead to a linguistic resurgence of substrate features to highlight a distinct, ethnically based variety of English, thus demonstrating the significance of selective social meaning for some substrate features.

In highlighting substrate features as part of a cultural renaissance, Cajun English is quite different from AAE. Though vernacular AAE is clearly intensifying and becoming more diverse from cohort AAE varieties in some urban contexts (Labov 1998; Wolfram and Carpenter 2006), innovative features are leading this divergence rather than substrate features such as prevocalic CCR. For example, Figure 7.8, based on Wolfram and Carpenter (2006), presents the figures for prevocalic CCR for a range of regional

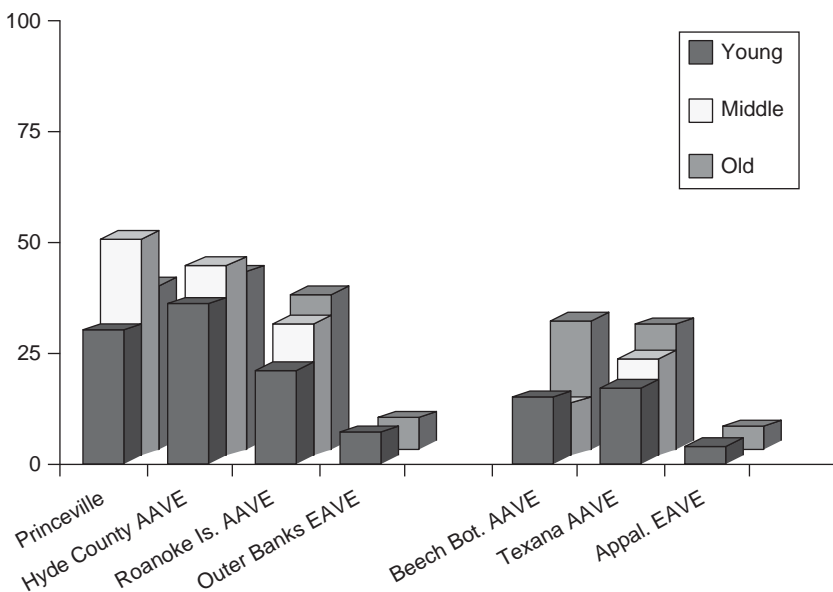


Figure 7.8 Prevocalic CCR according to age, regional context, and ethnic variety

African American communities in North Carolina, including Outer Banks, Piedmont, and Appalachian contexts, dividing each sample into older, middle-age, and younger speakers. We also provide a cohort European American variety in each instance. The varied regional contexts of AAE obviously show differential regional accommodation while maintaining differences from their cohort European American English (EAE) variety. Though some of these varieties (e.g. Hyde County, Princeville) are showing intensification and divergence in their development of vernacular AAE in apparent time, it is not reflected in prevocalic CCR, which is stable or receding. We thus see a quite different social role for substrate influence in AAE compared with Cajun English.

Recent research (Thomas and Carter 2006; Thomas forthcoming) has shown that prosodic dimensions of speech, including intonation and timing, are often candidates for substrate effect. For example, Thomas and Carter (2006), using the Pairwise Variability Index (Low and Grabe 1995), examine syllable timing in a number of different varieties of English, showing a continuum of timing that ranges from the current-day AAE and European American English as primary stress-based varieties at one end of the scale and Spanish as a primary syllable-timed language at the other end. In between these extremes, in regressive order of stress-based rhythm, are ex-slave AAE of the mid 1800s, Hispanic English, and Jamaican English. In Figure 7.9, based on Carter (2007), we examine the relative incidence for

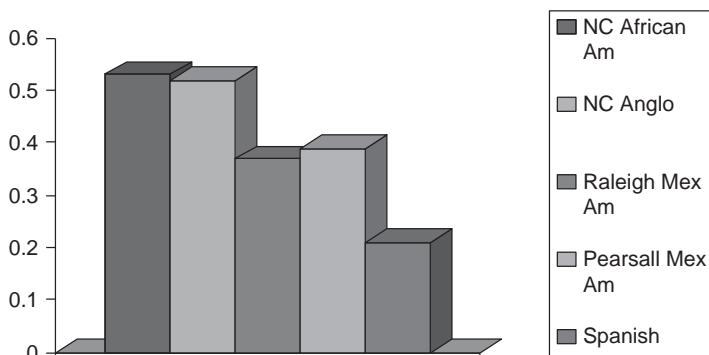


Figure 7.9 Differential timing in representative ethnic varieties of English (based on Carter 2007)

North Carolina AAE and EAE, an incipient Raleigh Hispanic community where most of the speakers were native speakers of Spanish, a long-term Latino/a community from southern Texas (Pearsall, TX), and one variety of Mexican Spanish. Lower scores indicate more syllable-timed rhythm.

Two important observations can be made on the basis of Figure 7.9. First, we see that ethnic varieties of English again show intermediacy in terms of source and replica language norms. But we also see that timing in an incipient Hispanic community in North Carolina appears to match that for a long-standing Hispanic community in Southern Texas.

Figure 7.10 shows a series of measurements of syllable timing in the Spanish and English of speakers in Pearsall, Texas, arranged in terms of the date of birth, from Wolford and Carter (2010). The time span extends more than eight decades and measurements were done for both Spanish and English.

The regression slopes for English and Spanish show a dramatic convergence over the generations, with the timing for English stable over the time span. However, the timing in Spanish converges with that of the English timing during this time period, showing how the contact situation affects both the now-dominant English and the receding Spanish language. In this instance, we see a shift in timing of the heritage language towards the intermediate timing state of the replica English variety. It should be remembered here that the youngest generation of speakers is much more English dominant than the older, Spanish-dominant generations. While we see persistent, modified substrate in the English variety, we also see an accommodation of the heritage language as it loses its dominant status in the current generation of speakers. We thus find a kind of mutual and reciprocal influence that affects the heritage language as well as the variety of English.

The incidence of substrate influence can be both complex and variable, with interdialectal outcomes more often the norm than the exception. We also see that the social marking of such substrate influence can vary greatly,

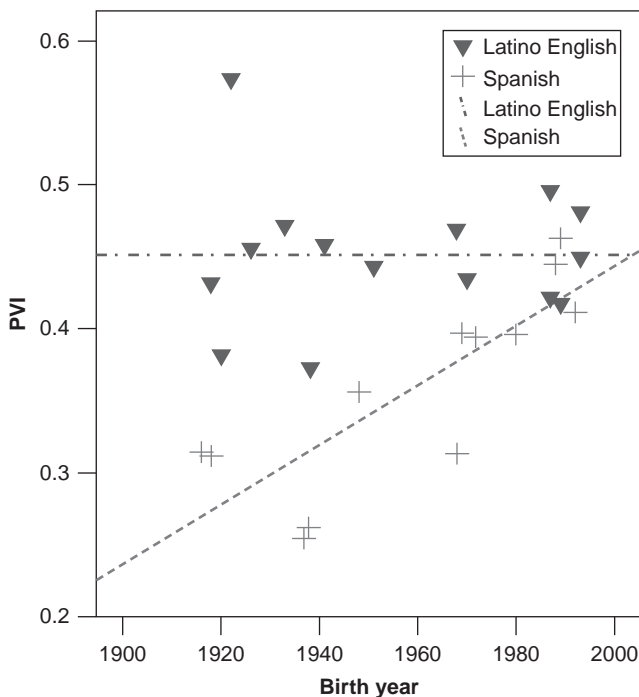


Figure 7.10 Syllable timing in Pearsall, Texas, by date of birth and language

from subtle, camouflaged non-salient marking status to iconic, performance-like ethnic marking status (Schilling-Estes 1998).

7.4 Reconfiguration and reallocation

One of the persistent questions about English-language contact situations is the role that they may play in substantive structural reconfiguration and innovation. Today most sociolinguists admit that there are some significant differences between the tense-mood-aspect (TMA) of vernacular AAE and standard varieties of English, for example. However, their developmental status is highly disputable, and source hypotheses range from direct TMA transfer from other languages (DeBose 1995) to partial diffusion (Rickford 1986) to independent innovation (Labov 1998; Poplack and Tagliamonte 2001). While this historic and current controversy is beyond the scope of our discussion here, we may offer a more modest contribution to an understanding of how language contact can lead to structural reconfiguration and reinterpretation, based in part on some of our recent research on the construction of socioethnic varieties in progress.

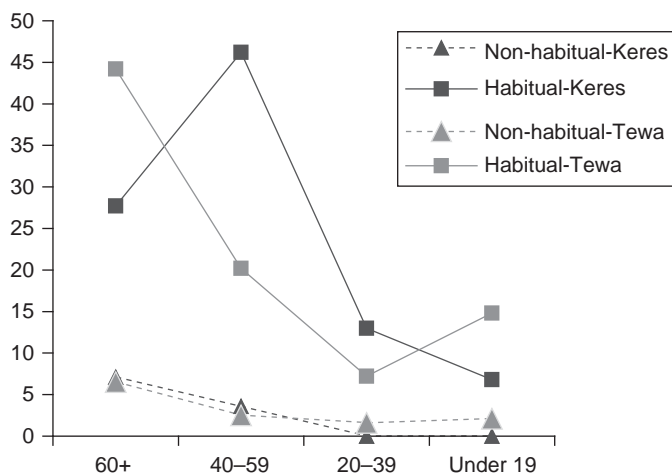


Figure 7.11 Habitual and non-habitual unmarked tense in two puebloan Native American varieties

Consider the case of tense marking in several different socioethnic varieties of English. Tense and aspect are, of course, vulnerable structures for adaptation in language contact that may include straightforward language transfer, generalized second-language acquisition interlanguage, and structural reinterpretation and reconfiguration. For example, in Wolfram (1984) it was hypothesized that habituality was integrated into the tense marking in Native American puebloan varieties of English in New Mexico as a systematic constraint on variability. This is different from its categorical, denotative status in the heritage languages and different from tense-marking structures in mainstream varieties of English. In effect, habituality was incorporated as one of the variable constraints on tense unmarking within a complex array of structural sources contributing to unmarking. It has been amply demonstrated that in second language acquisition, irregular verbs are favored for tense marking over irregular ones (Wolfram and Hatfield 1984; Wolfram 1985), that long forms (e.g. *treated* > *missed*), are favored over other forms, that consonant singletons are favored over clusters (e.g. *stayed* > *missed*), and so forth. At the same time, heritage-language “habitual” aspect may contribute to the reinterpretation of TMA. In Figure 7.11 we see the percentage of unmarked tense forms and those marked with a habitual past-tense activity for unmarked tense forms in four different age groups of Keres and Tewa speakers, adapted from Wolfram *et al.* (1979).

Figure 7.11 shows fairly dramatic differences in terms of the older generations of speakers; tense unmarking is strongly favored for past tense habituality, an indication of a transfer habitual effect from the heritage languages that have structurally marked habitual aspectual categories. Over

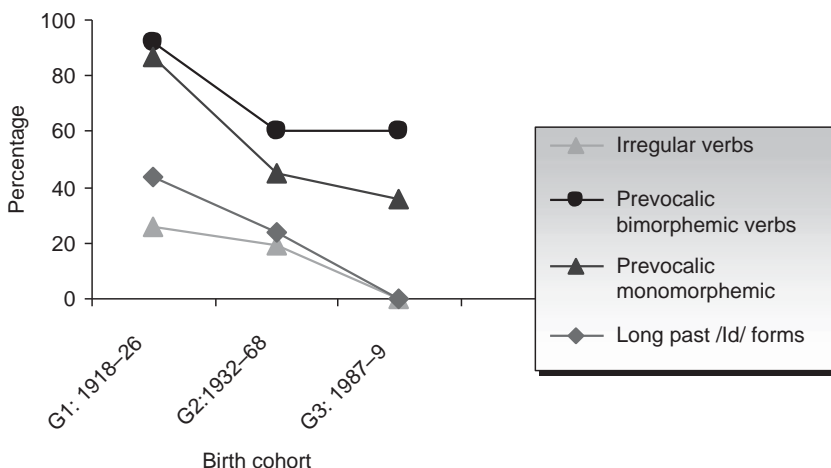


Figure 7.12 Incidence of unmarked tense in Pearsall, Texas, by birth cohort and verb form

apparent time, this distinction is reduced but a remnant effect is still maintained among the younger speakers. As detailed in Wolfram (1984), such cases show that there are multiple and convergent phonological and grammatical sources that interact in the aspectual reconfiguration of unmarked tense. We see further that habitual marking is incorporated as a variable constraint rather than a discrete, unique denotative marking, a reconfiguration different from both the heritage and the input language.

In a more recent analysis of tense unmarking in Latino/a English, Callahan (2008) compares constraints on tense unmarking in the longstanding Latino/a community in Pearsall, Texas, and an emerging community in North Carolina, examining birth cohort groups for Pearsall and length of residency cohorts for the emerging Latino/a community in Durham, North Carolina. The relevant constraints shown in Figure 7.12 and Figure 7.13 are prevocalic bimorphemic clusters (e.g. *missed out*, *lined up*), prevocalic monomorphemic (e.g. *mist on*, *find out*), long forms following coronal stops (e.g. *waited*, *treated*), and irregular past-tense forms (e.g. *go/went*, *come/came*).

There exist parallels for generational groups in Pearsall and the length of residency (LOR) groups in Durham in terms of the linear regression of tense unmarking, leading Callahan to conclude that generational change may recapitulate the stages of second language development in a way that roughly supports Major's (1987) Ontogeny Model. For example, we see the analogous regression of tense unmarking in the various structural contexts for different generations and for different LOR groups. At the same time, Callahan's (2008) multivariate logistic regression analysis reveals a kind of aspectual reallocation in which unmarked tense is highly favored in contexts where the progressive would be used in Spanish, as indicated in Figure 7.14.

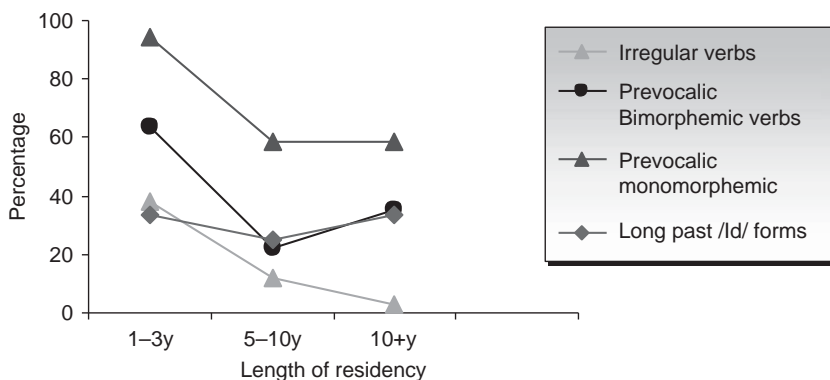


Figure 7.13 Incidence of unmarked tense in Durham, North Carolina, by length of residency and verb types

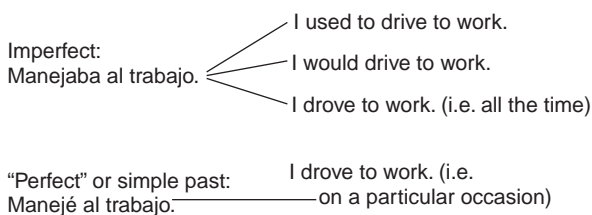


Figure 7.14 English aspect subsumed under the Spanish progressive

In Callahan’s analysis, the strongest factor by far (.894 X^2 per cell=.672 in the Goldvarb multivariate analysis) favoring unmarked tense is the imperfectivity of the verb. This restructuring demonstrates how aspectuality is transferred and reallocated in the reconfiguration of tense unmarking in Hispanic English, together with phonologically based reduction derived from transfer and interlanguage. However, as with habituality for the puebloan English varieties noted previously, the reallocation is incorporated as a variable effect rather than a discrete category. The variability of the effects and the systematicity of the reallocation points towards adaptation and reconfiguration in emergent socioethnic varieties that recapitulates how remnant effects may emerge, reconfigure, and stabilize in the construction of both transitioning and durable socioethnic varieties from the language-contact situation.

7.5 Conclusion

Most studies of socioethnic varieties in North America and elsewhere are limited to describing the outcomes of language contact situations. In this

chapter, the comparison of durable ethnolinguistic varieties with those in the process of formation allows us a unique perspective in terms of both the process and the product of language contact with English.

One of the essential observations from our investigation is that there is inherent gradience and variation in both transfer and accommodation, as evidenced in the ungliding of /ai/ and syllable timing by Latinos/as in the American South, the former case being an example of accommodation and the latter one of transfer. The phonetic transition from L_1 to L_2 productions of /ai/, Southern or otherwise, appears to be gradual and incremental rather than abrupt and discrete. It also appears to show a kind of phonetic intermediacy between Spanish and English that resembles Trudgill's (1986) definition of interdialectal forms. These forms not only appear in the incipient stages of new dialect formation, but may be incorporated into a stable and enduring dialect as well (Mendoza Denton 2008). The kind of intermediacy indicated in our empirical study of language contact in progress may provide the foundation for the incorporation of interdialectal forms into an enduring, ethnically affiliated variety of English.

Another observation from our studies concerns the prominent role of the lexicon in the early stages of development in emerging socioethnic varieties, not only in terms of the acquisition of particular lexical items but in terms of the acquisition of phonetic processes as well. For example, we showed that speakers may accommodate a glide-reduced production of the /ai/ vowel in some lexical items while resisting the acquisition of a generalized version of prevoiced glide weakening. This observation suggests that lexical diffusion may play a prominent role in the early stages of local dialect accommodation in second-language acquisition just as it does in second-dialect acquisition (Chambers 1992). The relatively early accommodation of lexical regional forms such as *y'all* and *hey* in the South (Wolfram *et al.* 2004) and the early adoption of quotative *be like*, along with local accommodation (Kohn 2008), underscore the prominence of the lexicon in early socioethnic variety construction. From this vantage point, it would also stand to reason that the only trace of the earliest contact with Native American languages might be the thousands of place names in American English that derive from this original language-contact situation.

We have suggested that some types of structural forms may be predisposed towards substrate effects vis-à-vis others, though at this point it is difficult to formulate a strong principle capturing the nature of such predisposition. Phonotactic and prosodic structures, along with more subtle, non-contrastive segmental phonetic detail, seem to be viable candidates for substrate endurance but there also seem to be underlying conditions, such as phonetic complexity, convergence with predictable interlanguage processes, and phonetic subtlety that may enable and camouflage effects. At the same time, we must recognize that substrate effects are not necessarily unilateral sources of explanation. Furthermore, it is important to recognize

that they may be countered by the effect of social marking in language-contact situations, both in terms of transfer and accommodation. For example, we saw that Cajun English actually reversed the transfer effects of the middle-aged generations as a part of the cultural renaissance so that younger speakers who embraced Cajun culture reversed the trajectory of transfer regression with selective features that had become associated with the performance of Cajun identity. Accordingly, we find that social meaning and social conditions can actually play a prominent role in accounting for patterns of substrate persistence and accommodation.

Notwithstanding the effects of variables such as LOR, proficiency in English, and the status of the community as a socioethnic entity, some variation still appears to be a matter of individual choice. Thus, speakers with similar LORs, levels of proficiency in English, community backgrounds, and family histories make quite different choices in terms of dialect accommodation. The individual basis of alignment based on social affiliation and speaker agency was illustrated dramatically in one interview conducted with two siblings, an 11-year-old girl and her 13-year-old brother. Their parents came from Mexico, but the children lived all of their lives in the North Carolina Piedmont. In the sociolinguistic interview the girl had only one case of unglided /ai/ out of 17 potential tokens (5.9 percent), while her brother produced almost two-thirds (62.8 percent) of his /ai/ diphthongs as unglided, indicating an obvious difference in the accommodation of the local Southern norm for these two speakers. The adolescent boy, who also indicates other Southern vernacular features in his speech, identifies strongly with the local non-Hispanic “jock” culture of adolescent boys, projecting a strong “macho” image, while his sister, who uses few vernacular features to go along with her predominantly glided production of /ai/, is much more oriented toward mainstream American institutional values. Such cases demonstrate the symbolic choices that speakers may make as they mold their identities in relation to those around them and for themselves, even within the same family. Though this case might also suggest gendered behavioral roles in that the particular value of this cultural choice is more viable for boys than girls, not all boys choose this option in local affiliation and vernacular norms. Our studies of emerging Hispanic English in different locales in North Carolina (Wolfram *et al.* 2004; Callahan 2008; Kohn 2008; Kohn and Askin Franz 2009; Wolfram, Kohn, and Callahan-Price 2011) suggest that one of the factors that guides choices about accommodating to the local dialect is related to the symbolic role of that dialect. In some instances, the local dialect might be viewed simply as a regional mainstream norm, whereas in other cases it may be viewed as a vernacular norm associated symbolically with a particular socioethnic group in conflict with mainstream norms.

Perhaps the most significant finding from this overview concerns the multiplicity of sources and the complexity of the processes that converge in the construction of a socioethnic variety from an original contact situation.

Attribution often turns out to be highly nuanced and non-exclusive, showing the interaction of processes that may engage different levels of language organization simultaneously. In accounting for tense unmarking, for example, it is necessary to appeal to transfer from the heritage-language phonological system, generalized second-language interlanguage processes, along with reallocation and reconfiguration of the TMA system to account for unmarked tense in an emerging and durable socioethnic variety. We have further seen that reallocation and reconfiguration are not exceptional cases, but may be a reasonable and natural structural linguistic negotiation in the development of a socioethnic variety in a contact situation. Though the multiplicity, complexity and interaction of sources, along with innovation, may challenge our attempt to attribute and to explain the processes and products of language contact, these are the realities that have been empirically confirmed repeatedly in emerging and durable socioethnic varieties of American English.

8 English as a contact language: the “New Englishes”

EDGAR W. SCHNEIDER

8.1 Introduction: “New Englishes”

Following Platt, Weber, and Ho (1984), “New Englishes” are second-language varieties which have emerged as stable national forms of the language, with distinctive properties and functions, in many countries around the globe, notably in Asia and Africa, and there is no doubt that they constitute products of language contact in their own right. The purpose of this chapter is to consider their contact nature and the properties that result from it. After summarizing a few background facts, I will be looking at some of the models which have been proposed to capture the essence of these varieties, the historical processes which have produced them (notably, colonization and colony types), the sociolinguistic settings in which they are typically employed, their grounding in processes of second language acquisition, and finally at a few structural properties which are commonly taken to be contact-induced.

Let me begin by summarizing some background facts which can largely be taken to be familiar. For the last few decades English has grown into the role of the world’s leading “global language”: it is spoken on all continents, by an estimated number of close to two billion speakers, and it assumes all kinds of international functions that make it immensely useful and worth aspiring to for millions of learners. In close to a hundred countries in all parts of the world, typically former colonies of Great Britain, it assumes some special status, frequently as an official or co-official second language in which many public and political functions of a society (business, education, legislation, media, etc.) are run (see Schneider 2011: 58 for a map). So its functions and orientations are not only international and global but also intranational and even local in many of these countries. In that sense these varieties are really relatively “new.”

Accordingly, and in the wake of growing attention to other contact varieties, especially pidgins and creoles, these “New Englishes” have attracted the interest of scholarship and have become subjects not only of political and pedagogical debates but also of linguistic investigations. Since the 1980s a new field has been established, now most commonly referred to

as “World Englishes,” with journals, conference series, handbooks and textbooks, and a scholarly organization (the International Association of World Englishes) having grown. The core topics, approaches and concerns pursued by this discipline are manifold, including, at least, the following:

- structural properties of “World” or “New” Englishes on various language levels (phonology, morphosyntax, but also lexis and pragmatics);
- their characteristic usage conditions and domains of application;
- their sociocultural embedding in their respective communities, including attitudes of speakers and observers towards them;
- issues of language policy and pedagogy;
- and finally theory formation, the question of how World Englishes can be modeled and thus understood in a broader perspective most appropriately.

A few specific issues have been brought up and have dominated debates to some extent: the question of what it means to be a “native speaker” in these multilingual societies; the issue of the “ownership” of English (seen in the hands of second-language speakers more strongly than of mother-tongue speakers from Britain or the US); the issue of whether English is a “killer language” which contributes to the eradication of many indigenous languages (and possibly cultures, for that matter); the consequences of hybridity and mixing; and ultimately the notion of “glocalization,” an inherent tension between global outreach and local adjustments and adaptations of these varieties of English. Obviously, all of this happens in direct contact with indigenous languages and cultures and results in strong and important contact effects. While these influences of language contact may frequently be mitigated by the high status of English and its association with external norms and formal contexts, this is not the whole story. From a strictly linguistic perspective, with an emphasis on contact, it is the post-colonial grassroots spread of English which is most noteworthy: the language is not only taught in schools and studied at universities, and employed in business meetings and on similar occasions, but it is striven for and acquired, by whatever means, by huge numbers of speakers lacking access to higher education, mostly for purely utilitarian motives. Note that it is not the colonial heritage but this recent attractiveness which has given English its special status, and which has thus contributed significantly to shaping its contact character.

The terminology used to refer to these varieties is still a bit unstable. There are a few conventional labels which emphasize different properties of the variety types, and which trigger associated implications. “World Englishes” originally was the label used primarily in Braj Kachru’s school. It seems, however, that by now this term has come to be accepted more widely as the most neutral and encompassing designation, especially because it covers a wide range of varieties, including the national, regional, and social

varieties of traditionally first-language English speaking countries (like the UK or the US), the established second-language varieties of the former colonies, and also the learner and lingua franca uses outside of this sphere (see below for more on this framework). It may also be taken to include English-based pidgins and creoles (at least when adopting the views of some scholars, notably Mufwene, in recent years). Consequently, “Postcolonial Englishes” is the term used most in Schneider (2007), emphasizing the origin of these varieties in their colonial past and the sociopolitically motivated evolutionary processes after the end of the colonial period. “New Englishes,” the term originally introduced to denote many of these L2 varieties by Platt *et al.* (1984), emphasizes their recent emergence (or “newness” – even if this has been challenged, arguing that these forms of English are new only to western scholarship who “discovered” them in the latter twentieth century). By definition (following Platt *et al.*), this notion is explicitly restricted to L2 varieties (to be mentioned below as “ESL” countries), especially in Africa and Asia. Numerous terms have been used to refer to these varieties at one time or another, however, possibly drawing attention to specific properties. Examples include “Extraterritorial Englishes” (used by Lass 1987), “indigenized Englishes,” “global Englishes,” or even “NIVES” (“non-native institutionalized varieties of English”).

The regional extension of these Englishes is essentially determined by the global spread of the former British Empire, supplemented by some erstwhile American colonies, mainly the Philippines. Conventionally, a distinction is drawn between the first-language and second-language English-speaking nations. The former are called “ENL/Inner Circle” (see below), i.e. Great Britain, Ireland, and their offspring settler communities in North America, Australia, and New Zealand. In contrast, “ESL/Outer Circle” countries are typically former trade and exploitation colonies, especially in South Asia (India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, and Bangladesh), South-East Asia (Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong, etc., with the Philippines usually also treated here on geographical grounds), West Africa (Nigeria, Ghana, Cameroon, etc.), East Africa (Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania), and southern Africa (South Africa itself, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, etc.).

Speaker numbers are notoriously difficult to estimate, given uncertainties of definition (how much proficiency is necessary to count as a speaker of English?), but Crystal (2008: 5) published a few estimates which are indicative of the breadth and importance of the phenomenon under discussion. He assumes that the overall number of speakers of English today comes close to the impressive figure of 2 billion (composed of, very roughly, 350–380 million native speakers, 300–600 million competent second-language users, and somewhere between 500 and 1,500 million learners). The documentation of the immense growth of these numbers over the last quarter-century or so is empirically grounded, illustrating the huge demand for the language on a global scale: within the last twenty-five years the proportion of the

world's population with some knowledge of English has risen from roughly one-fifth to about a third. And the relative proportions of speaker status groups has been practically reversed, with “mother tongue” or “native speakers” now outnumbered by far by second-language speakers and learners. It is in the mouths and minds of these multilingual speakers that language contact effects emerge and become firmly established.

8.2 Contact and conceptualizations

Several models have been suggested to conceptualize World Englishes and to highlight shared properties between them. Three of them have dominated recent discussions. The first introduces a tripartite distinction into native, second, and foreign language situations – I choose to label it the “Strang/Quirk status” model, after the scholars who were most instrumental in developing and disseminating it. The second one is Kachru’s “Three Circles” model, and the third one Schneider’s “Dynamic Model.” This is not the place to describe them in full (this has been done elsewhere, e.g. Schneider 2010a) but in the current context the main purpose is simply to outline the role of contact in these frameworks.

The “Strang/Quirk status” model was implicitly proposed by Strang (1970) in her textbook on the history of English, and it became widely known because it was adopted by Quirk *et al.*’s grammar (1985); later it was spread and popularized also by Görlach, McArthur, and others. Based on the status of English in nation states it categorizes these into ENL/ESL/EFL (English as a Native, Second and Foreign Language, respectively), but it is not really concerned with language contact. In ENL countries the emphasis is typically on their ancestry, their continuity of transmission, and even “purity,” an ideologically loaded claim¹ which tends to downplay or even deny a strong role of contact in the emergence of English. (Note that this ideology constitutes also the roots of an overemphasis on the notion of a “native speaker,” as argued for by Hackert 2012.) In ESL countries (and the discussion on them), the emphasis is primarily on the political role of English, and its usage conditions – less so on contact effects. The notion of EFL, finally, is grounded in the foreign-ness of these varieties, and the learner status of their speakers; consequently, pedagogical or psycholinguistic issues tend to be addressed most prominently. But it seems fair to note that there is no serious interest in language-contact effects in this perspective.

Kachru’s “Three Circles” model was proposed for the first time in 1985 and was then disseminated and developed further in several articles and, most explicitly, in his collective volume of 1992 (which differs considerably from its first edition of 1982). It has been particularly influential amongst scholars in Africa and Asia, and also in North America. Essentially, it categorizes countries, based on the role of English in them, into the same

three types as the ENL/ESL/EFL system, and typically portrays them as three overlapping circles or ovals, commonly labeled the Inner Circle (corresponding to ENL countries), the Outer Circle (equaling ESL) and the Expanding Circle, corresponding to EFL. What is different in this framework is primarily the conceptualization of these variety types, tied to a range of sociopolitical postulates, including the issue of the “ownership” of English and a distinction between functional and genetic nativeness. In particular, it places special emphasis on the Outer Circle and its independence and special status, arguing that it is no longer the speakers from the Inner Circle who are entitled to establish norms of “correctness.”

When looking for the central topic of this chapter, the role of contact, the turnout in this particular framework remains limited. Clearly, Kachru and his followers are most directly interested in the evolution of English in the Outer Circle, ascribing the right of “ownership” of the conditions of using the language to these speakers, on an equal footing with Inner Circle native speakers. So linguistic authority is separated from genetic nativeness, and consequently these countries are seen as norm-developing and no longer just adopting external norms. With regard to the Expanding Circle, the emphasis tends to be on the further spread of English and the expansive dynamism to be observed in such countries. Indirectly, it is clear that many of the forms and properties of Outer and Expanding Circle Englishes are contact-induced by origin, and in some discussions this is also noted and exemplified. However, this seems rather a side effect of the history of these varieties, of their conceptualization as independent Englishes, and of concerns with power distribution as well as cultural and political processes; the primary interest of Kachruvian scholars is usually not on contact origins or effects.

The most recent attempt at systematizing World Englishes based on their evolutionary processes is Schneider’s “Dynamic Model” (2003, 2007). It assumes an underlying evolutionary process which is similar from one variety to another because all of them are products of comparable contact conditions. These have induced typical stages of identity formation and linguistic accommodation of the groups involved in colonial expansion, notably the indigenous population of a colonized territory and the settlers who have moved there. As a result of these sociolinguistic adjustment processes it assumes five subsequent phases which can be viewed from two complementary perspectives, that of the settlers and that of the indigenous population. By now this innovative framework has been widely discussed and accepted by many authors as the most convincing account of these varieties of English, sometimes with slight modifications (e.g. Mukherjee 2007, van Rooy 2010; for summaries of the phases and the assumptions of the model, see, for example, Schneider 2003: 239–56, 2007: 29–56, 2010a: 380–1).

Contact and its effects are central to this line of thinking, but its impact is not assumed to be equally strong throughout; the model ascribes varying

roles to language contact in different evolutionary phases, caused by varying sociolinguistic contexts and input constellations. Phase 1 is marked by dialect contact rather than language contact, which results in koinéization (see Section 8.3.1). In phase 2 (exonormative stabilization), it is incipient and imbalanced: the burden of linguistic adjustment lies primarily on the side of the indigenous population for whom early bilingualism, sometimes involving a pidginized form of English, becomes a need to communicate effectively with the politically dominant settler group. For the immigrants, contact with indigenous languages at this stage tends to remain quite restricted, and its effects can be seen mainly on the lexical level through borrowing of local words, typically first toponyms and then terms for flora and fauna and culturally important concepts. The strongest role of contact is to be found in phase 3 (nativization), where both groups interact with each other on a regular basis, though still not on an equal footing. Vibrant contact leads to significant linguistic effects, collectively labeled “structural nativization.” At this stage the characteristic properties of a newly emerging variety are forged, frequently to be explained as transfer effects, and they are disseminated and rooted in the community through ongoing linguistic habit formation amongst all the speakers involved. Given unequal power relationships and pressures to accommodate, these contact effects are still to be viewed most effectively in the indigenous strand, but contact increasingly also affects settlers’ speech habits, in addition to ongoing lexical borrowing. In phase 4 (endonormative stabilization), the new variety and the new linguistic habits stabilize and become gradually established as a new linguistic norm, respected and accepted by its speakers as an identity marker and gradually developed further through codification. With a new, largely shared norm in place contact processes are no longer that strong, but the contact effects which have resulted from acquisition and accommodation in the previous phases (in addition to other phenomena) are now becoming systematically established as properties of a new form of English. Thus, the Dynamic Model attributes a central role to contact, both between dialects of English and between English and other languages, but recognizes the fact that its impact varies both at different phases of the growth process of these new varieties (being obviously most important in phase 3) and between different contexts, to be discussed next.

8.3 Modes and contexts of contact influence

This section looks into the specific conditions of language contact in the emergence of New Englishes. The first part discusses the historical background, notably the forms of contact in different colonization types which could be found in the former British Empire. I consider five different types of the dissemination of English, three of which were suggested as colonization types by Mufwene (2001). The fourth one modifies one of

Mufwene’s categories, and the fifth one is novel (and independent of colonization), paying tribute to the current vibrant diffusion of English into countries with no colonial background. Second, some characteristic socio-linguistic conditions that govern the use of English in many countries today will be looked at. Thirdly, given that all of these effects result from the gradual acquisition of English by speakers of indigenous languages, some relevant perspectives from the theory of second language acquisition (SLA) will be outlined as well.

8.3.1 *Historical background*

The earliest expansion of the British venturing into new lands in the wake of a growing European colonialism resulted in settlement colonies, characterized by large-scale group migration of British settlers to new lands. Their motives varied – they were religious, political, economic, or simply legal, with migrants being penalized by being sent abroad for many years or for good. This type of expansion begins with early seventeenth-century migration to North America, and in the late eighteenth century it can be found in Australia and in the early nineteenth century in New Zealand, and also South Africa. Later, in the early twentieth century, numerically weaker migration streams brought British settlers also to Kenya and (former) Rhodesia. In many cases the settlers intended (or were forced) to stay for good. Being separated by thousands of miles from the “homeland,” and living in a foreign environment, caused strong internal group coherence and a strong desire to continue traditional cultural and social norms. Linguistically, this need to accommodate amongst speakers of many different regional and social dialects caused group-internal dialect contact and resulted in koinéization.

Contact with indigenous populations at this stage tended to be regular for some and restricted for others, depending upon individuals’ roles in their respective communities. The two parties essentially retained their ethnohistorical identities, so contacts were perceived as group-to-group, with individuals viewed as group representatives in the majority of instances – a situation which also resulted from an unequal distribution of status, interests, and power. Typically, select members of the indigenous group served as translators and mediators; some were actually taken to England in order to acquire the language. This may have been a prestigious role, but it certainly was not an easy one, with these intermediaries not infrequently developing a dual or torn identity and ending up as stuck between the groups and no longer or not yet recognized as full group members by either one. A well-known case in point is Bennelong, an Aboriginal leader in Sydney at the time of the first settlements who learned English and also traveled to England with the colony’s governor (Smith 2009). The early phase of language contact in settler colonies can thus be characterized by

incipient unilateral bilingualism; and the English spoken by the chosen few who did acquire it was a learner's variety. The indigenous languages held low prestige, and attempts at learning them on the settlers' side were few, but did occur; for example, William Penn is reported to have attempted to learn an indigenous language (Conklin and Lourie 1983: 198).

It is perhaps worth noting that this attitude was completely reversed in the late twentieth century in some states which have grown out of settler colonies. A renewed recognition of the indigenous contribution and a reevaluation of these traces as cultural heritage have set in, affecting also the respective languages. This has received symbolic recognition mainly by a higher degree of acceptance of culturally salient indigenous lexical items, which have become regular and unmarked components of the national lexis in English. For example, several Maori words are now regularly used in New Zealand's public discourse, also among Pakehas (the indigenous label given to Caucasian people, and in itself an example of the process under discussion) and in formal contexts.

In the second type of colonization, trade colonies were explicitly set up to enhance the exchange of commodities with indigenous peoples. These were quite explicitly goal-oriented, and tended to be rather short-lived, with the orientation and the social set-up of the colonies changing in the course of time. Linguistically, trade colonies were marked by reduced communication serving its explicit purpose, and this situation frequently led to the formation of a special jargon or, if the situation was stable for an extended period of time, to pidginization. This was the case, for instance, in the seventeenth century along the West African coast. At roughly the same time India also started as a trading colony. Similar situations obtained in South-East Asia and the Pacific in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some of the erstwhile trading outposts were later transformed into exploitation colonies.

Exploitation colonies were set up for the purpose of extracting material profit (through trade, agriculture, or the extraction of human or material resources) for the benefit of the mother country. Cases in point, after initial trading stages, were India, Malaya, Hong Kong, and, beginning in 1819, Singapore. These colonies were characterized by an unequal power distribution, with English as the language of power and the indigenous languages continuing to serve regional and local purposes. Typically, there was a resident group of representatives of the Empire, speaking English natively and thus serving also as linguistic models. These colonists shared certain characteristics: numerically, they were reasonably large (but, of course, always a minority); most of them stayed in the colonies for a long period of time (but their residence was perceived as non-permanent, and in fact many of them served in different colonies); and they were socially stratified but, given that their primary function was that of administering power, leaning towards upper social strata (thus consisting of political leaders, government agents, company representatives, military of all ranks, traders,

missionaries, all kinds of support staff, and so on). One important point resulting from this stratification was that the indigenous population was not exposed exclusively to a standard form of English – various regional, dialectal forms certainly constituted the main input to be heard in the colonies.

Language contact in these situations operated through individual bilingualism. Except for missionaries, who frequently attempted to acquire indigenous languages to be able to spread the word of God, familiarity with a second, i.e. the colonizers', language grew primarily among the indigenous leadership. It is worth noting that it was not the intention of the British colonists to spread the English language, quite to the contrary – it was understood that linguistic and cultural knowledge constitutes an instrument of power and was thus to be distributed only in carefully controlled slices. Frederick Lugard, one-time governor of both Nigeria and Hong Kong, developed the policy of “indirect rule,” which spelled this out: an indigenous leadership was to be acculturated and invited to share the exertion of political power, together with but certainly always in the interest of the British Empire. One of the earliest and best-known treatises justifying this approach was Macaulay's famous “Minute” of 1835 in India, which called for the formation of “a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern – a class of persons, Indians in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect” (quoted from Kachru 1983: 22). Thus, English schools were established to train an indigenous leadership, a fact which certainly gave a somewhat elitist character to English and thus also constrained the emergence of contact effects to some extent.

Equally important and interesting, this policy of instrumentalizing English as a weapon in power struggles was continued by the descendants of this indigenous leading stratum to the present day. The insistence of local politicians and gatekeepers on Standard British English as the only acceptable norm of language education in many African and some Asian states may also be viewed as a means of denying access to powerful positions to the local poor, because the children of the political elite are often sent to private schools and abroad for education, and are thus unavoidably superior to other local children in that respect. On the other hand, currently English is also spreading vibrantly “on the ground,” as it were, among those with only limited access to formal education; more on this grassroots diffusion below. Historically speaking, these lower-class contacts, also with non-standard forms of English, have an equally long tradition, going back to missionary schools and contacts with less well educated representatives of the Empire.

In some tropical regions colonies were established to set up and run plantations, that is to produce profitable agricultural products. Mufwene (2001) considers these plantation colonies a subtype of settlement colonies, but different demographic relationships produced radically different ecologies and also communication patterns in these two types of settings, so it

makes sense to keep them distinct. The earliest plantations were established in the seventeenth century in the Caribbean, with the goal of growing originally tobacco (and other cash crops), and then, roughly from mid-century, sugar, which was hugely profitable but also demanded special conditions (harsh human labor, large units, etc.) (see Schneider 2010b). Plantations also characterize nineteenth-century South Africa, and many Pacific islands in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with the main crops there being sandalwood, sugar, fruit, etc.

From the language-contact perspective, the most important feature of plantation colonies was their population set-up. Typically, it consisted of a minority of L1 English speakers (owners, overseers, traders, craftsmen, and agents, but also lower-class indentured laborers), and a majority of manual laborers imported from other world regions, who were often a linguistically heterogeneous group in themselves. The main source regions of such laborers were Africa, from where millions were enslaved and transported to the Caribbean, North America, and other parts of the “New World” between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and India. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when slavery was abolished, Indian workers came as contract laborers to the Caribbean (primarily Guyana and Trinidad), South Africa, Fiji, and elsewhere. In the South-West Pacific and in Hawai’i, this field-hand population then also consisted of Polynesians, Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese, and others, producing rich local laboratories for language contact.

Based on unequal demographic and status relationships, these contact situations typically triggered the processes which are the outcome of extreme contact situations (based on Thomason and Kaufman 1988, amongst others), viz. pidginization and creolization, in addition to language shift. While early trade pidgins, e.g. in West Africa, remained rather restricted in their functions and forms, the Pacific contact settings produced elaborated pidgins, some of which have actually become recognized as national languages (e.g. Papua New Guinea’s Tok Pisin, Vanuatu’s Bislama, and the Solomon Islands’ Pijin). The degree of relationship of these languages with English is disputed; some scholars, including Thomason and Kaufman (1988), regard them as not related at all. Associated with slightly different communicative settings, in some regions intermediate or partially restructured varieties (sometimes called semi-creoles or creoloids) have also emerged; cases in point are many of the “lighter” creoles and varieties of the Caribbean (such as Bajan or white dialects on Barbados or the speech forms of the Honduras Bay Islands) and possibly also African American English in the US (see Schneider 1990, 2010b; Holm 2004). In the long run, some communities, notably Indian ones, have also given up their ancestral tongues and undergone language shift to English, typically producing ethnically and regionally characteristic forms (as in South Africa, and partly in Fiji).

Apart from colonial origins (and hence, colonization types), the recent past has produced a new kind of contact setting which has been generating new roles and forms of English, it seems: the spread and growth of regionally distinctive forms of English in countries without a British (or American) colonial past. I call this type “postcolonial attraction,” and it may be viewed as supplementing my Dynamic Model in some ways. It may seem paradoxical, but in many countries, including but not restricted to former colonies, the most vibrant growth of New Englishes has occurred only after the end of the colonial period, and essentially in the absence (at least largely, in comparison) of substantial model groups of L1 speakers. This is due to the immense attractiveness and pull of English today as the language of globalization, business, access to technology, etc., and in many cases, for millions of people, as the gateway to reasonably well-paid jobs and a better life. And this effect works and is visible also in countries without a former (British) colonial past, e.g. Thailand, China (with huge learner numbers reported), Korea (where an “English fever” has been diagnosed), or Japan (where one encounters the notion of a “Japanese English” (e.g. Stanlaw 2004), though this seems to have little stability).

Two recent decisions in language policy illustrate the force of this effect on a national level. The central African republic of Rwanda, formerly a French-speaking colony of Belgium and the site of a horrible genocide in 1994, recently (in 2008) declared English (and not French, and also not the predominant indigenous language Kinyarwanda or the regional lingua franca KiSwahili) its new official language, thus marking a clear desire of advancing global integration. A second, equally impressive example is the recent (2007) language policy decision of ASEAN (the Association of South-East Asian Nations), manifested in Article 34 of the Charter, which simply states “The working language of ASEAN shall be English” (and note that ASEAN comprises nations such as Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, and more which have never been British colonies!).

This new kind of diffusion process also ties in with the grassroots spread of English in poorer schools and lower-class settings, mentioned earlier and further down. The effect of this global attraction leads many poor people and those with only poor education in India, Africa, and elsewhere to pick up any forms and phrases which become available to them, a process which produces many new idiolectal interlanguages and new forms of English.

8.3.2 *Sociolinguistic settings*

The usage contexts of “New Englishes” display many similarities, especially with respect to style and formality stratifications and speaker characteristics. Often a tension between “standard” forms and local variants can be observed, with the former being associated with overt and the latter with covert prestige. The best-known example is the tension between Standard

Singaporean English and “Singlish,” the subject of an ongoing heated debate in the island state. These two levels are usually stylistically and socially stratified in a characteristic fashion, with writing and formal speech being closer to “international English” and “standard” usage, and informal, oral performance, characterized by a stronger proportion of local forms, to be found in colloquial settings and amongst lower-class speakers. In some contexts, local forms of English are actually functionally employed as identity carriers, and markers of a relaxed atmosphere (well-documented cases in point include the use of “Singlish” in the media or of Malaysian English in business interactions). Regional standard forms are commonly promoted in processes of nation building. Historically speaking, in many countries English was originally promoted because of its ethnic neutrality in multiethnic nation states (e.g. in Nigeria, or India, reflected in the country’s “Three-Language Formula”). Standard varieties of English, possibly with local accents, typically occur as fairly neutral language forms in “high” domains (such as politics, administration, the media, education, legislation, and so on).

Language forms typical of “New Englishes” are more characteristically found among the indigenous population, but not exclusively so – these variants have also had an impact on settlers and their descendants (think of “White babus” in India or Bajan-speaking “white trash” in Barbados, for example). Regionally marked variants have also been promoted by the strong grassroots spread of English, amongst poor people and in poorly funded public elementary schools in many countries (see Graddol 2010 for a recent documentation on India, for example; similar processes have been documented in Kenya, South Africa, and elsewhere). The “pull” of English, boosted by the implicit promise of access to better jobs etc., is immense in many countries, and it is served by better access to elementary education and wider exposure to English in various domains of life. Parental demand also plays a major role in this development. A recent example is Hong Kong’s post-handover debate and struggle on “English-medium” schools turned “Chinese-medium,” a development which was strongly resisted by a majority of parents.

In general, (varying) attitudes and language policies have steered this diffusion process and determined access to English in any given country and context. An interesting example, illustrating the fact that developments are not always linear and not easy to plan in advance, is Malaysia. A national language policy after independence in the 1960s reduced the role of English to the point that it was felt that declining proficiency in it would compromise the country’s international competitiveness. Thus, in 2003 English was reintroduced as the medium of instruction in the sciences. However, this policy was given up again in 2010, recognizing that there were simply not enough proficient teachers available, especially in elementary education, to successfully implement this policy, and in its current shape it harms rather

than supports students. Another widely documented example of conflicting language policies and attitudes is Singapore, where the government’s “Speak Good English Movement,” trying to promote standard forms only and to ban the local variant, meets with the immense popularity of “Singlish” as a badge of local identity. Cases in point are also ongoing discussions on the possible acceptance of indigenous (educated) speech forms of English as norms of education in some African states.

8.3.3 *The impact of Second Language Acquisition (SLA)*

New Englishes typically are (or have emerged as) second languages (see the notion of “ESL”), and systematic language-contact effects emerge in bilingual speakers. Second Language Acquisition (SLA) thus plays a special role in the relationship between New Englishes and language contact, given that contact features most typically get established in emerging varieties via the transfer of L1-to-L2 features (“a type of cross-linguistic influence that takes place in the minds of individuals”; Siegel 2008: 105). Individual and group SLA as well as communal language shift are closely related processes and language acquisition theory constitutes important theoretical background to the emergence of New Englishes. For example, Thomason (2001) lists SLA strategies as one of the main “mechanisms” of contact-induced change and interference. Winford (2003a) discusses “indigenized” varieties, resulting from “untutored SLA,” and views them as similar to interlanguages in classroom settings.

Accounts of New Englishes as such, however, have but rarely focused upon SLA theory explicitly – with some notable exceptions. Williams (1987) is an important article, widely quoted on the issue, which investigates the properties of New Englishes that have resulted from SLA. Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008) consider the interrelationship between these two disciplines as “underresearched” and a “paradigm gap”; their chapter 6 calls for and contributes to a better integration of these approaches. A recent volume by Mukherjee and Hundt (2011) redresses this situation to some extent. Another pertinent and valuable source in this context is Siegel (2008), a book on the emergence of pidgins and creoles, but the parallels to emergent varieties of English via the impact of contact seem obvious.

Possible causes for the special role of SLA in the emergence of New Englishes are discussed by Williams (1987). Aspects which she considers important include the assumption of the vulnerability, or inherent difficulty for learners, of some subsystems of the grammar of English, and also the impact of underlying production and perception principles.

Consequently, to some extent the explanation and also evaluation of some features of New Englishes touches upon traditional discussion topics of SLA. These include the development of “interlanguage” phenomena (though the implication that learners are necessarily moving towards and

desire to fully acquire a target language is also challenged), and the notion of “fossilization” (viewed critically in this context, because it implies speakers’ inability to further approximate to the target, even if this is not their goal at all). In contrast, Thomason (2001: 146) offers a more constructive view of interference and transfer as a helpful “gap-filling approach.”

8.4 Contact effects

There is a multitude of individual phenomena and structural examples in New Englishes which may be accounted for as contact-induced. A few examples will be presented and categorized here, though by necessity this has to be done selectively. Some of these examples can be viewed as representative of broader tendencies, e.g. as affecting particularly vulnerable subsystems of English, resulting in a conflation of distinctions or an increase of structural explicitness. Others are more or less idiosyncratic, but illustrative of contact effects on different levels of language organization.

8.4.1 *Contact effects 1: some general observations*

Some subsystems of English are restructured particularly frequently and in many different New Englishes; it may be suspected that they are particularly difficult for learners. These include the following phenomena:

- the distinction between long and short vowels: these are frequently conflated, so that, for example, in Singaporean English (and elsewhere) *beat-bit* or *fool-full* are homophonous.
- consonant cluster reduction: sequences of two or more consonants, especially word-finally, are frequently reduced by the omission of one consonant, typically the last one (e.g. *ask* > *asʔ*, *contact* > *contacʔ*), or broken up by epenthesis (*film* > *filim*). Schreier (2005) has shown that the intensity of this process in a given variety strongly correlates with the amount of contact in that variety’s history (see also Wolfram, this volume).
- replacement of dental fricatives: the sounds orthographically represented by <th> are typologically marked and rather rare among the world’s languages, and hence widely replaced by stops (*this* > *dis*), or labial (*brother* > *brovva*) or palatal (*thing* = *sing*) fricatives.
- modifications of the article system: in many New Englishes articles are frequently omitted (*studied at University*) or inserted (*have a knowledge*) without obvious regularity; this seems particularly widespread in Asian varieties.

Another type of process common in New Englishes is the conflation of some categorial distinctions. This reflects a tendency, widespread in language contact, to “ignore distinctions” of the target language, postulated

by Thomason (2001: 148), a cognitively motivated tendency to have some psycholinguistic principles operating on a wider, more regular basis (and thus a phenomenon closely related to regularization, a process which is also fairly widespread). For example:

- loss of the count–mass noun distinction: this is widespread in many New Englishes, especially in Africa and Asia, where nouns which are conventionally viewed as uncountable are pluralized, e.g. *furnitures*, *footwears*, *fruits*.
- loss of the stative–dynamic distinction of verbs: an equally widespread process, so that stative verbs are used in the progressive form, e.g. *he is owning / knowing* / . . .
- invariant tags: equally common is the lack of a polarity contrast and of operator agreement between tag and matrix predicates, which tends to be replaced by the use of invariant question tag forms, e.g. *eh* (in New Zealand and Canada), *isn't it* (reportedly in Indian English), etc.
- the reduction of vocalic contrasts (discussed above).

It is also widely suggested that New Englishes are characterized by a tendency to increase the explicitness of linguistic encoding. Williams (1987) called this “hyperclarity” or “ambiguity reduction,” motivated by the goal of achieving maximum transparency and salience of formal expression. This results from a tendency towards maximizing isomorphism, an explicit one-to-one matching of form and underlying meaning, which has always been claimed to be strongly effective in first and second language acquisition (Slobin 1973, Andersen 1984). This seems fundamentally in line with a claim by Mesthrie (2006), a paper which identifies “anti-deletion” as a consistent trait of South African Black English. This tendency, it is suggested, manifests itself in two complementary ways, viz. either through the failure or reluctance to omit constituents which are commonly omitted elsewhere (e.g. infinitive markers, as in *let him to speak*; dummy subjects, e.g. *As it is the case elsewhere*; and gapped pronouns, e.g. *I can read them and write them*) or through the insertion of redundant forms (double conjunctions, e.g. *Although . . . but*; redundant prepositions, e.g. *discuss about*; or resumptive pronouns, e.g. *the kind of education that these people are trying to give it to us*).

The related, broader, question, certainly an interesting one, is thus whether New Englishes may have been shaped by consistent typological principles, perhaps because of their contact histories, as products of underlying substrates and their typological characteristics. For example, Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008: 90f.) asked whether there are explicit “deleter” vs. “preserver” varieties. “Preservers” are New Englishes which tend to retain and overtly mark constituents; they are assumed to occur predominantly among African varieties of English. Examples from South African Black English include the ones quoted above, or *As you know that I am from . . .*

and *The man who I saw him was ...* In contrast, “deleters” tend to omit constituents, and are found predominantly among Asian varieties of English. A Chinese substrate may account for omission tendencies which characterize Colloquial Singaporean English, e.g. in *Ø Must buy Ø for him* or the prototypically Singlish pattern *Can Ø Ø or Ø not Ø?* (with missing constituents marked in these examples by zeroes).

8.4.2 Contact effects II: transfer by levels of language organization

Phonological transfer phenomena are richly documented in New Englishes; a few examples must suffice here. The characteristic unaspirated, retroflex realization of dental stops in Indian English is commonly assumed to reflect influence of Indo-Aryan or Dravidian languages. Wiltshire (2005) shows that Indian English speakers with a Tibeto-Burman language background (in the north-east) have specific regional transfer features which closely match the regional languages Angami, Ao, and Mizo but are different from general Indian English. Sharbawi and Deterding (2010) investigate rhoticity in Brunei English, comparing comparable samples of Malay females from Brunei and Singapore, and they find the surprising result that Brunei speech is predominantly rhotic (50% of speakers, 47% of tokens) while Singaporean English is not (with only one-twelfth of the speakers, variably, and 8% of tokens showing rhoticity). They convincingly argue that the cause of this difference (between otherwise very similar and closely related varieties) is contact transfer, given that Brunei Malay is rhotic, but Standard Singaporean Malay is not.

On the level of lexis contact influence is ubiquitous, quite obviously. Numerous examples are available from all kinds of varieties (see, e.g., Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008, ch. 4; Schneider 2007; and many more). In these varieties loanwords are readily adopted and used in texts without formal flagging. Contact effects include not only straightforward borrowings but also slightly more complex processes, including hybrid formations (e.g. *chai wallah*, Indian English) and calques (*lucky money*, Hong Kong English) in word formation (Biermeier 2008). As was shown by Schneider (2007), there is a characteristic, semantically based sequence of loanword adoption, in line with evolutionary phases: earliest loans are always toponymic terms, followed by fauna and flora words, culturally specific terms (for indigenous food, clothing, religion, medicine, etc.), and only then all other kinds of notions.

With respect to grammar, a number of principled types of phenomena occur, including the transfer of word order sequences (“relexification”), of lexicogrammatical “anchor” items together with their associated constructions, and of abstract principles, which may or may not be modified in this process. Here are examples of three types of restructuring processes, all from Colloquial Singaporean English (“Singlish”) (for more examples see Ho and Platt 1993):

- The transfer of lexicogrammatical patterns is nicely illustrated by the *kena*-passive, expressed by means of the Malay-derived particle *kena* ‘get,’ e.g. *he kena play out* ‘he was tricked.’ The construction’s “anchor” item is usually (but not obligatorily) supplemented by a past participle (*he kena caught/catch*). Further semantic constraints apply: an adversative reading is obligatory; stative verbs may not be chosen; and the subject must be an entity affected by the verbal activity. All of these are properties inherited and directly transferred from Malay (Bao and Wee 1999).
- Singlish uses *already* as a marker of perfective (*eat already*) or inchoative (*ride bicycle already* ‘started to learn . . .’) aspect. Bao (2005) shows that this is a case of substrate transfer from Chinese: the English word retains some (but not all) properties of the Chinese morpheme *le*.
- A grammatical strategy (or “parameter”) transferred in this variety is pro-drop: Singlish commonly has subjectless clauses (and also zero objects), as in *Can or not?*; *True* ‘This is true’; *Must buy* ‘We must buy this.’ Clearly the subject reference is retrievable from context, frequently implying a first- or second-person pronoun. Typologically, Singlish thus aligns itself with topic-prominent languages (i.e. there is no need to repeat the topic once it has been established). This is generally accepted to be a transfer phenomenon from areal substrate languages, notably Chinese (Hokkien, Mandarin), possibly also Malay (Deterding 2007: 58–61). For other putative Chinese substrate features in Singlish, see Ho and Platt (1993: 18f.).

Singaporean English is exceptionally rich in characteristic discourse markers, which may be taken to illustrate lexicopragmatic impact. These salient items express specific attitudes towards the proposition. For example, *lah* means solidarity or emphasis; *lor* marks an event as obvious or the speaker’s attitude as resignative; *meh* indicates skepticism; *hor* requests assertion or wishes to elicit support; and so on. Lim (2009) has shown that these particles reflect the diachronic impact sequence of Singapore’s main substrate influences, with older particles (notably *lah*) most likely coming from Bazaar Malay and Hokkien, and a younger stratum (e.g. *lor*, *meh*, *hor*) reflecting influences mainly from Cantonese during immigrant waves of the 1980s/90s. Furthermore, the particles have inherited both pragmatic meanings and distinctive tones (from Cantonese and other input tone languages!), so they are realized in Singaporean English with characteristic (mandatory!) prosodic properties (such as pitch levels and intonation contours).

The level of pragmatics certainly constitutes a domain in which contact (via cross-cultural transfer) is important. Norms of politeness and deeply rooted modes of behavior are usually retained in an L2, often without noticing that there may be differences in norms between the cultures in

which one is operating. This is a hugely underexplored and insufficiently understood area, however, more, and more systematic, research is urgently needed. Examples include the practice of first-naming in encounters between American and Chinese businessmen (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008: 144–5), or the presence of culturally specific speech acts such as ritual insults, sexual references, offensive verbal games and apparent rudeness in African American Vernacular English and some Caribbean varieties (Mühleisen and Migge 2005). K. P. Schneider and Barron (2008) provide some pertinent observations on Irish and New Zealand English.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that contact and its impact are germane to the emergence of New Englishes, an essential shaping factor in the evolution of these varieties. This is not really surprising, given that they have originated in the linguistic and cultural interaction between immigrant settlers and indigenous populations over a long period of time, via bilingualism in English and indigenous languages, and these evolutionary processes have thus produced systematic and deeply rooted linguistic effects, including transfer and other contact phenomena of all kinds. But, of course, the role of contact should also not be overestimated: it has interacted with other factors in language evolution and change, and it is certainly not a property exclusive to these varieties. Language contact has been ubiquitous in the history of English, and it has also shaped the newly emergent varieties of the language in a fundamental way.

9 English as a contact language: lesser-known varieties

DANIEL SCHREIER

9.1 Introduction

This chapter looks into the potential of so-called ‘lesser-known varieties of English’ (a term first used by Trudgill 2002: 29). It has long been recognized that there is a considerable discrepancy in how much interest linguists have shown in varieties of English around the world; whereas some have been studied in minute detail, both synchronically and diachronically (e.g. African American or New Zealand English), others have been neglected to the extent that they are virtually unknown to scholars in the field (e.g. Dominican Kokoy or the variety that developed in the Anglo-Argentine community in Buenos Aires). The present chapter seeks to outline the potential of lesser-known varieties of English (LKVEs) for several fields within linguistics at large (sociolinguistics, contact linguistics and historical linguistics¹), drawing on case studies from Newfoundland and Tristan da Cunha. It details and explains how LKVEs make a significant contribution to the field and enhance our knowledge of contact-induced language change in general.

9.2 White gaps, Big Fives and an extended agenda

Some ten years ago, Trudgill (2002: 30) claimed that ‘it is safe to say that only the English of the British Isles, mainland North America, Australasia, South Africa and, to a lesser extent, the Creoles of the Caribbean and the South Pacific, have attracted large amounts of attention from historical linguists’. In a survey of English as a world language, he pointed to the fact that some varieties enjoyed rather prominent status in that they were studied closely; the list included British and American English, varieties of Caribbean English, the major varieties of Southern Hemisphere English (South African, Australian and New Zealand English), as well as some English-derived creoles such as Tok Pisin or Bislama in the Pacific (see Map 9.1).

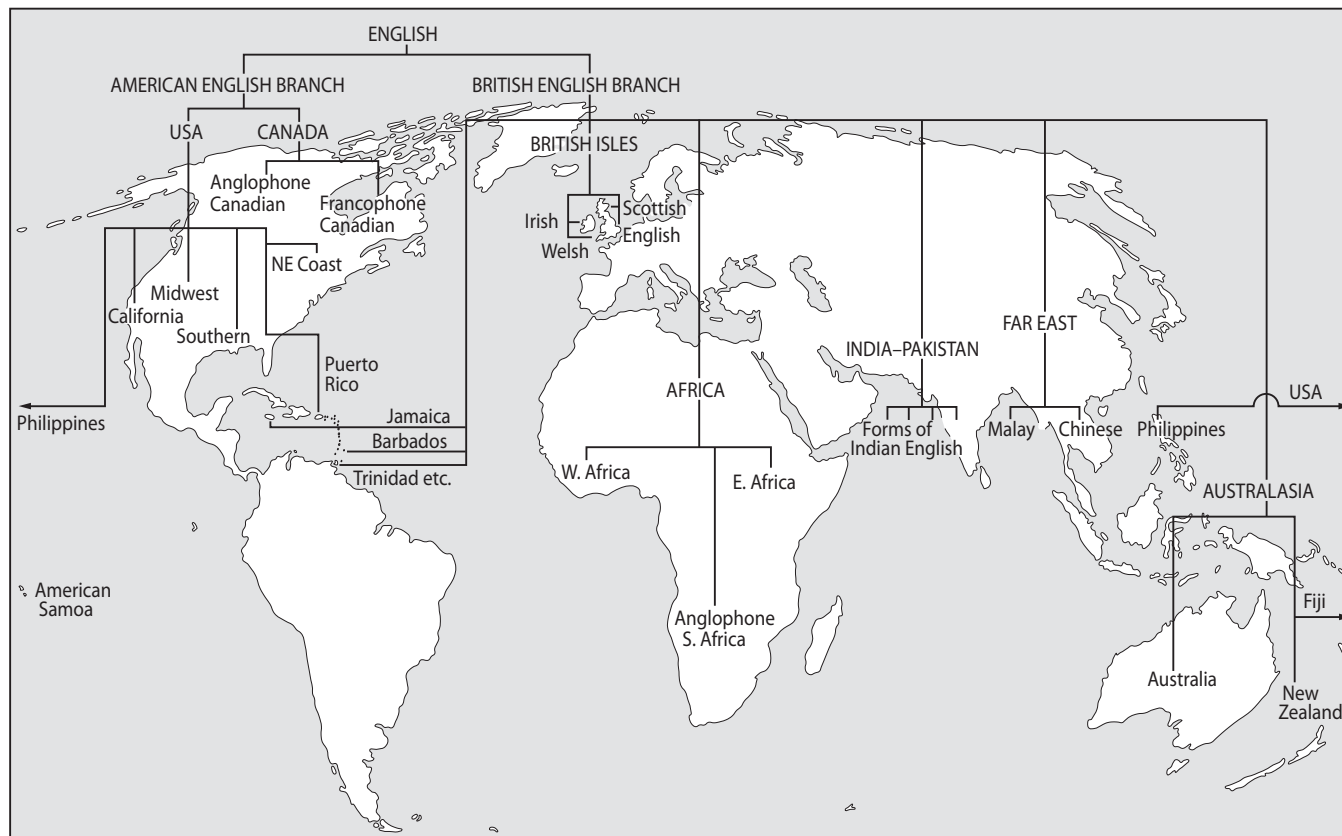
Such a view can be criticized. Of course, there are exceptions and varieties outside this ‘enchanted circle’ have been studied from a diachronic viewpoint as well; Huber (1999), for instance, provides a thorough analysis of the genesis of Ghanaian English, and Bolton (2005) has looked into the origins



Map 9.1 Varieties of English that have gained interest from historical linguists (following Trudgill 2002: 30)

and evolution of what he labels the ‘Chinese Englishes’ (particularly Hong Kong and China), to give but two examples. One might also have reservations about the validity of general claims of this kind pointing out that some varieties within the ‘enchanted circle’ are much more closely studied than others, so that the research record is unbalanced for all varieties in the case of American English (AmE), certainly one of the best-recorded varieties of all. Schneider (1996: 3) notes that, between 1965 and 1993, more than five times as many publications were devoted to African American English than to any other variety of AmE. By the same token, some varieties of British English (BrE) have been studied extensively, e.g. London English (see Kerswill, Cheshire, Fox and Torgersen, this volume), whereas others have received little interest (e.g. the vernaculars spoken in rural areas or major cities such as Leicester or Birmingham), though the recently emerging interest in diasporic varieties might change this somewhat (see, for instance, Straw and Patrick (2007) for varieties of Barbadian English in Ipswich, Rathore (forthcoming) on the language of Indian-African ‘twice migrants’ (from India via Uganda and Kenya to the English Midlands) or Ulzega (forthcoming) on the variety spoken by the expatriate community of White Zimbabweans). Finally, varieties of English as a Second or Foreign Language have received interest as well, particularly in the context of the ‘New Englishes’ (Mukherjee and Hundt 2011; see also Schneider, this volume).

All things considered, however, it is striking to find that current models of English as a world language simply ignore a large number of varieties of English around the world. Perhaps one of the best-known models is Strevens (1992: 33), adopted and reproduced in Crystal (1995; see Map 9.2).



Map 9.2 Varieties of English as a world language (from Stevens 1992: 33)

Map 9.2 concentrates on North America, identifying varieties such as ‘Southern’, ‘Midwest’, ‘California’ or ‘NE Coast’, the Caribbean (Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, etc.), the British Isles (Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English English), anglophone South Africa, Australia and New Zealand as prominent varieties. Other varieties are labelled, but either in unduly general terms (‘W. Africa’, ‘New Guinea’, ‘forms of Indian English’), which contrasts with the fine-combed presentation of other varieties, or with terms that are counterfactual or misleading, e.g. the classification of East Asian varieties of English as ‘Malay’ or ‘Chinese’.

A large number of varieties of English are not included, either because they are not labelled or because the areas where they are spoken are not considered (e.g. the South Atlantic; St Helenian, Falkland Islands and Tristan da Cunha English are not mentioned). Consequently, often-quoted models (such as the one developed by Strevens, to a lesser extent also McArthur 1987) fail to render a complex picture of English as a world language, concentrating on some prominent vernaculars instead, i.e. those that have large numbers of speakers, are characterized by sociohistorical stability and well studied by linguists from a range of fields. One concludes that (proto-)typically, the best-known varieties represented in the canon are the largest ones, so that it is certainly justified to identify the ‘Big Five’ of the English-speaking world: America, Great Britain, the Caribbean, and the major varieties of Southern Hemisphere English. In contrast, the majority of varieties are not included and fail to reach the public eye so that there is a certain analogy with wildlife; there is extreme biodiversity in wildlife preserves and game parks, with thousands of species, endemic plants, etc. – yet only very few representatives, the ‘Big Five’, have a status that is prominent enough in order to attract large numbers of tourists who travel from all over the world to see them.

It is only recently that scholars have argued that concentrating on just a few varieties has serious setbacks for a general understanding of English as a world language. According to Watts and Trudgill (2002: 27), for instance:

Non-standard dialects have histories too, and these histories are sometimes especially helpful because, as a result of the absence of standardization, many of the forces of linguistic change are played out in these varieties in a much more unfettered and revealing way than in the standard dialect ... the disregarding of varieties of English simply because the people who speak them are not White Englishmen who have for centuries been established in the southeast of England is also not only totally ethnocentric, anglocentric ... and unjustifiable, but is also short-sighted in that it disregards an enormous mass of historical data from some of the most interesting and diachronically revealing varieties of the language in existence.

Leaving aside whether current models should be ethno- or anglocentric (a far-reaching ideological issue, obviously) or whether or not (and if so: to

what extent) the absence of standardization has an enhancing effect on contact-induced change, the crucial point here is that ignoring (or being ignorant of) many varieties of English around the world means ignoring a large number of possible test-sites that lend themselves ideally for socio-historical analysis. Theories on contact linguistics (such as new-dialect formation) have been developed with data from larger and better-known varieties (such as New Zealand, Gordon *et al.* 2004). Many of these varieties have complex contact histories and we often do not have a sufficient amount of synchronic (let alone diachronic) data to attempt a reconstruction of the evolution of major varieties. The history of New Zealand English, one of the youngest and by all accounts one of the best-researched varieties, is not fully accounted for, since information on immigration waves or census populations is either missing or has not been stored properly. Simply, the Origins of New Zealand English (ONZE) project only provides a selective overview of regions of New Zealand, not representative of the entire population since only two regions were covered. The situation is even worse for AmE, since its first varieties are not recorded and there is little background knowledge on the founding populations (see Mufwene, this volume). The case may be very different in lesser-known (and sociodemographically rather insignificant) varieties, such as the variety of English spoken on the Falkland Islands, where there were fewer immigrants and where detailed records were kept (Britain and Sudbury 2010). The point I would like to make here is twofold: first, we can only arrive at a coherent theory of English contact linguistics when we consider the whole range of varieties where these processes manifest themselves; second, minor varieties of English – or any other language – may allow us to integrate materials (historical, sociolinguistic, demographic, etc.) much more successfully.

In terms of documentation, Schreier, Trudgill, Schneider and Williams (2010) provide a first description of selected LKVEs in different parts of the English-speaking world: the British Isles (Shetlands and Orkney, the Channel Islands), the Americas and the Caribbean (the Canadian Maritimes, Newfoundland and Labrador, Honduras/Bay Islands, White Caribbean, Dominica, and Anglo-Argentine English), in the South Atlantic Ocean (the Falkland Islands, St Helena and Tristan da Cunha), Africa (White Zimbabwean English and White Kenyan English), and in Asia and the Pacific (Eurasian English in Singapore, Peranakan English in Malaysia and Singapore, and Norfolk Island and Pitcairn). Schreier *et al.* show that, despite striking differences, LKVEs around the world share a number of similarities, namely that: (i) they are identified as distinct varieties by their respective speech communities and other groups in their social environment; (ii) they are associated with stable communities or regions; (iii) they are typically spoken by minorities, usually delimited (not necessarily 'isolated' but socially or regionally distinct) to small communities which are embedded into a larger (regional) population ecology; (iv) they are

originally transmitted by settler communities or adopted by newly formed social communities that emerged early in the colonial era, so that they substantially derive from British inputs; (v) they are formed by processes of dialect and/or language contact (which makes it impossible to ascribe to them genetic status, e.g. creoles or koinés); (vi) they frequently take the function as identity carriers by their respective communities; and (vii) they are very often endangered.

This core of characteristics allows researchers to gain insights into a range of fields involved in contact-induced language change. For one, scrutinizing varieties such as Newfoundland English or Tristan da Cunha English is an excellent opportunity to study dialect birth, i.e. the emergence of new varieties and their underlying mechanisms, such as nativization or endonormative stabilization. At the same time, since many of these varieties are endangered, they also provide showcase scenarios of dialect obsolescence and death; varieties such as Pitcairnesse or Ogasawara/Bonin Islands English (Long 2007) are disappearing rather quickly, for a number of reasons (change in language policy, declining population, and outmigration; see Sasse 1992). Dialect obsolescence has been studied in isolated varieties of AmE (e.g. on Smith Island VA, Schilling-Estes and Wolfram 1999) and the outcomes and processes can be compared with the aim of developing a more coherent theory of dialect endangerment and/or death. LKVEs also allow us to investigate patterns of diffusion and transplantation, since it is common that they share ancestral features, adopted either from settlers from Great Britain or from other settings; for instance, settlers from the Cayman Islands were instrumental in forming the community on the Honduras Bay Islands (Graham 2010), or migrants from St Helena had a strong influence on the evolution of Tristan da Cunha English in the nineteenth century (Schreier 2003, 2008; see below). Finally, lesser- or unknown varieties allow us to further explore theories of life cycles and evolutionary paths of new varieties, for instance whether or not they follow the five steps (foundation, exonormative stabilization, nativization, endonormative stabilization, and differentiation), as suggested by Schneider (2007, this volume).

Linguistic-ecological and ethnographic aspects of sociopolitical and communicative relationships between speakers in contact are of major importance (Mufwene, this volume); if contact histories of English varieties can indeed be modelled as strands of communicative perspectives applied to speech communities (Schneider 2007), then the histories of English varieties can to a large extent be viewed as a process of convergence between the settlers' perspective (STL strand) and the indigenous population's perspective (IDG strand; Schneider 2007). In the settlers' (or colonizers') group, mostly British emigrants and their descendants, English is continuously transmitted from one generation to the next without a radical break in linguistic continuity or an experience of language shift. But in the course of time their speech patterns undergo substantial modification and evolution

through (a) contact between dialects of English spoken by the colonizing founding populations, and (b) contact with indigenous tongues at first and the interlanguage of the IDG strand at later stages. The IDG strand represents quite a different experience initially, in that it is exposed to a politically dominant foreign language, which is gradually adopted and acquired by the indigenous community. Its first stages involve second-language acquisition on an individual and a community basis, possibly to be followed by language shift. The essential point of Schneider's (2007) model of two intertwined strands is that the two groups share a common language experience, so that forces of accommodation are effective in both directions and in both communities; there is dialect convergence and the emergence of an overarching language community with a set of shared norms. At the same time, in some styles and for some social contexts, smaller, socially and ethnically defined speech communities coexist and allow for internal variability; individuals are members of several social communities and construct overlapping identities. It is argued that these concepts can be pinpointed in LKVEs in great detail so that research on these varieties may yield crucial evidence on convergence processes as well as on the forces that slow down or arrest the evolution of new varieties.

This leaves much potential for future research and this chapter focuses on some selected aspects of contact-induced language change. In the following, I will discuss two well-known processes that manifest themselves in contact linguistics: (i) mixing and (ii) colonial lag. These are outlined generally first and then exemplified with cases from Newfoundland English (NfdldE) and Tristan da Cunha English (TdCE).

9.3 The practical value of LKVEs I: mixing

New-dialect formation and dialect birth give rise to a number of processes that have been amply discussed in the literature (Siegel 1985; Trudgill 1986; Britain 1997, 2002a, b; Kerswill 2002; Britain and Trudgill forthcoming): mixing, regularization, levelling, reallocation, independent innovations and interdialect forms, to name but the most important ones. Mixing is arguably the most crucial and widely discussed process. It rests on the assumption that the total number of variants present in the contact scenario, i.e. *all* the structural features of *all* the inputs combined, represents a pool out of which the first native speakers select features during new-dialect formation (Mufwene 2001). None of the varieties 'wins out', being selected as such while all the other varieties disappear. If this were the case, then the newly developing variety would represent the equivalent of one of its inputs only, which is hardly ever the case (see Figure 9.1, adapted from Mufwene's (2001) feature pool). Dialects mix and interact as speakers accommodate to each other, which is why new-dialect formation (or koinéization) is particularly strong when children grow up in a multi-dialectal environment (Kerswill *et al.*, this volume). Consequently, the usual

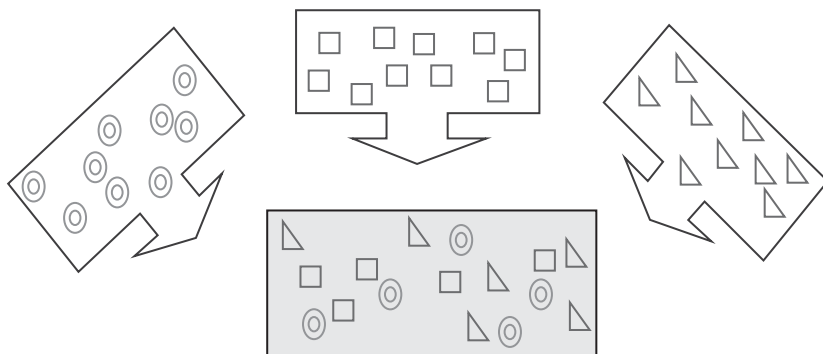


Figure 9.1 A basic model of dialect mixing

outcome is that inputs undergo a stage of *mixing* very early on, so that mechanisms of feature selection and retention operate strongly during the inception phase of a new dialect.

According to Siegel (1985: 375–6), *koinéization* is the process which leads to the mixing of linguistic subsystems, that is, of language varieties which are either mutually intelligible or share the same genetically related superposed language. It occurs in the context of increased interaction or integration among speakers of these varieties.

Blanc (1968) argues that the formation of modern Hebrew was characterized by extensive feature selection and face-to-face accommodation: ‘usage [of Israeli Hebrew] had to be established by a gradual and complex process of selection and accommodation which is, in part, still going on, but which now has reached some degree of stabilization’ (1968: 239). As disputed as the process of new-dialect formation is (see the discussion in Schreier 2003), there is consensus that mixing of several inputs is crucial. Blanc (1968) argues that Hebrew developed from ‘a variety of literary dialects, several substrata, and several traditional pronunciations’ (1968: 238); similarly, Samarin (1971) writes that ‘what characterizes [koinés] linguistically is the incorporation of features from several regional varieties of a single language’ (1971: 133).

Consequently, contact between linguistic systems triggers feature selection processes from several coexisting varieties (Kerswill 1996), and this may be influenced by factors such as total number of features present, salience, stigma and prestige of individual variables, sociodemographic characteristics and social mobility, etc. Fully developed *koinés*, the end-product of *focusing* (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985; see below), have adopted features from at least two (very often, more) donors. Put differently, a crystalizing contact-based variety combines a mixture of features (phonetic, syntactic, morphological, and/or lexical) that derive from some

or all of the dialects present in the original contact situation. One of the asks of contact dialectology is to find exactly which of the features are adopted and which criteria enhance their chances at the expense of others.

The theoretical challenge is of course to explain why speakers of a new dialect selected precisely those features from the pool and not others they could have chosen alternatively. Why precisely does a koiné have a particular set of structural characteristics and not any other it could – in theory, at least – also have? One of the big debates in the field is whether this mechanism is socially or linguistically driven, as evidenced by the following two quotes:

It is the sociolinguistic history of the speakers, and not the structure of their language, that is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of language contact. Purely linguistic considerations are relevant but strictly secondary overall. (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 35)

We have not found it at all necessary to call on social features ‘prestige’ or ‘stigma’ as explanatory factors, nor have we had to have recourse to notions such as ‘identity’. (Trudgill 2001: 44)

While Trudgill revised his approach considerably later on (Trudgill 2008), there is some general consensus that new-dialect formation in general and mixing in particular are influenced by factors such as the overall frequency of features (Trudgill 2004a), identity construction and social organization of the respective communities (Schneider 2007), or also the status of features (whether they are socially stigmatized or not; Hickey 2003a). Moreover, there is agreement that this is a common process that can be dated back to the earliest contact scenario, i.e. the emergence of Old English. Crystal (2004: 41) claims that ‘we must regard dialect mixing as a normal part of the Old English situation’ and Baugh and Cable (1993: 50) write that ‘the English language has resulted from the fusion of the dialects of the Germanic tribes who came to England’. As a result, Old English emerged via dialect contact, i.e. it was a contact-derived variety from its earliest stages onwards. Scholars have attempted to trace mixing with moderate success, however. Toon (1992), for instance, reports evidence from spelling variations within one and the same text written by an individual, e.g. in the will of Abba, a Kentish man (presumably written in the early ninth century). Abba uses both northern <o> and southern <a> spelling variants, alternating between both, e.g. *ond him man selle* and *ond mon selle him* ‘and to him one gives’, on occasion within the same line. <mon> spellings are typically found in Mercian and Northumbrian texts and <man> in West Saxon and Kentish texts, and the fact that both are found in the same text strongly implies mixing (see also Hogg 2006b). Nevertheless, this is scant evidence and methodological considerations have to be taken into account (i.e. the paucity of surviving documents and questions of authorship, authenticity, etc.).

Due to their more recent time depth and a well-preserved social history, some LKVEs lend themselves ideally to the scrutiny of mixing effects. The emergence of an endemic variety of NfdldE provides a paradigm case, for instance. This is a highly salient variety, occasionally referred to as the most distinctive dialect of English in Canada, with a settlement history dating back to the seventeenth century (Hickey 2002a, Clarke 2004). Newfoundland started as a fishing colony and attracted mostly fishermen and traders from southern Ireland (particularly from the counties of Wexford and Waterford) and from south-west England (e.g. Devon and Somerset). The exact origins of the founding populations are known from information entered upon immigration and from applications for fishing licences. Population censuses indicate that there were some 12,000 Irish- and Englishmen in Newfoundland in the 1760s and 1770s, peaking at around 15,000 in 1764. Moreover, the English represented about 64 per cent of the total population in this period. This constitutes almost ideal conditions for an analysis of mixing (and of course for other koinéization processes as well).

As pointed out above, the two principal inputs to NfdldE were Irish English (particularly southern varieties) and English dialects from the south-west of England, and earlier discussions have shown that features of the variety can be directly traced to these areas. Features such as habitual *be* (*that rock usually bes under water* instead of *that rock usually is under water*), dental fricatives usually replaced with voiced or voiceless alveolar stops (/t/ or /d/), or the merger of clear and dark /l/ are found in Irish English, whereas present tense *-s* for all persons (*I goes there a lot*), or *I, she, he, we, they* as object pronouns (*I used to see they*) have been adopted from South-west English English (Trudgill 1986: 129). More recent research has supported this by demonstrating that '[t]he morphosyntactic structure of vernacular NfdldE displays many conservative features inherited from its regional source varieties in southwest England and southeast Ireland' (Clarke 2004: 316). Clarke (2004) traces some features to south-west England (subject-like pronouns in stressed object positions (*for we fellas; I had to give they away*), habitual *be* with categorical *-s* suffixation (*they bees sick*)) and some to Irish English (e.g. the *after* perfect *be + after + V-ing* (*I'm after selling the boat*)). Moreover, but this was expected, we also find a number of 'universal' features (alveolar realization of velar nasals, final cluster reduction (CC), levelling of irregular verb forms, *was* with plural subjects: 'default singular', multiple negation; see Chambers 2008) as well as remnants of an 'Irish Gaelic substratum' (Clarke 2004: 316), mostly on a lexical level (*sleveen* 'rascal', *scrob* 'scratch').

TdCE allows us to gain insights into the processes and motivations of mixing as well. This variety developed on Tristan da Cunha, located about halfway between Cape Town, South Africa, and Uruguay, from the 1820s onwards. The island of Tristan da Cunha is a particularly useful setting for

Table 9.1 *Founders of the Tristan da Cunha community*

William Glass	Kelso, Scotland	1816–1853+
Richard Riley	Wapping/E London	1820–1857
Alexander Cotton	Hull	1821–1865+
Thomas Swain	Hastings	1826–1862+
Andrew Hagan	New London, Mass.	1849–1898+
Pieter Willem Groen	Katwijk, Holland	1836–1902+
Sarah Bowers	St Helena	1827–1862
Sarah Bassett Knife	St Helena	1827–1857
Mary Fisher	St Helena	1827–1900
Maria Williams	St Helena	1827–1865

the scrutiny of koinéization effects for several reasons. First, it has a history of permanent settlement only since 1816, being previously uninhabited; as a consequence, there were no contacts between newly arriving and indigenous populations, which means that there was no IDG strand and the variety developed in a context of contact and accommodation between immigrant settlers only (see Schneider, this volume). Such blank slate/*tabula rasa* conditions are rather unusual in the canon of World Englishes. Second, the social history of the island is well documented and the setting was a sociolinguistic melting pot par excellence (there has been only one village at all times). Third, there was restricted contact with the ‘outside world’ from the 1850s onwards due to technological innovations that revolutionized oceanic shipping (discussion in Schreier 2003). By gathering all the information (in the form of logbooks, letters, travelogues, missionary reports, etc.), we can delimit the most influential members of the community, i.e. those who stayed on the island for the longest time and arrived at an early stage. Table 9.1 indicates that the founders of TdCE arrived from England and Scotland (Kelso, East London, Hull and Hastings), the USA (New London, Mass.), the Netherlands and the island of St Helena.

If we extrapolate, then the most important inputs to TdCE were early nineteenth-century English English (spoken by Riley, Cotton and Swain) and Lowlands Scottish English (Glass) as well as St Helenian English (StHE), spoken by the women who arrived in 1827. Moreover, there is potential for substrate from an ESL variety (spoken by the Dutchman Groen) and influence from early nineteenth-century Massachusetts English (Hagan), which some 200 years ago may not have been as different from British English, however.

A phonological analysis (Schreier and Trudgill 2006) provides clear evidence that TdCE drew its phoneme inventory from several sources. Typologically, the phonology of TdCE resembles the English of south-east England more closely than any other variety. The most salient resemblances between TdCE and south-eastern English English are that it is non-rhotic (unlike the English south-west, the north of England and Scotland); that it

has six short vowels and thus makes a distinction between the vowels of STRUT and FOOT, unlike the English north; that it has the START vowel in *dance, chance, grass*, etc. The combined selection of all these features points to the south-east of England and indicates that this dialect area provided the most important phonological input to TdCE (which is sociodemographically reasonable since two of the community's founders, 'Old Dick' Riley and Thomas Swain, came from the London East End and Hastings). On the other hand, quite a few phonological properties represent a legacy of StHE: syllable-final /k/ is often uvular, voiced bilabial stops for /v/ occur in intervocalic position, and there is a strong trend towards consonant cluster reduction (CCR) that has highly unusual constraints as well (Schreier 2005).

As in the case of NfdldE, one concludes that TdCE formed as a hybrid variety that underwent extensive mixing of two major inputs. BrE and StHE were the most influential ones for the evolution of TdCE, but no single dialect served as a model per se for the first generations of Tristanians upon nativization. Instead, feature selection resulted in a uniquely distinctive blend of a local phonological system, which provides an excellent opportunity to carry out a post hoc analysis of mixing processes (and formulate hypotheses on their motivation).

We are still quite far from developing a coherent theory as to why mixing operates the way it does (why are these features selected and not others, why does this particular system emerge and not any other that could have been possible alternatively, etc.?), but LKVEs allow us to model and retrace these processes in great detail, thus contributing to and enhancing our knowledge of these complex mechanisms.

9.4 The practical value of LKVEs II: colonial lag

It has been speculated for some time that dialect transplantation (at least in its initial stages) leads to linguistic conservatism. Discussing the evolution of transported varieties of colonial English, for instance, Marckwardt (1958) coined the term *colonial lag*, his basic claim being that AmE was linguistically conservative since American society was socially conservative. Marckwardt defines the concept of 'colonial lag' as follows:

These post-colonial survivals of earlier phases of mother-country culture, taken in conjunction with the retention of earlier linguistic features, have made what I should like to call a colonial lag. I mean to suggest by this term nothing more than that in a transplanted civilization, such as ours undeniably is, certain features which it originally possesses remain static over a period of time. Transplanting usually results in a time lag before the organism, be it a geranium or a brook trout, becomes adapted to its new environment. There is no reason why the same principle should not apply to a people, their language, and their culture. (1958: 80)

There are many claims about the alleged conservativeness of AmE indeed, in particular that it has preserved patterns of pronunciation and lexis now obsolete in the British Isles. Baugh and Cable (1993: 351) write that a 'quality often attributed to American English is archaism, the preservation of old features of the language which have gone out of use in the standard speech of England. Our pronunciation as compared with that of England is somewhat old-fashioned. It has qualities that were characteristic of English in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.' Hundt (2009a, b), for instance, studies this process in British (BrE) and American English (AmE) varieties and demonstrates that long-term diachronic changes in the two varieties cannot be accounted for by a rather rigid dichotomy of 'colonial lag' vs 'colonial innovation'. For instance, she finds that what may look like a conservative feature in present-day AmE is much more likely to represent postcolonial revival processes. Hundt suggests an alternative typology of differential change, distinguishing as many as six different scenarios and suggesting that one of them, regressive divergence, may be the most frequent type of development. By the same token, Hickey (2004a: 9) cautions that 'a closer look at allegedly conservative dialects reveals that they are not simply preserved versions of earlier forms of the language on the mainland but have themselves gone through processes of their own. Such processes can be inherited, i.e. overseas varieties continue processes initiated at their historical source.' Trudgill (1999a: 227), on the other hand, discussing the development of NZE, claims that

'colonial lag' is, or at least in certain situations can be, *a demonstrable linguistic reality* ... that can indeed be explained in terms of the transplantation of colonial societies ... I use the term here ... to refer to a lag or delay in the normal progression and development of linguistic change that lasts for about one generation and arises solely as an automatic consequence of the fact that there is often no common peer-group dialect for children to acquire in first-generation colonial situations involving dialect mixture. (emphasis added, DS)

This raises fundamental questions for a theory of contact linguistics (why would some features 'lag' whereas others become subject to dynamic processes and change?). And it is precisely in this context that LKVEs such as TdCE can help get a better understanding of earlier forms since they preserve features that have died out in the source varieties. In other words, some features, brought to the island by the first generation of founders, were adopted and maintained; these then died out in the input varieties so that analysing the variety allows researchers to gain an understanding of how these features may have operated in the past. So-called /h/ insertion provides a good example. The history of /h/ variation in English has been studied intensely, by historical linguists, philologists and sociolinguists alike. /h/ underwent a long process of weakening (Lass 2006) so that it is now

dropped in some regions, particularly in the English south-east and in vernacular London English. On the other hand, there have also been reports of /h/ insertion, i.e. usage in words where it is not etymological. This feature has been observed in the fourteenth-century Norfolk Guilds and the Paston Letters (Wyld 1925). The *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English* (McIntosh *et al.* 1986) indicates that it is mainly found in texts from the East Midlands, East Anglia and the South. In the period from c. 1190 to 1320 the texts range from Lincolnshire or Norfolk to the southern counties but ‘the instability seems to be greatest in the East Midlands’ (Milroy 1992: 140). This has been noted frequently in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for instance by Batchelor (1809: 29): ‘the aspirate *h* . . . is often used improperly, and is as frequently omitted where it should be used. *Give my orse some hoats* has been given as an example of these opposite errors from the Cockney dialect’, and by Walker (1791), who speaks of a ‘fault of the Londoners: not sounding *h* where it ought to be sounded, and inversely’. This is also one of the most prominent (and frequently cited) features in Dickens’s portrayals of nineteenth-century London English. Though it is common to use this (and other sources) as evidence of the presence of this feature, one has to take great care not to take it at face value:

Dickens’s lower-class characters are, correspondingly, often depicted as being seemingly incapable of pronouncing *hand* other than as *and*, *hungry* other than as *ungry*, or, conversely, *under* other than as *hunder*. Such systematic patterns are, in real terms, fictions just as much as the characters themselves. As the philologist Otto Jespersen has pertinently remarked on these literary habits of representing [h]-usage by the mid-nineteenth century, ‘many novelists would have us believe, that people who drop their aspirates place false aspirates before every vowel that should have no [h]; such systematic perversion is not, however, in human nature’. (Mugglestone 1995: 137, quoting Jespersen 1949: 379)

From a modern variationist viewpoint, one can certainly question whether this is ‘systematic perversion’ (a rather strong term indeed), but the problem for historical analysis persists: features such as /h/ insertion are used in literature and commented on by orthoepists, yet we know next to nothing of their actual usage (other than the few examples given). What one would like to know is how often this feature occurred, what internal factors conditioned it (stress, word type, preceding phonological environment, etc.), but this type of information cannot be recovered.

It would be rather bold indeed to claim that the LKVEs can answer these questions (contact-induced change gives rise to a variety of mechanisms that are difficult – perhaps even impossible – to predict), but it is noteworthy that this feature has survived in TdCE, making it the only variety in the world that still has frequent /h/ insertion. This has been known for some time; Allen Crawford (a geographer who visited the island in the 1930s)

Table 9.2 /h/ in the speech of a male TdCE speaker, born 1935

Function words					
... with initial /h/			... without initial /h/		
+ /h/	- /h/	% /h/ retention	+ /h/	- /h/	% /h/ insertion
13	13	50.0%	20	61	24.7%
Lexical words					
... with initial /h/			... without initial /h/		
+ /h/	- /h/	% /h/ retention	+ /h/	- /h/	% /h/ insertion
24	2	92.3%	11	6	64.7%

writes that ‘the tendency to add an “h” before vowels makes all islanders “highlanders”!’ (Crawford 1982: 49), and the same feature is mentioned by Zettersten (1969). A previous case study (Schreier 2006) analysed this feature quantitatively in order to investigate individual variation and found that one speaker had a total of about 30 per cent of /h/ insertion (i.e. /h/ was inserted in about 30 per cent of all words that began with a vowel and where /h/ would have been categorically absent elsewhere). Table 9.2 shows that /h/ is inserted in function and in content words (which was not really expected since all the examples provided in the classical literature are content words, mostly nouns). The overall insertion rate for lexical words is 64.7 per cent and the one for function words 24.7 per cent.

Looking at this feature in more detail, we note that /h/ is inserted with the following words: prepositions (*out, on, after, up, over*), pronouns (*it, I*), verbs (*ask, offer, open*), adjectives (*other, every, old*), adverbs (*outside*), nouns (*army, area, officer*), and proper names (*Ernie*), making this not only a frequent but also a rather widespread and productive process that does not seem to be restricted to certain word types, which is counterevidence to the historical reports. Of course, such findings cannot be taken as evidence (or ‘proof’) on the operation of this variable in earlier forms of (British) English, but they entice researchers to take a fresh look and perhaps even revise some general assumptions on the variable at hand. In any case, TdCE offers us a unique opportunity to investigate features that have died out elsewhere. /h/ insertion is but one of them; others would include the NORTH vowel in words like *off, across, froth*, etc., monophthongs in FLEECE and GOOSE, Long Mid Diphthonging in GOAT but not in FACE, no diphthong shift in CHOICE and GOAT with fully back onsets, or the pre-glottalling of intervocalic voiceless plosives.

Last but not least, we can also offer a sociohistorical explanation as to who was responsible for bringing this feature to Tristan da Cunha: /h/ insertion is reported extensively in London English (Walker 1791; Batchelor 1809) and Cockney in particular (Jespersen 1949), i.e. from precisely the area of

origin of one of the most influential founders of the community (Richard Riley). Consequently, this is strong evidence that inserted /h/ in TdCE represents a legacy of early nineteenth-century London English, brought to the island by this particular individual.

9.5 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the potential of LKVEs for general research on contact linguistics. It has argued that the canon of World Englishes needs to be extended so that it includes not just the ‘Big Five’ but also many smaller and sociodemographically less relevant varieties. These definitely deserve a place on the agenda, not because they are in any way more interesting or important, but simply because studying them has advantages that are of immense benefit to linguists from diverse fields. First of all, many LKVEs have well-documented social histories (due to the local branches of the East India Company and its correspondence with the London headquarters), and this allows historians and historical linguists to reconstruct the social environment and local ecologies in which the respective varieties were formed. Second, many of the LKVEs are ‘young’ varieties with little time depth, i.e. they allow investigating contact-induced change and scrutinizing processes that operated only a few generations ago (or are still ongoing; see Schneider, this volume). As such, the mechanisms can be tested with a variety of data sources and perhaps be reconstructed with greater confidence than elsewhere, so that the LKVEs are ideal case studies for founder effects, direct transplantation, dialect obsolescence and death, koinéization, etc. Finally, as small and insignificant as the LKVEs may be in terms of population size, they represent important test sites to test current theories on contact linguistics developed on major varieties, and it would be more than an oversight to overlook them. Theories are most powerful when they are generally applicable, so one should strive to test them in as many settings as possible to challenge, refine and generalize them.

There is no doubt that, though this chapter has only briefly looked at the mechanisms of mixing and colonial lag, the LKVEs make an important contribution to contact linguistics and related disciplines such as language variation and change, sociolinguistics and dialect typology. Unfortunately, the actual base has been limited until recently; the potential for historical and contact linguistics, however, seems endless.

10 The role of mundane mobility and contact in dialect death and dialect birth

DAVID BRITAIN

10.1 Speakers (and their dialects) on the move

Urry begins his 2007 book, *Mobilities*, by throwing some quite stunning statistics at his readers: in 2010, there were 1 billion legal international arrivals at ports and airports; in 1800 people in the US travelled on average 50 metres per day, today it is 50 kilometres per day; 8.7 per cent of world employment is in tourism; and, at any one time, there are 360,000 passengers in flight above the United States (2007: 3–4). But very many of these mobilities for the individuals concerned are or have become rather unexceptional – a flight to a holiday in Majorca or Florida, a journey on a crowded commuter train into Madrid or Tokyo, a cross-Channel ferry to Calais in France to pick up some cheap wine and a camembert. Whilst much of the theoretically influential dialectological literature on mobility reports on long-distance, often permanent, often dangerous migrations, I turn our attention here to the dialectological consequences of this unexceptional everyday movement.

I will argue that, just as more dramatic and long-distance mobilities can trigger linguistic change, so too can the much more mundane movements we engage in in everyday life. I demonstrate that the linguistic consequences of that contact are similar if not the same – perhaps less dramatic, perhaps involving the convergence of an initially less divergent array of variants – but typologically of the same ilk. And I demonstrate that because these mobilities have been long-term, intensive and ongoing, their consequences on the dialect landscape have been highly significant. Important to remember, however, is that these mobilities are socially stratified and unevenly distributed. As Wolff put it: ‘the suggestion of free and equal mobility is . . . a deception, since we don’t all have the same access to the road’ (1993: 253).

Before we begin, it is worth remembering two things. Firstly, it is not my intention to claim that human mobility or the study of its linguistic consequences are new. Indeed much of the work on mobility-triggered dialect contact aims to piece together both the social and linguistic characteristics of mobile peoples from previous centuries (especially from the periods of European colonial expansion), as well as the contact ecologies of their

coming together many thousands of miles from where they set off. To engage in such research is very much like doing a jigsaw puzzle with many of the pieces missing, and, perhaps not surprisingly, therefore, the field is theoretically contentious, controversial, and methodologically fraught. Nor is the linguistic recognition of the effects of mundane contact new. Alexander Ellis's (1889) survey of variation across the anglophone British Isles frequently remarked upon the effects of mobility on nineteenth-century dialects, especially in the London area:

There are so many causes for interference with the natural development of speech, and the population is so shifting, that it would be misleading to suppose that there was any real hereditary dialect or mode of speech ... the enormous congeries of persons from different parts of the kingdom and from different countries, and the generality of school education, render dialect nearly impossible (1889: 225) ... the inhabitants of this locality are mainly strangers from every corner of the country who have settled here for a brief space and never remain long. They represent any and no special pronunciation. (Ellis 1889: 235)

Mobility is of course far from new.

Secondly, we need to remember that contact and proximity (or what Urry rather eloquently calls 'propinquity') are not the same thing. One small example will suffice to make this point. Watts (2006) investigated socio-linguistic variation in the town of Wilmslow in north-west England. Wilmslow is an extremely prosperous town, the home of many super-rich business people, top-league soccer players and managers, actors and rock bands. One local website proudly boasts that more champagne is sold in Wilmslow than in any other place in the UK (www.whatsin-wilmslow.co.uk/about.asp – last visited 23 August 2012). In the 1970s, a large local social housing estate – Colshaw – was built on the side of Wilmslow to rehouse people who had previously been living in highly substandard housing in Manchester. Consequently, two communities with very distinctive social profiles came to be living in close proximity. For the most part, the two communities led (very) separate lives. Each had (at the time) its own primary schools, but the town had just one secondary school, and so it was only when local youngsters were between 11 and 18 years old that there was direct and intensive contact between residents of Wilmslow and those of Colshaw. Watts (2006) set out to investigate the repercussions of the isolation of the two communities from each other, and their 'brief encounter'. Figure 10.1 shows the results of an analysis of (ING) variation among speakers of different ages from both communities. The differences in their levels of non-standardness are great, right across the life-course, with the sole exception of the secondary school years that they spend together. During this time, it appears that quite significant linguistic convergence takes place, with Wilmslow teenagers more than trebling the amount of non-standardness used by the rest of

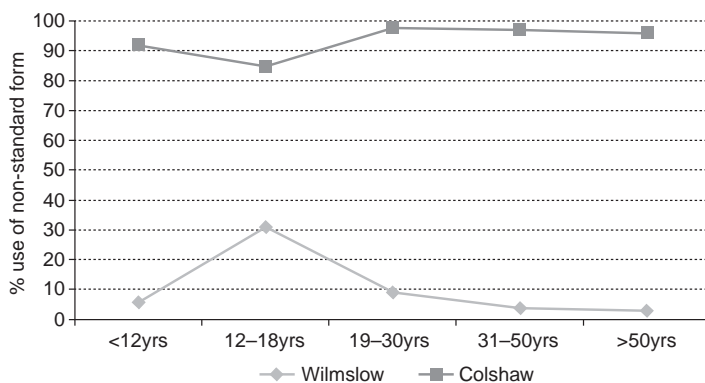


Figure 10.1 The use of non-standard [ɪn] variants of (ɪŋ) in Wilmslow and Colshaw (Watts 2006)

their community, whilst the Colshaw teenagers show a roughly 10 per cent dip in their non-standardness vis-à-vis older members of their estate. Convergence, then, only seems to occur here when there is actual contact (Figure 10.1).

10.2 Mundane mobilities, mundane contact...

Studies of dialect contact and its linguistic consequences have tended to focus on (usually one-off) major life-changing forms of both voluntary and involuntary mobility, such as slavery (Rickford 1999, Poplack 1999), indentured labour movements (Barz and Siegel 1988), colonization (Mougeon and Beniak 1994, Lipski 1994, Sudbury 2000, Trudgill 2004a, b; Matsu-moto and Britain 2003), as well as migrations, pioneering or otherwise (Kerswill and Williams 2000, Schreier 2003, 2008; Hiramoto 2006; Foreman 2003) in search of a better life. That the focus has been on contact resulting from such dramatic movements is fully understandable – the contact itself has been more radical, the different varieties that collide more distinctive, the resulting feature pool of variants more diverse, and the outcomes perhaps more clear-cut and reportable. The two major theoretical mono-graphs of the first decade of the twenty-first century that focus on the diversity that has resulted from the mobility of English – Trudgill 2004a and Schneider 2007 – and Schneider (this volume) take as their primary material those Englishes formed through the long-distance migration of their speakers or through the effects of long-distance anglophone colonialism on local indigenous speakers. Such long-distance mobilities have helped us explain not just the emergence of different Englishes around the world, but of course the emergence of English in the first place.

What I want to focus on here are the more mundane mobilities that we engage in, and which have the potential to trigger language change. As we will see, although these mobilities are small-scale, less dramatic in distance, and perhaps in life impact at the level of the individual, their scale, intensity and pervasiveness at the level of the community as a whole mean they cannot be ignored as a source of rather striking dialect contact. Consequently, we will see that the linguistic outcomes of this contact, at the local level, have been considerable.

In considering the factors which have provoked dialect change in the British context, Kerswill claims that 'it is mobility, manifested in commuting and other forms of short distance travel, as well as relocation, that is perhaps the most marked indicator of high degrees of contact' (2003: 224). This section examines these mobilities, before assessing their impacts on the English dialect landscape. I focus on England, partly because dialect contact has been extensively examined there, but also to highlight that, while mobility in general triggers contact, the specific outcomes of such contact at the local level can only be explained in each case by examining those mobilities in context. And whilst not at all wishing to deny the importance of immigration from outside England, an incredibly significant mobility that has been shown to have very important linguistic repercussions (see Kerswill, Cheshire, Fox and Torgersen, this volume; Fox 2007), I also focus deliberately on intra- rather than international mobilities, in order to highlight their mundane nature.

We can begin with commuting, the short-distance mobility that Kerswill specifically mentions as a trigger of contact. Commuting in the British context has been extensively studied, and is made especially amenable to inquiry because it is extractable from the British census (see, for example, Champion 2009; Champion, Coombes and Brown 2009). These researchers note the following broad trends. Firstly, over 50 per cent of all workers travel less than 5km (3.1 miles) to work each day (Champion 2009: 171), but over 12 per cent commute more than 20km per day (Champion *et al.* 2009: 1249). Secondly, residents of rural areas are about 60 per cent more likely to commute more than 20km than urban residents – about 17 per cent of rural residents do so (Champion 2009: 171). The research also provides evidence of the social profile of commuters: 'higher odds of a long distance commute compared with other people are found for those aged 30–44 years, males, the only or main breadwinner . . . households with two or more cars, recent migrants, those with a degree, professionals and managers, full-time employees and those working outside the primary sector' (Champion 2009: 173). In addition, it is residents of so-called Rural-50 and Rural-80 areas (with proportions of the population living in settlements of fewer than 10,000 people at over 50 or 80 per cent respectively) that are most likely to commute more than 20km (Champion 2009: 173; Champion *et al.* 2009:

1252), as are residents of south-east England. The combination of rural living and recent arrival, especially, appears to promote commuting: over 25 per cent of this group commute long distances (2009: 1251). On average, people from the most rural areas each commute 5 km per day further than the average resident of a large urban area. Perhaps surprisingly, also, a good number of commuters travel from urban to rural areas. Frost (2006: 5) shows that 46 per cent of workplaces in the deeper rural areas of the country are actually filled by people whose homes are classified as being in *urban* settlements. Overall what is striking, therefore, about this mobility, is that it is quite sharply socially stratified – it is a rural mobility, and a predominantly middle-class one.

Kerswill also pointed to relocation as an important mobility in the context of England's dialect contact. This relocation deserves somewhat closer inspection. The British census analysis shows that during the year before the 2001 census, one in nine people moved home (Office for National Statistics 2005: 3). Of these moves, 35 per cent were of more than 10km (Champion 2005a: 93). Kerswill himself has researched the linguistic consequences of urbanization in England, through his examination, with Ann Williams, of Milton Keynes, a New Town in south-eastern England (see, especially, Kerswill and Williams 2000; also Dyer 2002). These New Towns (some, indeed, 'new', others comprising the dramatic expansion of previously much smaller urban sites), along with the somewhat smaller in scale Overspill Towns (medium-sized towns, already with a fully functioning infrastructure, that experienced the construction of large housing estates for the resettlement of residents of the larger cities) were the most obvious urban developments of the second half of the twentieth century. But whilst we have become used to urbanization as a long-term global demographic trend (Eisinger 2006), in many northern European and North American countries, especially England, the reverse trend – counterurbanization – has been dominant for half a century, despite the New Towns. Between 1981 and 1999 the net migration from cities to rural areas averaged 90,000 per year (Champion 2001: 38) and

between 1997 and 2005, rural England saw average annual growth of 110,600 people due to within-UK migration ... the urban-rural population shift seems set to continue. Official population projections indicate a rise in rural England's population by 2.57 million [by] 2025, with the most rural type of district being tipped to see the strongest growth in both absolute and relative terms. (Champion 2009: 163)

Consequently, between 1981 and 2005, roughly 2,250,000 more people moved from the cities to the countryside than vice versa. It was the most rural areas of the country that gained most in percentage terms from this counterurbanization (Champion 2005b: 91). But counterurbanization, like

commuting, shows an interesting social as well as geographical profile. Champion (2005a) shows that:

- Counterurbanization is the dominant migratory direction for all age groups except 16–24-year-olds. For this group, urbanization remains dominant, as a result of school-leavers moving to higher education, cheaper housing in urban areas, and attraction of the bright lights of the city (Champion 2001: 43, 2005a: 105);
- Counterurbanizers are more likely to be white than the population as a whole (Champion 2001: 43);
- The wealthiest and the employment group of professional and managerial workers are overrepresented amongst the counterurbanizing population (Champion 2001: 44).

A number of geographers remind us that we need to be careful of gross statistics from the census data (e.g. Milbourne 2007, Phillips 2007), but in general we find once more a picture of mobilities that show a strong middle-class and deep rural dimension.

We can point to other social and economic forces that are provoking mundane mobilities.

- University attendance has more than trebled since 1978, according to the National Audit Office (2008: 12). For almost all rural school leavers this will involve an urbanizing mobility. Furthermore, it is a socially uneven mobility – lower socioeconomic class groups show participation rates over 10 per cent lower than the national average;
- There have been significant increases both in the use of public transport and in travel by car – automobility. The Department for Transport (2008) shows that distances travelled by car increased by 1087 per cent and by train by 55 per cent between 1952 and 2007 (2008: 14); Urry shows that with over 700 million cars ‘roaming the world’ (2005: 25), automobility is the ‘predominant global form of “quasi-private” mobility that subordinates other mobilities of walking, cycling, travelling by rail and so on, and reorganizes how people negotiate the opportunities for, and constraints upon, work, family life, childhood, leisure and pleasure’ (2005: 26);
- There have been significant economic changes, which have provoked geographical mobility. These include an increase in the proportion of jobs found in the tertiary service sector of the economy – a sector ‘increasingly freed from locational ties to natural resources’ with ‘an enormously high degree of potential mobility’ (Allen, Massey and Cochrane 1998: 141–2). Self (2008: 52) shows that between 1979 and 2007 employment in agriculture, fishing, energy and manufacturing fell dramatically, jobs in tourism, finance, business, public administration, education and health rose equally dramatically. Furthermore, there was a deindustrialization of urban-based heavy industry along with a

deconcentration of urban employment – many heavy industries closed, while others moved out from the big cities to seek better operating conditions (Champion 2002: 90); the decline of employment in the primary sector of the economy hit rural areas especially hard – for example, just 5 per cent of the population *in rural areas* is now employed in ‘agriculture, hunting and forestry’ (Taylor 2008: 123); there has been an increasing female participation in the workforce (Champion 2002: 91), etc. When employment structures change or move, this triggers significant human mobility too;

- Changes in consumption patterns can also be related to changes in mobilities. Findlay, Stockdale, Findlay and Short (2001) pointed to an increased geographical centralization of retail shopping outlets, especially in the form of shopping malls and out-of-town retail parks, which, they argue, is encouraging rural mobility. They found that recent migrants to rural areas were much more likely to buy milk, other essential food items, petrol and newspapers in a town or city rather than locally. It is striking that whilst, on the one hand, migration to rural areas is increasing rapidly, there is, on the other, a staggering increase in local shop, post office, bank and pub closures in those same areas (e.g. Leyshon, French and Signoretta 2008). In conclusion, their research ‘supports the concept of a “high mobility” rural population. Significant numbers in the rural population . . . wish to pursue a lifestyle involving high levels of mobility, allowing them to “belong” to the countryside by living there, while working and shopping in the city . . . Our research seems to point to high levels of mobility as being integral to their “rural” way of life’ (2001: 12–13);
- Changes in family structure have led to an increasing geographical elasticity of family ties – Self showed that while the population of England increased by 9.5 per cent between 1971 and 2006 (2008: 2), the proportion of single-person households under retirement age rose between 1971 and 2007 by 133 per cent (2008: 17);
- Finally, we can point to a range of other mundane mobilities that are, nevertheless, significant and dramatic in scale: tourism – the largest industry in the world, worth over 6 trillion dollars and accounting for over 10 per cent of global GDP (Urry 2007: 10); and retirement migration, which although largely intranational – often in the direction of coastal resorts – has also taken on an international dimension – especially to Spain and France (e.g. O’Reilly 2000), partly ‘thanks to’ the budget airlines.

To summarize, then, people are ‘on the move’ (Cresswell 2006; Urry 2007), but it is clear, firstly, that this mobility is not evenly distributed across the population, but quite markedly socially stratified. As Skeggs argued ‘mobility is a resource to which not everyone has an equal relationship’ (2004: 49). The linguistic consequences of such mobility, then, must be assessed taking

into full consideration who it is that is actually mobile. Secondly, many of these mobilities have been disproportionately affecting rural areas. This is important because as dialectologists we have tended to view such areas as the homes of linguistic conservatism, and the most likely sites of traditional dialect. The countryside was the home of the Non-Mobile Old Rural Men (NORMS) of traditional dialectology, and the place sociolinguists fled from in their search for the apparent diversity, conflict, contact and complexity of the city, enabling them to seek linguistic orderly heterogeneity in what appeared to be the most socially disorderly of speech communities (see Britain 2009a). So high contact in the countryside brings, in principle, more traditional dialects of the countryside together with the dialects – standard and non-standard – of the city. Finally, these differently socialized mobilities, remarkable in scope and force despite their everydayness, have caused a huge population churn that highlights how intensive the resulting dialect contact must have been (and continues to be). With census figures from 2001, as we saw earlier, suggesting that 1 in 9 of the population had moved during the previous year, this represents, in the UK, 6.5 million moves, and if the trend continues, suggests well over 50 million moves in the first decade of the twenty-first century. The dialect contact may not have brought together such divergent dialects as was the case in nineteenth-century New Zealand or during the colonial migrations to the US, but it has been certainly extremely intensive, ongoing and dramatic. Its mundaneness has meant, however, that it has fallen below the dialectological radar until relatively recently.

10.3 Mobility, social networks and linguistic change

Looking at these mobilities sociolinguistically, we can, first of all, recognize that they provide the potential social conditions for the convergent linguistic accommodation which has been found in other contexts of dialect contact, both longer term, as in the development of colonial dialects (Trudgill 1986) and individual migration (Chambers 1992; Foreman 2003; Siegel 2010), as well as much more fleeting, such as in service encounters (Coupland 1984). It is argued (Trudgill 1986) in the contact literature that such accommodation, in the mouths of post-adolescents, is often incomplete and often inaccurate, but that it is these accommodatory efforts which provide part of the feature pool that children process as they attempt to focus a new variety. Secondly, we can see that these mobilities shed light on the human agents responsible for the initiation and diffusion of change, and provide a socialized perspective often missing in the often rather asocial mathematical, gravity-model driven innovation diffusion literature (Britain 2009b).

The communities undergoing such contact are, of course, very much unlike those typically researched in traditional and early variationist

dialectology, where mobility tended to be avoided, and where the focus was on relatively stable, strong and tight socially networked communities. Milroy (2002:7) argued that mobility leads to the 'large-scale disruption of close-knit, localized networks which have historically maintained highly systematic and complex sets of socially structured linguistic norms', with the break-up of locally based networks going hand-in-hand with the decrease in currency of similarly locally based dialects. It has also been argued that the disruption of strong networks has an accelerating effect on linguistic change: 'linguistic change is slow to the extent that the relevant populations are well established and bound by strong ties, whereas it is rapid to the extent that weak ties exist in populations' (Milroy and Milroy 1985: 375).

But the disruption of networks does not mean that people are left to wallow in a sea of disconnection. Belich, talking about the integration of British migrants in nineteenth-century New Zealand, said that 'with migration to New Zealand and places like it, a vast swarm of flies burst free from their webs . . . once here they needed community, and turned spiders themselves, busily refurbishing bits of old web and spinning new in which to catch themselves and others' (Belich 1997: 412). Furthermore, Granovetter argued that 'weak ties, often denounced as generative of alienation . . . are . . . indispensable to individuals' opportunities and to their integration into communities' (1973: 1378) – he demonstrated in this study that well over four-fifths of job hunters got a new job not through strong close social network ties, but through someone they knew much less well and saw much less frequently. More recently, Urry (2007: 213) has argued for the ever increasing importance in a world on the move of weak ties in the acquisition of what he calls 'network capital . . . the capacity to engender and sustain social relations with those people who are not necessarily proximate, and which generates emotional, financial and practical benefit' (2007: 197). Rather than seeing weak networks as pathological, he suggests they enable the acquisition of 'network sociality' wherein 'clumps of persistent ties almost disappear and connections are long-range but with intense obligations for intermittent meetings. As these connections spread, so the networks of weak ties and the power of "network capital" come to be further extended' (Urry 2007: 222). Networks may be broken as a result of mobility, but they are reformed anew, perhaps not as strongly, but renewed nevertheless, and this renewal plays an important role in the focusing of new dialect forms (see Britain 1997).

10.4 Dialect obsolescence. . .

Our examination of mobilities earlier enables us to easily locate those communities where one might expect processes of dialect contact to place local dialect forms under threat from external variants of a wider, regional or national currency. In order to exemplify the dramatic effects of this contact, I focus on



Figure 10.2 The attrition of rhoticity in Dorset by location type, age and gender (Piercy 2006: 47)

two areas, both of which have characteristic traditional dialects, noted in the literature and in dialect survey work (e.g. the *Survey of English Dialects* (*SED*) (Orton *et al.* 1962–71)) – East Anglia (Trudgill 2003) and Dorset in the south-west (Wakelin 1986). Both have experienced substantial in-migration and counterurbanization (Commission for Rural Communities 2007: 12). Recent work (Britain, in preparation; Piercy 2006, 2010) has shown that both are undergoing significant attrition of their local traditional dialect forms.

Perhaps the most iconic and the ‘most striking distinguishing feature of west-country accents’ (Wells 1982: 336), often enregistered in the media (highly inaccurately) as a stereotype of rural English dialects in general, is rhoticity. Piercy’s (2006: 29) analysis of south-western rhoticity in the *SED* found it to be almost categorical, at 96 per cent. A number of small studies from different parts of the south-west subsequent to the *SED* have hinted that rhoticity was under threat (see Britain 2009c for a review), but Piercy’s analysis of rural and urban Dorset has highlighted just how far this attrition has progressed. Figure 10.2 shows the dramatic decline in the use of rhoticity in four locations of different degrees of urbanness, comparing older and younger speakers, male and female. While the expected geographical pattern of obsolescence is maintained among the older speakers, with the most rural locations retaining rhoticity more than in the more urban data sites, among the young speakers rhoticity has all but disappeared. Later work

(Piercy 2010: 208, 210) in southern Dorset revealed that only *one* speaker in her sample under the age of 50 showed *any* rhoticity at all (Figure 10.2).

She also examined (2010: 232, 235) five other phonological and six grammatical features, cited as characteristic of the traditional dialect in earlier work. These are:

- medial /t/ → /d/, e.g. *butter* [bʌdəʔ:]
- voiced fricatives become voiced stops before nasals, e.g. *seven* [sɛbm]
- /ð/ → /d/
- initial fricative voicing, e.g. *Friday* [vʔəideɪ]
- initial /h/ → /j/, e.g. *heard* [jəʔd]
- periphrastic DO: ‘she *did* jump on the pig’s back and he *did* take her to school’ (2010: 237);
- demonstrative pronoun ‘thik’, realized as [ðik], ‘*thik* two boys, they got left standing’ (2010: 238);
- cliticized [m], e.g. ‘you put a big notice on your door saying *you’m* [ju:m] a blood donor’ (2010: 238);
- gendered pronouns, e.g. ‘a little cottage up here, *he’s* semi-detached and *he* was put on the market for three hundred and fifty thousand’ (2010: 239);
- pronoun exchange, where subject personal pronouns are used in non-subject position and the reverse, e.g. ‘he wanted *he* to go on milk the cows’ (2010: 239);
- invariant ‘be’, e.g. ‘I *be* one of they that didn’t have no brains our side of the family’ (2010: 239).

She found that the use of these local grammatical forms was virtually entirely restricted to those aged over 60, and of the phonological ones to the over 50s, with the exception of just one younger speaker.

In East Anglia, too, counterurbanization and other mobilities appear to have led to the attrition-in-progress of local dialect forms, with most resistance to their erosion coming from Norwich and the east of Norfolk. Britain (in preparation), in an examination of *locally* born speakers (i.e. *not* counter-urbanizers) in the southern half of East Anglia, found the following ongoing dramatic apparent-time decline, though all except breaking were still used at least some of the time by speakers in the youngest group sampled:

- Third-person present-tense zero, e.g. *he make*;
- Generalized palatal glide deletion, e.g. *few* [fu:], *view* [vu:];
- Schwa in unstressed closed syllables, e.g. *wanted* [wɒnʔəd], *bushes* [bʊʃəz];
- Relative marker *what*, e.g. ‘I saw the girl *what* won the medal’;
- Breaking – schwa epenthesis after long vowels or diphthongs and before voiced consonants, e.g. *groan* [gɹɔʊən], *food* [fu:əd];
- /au/ realized as [ɛu].

Particularly noticeable was the fact that for a number of the variables, such as the use of [ə] in unstressed syllables and palatal glide deletion, the attrition was more advanced in the more rural locations in the survey than in the larger urban centres, not an outcome one would expect from the traditional dialect literature, but fully understandable in light of the geographical destinations of counterurbanizers, and the consequent effects of dialect contact with local residents (see Britain 2009c for an extended summary of research on dialect levelling in England).

10.5 ... and dialect genesis

The extensive mobilities we saw earlier brought together dialects that perhaps were not as radically different as those that collided in nineteenth-century New Zealand or the Falklands or Australia, but, in some cases, were distinctive enough to make possible the emergence, as in these (post-) colonial varieties, of innovative dialect forms not found in the input dialects that came into contact, or innovative constellations of them. In other cases, particular acts of mobility in individual local contexts have caused particular localized contact varieties to emerge. The dialect contact literature tells us to expect *koinéization* when varieties converge. This consists of:

- *Levelling*: the eradication of marked linguistic features, marked in the sense of being in a minority in the ambient feature pool after the contact ‘event’, in the sense of being overtly stereotyped, or marked in the sense of being found rarely in the world’s languages and/or learnt late in child language acquisition. We have seen ample amounts of examples of how levelling can lead to obsolescence of local dialect forms above;
- *Interdialect*: this outcome of contact foregrounds the role of linguistic accommodation in koinéization, since interdialect forms show evidence of partial, incomplete convergent accommodation between input forms. Trudgill and Foxcroft (1978) examined the consequences for middle-class speakers of contact in eastern England between two distinct systems for the realization of /ou/ – on the one hand, the traditional East Anglian system, wherein variants deriving from Middle English /ou/ (as in *mown* and *grown*) are realized as [ʌu] and those deriving from ME /ɔ:/ (as in *moan* and *groan*) as [ʊu], and on the other hand, the standardized southern English system, where both forms are realized as a merged [ʌu]. They show that for these middle-class speakers, a hybrid interdialect form has developed as a consequence of the contact between non-merged and merged forms, so that words derived from *both* ME sounds are realized as an intermediate [əu], found in neither the traditional local system nor the southern one with which it had come into contact (Trudgill and Foxcroft 1978: 73). Another example comes from

my own work in the Fens, where contact between [ʊ] variants of /ʌ/ (as in *cup* and *fun*) to the north and west of the Fens with [ʌ] variants to the south and east, has led, in the central Fenland settlements, to the focusing of a phonetically intermediate [ʏ] variant (Britain 2010a);

- *Reallocation* occurs when two (or more) variants rather than just one survive from the dialect contact. It tends to occur in contexts where the two eventually victorious variants entered the dialect mix in relatively equal numbers. The contact, however, refunctionalizes the variants to serve roles – linguistic or social – that they perhaps did not perform in the original input variety. In Britain (1997), I showed how contact-induced reallocation could account for the emergence of a Canadian-Raising-like allophonic distribution for /ai/ in the eastern English Fens. Variants of /ai/ with open nuclei [aɪ–aː], e.g. [nɑːʔtɑːm] *night time* from the western Fens and variants with centralized nuclei [əɪ] from the east interacted to produce an allophonic system sensitive to following voicing in the central Fens, with [əɪ] before voiceless consonants and [aɪ–aː] elsewhere [nəɪʔtɑːm] (see Britain and Trudgill 2005 for a summary of work on reallocation);
- *Simplification* refers to the process by which the new dialect becomes more regular, having fewer categories (such as gender, case, honorifics), fewer person/number inflections, or fewer complex constraints on variation than the dialects in the original mix. There have been few clear-cut examples of this in the literature from England, but across the Atlantic, Labov (2007) provides a very clear case of phonological simplification. Drawing upon his extensive work on the tensing and raising of short /a/, he contrasts the system of raising found in New York, in which tense and lax /a/ are determined by a highly complex set of phonological, grammatical, lexical and stylistic constraints, with a very much simplified set of constraints on the change in the accents of Albany, Cincinnati and New Orleans, that all have strong demographic connections with New York. So whereas New York has a constraint according to which tensing is blocked in function words with simple codas, this restriction is not found in the other three cities (2007: 354, 360, 361, 365).

Evidence suggests that contact has been at play in complex ways in the evolution of the past BE system in England. Firstly, researchers have noted systems in which there is levelling to WAS across person and number, systems with levelling to WERE, and systems that maintain the standard paradigm (see Anderwald 2001, Britain 2002b, Moore 2011). Secondly, as noted in Britain (2002b: 22), the traditional dialectological literature has long noted a very wide range of *phonetic* variants for the past BE forms. What has emerged in a number of locations is a mixed, levelled, reallocated, simplified and optimal system which sheds redundant person and number distinctions,

has radically levelled the different phonetic forms available, but retains the crucial positive/negative distinction: WAS is used in contexts of positive polarity and WEREN'T in negative.

The ever broader geographical scope of the mobilities we saw earlier, in combination with the evidence of attrition at the local level, has pointed to a process of supralocalization as a further consequence of the high levels of mundane contact (see Britain 2010b for a review) – the adoption, at the expense of local variants, of forms with a broader geographical scope. The process was first identified in England by Milroy, Milroy and Hartley (1994) in work on variants of /t/ in Newcastle. In this and other work on Newcastle, they found that across apparent time, the traditional local [ʔt] variants of /t/ were in decline, being replaced, not by standard alveolar forms, but by the non-standard, but nationally very widespread glottal stop [ʔ]. This, in itself, is perhaps not so surprising, but this change to glottal stops was being led by middle-class women, perhaps somewhat unexpectedly, given the stigma once often applied to the use of this form in England. Other studies followed which appeared to find similar patterns. Middle-class women's lead in the use of glottal stops was also found in Cardiff (Mees and Collins 1999), and Mathisen (1999) found the use of non-standard [ŋg] for stressed /ŋ/ (e.g. *sing*, *wrong*) in Sandwell, near Birmingham, to be higher in formal styles than informal. For the same variable, Watts (2006) found extremely high levels of [ŋg] use in the, as we saw earlier, very affluent Cheshire town of Wilmslow, despite their largely standard use of many other stereotypical variables, suggesting a focusing on this [ŋg] variant as a supralocal form used across the north and west Midlands and Cheshire. In the south-east, a number of studies have attempted to chart the extent to which a regional koiné (sometimes labelled 'Estuary English', especially in the media) is developing there (e.g. Przedlacka 2002, Altendorf 2003). In a detailed study on vowel systems in the south-east, Torgersen and Kerswill (2004) found convergence across apparent time between the systems of Reading in Berkshire to the west of London and Ashford in Kent to the south-east, suggesting supralocal accommodation processes at work.

That these supralocal changes are being led by middle-class women is not too surprising, given the mobility patterns and economic changes we saw earlier. It has been the middle classes who have been most affected by counterurbanization and many other mobilities, and changes in economic structure have disproportionately 'benefited' women. Women are much more likely than men to be employed in expanding 'linguistic market-place'-sensitive service sector employment (middle-ranking professional and technical, administration and secretarial, personal, sales and customer service) (Self 2008: 51). In 'serving' the public in this sector, women are creating the very weak ties that it has been argued are generators and drivers of linguistic change (Milroy and Milroy 1985).

Some mobility-related changes appear to be almost a reaction *against* contact. A few studies have reported reactions against the adoption of supralocal variants. Britain (2009c) maps the hyperdialectal reaction to the arrival of non-rhoticity in western England. An analysis of the Basic Materials of the *SED* (Orton *et al.* 1962–71) shows that in the area just on the rhotic side of the rhotic–non-rhotic dialect boundary, there are rather robust numbers of instances of /r/ being inserted into words that etymologically do not have one: *last*, *pillow* (in which the final vowel is reduced to schwa), *straw* and *yawn*, for instance. Other changes lead to the emergence of hybrid forms as a result of the influence of a supralocal variant coming into contact with a local system that is not structurally compatible enough to straightforwardly adopt the external form. Among working-class adolescents in west Norfolk, in East Anglia, the supralocally progressive fronting of /ou/ has come into contact with the split system [ʌʊ] ~ [ʊʊ] (based on ME /ou/ and ME /ɔ:/) that we saw earlier. In this case, the fronting has largely only affected reflexes of ME /ou/, and consequently the contact has led to the two different variants phonetically diverging rather than converging, as one fronts and the other retains a back nucleus.

In work on Smith Island English on the East Coast of the US, Schilling-Estes and Wolfram (1999) examined the consequences of population loss. They recount how out-migration from the island, with little in-migration to compensate, has led the population that remained to ‘concentrate’ their dialect, which has consequently diverged rather than converged with nearby mainland varieties. They contrast these changes with those on Ocracoke, another island further south, but one which has witnessed much more contact with speakers from the mainland, both on and off the island. There, the traditional characteristics of the local dialect are dissipating. The demographic circumstances that could lead to such Smith Island-type concentration are specific and local, and, to my knowledge, no similar cases have been found in England. Judging by the fact that the destinations of many counterurbanizers in England are deep rural areas, the demographic conditions do not lead us to expect to find many. Rural areas in England tend to be Ocracokes rather than Smith Islands. But perhaps we need to look elsewhere to find population concentration – to the cities. The focus on counterurbanization earlier led us to examine the effects of this mobility on the destinations rather than on the starting points of the migration. Whilst some cities such as London have ‘made up for’ the loss of residents through immigration, others have not and have seen dramatic population decline. Dorling (2003: 49) shows that, despite immigration, the population of London declined by 11 per cent between 1931 and 1999. Manchester’s, however, declined by 44 per cent and Liverpool’s by 47 per cent. The demographic data suggest that we should perhaps look into these shrinking *cities* for evidence of dialect concentration à la Smith Island.

Evidence from Liverpool suggests that such an inspection might prove fruitful. For example, while earlier work had reported the use of [h] for /t/ in Liverpool English by Knowles (1973: 234), it was only found following short vowels in small monosyllabic function words (e.g. *at* and *what*). Today, Watson (2006: 59) reports that it has not only remained robust in those contexts in the speech of Liverpool adolescents, but had also spread to polysyllabic non-function words where the /t/ was preceded by an unstressed vowel, such as *biscuit*, *bucket*, *chocolate*. Furthermore, the city is well known for its spirantization of oral stops in intervocalic and word-final position (Watson 2007), as well as its resistance to a significant adoption of the glottal stop for /t/.

10.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided strong evidence that contact triggered by mundane mobilities has led both to the attrition of local diversity on the one hand, and the emergence of new dialect forms, new supralocal koinés, and other novel dialect forms, on the other. These outcomes are not at all surprising, matching typologically those found as a result of more dramatic forms of dialect contact. The intensity and scope of these movements, nevertheless, have had a significant effect on the dialect landscape.

Our quite close inspection of the mobilities themselves highlighted a number of factors of (socio)dialectological importance. Firstly, mobilities are unevenly distributed – some are a luxury for the rich few, others have largely affected working-class speakers, such as the overspill developments (e.g. Colshaw near Wilmslow) of the 1970s; some involve significant distances, others are much more local. The social differentiation of mobility will mean that different sorts of mobilities will bring together different-ingredient social dialects in different places and consequently affect the actual linguistic (but not typological) outcomes in each case. Our appreciation of the social differentiation of the mobilities consequently enabled us to more easily account for some of the previously established dialectological patterns – such as the female middle-class lead in the promotion of non-standard supralocal forms, in the light of the middle-class dominance of counterurbanization, and female dominance in the highly mobile service sector of the economy. It also helps us explain why some of the linguistic changes underway in rural England could be seen as examples of standardization. Britain (in preparation) shows that for some of those variables where it is possible to tease apart the influence of the standard from the influence of non-standard Englishes from the south-east or London, the most rural communities in southern East Anglia seem to be adopting standard rather than south-eastern forms. This trend is not to be explained as a (sudden) indoctrination of the rural populace with the ideologies of the standard, but simply as a result of the victory of these forms in mobility-induced dialect

contact in the light of the profile of the counterurbanizers, commuters and so on. Secondly, and importantly, these mobilities are a product of our time – they can and will change, and consequently will lead to locally different outcomes:

- In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in southern England, for example, the dominant direction of migration was rural to urban; in the past fifty years it has been the reverse;
- The New Town movement was relatively brief – it ended in the 1970s. But counterurbanization levels have brought attention back to the need for rural housing, and a number of de facto new towns have been built – Cambourne, near Cambridge; and Poundbury near Dorchester in Dorset, built to specifications set down by Prince Charles. None, however, is on the scale of the formal programme of the mid twentieth century;
- The late twentieth century saw mass international rural gentrification by British people in France and Spain (see Rigby forthcoming). But this movement was facilitated both by political accords such as the Single European Act, which made it easier for British people to buy property in other EU countries, and the rise of budget airlines which flew gentrifiers directly and at low cost to airports nearer to their holiday homes.

A whole host of social, economic, historical, political and infrastructural factors interact with human mobility and, consequently, as these factors change, so the mobilities themselves will change. Mobilities, then, like the dialects being carried with them, are on the move. As we have seen, the repercussions of this movement for the dialect landscape are, and are likely always to be, deeply significant.

11 The diversification of English: old, new and emerging epicentres

MARIANNE HUNDT

11.1 Introduction

One of the results of the global spread of English is that English has turned into a genuinely pluricentric language (see Leitner 1992). It has been suggested that, in addition to the well-established regional norms of British (BrE) and American English (AmE),¹ various regionally relevant norm-developing centres have emerged or are emerging; these exert an influence on the formation and development of the English language in neighbouring areas. Examples of such varieties would be Australian English (AusE), Indian English (IndE) or Singapore English (SingE). Leitner (1992) introduces the term ‘epicentre’ for these (recent) foci of influence. Regarding AusE and its role in the Asia-Pacific region, he (2004: 1) postulates that ‘[i]t is starting to act as a regional player there and may eventually compete with American and British English’. With respect to IndE, Leitner (1992: 225) points out that ‘[t]he emergence of SL [second language] centres is . . . to be expected. Epicentres have already been recognized in India, Singapore and other areas.’

The notion of new epicentres alongside the established centres in a pluricentric language has a straightforward, intuitive appeal. This might be the reason why people have so far readily applied the term (maybe somewhat naively) in describing the status of and relationship among different Englishes. But I would like to argue that the concept is far from straightforward, both on theoretical and methodological grounds.

11.2 Theoretical foundations of the epicentre concept

I can make out three theoretical problems, the first relating to the definition of the term ‘epicentre’ (a conceptual one), the second to the choices that speakers make (a cognitive one) and the third relating to the applicability of the notion of an ‘epicentre’ (a question of scope or level).

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Firstly, the term ‘epicentre’ is ill defined or at least theoretically under-specified.² It is a concept that is related to the wider concept of space, which in turn is far from straightforward (see Britain 2002a, 2010c, in press) and opens more than one can of worms. On closer inspection, the epicentre construct might thus turn out to be less useful than its intuitive appeal at first sight suggests. One aspect of the spatial dimension of the epicentre concept is its potential metaphorical base in seismic geology (i.e. the epicentre of an earthquake); this has so far only been addressed in one study (Peters 2009) and needs further discussion.

Secondly, we might wonder whether epicentric influence necessarily involves conscious choice on the part of the speakers adopting a feature. Especially in those contexts where English is an institutionalized second or a foreign language, a country may rely on teaching materials produced in an inner-circle³ country, and the choice of the model – especially for grammatical and lexical items – would thus be largely determined by these materials. This is much less likely to have an effect on the level of the local accent where substrate influence tends to be very strong. In addition, speakers may consciously choose to adopt certain features (grammatical, lexical, phonetic) that they perceive as belonging to a prestige variety; this may not necessarily be the variety represented in the teaching materials. If we allow for both unconscious and conscious adoption of features, this has repercussions on the methodological level (see Section 11.3).

Thirdly, we might want to reconsider the application of the term. So far, it has been used mainly in connection with standard English, probably because it emerged from the modelling of norms within a pluricentric language: Kloss (1978) introduced the concept of ‘pluricentricity’ in reference to languages that have more than one centre, where ‘centre’ is used in the sense of a norm-producing area and thus the associated local standard variety of the language (e.g. standard AusE or IndE).⁴ But it might be useful to extend the notion of the epicentre to include vernacular norms as well.⁵ In traditional dialectology, linguists have observed a trend towards convergence of regional varieties due to a growth in mobility, but this does not mean that they move closer to standard varieties. Instead, what has been observed is a trend towards supralocalization, i.e. the replacement of very local features with those that have a wider distribution (see Britain in press). National varieties of English also have an influence on each other on the non-standard level. A good example of the latter kind of epicentric influence is the spread of quotative *be like* from American to other varieties of English (see e.g. Tagliamonte and D’Arcy 2004; Buchstaller 2006; Mair 2009; or Kerswill, Cheshire, Fox and Torgersen, this volume) to the extent that it is now practically a global feature of colloquial (youth) language and thus a ‘regionally promiscuous’ variable, as Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (2003: 540) put it.⁶ In their discussion of potential external influence on New Zealand English (NZE) they include both standard and non-standard features. If the notion

of the epicentre is a viable one for both standard and non-standard language use, then this should be made explicit.

On the background of globalization theory, Meyerhoff and Niedzielski distinguish between global (invariant) features and ones that are multinational but that have been adapted locally; the latter process is more likely to happen as '[i]t is hard to think of clear linguistic examples of invariant transfer' (2003: 538). Meyerhoff and Niedzielski's work is particularly interesting for a critical evaluation of the epicentre hypothesis, also from a methodological angle.

11.3 Investigating epicentric influence empirically: methodological challenges

In order to verify that influence of one variety on another has taken place, Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (2003: 544–7) call for 'norms of good practice'. These should ensure that the variable under investigation is not only superficially the same but also that the same linguistic constraints regulate their use; the norms of good practice should also rule out the possibility of independent parallel development; and finally, the methodology employed should allow the analyst to make claims about the perception of the variable in the speech community that is (allegedly) adopting them. To these three aspects, we might want to add the scrutiny of the social, economic and cultural context in which epicentric influence is likely to occur: in other words, speech communities might be more susceptible to outside influence in certain historical contexts than in others.⁷

It is obvious that sociolinguistic studies which aim at verifying epicentric influence of one variety on another thus need to make use of a wide array of methodologies: statements about epicentric influence need to be based on language-use data (corpora, sociolinguistic interviews) as well as attitudinal data (e.g. questionnaire-based or extracted from metalinguistic discourses, including aspects of commodification as discussed, e.g., in Beal 2009). Attitudinal data are especially important to ascertain whether speakers consciously aspire to a particular variety of English and thus adopt certain features from it. It might be less crucial for the study of epicentric influence resulting in unconscious adoption of features (e.g. through textbook materials that are not specifically focused in classroom teaching).⁸ Historical background data are required to be able to assess whether the social, economic and cultural context is conducive to epicentric influence or not.

The most difficult of the three methodological requirements that Meyerhoff and Niedzielski list is probably the verification of influence vs independent local (but parallel) development. The problem here is one of data sparseness. I will return to this below. A question that Meyerhoff and Niedzielski do not address is whether the data have to be diachronic or whether it might also be possible to verify the epicentral status of a variety on the basis of synchronic evidence only.

11.4 Aim and outline

The aim of this chapter is to take stock of the existing studies on old, new and emerging epicentres and evaluate them critically. The focus will not be on the description of individual (epi)centres (like AmE, AusE or IndE) but on the notion of the epicentre and its value for the study of dialect contact between national varieties of English.

In [Section 11.5](#), I will lay out the theoretical groundwork, mostly by analysing the underlying conceptual metaphor behind the notion of ‘epicentres’ and thus taking a metatheoretical perspective. [Section 11.6](#) will review empirical research on old, new and emerging epicentres with a focus on the methodology employed rather than the results concerning individual linguistic features. The ‘norms of good practice’ outlined in Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (2003) are quite ambitious and not always easily met, as we will see.

11.5 Norm(s) and centres

In the discussion of the theoretical foundations of the epicentre concept, I will start with the original definition as part of a pluricentric language model and then move on to the question of how varieties might influence each other. A central part of the critique of the model will hinge on the conceptualization of space as a theoretical construct.

11.5.1 *The origin of the notion of the ‘epicentre’ as a variety of standard English – old, new and emerging epicentres*

I pointed out in the introduction that the notion of the epicentre developed from the pluricentric language model, a language with different national standard varieties. Historically, this implies that there was an original ‘homeland’ from which the language spread. Bailey (1990: 85) expresses this idea as follows:

Language spreads from the centre to the periphery; the periphery develops independent ‘standards’ that first compete and then coexist with those of the homeland, and these new standards may in their turn become new centres of radiating influence.

The consensus definition of what an epicentre is so far involves two dimensions: a variety can be regarded as a potential epicentre if it shows endonormative stabilization (i.e. widespread use, general acceptance and codification of the local norms of English)⁹ on the one hand, and the potential to serve as a model of English for (neighbouring?) countries on the other hand. A notable exception is Pakir (2001: 7f.) who simply uses the term ‘epicentre’ as a synonym for ‘regional standard’, i.e. without the notion

of a new, local source of influence on other (neighbouring?) varieties. An earlier definition of the term epicentre in Leitner (1992) might also suggest such a view: 'Communities that set their own speech norms are called epicentres ...' (quoted from Leitner 2004: 17). This view of an epicentre as having importance in its own right without necessarily exerting an influence on other varieties is partly supported by the metaphorical base of the concept, as will be discussed in more detail in [Section 11.5.2](#).

The most obvious example of an epicentre in this sense is USEng, which is at least equally important as a reference variety on a global scale as the variety of the original 'homeland', EngEng. USEng can therefore be referred to as an 'old' epicentre. The spread of English to other territories has not automatically led to the development of new epicentres in these environments. Leith (1997: 161), for instance, claims that Scots could be viewed as the first national variety of English outside England. But Scots clearly has not advanced to the influential role that the more recent national variety in the US has obtained.¹⁰

What about new epicentres? It is much less clear whether, in addition to EngEng and USEng, other national varieties of English have also developed into norm-producing centres. Have varieties like AusE or NZE, for instance, developed into 'new' epicentres? Both varieties have reached the level of endonormative stabilization (see Schneider 2007: 123–5 and 131f.),¹¹ but it is far less obvious that AusE and NZE act as local models for neighbouring varieties in the South Pacific. In my own study on NZE grammar (Hundt 1998: 13), I was noncommittal:

In the long run Australia and New Zealand may develop into such a new epicentre in the Pacific region. Japanese, Indonesian or Filipino learners of English, for example, might start modelling their speech on the two Southern Hemisphere standards rather than on AmE or BrE.

We saw that Leitner (2004: 1) is much more assertive in claiming epicentre status for AusE. As I will argue in [Section 11.6](#), we still lack the empirical evidence that would allow us to make more than educated guesses as to the role of AusE and NZE or, in fact, any other variety as new epicentres. One factor that would foster the development of a new epicentre in the Asia-Pacific region is the fact that students in the southern hemisphere might be more likely to have face-to-face contact with speakers of southern hemisphere varieties than with US or English English (see Trudgill and Hannah 2008: 3). Finally, 'emerging' epicentres would be varieties that have developed their own endo-normativity (e.g. IndE and SingE) but whose status as a potential (local) norm-providing centre has only recently attracted linguists' attention.

On the attitudinal level, we might wonder whether epicentre status is easier to achieve for inner-circle than for outer-circle varieties. After all, they have developed from historically quite different contact situations

(majority vs minority migration), which has resulted in different degrees of structural nativization (see Gupta's (forthcoming) distinction between continuity and contact varieties). In terms of attitudinal profiles, however, an important phenomenon unites the two kinds of Englishes (with the obvious exception of EngEng): in both the inner and outer circle, speakers are often trying to actively distance themselves from the (persistent?) colonial cringe. Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (2003: 543) comment on the phenomenon in the New Zealand context:

Cultural cringe ... is a term used informally to refer to attitudes or statements that deprecate or belittle local achievements or mores, while discursively constructing some external alternative as aesthetically, morally or pragmatically 'better'. Crucially, the alternatives are presented as being better solely because they are associated with a prestigious external reference group.

Some studies on the influence that AmE or BrE may have had on NZE usage are seen as reflecting the analysts' fears of (neo-)colonialism and the colonial cringe (Meyerhoff and Niedzielski 2003: 536). Similarly, Gupta (2009) argues that Singapore has (mostly) emancipated itself from its former colonial power: 'The world has moved on, and colonial cringe is over. Singapore is one of the success stories of the world, and can be confident about its English as well as about other areas of its success.' Her analysis of 198 questions in newspapers to language mavens in a column of the Singaporean *Straits Times Online Mobile Print (STOMP)* from March–June 2007 revealed that in only a very few cases (namely two) the question or the answer were concerned with regional variation (BrE vs AmE). As long as a variety is still heavily influenced by the colonial cringe, it is (a) much more likely to be open to epicentric influence from another variety (especially its 'parental' variety and maybe also to influence from a variety such as USEng that is already a well-established epicentre) and (b) probably less likely to be perceived as a norm-providing centre itself.

Furthermore, because the epicentre concept has its origin in the model of a pluricentric language and the concern of this model is with standard varieties, the discussion on the potential of varieties such as AusE and NZE to develop into epicentres is somewhat narrowly focused on standard varieties and contact situations in which speakers would use such a variety (i.e. relatively formal situations). As pointed out in the introduction, national varieties of English can also have an influence on the vernacular level, and extending the epicentre concept to these kinds of influence is not expected to differ fundamentally from the processes involved in adoptions that take place at the standard level of the variety spectrum. By implicitly focusing on (standard) dialect contact in formal situations, the discussion has also abstracted away from speaker variables such as age and gender. Epicentric influence is also quite likely to have an

effect on the language use of adolescents, for instance (see the contributions by Kerswill *et al.* as well as Mair, this volume).

Finally, it is questionable whether contact between varieties is really as localized as Trudgill and Hannah's (2008: 3) comment suggests, i.e. are learners of English as a second or foreign language really more likely to come into contact with speakers of NZE or AusE than with those from the US or UK? The discussion of the epicentre concept, so far, has neglected (informal) dialect contact between speakers in virtual space, probably because '[t]he consequences of non-face-to-face mediation of language on linguistic structure is poorly understood and contested, at present' (Britain in press). This is one of the areas currently investigated by Christian Mair.¹²

11.5.2 *The 'epicentre' as a spatial concept*

Linguists have used various metaphors for the potential influence that one variety may have on other varieties: Bauer (1994: 3) refers to the model variety as a 'sphere of influence':

Even if standard English is not monolithic,¹³ there are problems with defining a single standard for all dialects of English ... there is regional variation between varieties of English, each of which is recognized as a standard in its own sphere of influence. These spheres of influence usually (but not invariably) correspond to countries.

Bailey's distinction between 'centre and periphery' implies a certain hierarchy of varieties, as does my earlier use of the term 'centre of gravity' (Hundt 1998). Leitner's 'epicentre' is thus a variation on the 'centre' metaphor that adds other conceptual dimensions which are rarely discussed in the literature and which, I would like to argue, have not been fully explored. We need to take these metaphors seriously and look more closely at the conceptual models they provide us with because 'conceptual metaphors are well known to display particular highlighting-and-hiding effects, i.e. they emphasise certain aspects of their target domain and, in turn, bar other perspectives on the target' (Polzenhagen and Dirven 2008: 244).

Peters (2009) is the only scholar who, to my knowledge, explicitly addresses the underlying conceptual potential of the epicentre hypothesis. In a section entitled 'The semantics of *epicentre*', she spells out the meaning of the concept in geology as well as in non-technical usage. In geology, an epicentre has an influence both on the vertical and the horizontal plane. According to the *OED online*, an *epicentrum* of an earthquake is 'the point over the centre' (i.e. on the vertical dimension), but the waves or swells that emanate from the point are also seen as part of the epicentral region.¹⁴ Peters (2009: 108) points out that

[b]oth senses are also . . . manifest in nontechnical usage. The word *epicentre* makes a location a centre of importance in its own right . . . Beyond that, current usage tends to imply that such notional epicentres exercise some influence over the surrounding environment . . .

The horizontal influence on the surrounding environment is the sense that Peters (2009) sees at work in the linguistic use of the epicentre concept. Aspects of the concept in seismic geology that are not necessarily explored in the linguistic use of the term are the fact that the waves emanating from an earthquake epicentre have a more or less immediate (and damaging) effect on the adjacent surroundings.¹⁵ The conceptual connections with the wave theory of how change spreads through language are obvious. It is, of course, possible for a new or emerging epicentre to have such a localized effect on neighbouring varieties, e.g. through face-to-face contact of speakers or because it provides textbook material for teaching English as a second language in a neighbouring country. But we would not be able to account for the influence of an 'old' epicentre like US English on geographically distant varieties like New Zealand, Indian or Singapore English. In other words, if we conceptualize linguistic epicentres by drawing on the earthquake model it is hard to account for influence of one variety on another that would leave 'gaps' in space or 'hop' from one area to another. Influence of an epicentre on a spatially non-adjacent variety of English is thus more like the spread of change from one urban centre to another.¹⁶ Chambers (2002: 363) points out that

This pattern refutes traditional assumptions about innovations diffusing like a wave washing across a surface. A better analogy would be a pebble skipping across a pond, where the impact strikes one point and leaps to the next point, sending out ripples from each point of impact. The points of impact are the population centres.¹⁷

Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (2003: 545) refer to these changes as spread across non-proximate (slippery) space to sticky places.

To avoid the potentially misleading analogy with the wave model, the notion of the epicentre could also be defined without alluding to the technical geological use of the term. In this case, the prefix 'epi-' would simply be added to the notion of 'centre' with the 'prepositional and advb. senses, "upon, at, or close upon (a point of space or time), on the ground or occasion of, in addition"' (*OED online*). It is the latter sense of 'additional' centre that might be a more useful starting point for the application of the term to the linguistic modelling of the relationship between regional varieties because 'additional centre' allows for influence from regions that are not adjacent to the 'affected' variety (without, however, excluding the possibility of a more local influence).

No matter which spatial concept we adopt for the epicentre concept, one important insight from recent discussions and findings in dialect geography

needs to be taken into consideration: whether a change spreads by wave-like diffusion or hierarchically from a major centre to smaller, less influential centres, as predicted by the gravity model, the variants might not arrive at their 'destination' unchanged. Britain (2005, 2010c, in press) draws attention to the fact that innovations may mutate as they spread through space as a result of dialect or language contact, resulting in hybrid forms. This would correspond to the multinational phenomena that Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (2003: 538) consider the more likely outcome of globalization. According to them, a multinational phenomenon is 'something that has spread across many locations but which has adapted or changed according to the new contexts it finds itself in'. As part of this process, the linguistic variant may also either not be perceived as something 'borrowed' from another variety or it may even be appropriated by the speakers of the local variety as their 'own', despite the fact that it originated in a different place. If a variant is used unselfconsciously, it is part of the speakers' vernacular variety (in its original sense), as Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (2003: 546) argue. Thus, the multinationalization of linguistic patterns is conceived of as, simply, the broadening of the vernacular base rather than influence of one centre on another:

If we conceive of changes occurring across all varieties of English in terms of a broadening of the set of forms available to English speakers in the most informal (and therefore local) context, this avoids the (we think, highly problematic) claim that Americans are in any way trying to sound Scots (with *wee*) or British/Australasian (with *wank(er)*). (Meyerhoff and Niedzielski 2003: 547)

Similar unselfconscious language change may also affect the standard end of the variety spectrum. Speakers may thus adopt certain lexical or grammatical features from other varieties of English without necessarily consciously aspiring to sound like speakers of that variety. In other words, we are dealing with two different kinds of epicentric influence: conscious adoption and unselfconscious convergence.

Finally, we need to be aware of the fact that dialect contact happens not between two abstract entities in space but between individuals (see also Hickey, this volume). Abstract entities or 'centres' play a role in these encounters as a source of authority, as Blommaert (2010: 39) points out:

whenever we communicate, in addition to our real and immediate addressees we orient towards ... complexes of norms and perceived appropriateness criteria, in effect the larger social and cultural body of authority into which we insert our immediate practices vis-à-vis our immediate addressee. ... we often project the presence of an evaluating authority through our interactions with immediate addressees, we behave with reference to such an evaluative authority, and I submit we call such an evaluating authority a 'centre'.

Such a centre can be (a) individuals who function as role models (e.g. well-known media personalities or sports reporters, see note 29), (b) collectives that have the same function (peers or group images such as ‘hip hop’ or ‘punk’), but also (c) abstract entities or ideals such as ‘middle class’ or ‘nation state’ (and thus also national varieties).

11.6 Empirical research

In my review of existing empirical research on new or emerging epicentres, I will return to the methodological requirements of such comparative studies in Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (2003). They made the point that we need to (a) establish the structural and functional equivalence of the variant found in two varieties, (b) distinguish external influence of the (potential) epicentre on another variety from independent regional (parallel) developments, and (c) assess the evaluation of the variable in the variety that is adopting it, i.e. whether speakers use the feature consciously or unconsciously. In addition, any verification of the epicentre status of a variety has to take the social, economic and cultural context into account and evaluate whether it fosters or hinders epicentric influence of one variety on another.

11.6.1 *Corpus-based studies*

Purely corpus-based studies on potential epicentric influence are necessarily limited with respect to Meyerhoff and Niedzielski’s third requirement: they can only establish the usage-based aspect of the epicentre and will tell us nothing about the perception of a linguistic feature in the speech community.

Parviainen (2009: 47), in her comparison of ICE-India, ICE-Singapore and ICE-Philippines, speculates that the restrictive/additive use of focus particles in clause-final position is a likely candidate of influence from IndE on SingE and Philippine English. This could have happened through dialect contact between speakers of IndE and SingE in Singapore, whereas such a scenario is lacking for the case of PhilE, so influence from IndE on PhilE would be more likely to have been mediated by other South-Eastern Asian varieties of English (Parviainen 2009: 48). To this we may add that the feature could also have developed independently in all three varieties. In Hoffmann, Hundt and Mukherjee (2011) and Hundt, Hoffmann and Mukherjee (2012), we use web-derived evidence to determine how far IndE as the dominant variety in South Asia shapes the norms in Standard-(izing) Englishes in the neighbouring countries such as Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. The features investigated are light verb constructions (e.g. *to have/take a look*) and the use of the hypothetical subjunctive. The data are purely synchronic and thus basically only allow us to model the relative closeness or distance of the investigated varieties with respect to those two

(lexico)grammatical variables. The conclusion in Hoffmann *et al.* (2011: 19f.) therefore had to be rather noncommittal:

Firstly and most importantly, our data do not allow any substantial conclusions as far as the epicentre hypothesis is concerned. True, most of our results with regard to LVCs are compatible with the emergence of IndE as a model variety for neighbouring South Asian varieties. In particular, the distribution of the prototypical LVCs with *give*, *have* and *take* across our corpora indicates that IndE clearly is an endo-normatively stabilised variety marked by substantial divergence from BrE – which certainly is a prerequisite for epicentre status. But we would have to look at many more forms and structures in the lexicogrammar of South Asian Englishes in order to be able to assess the epicentre status of IndE on a solid basis.

Mair (2009: 51) uses the spoken components of available ICE corpora and the *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English*. In his case study on modals of obligation and necessity, he is also unable to decide whether the current similarity between educated spoken Jamaican and American English in this area is due to influence from AmE:

For the time being, we must leave open the question of whether this similarity has come about gradually and independently or whether it reflects recent exposure to and re-orientation towards a US English norm on the part of a growing number of Jamaicans.

Most available corpora of national varieties of English only provide evidence on current use, which makes predictions about the origin of a feature and its spread in a variety somewhat problematic. Another methodological problem inherent in the corpus-based approach is that it is possible to attest the usage of a feature in a corpus, but much more difficult to attest the non-usage of a feature in a variety. With evidence from large corpora like the *British National Corpus* (BNC) or the World Wide Web at our fingertips, however, the reverse may also apply. In our study on light verbs, for instance, we found that variants with a zero article (e.g. *give boost to* instead of *give a boost to*), i.e. patterns typical of IndE and other South Asian Englishes, were also attested (albeit rarely) in the BNC. On the basis of a domain-restricted Google search it is often possible to find features that have been reported as typical of a contact variety for inner-circle varieties. Gupta (2009) initially suspected the use of *less* with count-nouns and other patterns to be typical of Singaporean English (SingE):

I thus identified as ‘Singaporean English’ many features that are geographically widespread, some of which are disputed usage. At least I made the right predictions – that some of the features I identified as Standard Singapore English would spread to other varieties.

This comment implies that the usages originated in SingE and subsequently spread to other varieties of English from that source, a claim that can only be verified on the basis of diachronic data or in the absence of a plausible argument for independent local developments. The use of *less* with mass nouns is also commonly attested in learner varieties of English and even in English as a first language. It is therefore rather unlikely to have spread from SingE and more likely to be the result of independent developments. In fact, Denison and Hogg (2006: 38) argue that it is a case of analogical restructuring, making the use of *less* parallel to the use of *more*, which also had two different forms that varied with the type of noun it quantified. They conclude that ‘the fact that *more* has co-occurred with both types of noun since the end of the sixteenth century must surely help to explain the replacement of *fewer* by *less*’ (2006: 38). The change may have found additional support in dialect contact between speakers of English as a first and those who have it as an additional language. Thus, another possible reason for the – sometimes unexpectedly – widespread use of features might be what Hundt and Vogel (2011: 161) have called secondary language contact, i.e. influence from second language varieties on the English of speakers who acquired it as their first language. We discovered that New Zealanders use the progressive far more frequently than people in the UK, US or Australia, but we also found evidence of patterns that have so far been considered typical of varieties like IndE (e.g. the use of the present progressive where we would expect a simple present perfect). A related case is the use of the perfective (BrE, AmE) vs the progressive (IndE) following the string *This is the first time I*; the latter variant is also occasionally attested on web pages from Singapore, Australia, Hong Kong, Malta, etc. (Gupta 2006: 104). Even more importantly, it is also attested on UK-based web pages if the search string is extended to *This is the first time I have* and the construction thus targeted, but it is a lot less commonly used in internet data that are published on UK-based web pages than the variant with the perfective (Gupta 2006: 105). The perfective, in turn, is even less frequently attested in pages from the ‘.in’-domain in Gupta’s data. Gupta (2006: 105) concludes that

India is the exception at the moment, though it may turn out that as other Outer Circle countries become better represented on the Web, India will be joined by other places where the perfective is rare. India is not exceptional in its use of the progressive in this structure, but in the absence of the alternative perfect structure.

The searches were conducted in August 2004 (Gupta 2006: 100), so it is not surprising that the body of evidence on the use of the perfective after *This is the first time I* has since increased. The results of more recent searches, including domains that Gupta did not investigate, are summarized in Table 11.1.

Table 11.1 *This is the first time I have Ved vs This is the first time I am Ving* (Google search, 10 May 2010; approximate number of hits)

Domain	Perfective		Present progressive
.uk	9,370,000	86%	1,500,000
.ca	1,900,000	76%	599,000
.au	3,050,000	84%	591,000
.nz	469,000	67%	227,000
.in	18,600	11%	158,000
.sg	48,400	39%	75,400
.fi (Fiji)	9		6
.lk (Sri Lanka)	980	71%	395
.pk (Pakistan)	21,100	63%	12,600
.bd (Bangladesh)	9		4

The web pages retrieved in these searches were not all produced by speakers of the respective regional variety. In fact, it was quite obvious from sifting through the first ten hits on each list that some entries were written by people who were students from other parts of the world (e.g. an Indian student in New Zealand) or who were immigrants (e.g. somebody on an online dating forum on the .au domain specified his ethnic background as northern European). But nevertheless, the proportions of the perfective and the progressive in this grammatical context reveal interesting differences. They confirm that the perfective is the dominant pattern in the UK and that the progressive is preferred in India. As expected, the perfective is also the preferred option in Australia, whereas the present progressive dominates on web pages from Singapore (if not as strongly as on the pages hosted on Indian servers). Surprisingly, however, the progressive is also relatively frequent on Canadian and even more so on New Zealand web pages, maybe due to secondary dialect contact.¹⁸ Exo-normative and/or non-local influences seem to play a role on the .lk and .pk pages. It is particularly interesting that the language on pages from Pakistan does not seem to be influenced by the alleged regional epicentre of IndE. Data from Fijian and Bangladeshi pages are still too rare to be conclusive. But web-based data are problematic at another level because, among other reasons, we still know very little about register variation on the web and how it interacts with regional variation.¹⁹ Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad and Finegan's corpus-based grammar (1999: 20) states that 'grammatical differences across registers are more extensive than across dialects'. It is obvious that even at the acrolectal end of the continuum, the New Englishes will not be identical to the norms of standard BrE or AmE, especially where there is scope for variation among standard variants. In other words, web-based data that are not interpreted on a more qualitative basis are only very rough indicators of regional spread of a variant because they do not allow us to make claims about the functional equivalence of a variant nor about

speakers' attitudes (unless we happen to find metalinguistic comments). Web-based data also do not allow us to verify whether the feature under investigation spread from one variety to another or whether we are dealing with independent regional developments.

To sum up, corpus-based research only allows us to observe the frequency-based habit formation of a local linguistic norm. Attitudinal data are needed to test for the 'salience' of these linguistic 'habits'. Mair and Mollin (2007: 352) also point out that corpus analysis 'is not a sufficient condition for the determination of linguistic norms'. It needs to be complemented, for instance, by elicitation data (e.g. for features that happen not to be represented in a corpus) and attitude studies (to distinguish between mere indicators, on the one hand, and the psychologically more important markers and stereotypes). However, systematic corpus analysis is, as they say, 'the necessary first step in such an endeavor' (2007: 352). Another limit of the corpus-based approach in verifying the epicentre status of a variety is that it only allows us to show the relative closeness or distance of varieties. This, in itself, is not enough to verify the influence of one variety on another, especially in the area of morphosyntax (local lexis and its spread might be easier to study). Glocalization,²⁰ i.e. the mix of local with globally available linguistic structures, will further obscure the manifestation of influence of one variety on another.

11.6.2 Diachronic studies

We will now turn to the question whether epicentric influence can be studied synchronically or whether it needs diachronic data. Diachronic data may come from corpora in the narrow sense but also from historical dictionaries (see Peters 2009).

Cumulative evidence from various sources may be helpful in arguing for external influence or independent, regional development. One such case would be the possible cause of the recent spread of *proven* in NZE. In my study on NZE grammar (Hundt 1998: 36), I speculated that the change could be attributed either to influence from AmE or an internal revival from earlier Scottish influence on NZE. In the latter case, the development would have to be attributed to a variety-internal factor and would therefore be an example of a parallel development that had occurred without epicentric influence from AmE. At the time, I supported Bauer's (1997: 271) view that it would be ultimately impossible to decide whether we were dealing with a case of parallel internal development or influence from outside the sphere of NZE:

the precise origins of details of a variety such as New Zealand English are probably lost for all time; we can see the broad outlines of its origins, but cannot fill in all the minutiae. If this is true of Scottish influence in

New Zealand, which is generally believed to have been strong, it must be all the more true of other, weaker, influences.

Since then, however, new data have become available. Evidence on differential language change in BrE and AmE from ARCHER and fiction databases (Hundt 2009a: 22–4) shows that the revival of *proven* in AmE is an example of postcolonial revival starting in the nineteenth century. In written standard BrE, the form starts being used with some frequency again in the twentieth century:²¹ this strongly suggests influence on standard language use in Britain from AmE, despite the fact that the irregular participle has been attested in dialectal usage in EngEng dialects since the early sixteenth century. We can hypothesize that a similar influence also accounts for its spread in written standard NZE. This is confirmed by a search in a corpus of early New Zealand writing, spanning the period from the early colonial days to the first half of the twentieth century (see Hundt 2012), which provides only one instance of *proven* in an article published in the *Proceedings of the New Zealand Philosophical Society* from 1899:

- (1) Maui, the Polynesian hero, was undoubtedly a sun-god; that has been *proven* and accepted by scholars. (1899_treg)

Support of a much more indirect kind for the fact that the recent spread of *proven* in NZE is more likely to be due to epicentric influence from AmE than to the Scottish English input into NZE comes from the *Origins of NZE* project: Gordon *et al.* (2004: 75, 234f.)²² could not trace a significant impact of Scottish English influence in the formation of the NZ accent; this influence has been extremely local and is, furthermore, recessive. It is therefore rather unlikely that the Scottish English base could be made responsible for the spread of *proven* in twentieth-century NZE. But the question of how we can distinguish between historical developments that result in parallel or convergent developments on the one hand and epicentric influence on the other hand will remain one of the most difficult challenges in empirical research on old, new and emerging epicentres.

Peters (2009) uses evidence on the first attestation of regional lexical items from the *Australian National Dictionary* (1988) and the *Dictionary of New Zealand English* (1997), among others, to verify the epicentre status of Australian English (AusE) vis-à-vis New Zealand English (NZE). She argues that epicentric influence of one variety on another needs diachronic data to verify it:

Because southern hemisphere neologisms (both new coinings and new senses) can be more or less accurately dated through historical lexicography, the timing of their appearances in AusE and NZE can be compared, and the direction of input ascertained. (Peters 2009: 109)

Interestingly, she includes the possibility that a variety can exert influence on a neighbouring variety even before it has developed into an epicentre

(because the concept, in her definition, is closely connected with the existence of a regional standard): 'It is of no small interest to see whether Australian lexical inputs to NZE occur before and/or after AusE attained its epicentric status as a regional standard' (2009: 109). The evidence from her investigation of rural vocabulary derived from earlier convict sources and loanwords from Aboriginal languages²³ indeed shows that an evolving variety such as AusE may impact on a neighbouring variety well before it attains endonormativity as a regional epicentre:

these findings raise the question as to whether the early influence of one evolving variety on another should be characterized as *epicentric*; or whether that term should be reserved for Stage 4 [in Schneider's evolutionary model of New Englishes, M.H.]. In the strict sense of the term, those early ... AusE loanwords and inputs to NZE morphology represent *pre-epicentric* influence. Alternatively, one might argue for *epicentric* influence whenever it can be demonstrated in the interaction between evolving varieties.

Similarly, Christian Mair (personal communication) argues that the concept is useful to describe the transnational influence that one variety may have on another without necessarily involving global reach of the variety and thus it would be suitable to describe influences exerted both by fully standardized varieties and by standardizing and even non-standard ones. Even though I argued that the label 'epicentric influence' should not be restricted to dialect contact between standard national varieties of English only, I think that we should still constrain the use of the term to inter-varietal influences during or after stage 4 in Schneider's model is reached. In other words, it should include standardizing varieties but not the very early stages (stages 1 to 3 in Schneider's model) of new-dialect formation.

Diachronic data are better suited to show that certain linguistic features originate in one variety rather than another; they also allow us to see that linguistic features are adopted and even, with a pinch of salt, when this happens. The question remains whether people were consciously adopting these words or whether we find them in early New Zealand texts because the authors of the texts had spent some time in Australia before they migrated across the Tasman: the words *mob*, *muster* and *old hand* are all attested in NZ writing as early as 1841/42 (see Peters 2009: 110), i.e. very shortly after New Zealand had become a crown colony and English-speaking settlers started arriving in large numbers. An even more extreme case of an early adaptation of an Australian word in New Zealand would be *waddy* ('Aboriginal club'), which is attested in NZE from 1807 (see Peters 2009: 112), i.e. about a generation before New Zealand became a British crown colony. In other words, we see influence of one (evolving) variety on a variety that was still very much in the making. Regardless of the status of AusE at this time, we might prefer to consider this as one kind of dialect input into NZE rather than epicentric influence. For the

adoption of lexical items, in particular, consideration of the sociohistorical context of dialect contact is important:

The opening up of new agricultural areas in C19 by Australian development companies seems a powerful context for the takeup of Australian agricultural terms in NZ. New Zealanders working in the industry would adopt such terms simply because they were the normal terms of reference, rather than making individual decisions about them. (Pam Peters, personal communication, email 22 May 2010)

Diachronic data can be helpful in ascertaining whether a variety acts as a (local) epicentre. As pointed out above, longitudinal evidence on differential change in (post)colonial varieties of English allows us to verify whether a feature we find to be spreading in a variety is likely to be doing so from earlier dialect input into that variety or whether it is more likely to be due to external influence from another variety that is (currently) acting as a strong role model (either locally or on a global scale).

11.6.3 *Language attitude studies*

One factor that would contribute to the development of new epicentres in the southern hemisphere are the imperialist connotations associated with the two major northern hemisphere varieties, EngEng and USEng, but not with AusE or NZE. People in postcolonial settings might thus be more comfortable with AusE as an exonormative model than with either of the northern hemisphere varieties, as Leitner (2004: 343) argues:

Essentially, English can no longer be seen as a unified language in terms of international perceptions. And social connotations linked with English worldwide may apply to some of its national varieties or epi-centres more than to others. Those varieties that do not suffer, or do not suffer strongly, from negative connotations may benefit from an increased acceptability in the long run. The connotations of pluricentric English will thus have to be re-thought and, if there is evidence that political or other connotations are associated with them, re-defined.

The likelihood of a national variety to attain epicentral status is closely related to attitudinal data and how we perceive places (in this case, countries):

This *perceived* space shapes our spatial behaviours. If we perceive a place as frightening, attractive, relaxing etc, it may well affect our likelihood of going there, or our readiness to engage in interaction with people in or from those places. (Britain in press)

But attitudes towards countries that could provide exonormative models for ESL countries are rarely either black or white.²⁴ This can be illustrated

with attitudes that speakers from Fiji may have towards potential external norms. Traditionally, BrE is the variety that is perceived as the norm, as Tent and Mugler (2008: 236) point out:

The variety of English that operates as the official reference point in Fiji is an external standard. Traditionally it was British English, which continues to be seen by many speakers as the model to aspire to, although the local varieties which approximate to standard metropolitan varieties of English have incorporated features from Australian, New Zealand and, increasingly, American English.²⁵

There is empirical evidence that BrE still exerts very strong exonormative influence in Fiji. In a questionnaire, informants overwhelmingly gave Britain as the country where ‘the best English’ was spoken (see Hundt and Zipp *in preparation*): of the 149 informants, 74 (49.7%) stated a clear preference for Britain whereas only 34 (22.8%) gave the US as the country where the best English was spoken; Australia and New Zealand got 12 (8.1%) and 8 (5.4%) nominations, respectively. In other words, the results of our survey provide very slim evidence indeed that Australian or New Zealand English play a significant role as local epicentres for speakers of Fiji English. However, the attitudes towards the former colonial power can be quite mixed. A 61-year-old Indian from Fiji,²⁶ for instance, who had spent some time in England as part of his education, identified positively with England on one level but was also very critical towards England on various other levels. The following quotations from an interview illustrate this love–hate relationship:²⁷

actually when I was in England/ I really/ strangely enough/ e – even though I think that England had a very evil empire/ uh I I’m not a person who has uh supported colon – colonialism in any form/ but in a strange way I felt at home in England// maybe it was the English language/ maybe it was part of the fact that I was steeped in English literature/ all my education was in English/ and there were places in England that I saw that I identified with because they were part of my studies// and uhm it it it was just amazing//

I mean to this day/ if sometimes when I speak with English uhm people/ I cringe and I get very very angry/ and then I remind them that/ of their past/ uh which in many ways is unfair/ but given a given a chance/ England and its emp – / England would be back in its uhm/ with its empire if it could// (61-year-old Fiji Indian male)

The same informant even put part of the blame for the racial tensions between native Fijians and Fiji Indians on the original colonial government:

the situation in Fiji/ the political situation in Fiji/ the British never actually accepted/ I shouldn’t say the British because the British means Welsh/

Scots and the Irish/ the Irish I have great love for/ the English colonialism of Fiji never ever accepted that Fiji Indians could one day run that country/ and the whole policy of Fiji of the English government was to compartmentalise races// Fiji Indians and indigenous Fijians were living in the same house but in different rooms// they had no idea who or what was happening and they had no idea that uh Indians and Fijians could coexist as political partners// they coexisted very well as uh citizens of Fiji in that they co-operated with each other in business/ they uh co-operated with each other in tenure of land/ land leases/ uhm there was community involvement where Indians and Fijians worked together to do/ uh build civic institutions/ but the British always/ the English always kept the Indians and Fijians apart politically because they knew that once the Indians and Fijians started thinking together politically/ that was the end of the Brit– English regime// (61-year-old Fiji Indian male)

A lot of Fiji Indians migrated to New Zealand in the wake of the 1987 coup, and because of lasting racial tensions as well as political unrest, New Zealand (alongside Australia and the US) continues to be a place that Indians in Fiji are keen to move to. New Zealand English is thus likely to be a variety that Indians in Fiji might perceive very positively. But the native Fijians might have very different attitudes towards New Zealand and Australia because these South Pacific neighbours have been very critical of the Fijian government/leadership.²⁸ In other words, even within the same country, the potential of a variety to attain epicentral status may depend on the individual's experience with the country that is associated with this variety.

We saw earlier that Leitner (2004) is quite confident that AusE has already started to act as a regional epicentre in the Asia-Pacific region. The following comment in Kachru and Nelson's (2006: 86) book on World Englishes in an Asian context calls for a more cautious interpretation of the 'facts': 'Australian, Canadian and New Zealand Englishes are still rare as norms.'²⁹

Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (2003: 547–9) report on a pilot study they conducted concerning attitudes of New Zealanders towards lexical pairs (like *lift* and *elevator* or *biscuit* and *cookie*) in which respondents were asked to evaluate the typical Kiwi-ness of 41 sentences. Their evidence suggests that some lexical items are spreading but still perceived as exotic whereas others are being reinterpreted as local. Similarly, Vine (1999) found that her informants often used the AmE word when they wanted to make a semantic distinction, e.g. between *serviettes* (made from paper) and *napkins* (made from cloth) or between *biscuits* (bought) and *cookies* (home-made).

Attitudinal data in themselves do not give us the whole picture, however. Söderlund and Modiano (2002) investigate the attitudes of Swedish upper-secondary school students towards British, American and Mid-Atlantic English.³⁰ They point out that it is important to collect information on both

Table 11.2 *Verifying epicentral status empirically: mapping methodological requirements against different methodologies*

	Corpus-based (synchronic)	Diachronic (incl. corpus-based)	Attitudinal
Equivalence of variables	✓	✓	—
Influence vs parallel development	?	✓	—
Perception	—	—	✓
Sociohistorical context of adoption	?	✓	✓

use and attitudes because ‘individuals could very well declare that they prefer BrE, feel that they themselves speak BrE, and then use a considerable number of AmE features in their speech and writing’ (2002: 148).

Table 11.2 shows the extent to which the different approaches fulfil the methodological requirements outlined at the beginning of this section.

11.7 Conclusion

In sum, we may ask whether the theoretical pitfalls and methodological stumbling blocks make the epicentre concept a less-than-useful construct for the description of New Englishes. Just like the notion of ‘colonial lag’,³¹ the concept of new and emerging epicentres in a pluricentric language has immediate intuitive appeal. So far, however, it has been theoretically under-specified. If the metaphorical base is taken from geography (i.e. an earthquake as the source domain) the epicentre concept might even be misleading because it conceptualizes epicentric influence as a phenomenon that affects immediately adjacent territories. Without such a metaphorical base, the term could be used more literally, simply in the sense of ‘additional’ centre; this would allow for both local influence and influence from more distant epicentres and thus account for northern hemisphere varieties impacting southern hemisphere varieties.

In my critique of the concept, I have drawn on research that looks at non-standard language use rather than standard varieties of English. The little theorizing that has been devoted to the notion of the epicentre so far, and the empirical research that has been conducted, has happened largely in isolation from ongoing discussions in dialectology. The concept could thus benefit from broadening to include influence on the vernacular level and the theoretical as well as methodological underpinnings of research into non-standard varieties of English.

Furthermore, I hope to have shown that it is extremely difficult to empirically verify the epicentric influence of one variety on another.

In particular, we lack studies that combine evidence on usage and attitudes towards potential exonormative model varieties. These are needed especially to complement synchronic corpus data, which only allow us to model the relative closeness or distance of varieties. Diachronic data have the advantage that they provide good arguments that allow us to distinguish between influence and independent regional developments. Another aspect that needs to be addressed in future studies and that is part of the sociohistorical context of adoption is the role that institutional links (e.g. in the educational sector) play in fostering (and maintaining) epicentric influence (see Biewer 2012).

In attempting to verify epicentral status for a variety, we have to be aware of an important caveat, namely that in so doing we will always be abstracting from the specific occasions on which individuals orient towards the particular variety as one possible set of norms. Furthermore, different centres can be present in individual communicative settings, as Blommaert (2010: 40) points out:

It is obvious that even though places impose rules and restrictions on what can happen in communication there, every environment in which humans convene and communicate is almost by definition polycentric, in the sense that more than one possible centre can be distinguished. One can follow norms or violate them at any step of the process, and sometimes this is wilfully done while on other occasions it comes about by accident or because of the impossibility of behaving in a particular way.

But it is possible to research this level of abstraction on both the language use and the attitudinal level.

Finally, it is important to remember that the epicentre concept is not a neutral one, especially if it is defined as relating to a regional standard variety. The original use of the epicentre concept is thus closely associated with the discussion of norms in the context of teaching English as a second and foreign language. This is a discourse where the question which variety attains (epi)centric status has political and economic repercussions. The question of linguistic hegemony, for instance, surfaces in an online style guide³² which equates ‘International English’ with BrE and advises people to ‘[u]se English (sometimes referred to as British English or International English – since it is generally used throughout the Commonwealth) not American English’. In an interview, Tom McArthur comments on the pecking order of World Englishes in the following way:

So American and British are at the top, comprising a kind of dual world standard, followed by Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the Irish Republic, South Africa, the Philippines, the Caribbean, and West and East Africa. Some people may suppose that the idealized standard forms of American or British (or British and American) are the ‘best’, and others will do the job but are not so select. Other people, however, and I think increasingly, seem to be interested in a broader world standard which

can be taught from any native-speaking base, as long as students are provided with examples of other varieties. (In Rubdy and Saraceni 2006: 26)

But the question as to who is 'best' suited to provide a model for teaching means real money, as regional norms (and publishing houses) are competing for their share of the ELT industry.

Pluricentric language models and the epicentre concept that is part of it are useful because they challenge the idea that English is dominated by BrE and AmE. The fact that we (as linguists) would like to see new epicentres evolve does not automatically imply that this will actually be the case: simply claiming epicentral status for a variety without empirical proof is not enough. We need studies that combine the usage and the attitude aspect. We will also get a better grip on this rather slippery issue as more diachronic evidence as well as data on the social, economic and cultural factors that foster epicentric influence become available.

12 Driving forces in English contact linguistics

SALIKOKO S. MUFWENE

12.1 Introduction

It is still acceptable among some historians of the English language to investigate its evolution without factoring in language contact. The recently published *Handbook of the History of English* (Kemenade and Los 2009), for instance, is devoted to what Cable (2008: 12) characterizes as the “internal history” of English and the two chapters in the volume that focus on Old and Middle English dialects (written by Richard Hogg and by Margaret Laing and Roger Lass, respectively) show only marginal interest in the social dynamics that produced them.

In this chapter, I argue that this practice is misguided. Although it may provide an adequate account of the successive structural changes that led to the present altered and variable state of English around the world, it would not account for precisely why the language has evolved differentially, in these specific ways, but not otherwise. Assuming, as in Mufwene (2009a), that English creoles and pidgins are among the latest offspring of the English language, the approach would disenfranchise these particular varieties as separate languages on no other ground than the misguided claim that they are contact-based but so-called “English dialects” are not.¹ Misunderstanding the theoretical significance of variation in the specific ecologies of the spread of English around the world, viz. that different varieties (scholastic versus vernacular) transmitted through different means (the school system versus naturalistic interactions) produced differing outputs, the approach would also continue to characterize the so-called “indigenized Englishes” simply as anomalous by-products of the transmission of English in Britain’s exploitation colonies (see Mufwene 2001; Schneider 2007, this volume). It would thus be equally incapable of accounting for the indigenization that also occurred during the speciation of English into the so-called “native Englishes” of North America, Australia, New Zealand, and Ireland, in settlement colonies where English was indeed adapted to the communicative habits and cultural patterns of its new speakers (Mufwene 2009b).² Likewise, the traditional approach to the history of the English language would be misguided in not grounding in contact both the origins of the language and its evolution in

England and, more generally, in the British Isles. The growing literature on Celtic Englishes speaks otherwise (e.g. Corrigan 2010; Filppula 1999, 2010; Filppula, Klemola and Paulasto 2008; Hickey 2010b; Kallen 1997; Tristram 2006).

Pace Salmons and Purnell (2010: 455), I argue in this chapter that the history of English and any modern language is necessarily contact-based (Mufwene 2001, 2005, 2008) and that of English in the British Isles and former English settlement colonies is certainly no different, from its little-explained origins to date. The distinction between, on the one hand, creoles and pidgins and, on the other, the non-creole/pidgin language varieties other than “indigenized Englishes” and the like³ is fundamentally a sociohistorical one (Mufwene 2000). It also has to do largely – but not exclusively – with the particular varieties that were transmitted to other populations (vernacular versus scholastic), the ways in which they were transmitted (through naturalistic interactions versus teaching in the classroom), and a number of ecological factors subsumed by POPULATION STRUCTURE, some of which I articulate below. Like Trudgill (1986) and, for that matter, Salmons and Purnell (2010), I assume that contact applies as much to settings where speakers of different languages come to interact with each other as to those in which speakers of different dialects come to coexist in the same social space, leading to what is known as *koinéization*. However, I also subscribe to the view that contact is important even in a population that can be considered monolectal, because linguistic interactions usually occur between individuals speaking different idiolects. It is the speakers’ influences on each other during their regular interactions that lead their idiolects to converge into sociolects and/or dialects, which both linguists and speakers have assumed to be relatively homogeneous in comparison with other communal varieties. Therefore, the fundamental form of contact that really matters is inter-idiolectal, regardless of whether the interactants are monolingual or multilingual (Mufwene 2001 *et seq.*). Overall, I apply to the differential history of English the ecological approach to language evolution outlined elsewhere (Mufwene 1996, 2001 *et seq.*).

I am far from being an expert on the history of the English language. Below, I outline from the perspective of language contact a history of English based on population movements and particular socioeconomic conditions of interactions that caused both its emergence in England and the subsequent structural changes it has undergone in different territories and at different times. My approach can also be interpreted as a rejection of traditional historical accounts that still reflect the nineteenth-century ideology of language and race purity. Treating languages as organisms, such accounts have dodged the question of their origins, despised hybridization, ignored much of the variation that can shed light on the nature and dynamics of its internal ecology, paid little attention to variation in the contact settings that accounts for differences in present-day Englishes,

and overlooked the role of contact in the emergence of the varieties considered “native.” This is surprisingly evident even in Trudgill (2004a) – contrary to Trudgill (1986, 2008)! – to which Meyerhoff (2006) and Mufwene (2006) have responded in great detail.

Capitalizing on POPULATION STRUCTURE as an ecological complex of factors, I focus especially on the following:

1. There is no language contact without interacting individuals. Interactions can be oral or in writing. But the latter, technologically altered form of interaction highlights another factor underscored by Weinreich (1953): the locus of language contact is the mind of the speaker, where, indeed, the various influences that shape the language, more precisely the idiolect, operate. An interesting question is how some of the individual-based patterns evolve into communal norms, while others do not.
2. As explained in Mufwene (2001 *et seq.*), population structure regulates the particular interactions that take place in a contact setting, especially who can interact with whom and under what particular ethnographic conditions. This constraint also stipulates what particular language variety must or can be used in particular interactions. At the more general level of socioeconomic structure, it determines whether a multi-lingual population (i.e. one in which more than one language is used, each associated with one particular group) is residentially segregated or mixed, thus whether members of the population interact easily across language boundaries and whether a language spreads naturalistically through informal interactions or artificially and in a codified form through the school system.
3. When migrations are involved and one migrating population dominates an indigenous population or just another, we interpret the social process as colonization. According to Mufwene (2001 *et seq.*), different forms of colonization impose different forms of population structures, which bear ecology-specifically on language contact. Both colonization and population structure bear differentially on language evolution, which, I maintain, is always contact-based, insofar as we agree that the basic form of contact is interidiolectal. As argued by Trudgill (1986) and Mufwene (1996, 2001 *et seq.*), dialect and language contact operate in similar ways, regarding both the competition and selection that obtain between variants and the ecological factors that determine the outcome.
4. Last but not least, we must always bear in mind that populations consist of interacting individuals, who are not equally gifted in learning any language, including their mother tongues (Mufwene 2010). Moreover, individual speakers do not acquire language in identical situations, as they have different interactional histories; therefore they do not develop identical competences (Wolfram 2000). The outcome of language

evolution in a particular contact setting is thus also largely determined by the proportions of both gifted and poorly gifted language learners, notwithstanding the particular varieties they have been exposed to and the frequency of interactions they have had in the relevant language with speakers of various degrees of competence. Note again that this chapter focuses on what the traditional approach characterizes as external history. It provides some justification for incorporating this dimension more regularly in studies of the evolution of English, as of other languages.

12.2 The contact-based emergence of English

The origins of English are certainly an area that makes it compelling to study the evolution of English from the perspective of language contact. The history of the colonization of England by the Angles, the Saxons, the Jutes, and the Frisians suggests no other option, as no English language was spoken in Continental Europe before their settlement in England in the fifth century. Old English was definitely born in England (see Fischer, this volume). Thus, it is odd that when Bailey and Maroldt (1977) compared English to a creole, they focused on its contact with French and its subsequent evolution into Middle English rather than on its contact-based emergence. This bias may have to do with the fact that Old English emerged out of contacts between primarily Germanic language varieties and may thus be considered a koiné. Regardless of whether or not Old English should be so treated – and it is debatable whether the Germanic language varieties were to some extent mutually intelligible (Leith 2007) – it is evident that its emergence was contact-based. Also, although it has traditionally been assumed that the Celtic languages contributed little to the grammar of English (and that the relevant influence would perhaps not have been prior to the Middle English period), Filppula (2010) argues convincingly that Celtic contributions to the earliest stages of English cannot be overlooked and that the evidence is growing in support of a contact account of the evolution of Old English (see Klemola, this volume). Among possible Celtic contributions, he lists periphrastic *do*, the loss of inflections (though this has also been associated with changes in the stress pattern), SVO word order (by convergence with Irish), and “the internal possessor construction” as in *John wiped his face* (2010: 434–5).

Regarding the origins, the name *English* itself raises an interesting question: was there really koinéization of the Germanic language varieties brought from Continental Europe? The etymology suggests that instead of “dialect-leveling” (a definition I dispute in Mufwene 2001 in favor of a feature competition-and-selection characterization), one particular language variety, that of the Angles, prevailed and spread at the expense of the others. The other Germanic populations would of course not have shifted abruptly

to the language (variety) of the Angles, nor would the shift have been a clean one without substrate influence. After all, it took about two centuries, from the fifth to the seventh, before there actually was some evidence of a new language that was indigenous to England and distinct from, though still related to, the foreign language varieties that the Germanic colonists had brought with them. Two centuries are actually about the time it took for people to stipulate the separate systemic identity of creoles as new indigenous, contact-based language varieties in the English plantation settlement colonies since the seventeenth century. It is typically in the nineteenth century, late eighteenth century at the earliest, that creoles were disfranchised as separate languages allegedly unintelligible to speakers of the metropolitan varieties and others spoken by European colonists not residing on the relevant plantations.

If the Angles had not prevailed by the seventh century, it would certainly be informative to find out what particular social, political, and/or economic dynamics since the unification of the different Germanic kingdoms by King Alfred in the ninth century would have favored the varieties of the Angles over those of Saxons, Jutes, and Frisians. It would be equally useful to learn in what particular ways the other Germanic populations contributed elements that restructured the target variety into Old English. Is it sufficient to invoke the role of the King in recruiting scribes primarily from Wessex, his original kingdom, to account for the spread of primarily Anglo-Saxon features? While this may be true for written English, it does not necessarily apply to spoken English, which would have evolved at its own pace and subject to different social dynamics. It must also be informative to find out, whenever evidence may emerge, whether dialectal variation in Old English may be correlated not only with variation in the literary competence of the scribes and in the specific time of the scribing but also with variation in demographic composition of particular regions (see Wright, this volume). The latter would have to do not only with the proportion of the Celts relative to the Germanics in different regions but also with whether the scribes used King Alfred's language natively or non-natively even if they were of Germanic descent.

As explained in Mufwene (2001), koinéization as dialect-leveling or reduction to a common denominator appears to be an erroneous myth. Reduction to a common denominator would produce a non-functional language, especially since kinship among related dialects or genetically related languages is on the family-resemblance model and there would have been very few distinctly Germanic features shared by all the varieties in contact. The term "dialect-leveling" does not do justice to the competition-and-selection process that was involved in the emergence of the new variety. In the case of Old English, the population-movements history of its emergence suggests that for at least one century the Germanic colonists must have continued to speak their ancestral, continental varieties, until the

“attractor” (in the language of chaos theory) or stochastic event that favored the variety of the Angles over the other Germanic language varieties, though it won only a pyrrhic victory.

12.3 The post-origins history of English in England

From a language-contact perspective, the post-origins evolution of English in England is no less interesting than that of its origins. It is a long history of language shifts by various populations, indigenous and non-indigenous, even if one does not include nineteenth- and twentieth-century immigrants to the United Kingdom. It calls for an account of why the relevant populations did not all shift at the same speed and why they did not all exert the same amount of influence on the structure of the adopted language. In addition, it raises the question of why English is still considered a Germanic language, thus why the kind of question that has arisen about the genetic affiliation of creoles has not been addressed about the mixed, contact history of English. Are linguists so justified in denying creoles membership in the Indo-European language family?

This protracted history of language shift is particularly interesting because it reveals how much the process has been associated with power and demographics in particular. It also makes it easier to understand the sociological foundation of the distinction between substratum and imposition, as the former influence has been associated with dominated populations, originally the (more) indigenous group in a colony, and the latter with the group that is dominant politically, economically, and/or militarily, consisting usually of colonists. The shift was (the most) protracted among the Celts, the most constant language-shifting population in the British Isles. What is especially significant is the fact that the Celts did not all shift to English “en masse,” at one particular time. Rather, different individuals shifted in their own time, depending on when they found themselves under particular ecological conditions that compelled them to function in the conqueror’s language. That the shift was protracted is evidenced by the fact that there were still monolingual Celts in England by the end of the nineteenth century, if not way into the twentieth century.

The demographics are relevant because, based on the growing literature on Celtic Englishes, the Celts are the population that appears to have influenced vernacular English grammar the most extensively and thus to have “de-germanicized” it typologically to some extent (Klemola, this volume). This outcome is partly a consequence of the fact that the Celts were involved early in the process of the emergence of the new indigenous language, aside from being the majority in the Old English and probably also in the Middle English periods. Being the most indigenous and more numerous than the Germanic colonists, they must have exerted substrate influence on the colonial language, as is more obvious in the later case of

shift among the Irish, especially when they used the new language among themselves (Vennemann 2011). We can safely infer this phenomenon based on what has been learned from the emergence of creoles and “indigenized Englishes” in European plantation settlement colonies and exploitation colonies since the seventeenth century. The history of language shift among the Celts is also one in which the term *substratum* applies literally, consistent with the original geological-strata metaphor, as the more indigenous Celtic languages were being replaced by the emergent language.

In relation to both Celtic influence and the Germanic inheritance in English, Latin has contributed superstrate influence⁴ through lexical and structural or stylistic borrowings, associated with no language shift, as the English populations (in the modern sense) resorted to this Romans’ language as the medium of scholarship, the law, and international trade (used by the Hanseatic League for book-keeping). This was a legacy of pre-Germanic, Roman colonization and of Christianity. Later, as English rose to function in domains formerly associated with Latin, it borrowed extensive vocabulary and some structural and stylistic features that were deemed suitable for those particular domains. Note that all this happened during a period when Latin grammar was considered the perfect grammar emulated by the European elite who were standardizing their languages. Thus, this particular history of language contact also highlights the role of population structure in determining the particular socioeconomic stratum of the English-speaking population that participated in the borrowing and spreading processes, as well as the particular domains of the language being influenced (see Schendl, this volume). In the case of Latin, administrative and scholarly English bears more of this superstrate influence than vernacular English.

The story of the contact of English with French is in some ways similar to that of Latin, as the latter functioned as the language of administration, the royal court, and the court of law for about three centuries since the Norman Conquest and was used by a minority elite of the Celtic and Germanic populations that can be characterized as “colonial auxiliaries” (by analogy to what happened in European colonies since the seventeenth century). French may have also functioned as the language of scholarship even after the demise of the Norman rule, though Latin was still the most prestigious scholarly language in Europe then. There must have been a certain amount of English–French bilingualism among the English speakers (of Celtic and Germanic descents) who interacted with the Norman monarchy and functioned in its administration, as well as within the Norman ruling class that cared to understand the colonized population and/or mixed with its members. References to the category of “Anglo-Normans” in England’s and Ireland’s histories are suggestive of such “interethnic” mixing. In any case, the Normans eventually gave up French and shifted to English, and this is where it parts company with Latin.⁵ We can then speak of imposition

from French. While Norman French has been associated with the Great Vowel Shift, it would be interesting to determine the extent of structural influence from this language on vernacular English. From social and geographical perspectives, languages do not evolve uniformly. The contact of English with Norman French is likely to inform us about the impact of population structure on language evolution, as French influence is likely to have been more significant in the affluent, non-vernacular than in the vernacular domains of the English life. Contact with the Scandinavian languages is no less interesting, especially because it also involved shift to English, the indigenous language, by powerful foreign populations. Because these continental European languages are West Germanic, it would be interesting to find out the extent to which structural congruence favored Germanic patterns over alternatives introduced in the feature pool by French and Latin.

However, English was also exported to Scotland and Ireland, and it apparently spread much faster in the former, where it evolved into Scots, than in the latter.⁶ While both cases involved uncontested histories of language contact and shift, I will focus here on English in Ireland based on a very informative short account provided by Corrigan (2010), which, for me, highlights, among other things, the significance of economy in driving language spread and the role of population structure in determining non-uniform evolution. It is actually an account of a protracted history of language shift that has the positive side effect of shedding light on why it took so long for the Celts in England to adopt English as their vernacular. It may also suggest the explanation for why Britannic Celts did not shift to Norman French and Old Norse, while these were spoken in England for centuries.

During a number of plantation regimes in Ireland, the English planters did not recruit Irish laborers, preferring to people their estates with populations from the Scottish Lowlands and the English North and North Midlands. On the other hand, some of the Anglo-Norman settlers also gaelicized, providing no incentives for the native population to learn English, let alone shift to it. These practices were an important barrier to the swift spread of English; they slowed down the spread of the colonial language for some centuries. Until the seventeenth century, indeed the time when the colonization of North America and the Caribbean started, the English settlements in Ireland were confined especially to urban centers, at a time when the vast majority of the Irish population was rural. Interactions between the English and the Irish were thus too limited to incite massive interest in the colonial language.

If the plantation system played an important role in sustaining the introduction of English to Ireland, albeit to the plantations that were developed around the urban centers, the linen industry in the eighteenth century spread it inland to the emergent industrial centers that would then

hire Irishmen for work. Like the migrant workers who played a greater role than the school system in showing how lucrative it was to speak English even if one was not well educated (Odlin 2003), the linen industry and the associated business did as much in the eighteenth century. Improved communication and use of English in the nineteenth-century post-Famine agrarian reforms later contributed to the ultimate demise of Irish, aggravated by emigration to North America.

Like the Britannic Celts, the Irish were colonized by a foreign population whose language they did not need unless they would directly interact with them (the colonists) and hoped to benefit from competence in the colonial language. The naturalistic mode of acquisition in a setting where the Natives would also interact a lot among themselves in the new language paved the way for substrate influence and divergence, just the kinds of factors that bore on the divergence of English into English creoles in the Caribbean, among other colonies, and into “indigenized Englishes” in former British exploitation colonies (Mufwene 2001 *et seq.*). The rest is a matter of identifying what specific structural changes distinguish Irish English from British Englishes, what particular factors resolved the relevant competition and selection processes in favor of Irish substrate features, and whether it was pure substrate transfers into English or modification by partial congruence between Irish and English, the kinds of specific questions that experts on Irish English are better placed to address.

12.4 English outside the British Isles

The evolution of English outside the British Isles is both a concomitant and a consequence of England’s and, later, the United Kingdom’s colonization ventures. It is necessarily marked by contacts between its own dialects, which produced interesting colonial koinés, and by contacts between these and other languages indigenous to the colonies or brought there from elsewhere with the enslaved and contract laborers. The strange thing is that some of the new, colonial varieties have been disfranchised as somewhat anomalous by-products of language contact, as if none of the others were. Reflecting the nineteenth-century ideology of language purity and uniparental descent, linguists have typically treated English creoles and “indigenized Englishes” like children out of wedlock, while accepting the colonial varieties associated primarily with populations of European descent as new English dialects, thus as (more) legitimate offspring of English (Mufwene 2001). Yet the “dialects” are also by-products of language contact, indigenized in the sense of being adapted to the previous communicative habits and current communicative needs of (some of) its new speakers (Mufwene 2009a), often no less divergent from British Englishes, if a common yardstick could at all be posited for measuring divergence (Mufwene 2001).⁷

The distinction between settlement, trade, and exploitation colonies (adopted in Mufwene 2001 *et seq.* and elaborated by Schneider 2007) remains a significant ecological factor, although the typology has been subsequently refined (Mufwene 2008). Like other colonial powers, the British colonizers were not invested in sharing their language as a vernacular in all the territories they colonized. While they may not have deliberately imposed it in settlement colonies, they set up socioeconomic structures that made it impossible to survive adaptively in the new world order without eventually shifting to English, especially among the locally born populations. Nonetheless, as explained below, the language did not evolve uniformly in all such colonies, which is why, for example, Southern Hemisphere Englishes as a group (Trudgill 2004a) are different from American English(es).

On the other hand, the 1835 Macaulay “Minute” in India, which is actually true of other European exploitation colonies, makes it obvious that the British intended to share their language with no more than a small elite class of colonial auxiliaries who would serve both as buffers and as intermediaries between them and the colonized populations. They did not even intend for the auxiliaries to use it as a vernacular; the practice of “indigenized Englishes” as vernaculars among small minorities of English non-European speakers is an unanticipated consequence of how things evolved after the independence of the former colonies, in which the colonial language also became emblematic of scholastic accomplishment and a particular socioeconomic status. Note also that the mode of language transmission itself, dependent on teaching in school, is in contrast with the way English spread in settlement and trade colonies, primarily by naturalistic learning, as I explain below.⁸

The evidence is now mounting in favor of the gradual emergence of pidgins by increasing divergence (say, basilectalization) away from the “lexifier.” During the initial contacts of Europeans with non-Europeans, before or at the onset of the trade colonies, the traders depended on interpreters, either non-Europeans taken to Europe or Europeans left behind, both of whom were forced by their non-enviable circumstances to learn the relevant languages by immersion. These would learn closer approximations of the trade languages than the varieties identified later as pidgins. It is only after trade intensified in the relevant colonies that less and less competent users of the relevant trade language (owing to sporadic contacts with native/fluent speakers) engaged in transactions and restructured it more extensively (Mufwene 2005, 2008), while all parties were content with rudimentary communication in the transaction. Since the non-native speakers assumed they were speaking or approximating the other party’s language, it is debatable whether their deficient competence is a sufficient reason for disfranchising their variety as non-English. After all, native English varieties are not always mutually intelligible and a variety need not be spoken natively or as a vernacular in order to be recognized as a

language variety. This was never an issue with Esperanto, for instance. In fact, incipient pidgins certainly met the communicative needs of the settings in which they were used. Moreover, like other languages, a number of them have expanded their structures and adapted them to meet more extensive communicative needs and now function as vernaculars.

One should also note that settlement colonies were not all of the same kind; variation in the ways they were settled and in the ensuing population structures bore on how English evolved (Mufwene 2001 *et seq.*, Schneider 2007). English creoles evolved in colonies that thrived on what Chaudenson (2001) calls agro-industry and relied on slave laborers, who constituted the overwhelming majority of the colonial populations and were segregated early from the European populations, soon after they eclipsed the latter demographically. At the peak of the sugar cane and rice cultivation, the slave populations experienced rapid population replacements and grew more by importation of new slaves than by birth. This strange population growth pattern fostered significant substrate influence (apparently more in the form of congruence than as transfers from the substrate languages; Mufwene 2001, 2005, 2008, 2010; Winford, this volume), which caused the emergent creoles to diverge from the English vernaculars that developed in the other settlement colonies, where the European populations became the (overwhelming) majorities. It is also noteworthy that owing to the parochial way in which Continental Europeans settled in the English colonies of North America and Australia, which enabled them to develop their mini-national socioeconomic systems in which they operated in their heritage languages, these settlers shifted quite late to English. In fact, they did it too late to influence the emergent colonial Englishes in the same way as the African slaves, who shifted much earlier, did (Mufwene 2009a), although, as shown by Salmons and Purnell (2010), they did influence it nonetheless.

These are the ecological conditions that led linguists to conclude, by negative deduction, that only the English varieties which emerged on plantation settlement colonies, creoles and, to some extent, African American Vernacular English (AAVE), were by-products of language contact. The others were presumably natural and presumably (more) legitimate offspring of British English, which diverged only because their speakers/producers were separated from their relatives in Europe by the Ocean. Little notice was taken of the fact that Continental European immigrants gradually shifted to the emergent colonial koinés as their vernaculars and contributed to the structures of their local English varieties, by congruence or by outright transfers from their heritage substrate languages. It is less significant that, as discussed above, their belated contributions may be considered marginal, owing largely to some typological similarities among Western European languages, the late, post-formative timing of the shift, and the gradual, intergenerational nature of the shift.⁹

To be sure, AAVE is also a by-product of plantation settlement colonies, though only of those associated with tobacco cultivation in Virginia and the cotton industry in the rest of the American South. On the other hand, while this shows that even the language varieties that emerged in plantation settings differ structurally among themselves (in correlation with variation in plantation systems), it leaves open the question of why White American Southern English is structurally so similar to AAVE. The traditional account since the eighteenth century is that white southerners had been influenced by the speech habits of their black nannies, although history tells us that 80–90 percent of the white southern population during the seventeenth–nineteenth centuries could not afford black nannies; in fact 50–75 percent of them were (descendants of) indentured servants (Kulikoff 1986) and spoke non-prestigious non-standard vernacular English varieties. If we factor in the fact that race segregation in the American South's hinterlands did not start until the late nineteenth century, there is every reason to believe that White American Southern English and AAVE evolved together as one single variety (Schneider 1995), which did not speciate into separate ethnolects until after the institutionalization of segregation (Bailey and Thomas 1998). As a matter of fact, Poplack and Tagliamonte (2001) and the contributions to Poplack (1999) argue quite convincingly that the features now considered African American originate in non-standard English rather than in pre-Emancipation Gullah-like English creoles.¹⁰ This does not mean that African languages made no contribution to Southern English (*pace*, e.g. Krapp 1924), as they must have contributed to the selection of particular colonial English features by congruence. It simply means that (White) American Southern English is also contact-based. Moreover, we cannot ignore the koinéization that was involved in the formation of the latter.

However, does this mean that the other White American English varieties have nothing to do with contact? Did all the Scots-Irish who settled on the Appalachian Mountains speak English before emigrating from the British Isles? What do we make of Corrigan's (2010) claim that substantial proportions of the populations in the Irish countryside did not speak English well into the nineteenth century and that a number of those who did not accept the anglicization of Ireland emigrated to North America? What do we make of the growing literature on language shift in North America that reveals that some European-Americans did not shift to English until the twentieth century? Does shift not presuppose language contact, with bilingual speakers constituting the generational transition from the heritage language to the dominant one? Similar questions arise indeed about English in Australia, originally an English penal settlement colony where populations of European descent are now the (dominant) majority and where, at least according to Clyne (2003), Continental Europeans have typically also shifted to English, albeit in a protracted fashion. Interestingly, the shift's

chronological pattern in both Australia and North America is basically the same as what Corrigan (2010) reports for Ireland: it took place first in urban centers and (much) later in rural areas. It is all consistent with the development trend of the modern, industrial economy, whose impact radiates gradually to the rural areas.¹¹

The alert reader will not let me off the hook that easily and will ask: if, say, American Midwestern and New England's English varieties are also by-products of language contact, why are they not as divergent from British English(es?) as AAVE and White American Southern English are? First of all, what is the standard yardstick for measuring divergence in this case? Was the *terminus a quo* the same for different contact settings in North America? Then we can of course also ask whether the former varieties are indeed less divergent. All we know is that they differ from each other. A more adequate question is why there is not much conspicuous evidence of Continental European influence on them, as may be attested in say Yiddish English, for instance?

On the other hand, we must remember that the question of substrate influence has been elusive even in the case of AAVE. We must also remember that there was a time when people also spoke of, for example, German and Italian Englishes, which have been vanishing. There is thus no shortage of evidence for language contact in the shaping of American Englishes. These considerations also raise the question of why these varieties have been vanishing, while AAVE and (White) American Southern English show so much resilience, as stigmatized as they are.

In Mufwene (2009b), I address these questions by invoking the factor of periodization proposed by Chaudenson (2001) to account for variation in the formation of French creoles. Language shift was not experienced by all non-anglophone immigrants (forced and voluntary) at the same time. As suggested above, those who were socioeconomically most destitute, viz., the African slaves and some European indentured servants, were under tremendous pressure to shift since their arrival in the colonies, especially those who arrived during the homestead phase and were integrated in the small family-size dwellings in which they were minorities. They simply had no choice. As the plantation colonies evolved from the homestead into the plantation phase, during which the slaves became either majorities or substantial proportions of the colonial populations, Creole slaves, who spoke only or primarily the colonial vernaculars, became the linguistic models for the Bozal slaves and thus played an important role in the linguistic anglicization of the slave population. Consequently, along with the indentured servants, the slaves were the first non-anglophones to anglicize linguistically as they acculturated to the new socioeconomic world order.

Unlike the slaves and European indentured servants, the free European immigrants settled in their separate national mini-colonies, developing their own parochial national socioeconomic structures and operating in their

respective national languages. For them the Americanization process, which entailed linguistic anglicization, did not start until after the American Revolution. As noted above, many European Americans from Continental Europe did not shift to English as their vernacular until either late in the nineteenth century or early in the twentieth century. We can thus conclude that White American Englishes outside the plantation South evolved mostly by koinéization, without (significant) participation of Continental Europeans. The latter shifted after the fundamental indigenization cum Americanization of English had already occurred.

An important reason why Continental European immigrants did not exert as much influence as could be expected from their large, today's majority proportion is that, as noted above, they shifted incrementally, depending on when they felt the socioeconomic pressure to do so, with the adults always constituting a minority of L2 speakers and the children approximating the Anglo native accent more faithfully than the parents. Thus, the children became important agents of selection who condemned most of their parents' non-native features out of the system (Mufwene 2001, 2005, 2008). The selection must have operated in much the same way as with immigrants today, with the children Americanizing faithfully and the parents taking most of their non-American features with them to their graves.

In other words, language shift among the vast majority of European Americans of non-English descent took place at a time when selective pressures for integration in the current socioeconomic world order were very unfavorable to non-American features. This is why varieties such as German and Italian Englishes have been vanishing (and it is only a matter of time before Yiddish English follows in their wake). American varieties that emerged before the shift, including AAVE, are part of the variation that survives. They are deeply entrenched and prevail on later emergent varieties by the founder principle (Mufwene 1996, 2001). I surmise that more or less the same explanation applies to the limited influence of Continental European and Asian languages, which were brought in later than British English dialects, on the structures of Australian and New Zealand Englishes, although in all cases lexical influence from all these sources is undeniable.

12.5 Diversity within “indigenized Englishes”

A detail I would be remiss not to discuss here is the traditional discussion of “indigenized Englishes” as national putatively homogeneous varieties. Indian English or Nigerian English, for example, is as homogeneous as American or British English may be assumed to be by outsiders; thus, every national or regional variety varies within its territorial boundaries. Just because “indigenized Englishes” are outcomes of transmission through the scholastic medium does not mean that they are spoken uniformly from one speaker to another. Former British exploitation colonies are societally

multilingual; quite often the indigenous languages cannot all be grouped in the same genetic family or typological group. That is, they do not exert identical substrate influence on the relevant “indigenized” varieties, notwithstanding the fact that the speakers are not all endowed with identical learning skills (Mufwene 2010). The latter dimension of variation, which applies also to “native Englishes,” should remind us of the fact language transmission is not a coordinated group process, despite the normalization that emerges from the accommodations that speakers make to each other. The traditional national/territorial and/or social groupings of language varieties into dialects or sociolects are a matter of convenience, which should not make us lose track of the fact that “language acquisition,” even in the classroom, is an individual speaker’s system-reconstruction process. Thus, it is individual speakers interacting in specific ecologies that drive language change, as they set their emergent idiolectal characteristics in competition with each other (Mufwene 2008).

In this vein, “indigenized Englishes” make more evident the role of interaction networks, in which speakers influence each other, in the emergence of local norms. Interactions can weed out particular substrate features from the communal feature pools in which elements from several languages come to compete with each other. Studies of how national or regional norms emerge in former exploitation colonies can give us interesting hints about how local and/or social norms have emerged in former settlement colonies or even in the earliest stages of the emergence of English in England. This is a new research area where, with the help of techniques developed in emergence theory, we may develop a glimpse into the universe of microscopic activities that help us develop our respective communal norms and contribute unwittingly to the evolution of the languages we use. In former exploitation colonies, we can still identify the sources of the relevant substrate influences, how they compete with each other, and what are the external and internal ecological factors that bear on the selection process.

12.6 Conclusions

I hope to have demonstrated that the origins of English are contact-based, regardless of whether or not the Celtic languages were engaged in the social interactions that produced the range of varieties identified as Old English. The emergence appears to have arisen from some form of competition and selection in which the Germanic language varieties brought from Continental Europe in the fifth century appear to have been engaged, especially since the unification of the Germanic kingdoms into one. If the etymology of the name *English* is true to the relevant history, the language (variety) of the Angles appears to have prevailed over its competitors, although it must have won only a pyrrhic victory.

The involvement of the Celtic languages would, of course, have made the nature of contact and ensuing competition and selection among variant structural features more complex. Since Old English, the rest of the history of English has been driven by successive contacts of the emergent/evolving English with other languages, during its spread both in the British Isles and in the colonies outside Europe, and also during the colonization of England by especially the Normans and the Scandinavians. Throughout this chapter, I hope to have also shown what role socioeconomic factors played in motivating particular populations to learn and/or shift to the dominant language that English evolved to be not only in England and the rest of the British Isles but also outside the United Kingdom. In the case of Ireland and North America, socioeconomic pressures determined the time of the shift to English for the free populations, with those functioning outside the relevant socioeconomic structure showing the most resistance to the powerful language.

I have also shown how differences in colonization styles, even among settlement colonies, can be correlated with variation not only in the outcomes of the evolution of English but also in the *termini a quibus*, the starting point and materials, so to speak, i.e. the particular structures the new speakers had to learn. Not counting the expanded pidgins spoken especially in Nigeria, Cameroon, and Papua New Guinea, the varieties that spread in the exploitation colonies and now also in places that Kachru (1986) identifies as “the expanding circle” were scholastic, transmitted non-naturalistically through the school system. Although, like creoles and pidgins, they bear influence from the substrate languages of the non-European speakers of English, “indigenized” Englishes are based on non-vernacular varieties. They are thus unlike creoles and pidgins, which are outcomes of naturalistic language transmission. Note that these are not differences in the kinds of changes that English has undergone; they represent variation in ecological factors that determined differences in the outcomes of restructuring processes that were (partly) the same. They are thus factors that determined the differential, non-uniform evolution of English around the world (Mufwene 2008).

Just as important is the distinction between plantation settlement colonies, where non-European non-indigenous populations became the majority populations, and those other settlement colonies where Europeans became majority populations. Differences in the ensuing English varieties do not reflect differences in language-learning skills between Europeans and non-Europeans; they reflect differences in the timing of the shift to English and in the role that former non-anglophones played in shaping the structures of English in the colonies. In plantation settlement colonies, the early rise of non-Europeans to the demographic majority and the ensuing social segregation, after the early Creoles had already been using English as their vernacular, subjected the restructuring of vernacular English to heavy

influence from the languages of the non-Europeans.¹² In the other settlement colonies, the languages of Continental Europeans contributed more lexically than structurally to colonial Englishes, simply because they shifted to English after its structures had already indigenized to the colonies primarily through *koinéization*. Those who shifted also experienced pressure to assimilate, as they were integrated socio-economically, and apparently also to distinguish themselves from speakers of varieties that are stigmatized. In the case of the United States, note that the list of features adduced by Salmons and Purnell (2010) as contributions to American English by European Americans of non-English descent remains strikingly short, especially since European Americans of non-English descent are now the demographic majority in the white American population. The socioeconomic ecological factors invoked here are particularly significant because we must remember that Continental Europeans are not more skilled at learning English as an L2 than natives of other parts of the world.

The list is also small compared to the kind of influence that African languages have exerted on the structures of English creoles in, say, the Caribbean, even if one can argue, like Chaudenson (2001), that the European languages are typologically closer to English than sub-Saharan African languages. Although his account cannot be dismissed offhand, recall that there once were some divergent European American varieties identified as German English, Italian English, etc. They were salient when the European American populations were still highly segregated among themselves. The current state of affairs suggests that transitional varieties have practically vanished today, as the competition and selection process has disfavored them.

This particular account of the evolution of English also underscores the role of population structure. The populations that are socially integrated have seen their varieties converge toward a common norm or some non-native varieties disappear. On the other hand, those populations that are segregated have seen their varieties evolve almost independently. This is the case with varieties that are geographically isolated, such as Appalachian and Ozark Englishes. It is also true of socially segregated populations such as Old Amish and African American populations. Evidence for this observation may be found in the way that the Northern Cities Vowel Shift has operated, hopping from city to city but leaving the rural areas alone, spreading within the white populations but not involving the African American population (Labov 2001; Wolfram 2000; Mufwene 2008).

In sum, the contact history of the English language is a complex multi-linear, rather than unilinear, one, which defies simplistic accounts. It is proposed here not as a substitute for the traditional “internal history” of the English language but as a necessary complement that can provide some

useful information about the actuation of changes. This is badly needed if we want to understand the emergence of creoles and “indigenized” Englishes in ways that should discourage negative social stereotypes. It is also needed if we want to refrain from disfranchising some new varieties simply because they diverge drastically from “standard English” or “metropolitan English(es)” and are not mutually intelligible with them.

13 Substrate influence and universals in the emergence of contact Englishes: re-evaluating the evidence

DONALD WINFORD

13.1 Introduction

The interplay between language universals and substrate influence has long been a contentious issue in the study of contact Englishes, including “indigenized” varieties and creoles. Tense/aspect systems have received a great deal of attention in this debate. On the one hand, it has been argued that certain aspects of their grammars are in some sense shaped, if not pre-determined, by innate universals of language design (Bickerton 1984; Ansaldo 2004). On the other, it has been claimed that substrate influence accounts for many grammatical features that distinguish these new creations from their lexifier language (Bao 2005; Siegel 2000). This chapter examines the emergence of tense/aspect categories in various contact Englishes, with a view to evaluating the interaction between universals and substrate influence in their creation and evolution.

The debate over this in many ways reflects current disagreement as to whether linguistic universals should be conceived of as innate generalizations written into Universal Grammar – the so-called formalist view (Kiparsky 2008), or rather as universal mechanisms of change that are recurrent across all languages – the functionalist view (Bybee 2008). Proponents of the former position see universals as principles of language design which constrain or determine paths of change, while proponents of the latter view see the causal mechanisms themselves as the only true universals of language, since they operate in all languages at all times. In any case, both schools of thought agree that, however we conceive of linguistic universals, they underlie the emergence of cross-linguistic similarities or typological generalizations.

In this chapter, I argue that tense/aspect systems across contact Englishes provide evidence for functional perspectives on the relationship between universal principles and paths of change. Certain tense/aspect categories such as Future and Past arise via internally motivated patterns of grammaticalization, found universally in language change. Other tense/aspect categories such as

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Perfects and Progressives are more idiosyncratic in nature, since they are shaped by substrate influence in a process of contact-induced grammaticalization. I argue that the mechanism of change underlying this process is imposition, which involves assigning semantic and structural properties of an L1 category to an L2 lexeme via analogy (Winford 2006). The creation of all tense/aspect categories, whether internally or externally motivated, follows universal cognitive tendencies that come into play in language production and processing. Ultimately, it is possible that such tendencies derive from innate principles that are not restricted to language alone, but are part of more general cognitive capacities peculiar to human beings.

The role played by substrate influence as distinct from universal principles in the formation of contact languages has been debated since at least the nineteenth century. As Gilbert (1986: 16) points out, Lucien Adam (1883) suggested that there was a common linguistic substratum underlying the French-lexicon creoles of Trinidad, French Guyana, and Mauritius. On the other hand, Coelho (1880) suggested that there were universal psychological and physiological laws guiding creole formation – an idea that was taken up by Schuchardt and Hesselning, and much later, by Bickerton. Schuchardt was among the first creolists to recognize that both substrate influences and universal processes of change played a role in creole formation. The issue dominated the discussion of creole origins in the 1980s, largely due to Bickerton's proposal that certain similarities across creoles were due to the role played by a language bioprogram that guided children's creation of creoles in the face of deficient pidgin input.

The competing roles of substrate influence and universals was the theme of an entire volume published in 1986, with the title *Substrate versus Universals in Creole Genesis*. The general consensus of most contributors to that volume appeared to be that expressed in the title of Mufwene's contribution, "The universalist and substrate hypotheses complement each other." Despite this, the general tendency has been to think in terms of substrate influence as opposed to universal principles, as though the two were mutually exclusive. The same debate has been playing out in the literature on contact Englishes, particularly the "indigenized" varieties that arose in colonial settings such as Ireland, Singapore, and so on. Filppula, Klemola, and Paulasto's (2009) anthology is devoted specifically to the question "What exactly is the relationship between language contact phenomena and vernacular universals, and to what extent can we distinguish them from each other?" (2009: 8). Most of the contributors to that volume question the assumed dichotomy between universals and contact-induced change on very similar grounds – viz. that the two interact in various ways to produce the kinds of developments that we find in contact Englishes, including some varieties of so-called "native" Englishes, indigenized varieties, and creoles. Such developments include both shared features such as certain "vernacular universals" proposed by Chambers (2004), as well as

features that are not shared in common, even within the different categories of contact Englishes. But even the similarities are not absolute. Siemund (2009: 324) points out that “there is no reason to believe in a set of universals valid for vernacular data alone, at least not for English.” And writing about creoles, Kouwenberg (2006: 207) remarks that

[d]etailed research on various aspects of the grammars of creole languages has shown that profound differences exist below the layer of superficial resemblances and that this holds true in all modules of grammar. With the exception of basic SVO word order, I cannot now think of a single creole “universal” that can still be claimed to hold across, for instance, the creole languages of the Caribbean.

Both Siemund and Kouwenberg are obviously referring to specific universal features of contact languages, and their conclusion reflects the more general observation that there are in fact few absolute unrestricted universals in the world’s languages, though there are many cross-linguistic similarities. Typological research has established this quite clearly, and, as Mairal and Gil (2006: 21) point out, “it seems reasonable to assume that universals should not be identified with specific linguistic items or constructions, since these are unequivocally not universal.”

Since the goal of this chapter is to explore the contributions of substratal influence and universals in the creation of contact Englishes, we first have to clarify what we mean by “universals.” As Smolensky and Dupoux (2009: 468) point out, the term “universals” is used in two quite distinct senses, which are often confused in the literature. One sense refers to the notion of a universal as a generalization about cross-linguistic structures, or what Smolensky and Dupoux (2009: 468) refer to as “a superficial descriptive property true of the expression of all languages – a des-universal” (hereafter referred to as a descriptive universal). The observations above, by Siemund, Kouwenberg, and Mairal and Gil, clearly refer to this sense of “universal.” The other sense of “universal” refers to what Smolensky and Dupoux call a cog[nitive]-universal, that is, “a property true of all human minds” (2009: 468). Descriptive universals are associated with functional approaches rooted in the Greenbergian typological tradition, which seek language universals through an empiricist approach that begins with a representative sample of languages and arrives at generalizations based on cross-linguistic comparison. Functionalists are primarily concerned with questions of function, meaning and use of language, hence the data they employ comes from the actual performance of speakers. On the other hand, cognitive universals have been associated more with formalist approaches rooted in the tradition of Chomskyan generative grammar, which propose a set of universal principles that constrain the form of grammars, both in language acquisition and in language change. Such approaches seek a theory of Universal Grammar (UG) conceived of as an innate human language faculty that guides language acquisition and places limits on possible grammars. As Mairal and Gil (2006: 13)

observe, the goal is to “formulate generalizations about the essential nature of language, from which particular language-specific grammatical features can be derived.”

It is not, however, true that functionalists do not appeal to cognitive universals to explain similarities across languages. But, rather than viewing language structure and acquisition as guided by universal principles specific to the language domain, they seek to explain universals of language design in terms of human cognitive skills and the influence of individual cognitive abilities on language development (Bavin 2009: 450). Approaches of this type propose that general cognitive capacities, processing constraints, conditions on learning, and the like are themselves universal, and thus give rise to cross-linguistic similarities (Croft 2001; Talmy 2003; Comrie 2003).

The debate between formalists and functionalists concerning the nature and explanation of linguistic universals has recently been extended to the area of language change. This debate has centered primarily on internally motivated change and focused particularly on the concept of grammaticalization. But it has clear implications for the study of contact-induced change as well, particularly since grammaticalization theory has been extended to include the latter type of change. On the one hand, formalists claim that the same universal principles of UG that constrain language acquisition also constrain language change (Kiparsky 2008: 24). On the other hand, functionalists claim that “the true universals of language are not synchronic patterns at all, but the mechanisms of change that create the patterns” (Bybee 2008: 179).

In the remainder of this chapter, I discuss the role of substrate influence and universal principles in the creation of the tense/aspect systems of contact Englishes, with particular focus on two “indigenized” varieties, Irish English and Singapore English, and selected English-lexicon creoles of the Caribbean. I will first show that there are profound differences between the two indigenized varieties, and between them and the creoles, in the organization of their tense/aspect systems. I argue that this follows naturally from differences in the sociohistorical contexts and linguistic inputs that were involved in their creation, the latter leading to different types of substratal influence. On the other hand, the creoles display substantial similarities to each other both in the inventory of their tense/aspect categories, and in the meanings and uses of the categories. These similarities follow from the fact that these languages arose in very similar sociohistorical contexts involving similar linguistic inputs that led to similar substratal influence. This does not mean, however, that their tense/aspect systems are identical in all respects. The differences we find across the languages suggest that there is no single mold into which we can fit the tense/aspect system of contact Englishes. In other words, there are no absolute universals of tense/aspect, even among creoles. However, this does not mean that there are no universal principles at work in the formation of contact Englishes. Clearly, these have

to be sought at a higher level of abstraction. I explore this question in relation to the role of grammaticalization in the processes of change that created the tense/aspect systems. I show that both internally and externally motivated (contact-induced) grammaticalization was at work in these processes, and that both followed universal paths that have been found in cases of grammaticalization across languages. I finally argue that such paths are indeed constrained by universal cognitive principles, though the two types of grammaticalization differ with respect to the nature of the mechanisms involved. On the one hand, the mechanisms of internally motivated grammaticalization in contact Englishes are the same as those found in similar kinds of change cross-linguistically. For contact-induced grammaticalization, I propose that the mechanism involved is imposition, and that this too can be viewed as a universal mechanism of contact-induced change.

13.2 Descriptive universals and tense/aspect in contact Englishes

As Croft (2003: 14) points out, grammatical categories such as tense and aspect are usually identified cross-linguistically on the basis of their meaning and use, rather than their formal properties. This raises the question of precisely what constitutes a sound semantically based set of criteria for cross-linguistic comparison of tense/aspect categories. The problem here concerns the kind of metalanguage we use for such comparison – a problem that is of course common to attempts at typological comparison in general. For instance, with regard to the use of notions such as “subject,” “adjective,” “syllable,” “pronoun,” etc., Evans and Levinson (2009: 439) point out that “they are descriptive labels, emerging from structural facts of particular languages, which work well in some languages but may be problematic in others. Consequently, for the most part they do not have precise definitions shared by all researchers, or equally applicable to all languages.” The same problem faces us when we attempt to compare categories such as tense and aspect across languages. Should we base our comparison on semantic notions or on the categories themselves? Choice of the former seems preferable in view of the fact that some languages (e.g. Chinese and Malay) lack tense categories altogether (Comrie 1985: 50–5), while others (e.g. spoken German) lack aspectual categories (Comrie 1976: 8). Moreover, languages in general grammaticalize the relevant semantic notions in very different ways.

But identifying a set of universal cognitive dimensions of temporal notions is an extremely difficult task, and there is no consensus among either functionalists or formalists, as far as I am aware, as to what such dimensions might be. I do not intend to discuss that issue here, but I will base my comparison of contact Englishes on the actual tense/aspect categories found in these languages. Most functionalists and formalists adopt

this basis of comparison. The approach I take here is discussed more fully in other studies (Winford 2000a, b; 2001). It is modeled on typological studies of Tense, Mood, and Aspect (TMA) systems conducted by researchers such as Dahl (1985), Comrie (1976, 1985), Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994), and others. The framework rests on the following assumptions, repeated here from Winford (2001: 156–7).

1. Comparison is based on actual TMA categories, rather than on the semantic features out of which such categories can be built. As Dahl explains:

I shall suggest that the most salient universals or, better, basic units of the general theory of TMA systems are rather atoms than elementary particles – i.e., categories rather than features. More concretely speaking, this means that I think of a language-specific category like, say, the English Perfect, as the realization of a cross-linguistic category – or better, category-type – PERFECT, rather than as the realization of a set of features, say /+x, –y, +z/. (1985: 33)

In the following, I adopt Dahl's practice of using capitals to refer to category types (e.g. PAST), initial capitals to refer to language-specific categories (e.g. the English Past), and lower-case letters with single quotation marks to refer to notional semantic categories (e.g. 'past').

2. TMA categories in every language typically have a range of meanings and uses, i.e. interpretations in discourse.
3. Every TMA category has a dominant meaning and often has other secondary meanings. In general, the dominant meaning of a category is represented in its primary or prototypical uses, while secondary meanings are interpretations that arise from contextual uses of the category. As Dahl explains,

the main criterion for identifying TMA categories cross-linguistically is by their foci or prototypical uses, and . . . languages vary essentially in two respects: (i) which categories they choose out of the set of cross-linguistic categories and (ii) how they reduce the impreciseness that these categories have in choosing among the possible secondary or non-focal uses they have. (1985: 33)

Even a casual overview of the tense/aspect systems of contact Englishes reveals that there are no absolute universals or even statistically robust generalizations. Winford (2009) compares the tense/aspect systems of Irish English, Barbadian Creole (Bajan), and (colloquial) Singapore English, and demonstrates that they differ significantly both in their inventories of tense/aspect categories and in the types of meaning and uses they assign to their own instantiations of cross-linguistic category types such as PAST, FUTURE, PROGRESSIVE, HABITUAL, and PERFECT. Table 13.1 illustrates this.

Table 13.1 *Tense/aspect categories in three contact Englishes*

	Irish Eng.	Barbadian English	Singapore English
Time reference:			
Simple present	ø ~ -s	ø (statives)	ø (variable 3sg-s)
Simple past	V- <i>ed</i>	ø (non-statives)	ø (variable- <i>ed</i>)
Relative past	n/a	<i>did</i> + V	n/a
Future	<i>shall/will</i> + V	<i>go(n)</i> + V	<i>would</i> + V V + fut. adv.
Aspectual reference:			
Pres. habitual	Inflected <i>do</i> + V 'Finite' <i>be</i> + VP	<i>does</i> + V	<i>useto</i> + V
Past habitual	<i>used to</i> + V	<i>useto</i> + V	
Progressive	<i>be</i> + V- <i>ing</i>	V- <i>in</i>	(be) V- <i>in</i>
Types of Perfect:			
Perfect of result	<i>have</i> NP V- <i>ed</i> Cop. <i>be</i> + V- <i>ed</i>	<i>done</i> + V	VP <i>already</i>
'Hot news' Perfect	<i>after</i> V- <i>ing</i>	n/a	n/a
Experiential	n/a	n/a	<i>ever</i> + VP

The differences among these three contact varieties of English follow naturally from the fact that they emerged under very different socio-historical circumstances, involving differences in demographics and linguistic inputs, as well as differences in patterns of interaction between speakers of the languages in contact (Winford 2009). Similarly, differences in the sociohistorical setting and the linguistic inputs explain the significant differences we find across English-lexicon creoles, including the so-called “expanded pidgins” of the Pacific.

If we confine our attention to the more “radical” or “basilectal” varieties of English-lexicon creoles found in the Caribbean, the similarities are far more noticeable, but the creole tense/aspect systems are by no means identical. This is interesting, since several of these English-lexicon creoles were mentioned by Bickerton among those that he claimed to display the famous “tri-partite” organization of the TMA system into an “irrealis” mood, a “non-punctual aspect” and an “anterior” tense. Various recent studies and comparisons of tense/aspect systems in creoles in general (Singler 1990) and Caribbean English-lexicon creoles (CEC) in particular (Winford 2001) have shown that there are no tense/aspect universals shared by these contact Englishes, and no evidence for the claim that has sometimes been made that their tense/aspect categories are in some sense predetermined by Universal Grammar, in the sense that Bickerton’s (1984) Language Bioprogram Hypothesis (LBH) proposed.

However, the similarities among the tense/aspect systems of Caribbean English-lexicon creoles are striking, and invite further explanation. Table 13.2 (from Winford 2001: 177) illustrates the tense/aspect categories that all “basilectal” varieties of CEC share.

Table 13.2 *Tense/aspect in New World creoles: the common core*

Tense categories:	
Relative Past	<i>bin</i> and variants
Predictive Future	<i>go</i> in most cases, <i>wã</i> and <i>wi</i> in Belizean and JC respectively
Aspect categories:	
Perfective \emptyset	the unmarked verb, with differences in range of uses
Completive Perfect	<i>don</i> or <i>kaba</i> , with differences in range and positioning

These categories, with some relatively minor exceptions, display a very similar range of primary and secondary uses in discourse across all these creoles, though they are not identical in all respects. In addition, there are several other aspects in which these creole tense/aspect systems resemble one another. Aspectual categories are neutral with respect to time reference, which they pick up from the discourse context. Moreover, in all these creoles, the stative/non-stative distinction is crucial to the interpretation of temporal and aspectual meaning. The creoles differ somewhat in other respects; for instance some have a category of Progressive aspect while others have an Imperfective category.

Some of the similarities are due simply to the fact that these creoles arose in similar sociohistorical ecologies, with very similar linguistic inputs, and were influenced primarily by substrate languages of the (New) Kwa family, with secondary influence from Bantu languages. Such influence led to very similar types of contact-induced change, yielding categories such as Progressive and Completive Perfect. But the creoles also display marked similarities in categories such as Past and Future, which do not appear to be modeled on any substrate categories, but seem to have emerged through regular processes of internally motivated change.

In addition, categories such as Progressive and Perfect underwent further paths of development in different creoles, yielding Imperfective in the former case, and different pragmatic functions of Perfect in others. In short, the tense/aspect systems of Caribbean English-lexicon creoles, like those of contact Englishes more generally, are a miniature reflection of the much larger picture of similarities and differences that we find among tense/aspect systems cross-linguistically. The explanation for this is similar to that offered by Bybee (2006: 190) for why absolute universals of language are rare, even though the mechanisms of change are the same:

Because they were produced by the same mechanisms across languages, they resemble one another. Because they were produced in different languages with different linguistic material as input to the process, with some differences in the contexts of use, the outcomes are similar but not identical.

In the following section, I discuss the role played by substrate influence and universal mechanisms of change in the creation of these tense/aspect categories, and relate both kinds of influence to the role of grammaticalization in creole formation.

13.3 Grammaticalization and the creation of tense/aspect in Caribbean contact Englishes

The creation of certain tense/aspect categories in creoles generally, and those of the Caribbean in particular, involved processes of both internally and externally motivated grammaticalization. The latter type has traditionally been described as a manifestation of substrate influence. The different contributions of these processes led to both a certain degree of similarity between tense/aspect categories, and on the other hand, to differences in the inventories of tense/aspect categories found in these languages. Both processes involved universal mechanisms of change which have been explored most thoroughly by functionalists in the domain of grammaticalization. For present purposes, I will adopt Heine and Kuteva's definition of grammaticalization as "a process leading from lexical to grammatical and from grammatical to more grammatical forms" (2005: 14). Thus, both the reanalysis of lexical items as grammatical items and the further reanalysis of the latter are viewed here as cases of grammaticalization. Moreover, following Joseph (2004), in my view it is an epiphenomenon – a cover term for a variety of processes involved in the creation of grammatical categories, including reanalysis, semantic bleaching, phonetic reduction, and so on. In other words, I do not view it as a unitary process, nor as a "mechanism" of change.

The study of the grammaticalization of tense and aspect categories cross-linguistically has provided robust evidence for the recurrence of the same paths of change (Bybee *et al.* 1994; Hopper and Traugott 1993). For instance, perfects develop from resultative constructions involving 'be' and 'have' + PP, or from verbs meaning 'finish.' Progressives develop from constructions containing locative copulas, or from verbs of movement such as 'go' and 'come.' Futures develop from verbs meaning 'want' or 'have to,' or expressing 'movement toward,' or from temporal adverbs meaning 'soon' or 'after' (Bybee 2006: 184–5). Bybee argues that "This remarkable similarity in grammaticalization paths across unrelated languages strongly suggests that universals of diachronic development be included in a theory of language universals" (2006: 186). Bybee's observations apply to internally motivated grammaticalization, but a similar claim can be made for contact-induced grammaticalization, which involves the transfer of grammatical meanings and structures across languages. Indeed, Heine and Kuteva argue that such transfer "is regular, and is shaped by universal processes of grammatical change" (2005: 1). However, they do not explain precisely

what these universal processes are, but suggest that “the general mechanism shaping the development of grammatical categories is the same irrespective of whether or not language contact is involved” (2005: 266). In the following two sections, I discuss the roles of internally and externally motivated grammaticalization in the creation of tense/aspect categories in Caribbean English creoles and then assess the claim that the same universal mechanisms are involved in both kinds of change. I will in fact argue that each involves somewhat different kinds of cognitive mechanisms, though both kinds of mechanism seem to be due to universal principles.

13.4 Internally motivated grammaticalization and tense/aspect in contact Englishes

I claim that the two tense categories, Relative Past and Future, found in various contact Englishes, including the more radical or basilectal varieties of Caribbean English creole (CEC), are primarily the result of processes of internally motivated grammaticalization. Future tense markers derive from *go* in all varieties of CEC except Belize Creole, which has a Future derived from *want*. Examples are from Winford (2001: 165).

(1) Sranan

Pas te unu kaba nanga skoro dan wi o
 only when 1pl finish with school then 1pl FUT
 meki pikin nanga den sani dati. (16B: 12)
 make child and the.pl thing DEM
 ‘Only when we finish with school, then we’ll have kids and all those things.’

(2) Belizean

Junie see i wā kom luk fi yu wan a diiz deez. (18:11)
 Junie say 3sg FUT come look for you one of these days
 ‘Junie says she’ll come and look you up one of these days.’

A third example of the grammaticalization of Future from a temporal adverbial comes from Tok Pisin, where *baimbai* < *by and by* developed into a Future marker *bai*, which is increasingly occurring in preverbal position (Siegel 2008: 64).

These developments closely parallel the emergence of future markers cross-linguistically as illustrated in the following path of change, taken from Bybee (2006: 185).

The Future path

- (i) ‘want’
- (ii) ‘movement towards’ > INTENTION > FUTURE
- (iii) ‘soon,’ ‘after’

The Relative Past Tense category is expressed by forms derived from English *been*, though its phonetic form varies across the creoles (*ben* in Sranan, (*b*)*en/wen* in Jamaican, *mi* (< *min* < *bin*) in Belizean, and *bin* in Guyanese).

- (3) Sranan
 A man ben kiri kapoewa, ala meti san kon a ben kiri.
 The man PAST kill kapoewa all animal REL come he PAST kill
 'The man had killed kapoewa, every animal that came, he killed.'
- (4) Belizean
 De mi hav wā man we de mi juuztu
 They PAST have a man REL they PAST used-to
 kaal ool dik arnal.
 call old Dick Arnold
 'There was a man whom they used to call old Dick Arnold.'

No substrate influence seems to have been involved in the emergence of this category, since the relevant substrates, Gbe in particular, lack a past tense category.¹ A similar development of Past tense is also seen in Pacific contact Englishes such as Tok Pisin (Sankoff 1991: 301) and Hawai'i Creole English (Siegel 2000, 2008).

In these cases, the grammaticalization path seems to be from actual movement toward some goal in the past, to semantic bleaching of the movement content, and retention of the purely temporal notion of pastness.

The Past path

Movement to a goal in the past > completion of goal > past
 I been see him = 'I went and saw him' > I saw him.

13.5 Universal mechanisms of grammaticalization: cognitive universals

Bybee (2008: 109) argues that the mechanisms involved in these paths of change have the following properties:

- They are universal in the sense that they can be found operating in languages at all times;
- They are relatively few in number;
- They involve neuro-cognitive tendencies that manifest themselves as language is produced and processed;
- They apply during individual usage events;
- The cumulative effect of their application over multiple usage events creates grammar.

The property of most immediate interest to the present discussion is that concerning the neuro-cognitive tendencies that operate during language

production and processing, to bring about change. As Bybee (2008: 110) notes, it is these innate neuro-cognitive capacities of human beings that give rise to their “ability to create language systems through categorization, analogy, neuromotor automatization, semantic generalization, and pragmatic inferencing.” These processes are at work in non-linguistic activities as well, reflecting the fact that “[l]anguage is highly evolved but not totally distinct from other neuromotor and cognitive abilities” (Bybee 2006: 194). Hence there is no need to postulate language-specific cognitive universals. This reflects a general tendency among functionalists to seek explanations for cross-linguistic similarities (descriptive universals) in cognitive factors that apply to human abilities other than language. While such explanations have been advanced particularly to account for cases of language-internal grammaticalization, I will argue later that there are similar cognitive principles at work in cases of contact-induced grammaticalization, as evidenced in contact Englishes. In the next section, I discuss the latter type of change with regard to the emergence of tense/aspect categories.

13.6 Contact-induced grammaticalization and tense/aspect in contact Englishes

It has long been recognized that the creation of contact Englishes involves processes of change in which superstrate lexical items or morphemes are reinterpreted as expressions of various functional categories, including articles, plural markers, complementizers, and tense aspect markers, among others. Such changes have been described variously as cases of reanalysis, transfer, convergence, interference through shift, and so on. More recently, it has become widely accepted that such developments are best seen as instances of contact-induced grammaticalization, and this approach has been applied to various contact Englishes, including Irish English (Pietsch 2005, 2009), Atlantic creoles (Bruyn 1995, 1996, 2008) and Pacific “expanded pidgins” (Keesing 1991). The extension of the grammaticalization framework to the study of contact Englishes is welcome, since the study of this process has been perhaps the most important contribution to functionalist attempts to map “the complex temporal sub-processes by which grammar emerges as frequently used patterns sediment into conventionalized patterns” (Evans and Levinson 2009: 444). A new dimension was added to this research program by Heine and Kuteva’s (2003, 2005) use of the grammaticalization framework to account for the replication of grammatical functions and categories in cases of language contact. They introduced the notion of contact-induced grammaticalization to refer to such types of replication, which have traditionally been referred to by a variety of terms, including grammatical calquing, loan-shift, indirect morphosyntactic diffusion, interference, and so on. It has become clear that this kind of grammaticalization is extremely common in language-contact situations, and it may well be that, like internally motivated

grammaticalization, it is due to universal mechanisms of change. However, there has been little discussion of what these mechanisms might be and I return to this point below.

Heine and Kuteva (2005) distinguish between two types of grammaticalization due to contact, viz., ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization and replica grammaticalization. The distinction rests on “whether or not there exists already a model source-to-target grammaticalization process to be replicated” (2005: 80). I will restrict my attention here to “replica grammaticalization,” in which “the model language provides a model for both a category and the way that category is replicated” (Heine and Kuteva 2005: 80); see also Fischer (this volume). This type of grammatical replication is based on at least some kind of semantic similarity between the relevant items in the two languages in contact, and appears to be a far more common occurrence cross-linguistically, and certainly in creoles. According to Heine and Kuteva, this kind of grammaticalization involves the following “mechanism” (2005: 92).

Replica grammaticalization

- a. Speakers notice that in language M there is a grammatical category Mx.
- b. They create an equivalent category Rx in language R on the basis of the use patterns available in R.
- c. To this end, they replicate a grammaticalization process they assume to have taken place in language M, using an analogical formula of the kind:
- d. [My > Mx]: [Ry > Rx].
- e. They grammaticalize Ry to Rx.

Heine and Kuteva cite the now familiar example of the *after* Perfect in Irish English, which is modeled on a similar category in Irish, as shown in the following examples:

- (5) She’s after selling the boat
‘She’s just sold the boat’
- (6) Tá sí tréis an bád a dhíol
Be+NONPAST she after the boat selling
‘She’s just sold the boat’ (Harris 1984: 319)

The ubiquity of contact-induced grammaticalization is now well established, thanks in great measure to the work of students of contact Englishes, and scholars in the field of contact linguistics in general. Heine and Kuteva (2005) provide an extensive overview of instances of contact-induced grammaticalization in many languages, involving a wide variety of functional categories, including determiners, adpositions, complementizers, subordinators, and various TMA categories. The literature on contact Englishes is also full of examples of the creation of functional categories through processes of contact-induced grammaticalization.

The vast majority of cases of contact-induced grammaticalization found in contact Englishes involve replica grammaticalization. I will illustrate this with respect to the emergence of types of PERFECT in some of these languages. This is especially revealing with respect to the similarities and differences in the meanings, uses, and syntactic properties of these categories, and the complementary roles played by universal cognitive principles and substrate influence in their creation. I will first discuss the latter influence, and return later to the universal mechanism that underlies the process of change.

Many contact Englishes have a type of PERFECT that is expressed by a marker derived from a verb meaning ‘finish.’ This follows a well-known and frequently occurring path of grammaticalization found in many languages, which Bybee (2006: 184) characterizes as follows:

‘finish’ > COMPLETIVE > ANTERIOR > PERFECTIVE/PAST

In the contact Englishes described here, this path of change has culminated in the creation of what Bybee calls “anterior” categories, which I will refer to as Perfect categories. Bybee suggests that this constraint on the path of development is typical of analytic languages, which (in addition to their young age) may explain why creoles in particular do not carry the grammaticalization process to its end point.

Varieties of Caribbean English creole (CEC) share the category of Completive Perfect, expressed by *don* < *done*, which is also used as a main verb meaning ‘finish.’ For the most part, the Perfect marker occurs preverbally, as in the following example:

- (7) Belizean
a tel ã a di iit, man, weet til a don iit no sa. (11: 15)
‘I told him I’m eating, man, wait till I finish eating please sir.’

The Surinamese creoles also have a Completive Perfect category, expressed by *kaba* (< Portuguese *acabar* ‘finish’), which appears in VP-final position, as in the following example:

- (8) Sranan
A kownu doro kaba
DET king arrive COMPL
‘The king has arrived.’

Winford and Migge (2007: 84) demonstrate that the category is closely modeled on the Completive aspect category found in Gbe languages, as illustrated in the following example.

- (9) Ajagbe
xòsu lɔ à, e vá lɔ vò
King DET TOP he come arrive COMPL
‘As for the king, he has already arrived.’

In both Surinamese creoles and Gbe languages, the aspectual marker also functions as a main verb meaning ‘finish.’ This is a clear case of what Heine and Kuteva refer to as “replica grammaticalization.” Interestingly, in Guyanese and Jamaican creoles, Completive Perfect *don* can appear in both preverbal and VP-final positions, perhaps reflecting a shared influence from the substrates, or possibly the influence of contact with Sranan.

Other contact Englishes that developed a Resultative Perfect category expressed by a marker derived from a verb meaning ‘finish’ include the three varieties of Melanesian Pidgin (Tok Pisin, Bislama, and Pijin), and Hawai’i Creole English (HCE). In the former, the category is expressed by *pinis* ‘finish,’ which occurs in VP-final position, as in the following example:

- (10) Mipela lukim ol pik pinis
 ipl see PLU pig PERF
 ‘We have seen the pigs.’ (Siegel 2008: 7)

In HCE, the Perfect is expressed by *pau* (< Hawaiian Pidgin *pau* ‘finish’), which occurs preverbally.

- (11) Wen Pilipo been pau talk, me I feel gul insi
 When Pilipo PAST COMPL talk me I feel good inside
 ‘When Pilipo had talked to me, I felt good inside.’ (Roberts 1998: 26)

Siegel (2008: 82) notes that it is not clear whether *pau* was already grammaticalized in Pidgin Hawaiian, so it is possible that *pau* underwent language-internal grammaticalization in HCE.

The differences in the precise paths of grammaticalization followed by the Resultative Perfects expressed by ‘finish’ are reflected in the differences in the range of meanings and uses associated with this category across the Atlantic creoles. For instance, Jamaican Creole is exceptional among CECs in limiting its Completive Perfect marker *don* to non-stative predicates, while other varieties allow use of *don* with predicates of all types. Guyanese Creole distinguishes between two types of preverbal *don*, one with high pitch which is generalized to all predicates and conveys the sense of ‘already,’ and another with low pitch which is used primarily with non-statives and conveys the sense of ‘finish’ (terminative) (Winford 1993: 55–6). Nigerian Pidgin uses preverbal *don* in ways quite similar to CEC. Mann (1996) informs us that it marks ‘perfect’ and provides examples of its use with activity verbs like *bil* ‘build’ and adjectives like *taya* ‘tired.’ It is not clear whether it can also precede statives like ‘have,’ ‘know’ etc. In addition, Nigerian Pidgin uses *finish* as a VP-final marker of completion. Such differences indicate that different creoles adopted different strategies in creating and further grammaticizing their categories of Resultative Perfect. Explanations for the differences have to be sought in the different degrees to

which substrate influence and internal developments played a role in the shaping of these categories.

Other contact Englishes provide equally interesting examples of the emergence of different types of PERFECT via replica grammaticalization of other English lexical items. For instance, Singapore Colloquial English has two Perfect categories – a Resultative expressed by *already*, and an Experiential Perfect expressed by *ever*. Bao (2005) argues that the meaning of *already* is modeled on that of the Chinese Resultative marker *le*, while the use of *ever* is modeled on the Chinese Experiential Perfect marker *guo*. Platt and Weber (1980: 66) suggest that the Hokkien Resultative marker *liaú* also provided a substrate model. A very similar use of *already* to mark a Resultative Perfect is found in Hawai'i Creole English, and this appears to be modeled on the Resultative markers found in the substrate Chinese varieties, such as Cantonese *jó* and Hokkien *dóu* (Siegel 2008: 151).

The development of subtypes of PERFECT from verbs meaning 'finish' and other sources is not of course confined to English-lexicon creoles. It has been well documented for French-lexicon creoles (Detgers 2000), and Iberian-lexicon creoles (Stolz 1987). In some cases, it can be argued that the development was primarily language-internal. But in the vast majority of cases, substrate influence played the major role. What is interesting is that the development in all cases followed the general paths of change that are typical of the emergence of Perfect categories cross-linguistically, with differences in the substrate inputs and internal developments within each creole leading to somewhat different outcomes. Detgers (2000) provides an illuminating account of how such different outcomes arise through differences in pragmatic inferring, with illustration from the grammaticalization of *fini* (< French *finir* 'to finish') in various French-lexicon creoles. As Bybee (2008: 110) points out, while the mechanisms underlying grammaticalization "are applicable in all languages at all times, leading and producing the common paths of change as illustrated above, these mechanisms also sometimes produce other outcomes, making it possible to have other, minor paths of change as well, depending upon their interaction and the type of linguistic material they apply to." In the next section, I discuss the primary mechanism that seems to lie behind the process of contact-induced grammaticalization.

13.7 Imposition as a mechanism in contact-induced grammaticalization

Though they have introduced a valuable new framework for dealing with contact phenomena, Heine and Kuteva fail to provide any principled explanation for the mechanisms they claim produce contact-induced grammaticalization. They themselves acknowledge that the mechanism they suggest for replica grammaticalization would imply that speakers replicate

a historical process that took place much earlier in the model language, but they note that this is obviously not the case (2005: 93). And while they claim that ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization follows “universal principles of grammaticalization” (2005: 93), they make no such claim for replica grammaticalization, and in fact conclude:

There is virtually no information on what conceptual cues speakers may have to reconstruct a process presumed to have taken place in the model language, and it is not always possible on the basis of the evidence to distinguish neatly between ordinary and replica grammaticalization. (2005: 92–3)

There is clearly need for a clearer explanation of how speakers manage to “replicate” a grammaticalization process. In fact, Heine and Kuteva themselves hint at such an explanation when they suggest that the agents of grammatical replication use an analogical formula of the kind [My > Mx]: [Ry > Rx]. What this implies, correctly in my view, is that replica grammaticalization in fact relies heavily on analogical inferencing – one of the universal cognitive abilities that come into play in many kinds of language change. I would therefore argue that analogy is the primary cognitive factor involved in contact-induced grammaticalization. But I would also suggest that the role of analogical inferencing is to trigger the actual mechanism that results in the creation of a new grammatical category. I propose that this mechanism is imposition and that it underlies all of these kinds of contact-induced change, and that it is related to more general cognitive processes that are involved in natural second language acquisition and processing, as well as in other kinds of language-contact situations.

The term “imposition” was introduced by van Coetsem (1988) to refer to a transfer type that has traditionally been referred to by a variety of terms, including “interference via shift,” “indirect diffusion,” and “substratum influence.” In fact, the term describes a transfer type which is more general than these labels imply, and which is found in situations of second language acquisition, language attrition, and other situations of language contact. In imposition, the speaker, as agent of change, is linguistically dominant in the source (or model) language, and transfers features of it into his version of the recipient (or replica) language, “as in the case of a French speaker using his French articulatory habits while speaking English” (van Coetsem 1988: 3). Van Coetsem refers to this as Source Language (SL) agentivity. Imposition is conceived of as a psycholinguistic mechanism that involves simply applying the language production and encoding procedures of a linguistically dominant language to produce a less familiar language. As such, imposition and the type of agency associated with it are compatible with psycholinguistic models of language production such as that introduced by Levelt (1989) and subsequently adapted by de Bot (2000) for bilingual language production (see also Odlin, this volume). The workings

of imposition are clearly manifest in cases of natural second language acquisition, particularly in early stages, when learners have not yet acquired all of the grammatical information (or lemmas) associated with the L2 lexemes they can produce. As Pienemann (1998: 50) puts it, learners have not indexed newly acquired lexical items to their lemmas, hence they cannot use the L2 lemmas as a basis for producing larger syntactic structures. So they tend to fall back on the lemmas associated with semantically equivalent items in their L1s, to supply the information necessary for them to initiate more complex syntactic procedures. The same applies to the acquisition of functional categories such as tense and aspect. As Bickerton (1988: 278) noted, the elimination of inflectional morphology in the early stages of creole formation resulted in, among other things, a loss of TMA markers. Hence these had to be reconstituted in the elaboration of creole grammar. If learners have continuous and adequate access to the L2, they gradually acquire the relevant grammatical information and learn how to reproduce L2 syntactic procedures. On the other hand, if access to the L2 is restricted, or if the L2 input consists only of highly simplified structures or pidginized varieties, as in many cases of creole formation, then learners impose L1 lemmas on the L2 lexemes. The grammaticalization of tense/aspect categories in creoles largely involved imposing the lemmas associated with substrate functional categories on superstrate lexical items. For imposition to take place in these cases, it is sufficient for learners merely to have access to the semantics of an L2 lexical item, and its syntactic category. For instance, the grammaticalization of *kaba* as a marker of Resultative Perfect in Sranan involved two stages. First, learners established an interlingual identification between the lexical item *kaba* and its Gbe counterpart *vɔ̀*, on the basis of their semantic similarity. Then they associated the aspectual function of the substrate lexical item to its superstrate counterpart, by simply transferring the lemma of the former to the latter. Other approaches have explained this process in terms of “relexification” and “reanalysis” (Lefebvre 1996), or “functional transfer” (Siegel 2008). Such explanations are quite compatible with the notion of imposition as described here, but the notion of imposition captures the psycholinguistic process involved in these types of grammaticalization more clearly by linking it more directly to the language production procedure.

13.8 Imposition as a cognitive universal?

As Smits (1998) and Winford (to appear) have argued, imposition as a mechanism of contact-induced change occurs in a wide variety of situations, including second language acquisition (language shift), creole formation, gradual attrition of an ancestral language under conditions of shift to a new primary language, and cases of structural convergence. What all of these situations have in common is an unequal dominance relationship

between the languages in contact, which encourages transfer from a linguistically more dominant to a less dominant language. If it is true that imposition is the mechanism underlying so many types of contact-induced change, then it must be considered among the universal mechanisms of change that are associated with language contact. More particularly, it is a mechanism that involves universals of language processing, and communicative strategies that are part of general human cognitive abilities. It is therefore quite in keeping with functionalist perspectives on the cognitive mechanisms that are associated with language acquisition, language use, and language change. As mentioned earlier, functionalists seek explanations for cross-linguistic similarities in cognitive abilities that apply to human abilities other than language. In their view, “*a property common to languages need not have its origins in a ‘language faculty’ or innate specialization for language*” (Evans and Levinson 2009: 439; italics in original). Instead, it could be “due to other factors, including other mental capacities, the design requirements of communication systems, the shaping of structure to fit the uses to which it is put, and the shared experiences of human beings” (Evans and Levinson 2009: 439). In short, shared cross-linguistic tendencies “result from myriad interactions between communicative, cognitive, and processing constraints which reshape existing structures through use” (Evans and Levinson 2009: 444). At the same time, differences in the outcomes of these universal mechanisms can be explained with reference to differences in the social and cultural histories of the speakers concerned. As Bybee (2008: 110) observes:

The ability to create language systems through categorization, analogy, neuromotor automatization, semantic generalization, and pragmatic inferencing derives from the innate neuro-cognitive capacities of human beings.

It is precisely these kinds of cognitive ability that are brought to bear in contact-induced change. It seems clear that the cognitive process of analogical inferencing is closely associated with the mechanism of imposition, which I have proposed here as the primary instrument in the processes of contact-induced grammaticalization that we find in contact Englishes. The mechanism comes into play during the language production process itself, when speakers draw on their knowledge of a more dominant language in producing a less dominant one.

13.9 Conclusion/outlook?

It remains for future research to test the hypothesis concerning the role of imposition as a universal mechanism of contact-induced change, and to relate it more directly to the role of cognitive factors in promoting such change. In particular, there is need for more research on the production

strategies used by speakers in contact situations, whether they are learning a new language, shifting to a new one, or manipulating two languages simultaneously as more balanced bilinguals. In the long run, such research may reveal that the apparent divide between formalist and functionalist approaches to universals of language change may be in fact narrower than it now appears. Formalists do acknowledge that “the constraints imposed by the language faculty as well as those derived from other cognitive, anatomical and perceptual abilities play an active role in language variation and change” (Mendívil Giro 2003: 197, quoted by Mairal and Gil 2006: 35). Newmeyer (2004: 684) states: “There is no question in my mind that grammars have been shaped by processing considerations – that is, by language use.” Such views are quite compatible with functionalist approaches to language acquisition and change. In the final analysis, explanations of language acquisition and change in terms of innate principles of language design and organization are not necessarily at odds with explanations based on properties of human processing and other cognitive abilities.

14 Transfer and contact in migrant and multiethnic communities: the conversational historical *be* + *-ing* present in South African Indian English

RAJEND MESTHRIE

This chapter deals with an aspect of the spread of English as a second language and its stabilization in some communities in relation to issues pertaining to ethnicity. The adoption of English as an L1 does not necessarily confer 'English' status or consciousness amongst speakers. This paradox can be clarified by examining the coexistence of different subvarieties of English within such communities, each harnessed to different functions, viz. the formal, public and intellectual components associated with the more standard varieties and the privacy, intimacy and community orientation of more vernacular varieties. The primary exemplification will come from the rise of Indian English in South Africa and the tenacity of its non-standard syntax in community contexts. Particular focus will fall upon a hitherto unstudied feature (except for a brief mention in Mesthrie 1992: 51) – narrative *be* + *-ing*. The 'overuse' of present *be* + *-ing* and in particular the use of *-ing* with stative verbs is well known in New English studies (Platt, Weber and Ho 1984). This overgeneralization was used in hyper-stereotypes of Indian English in colonial Natal (South Africa) in the mid twentieth century (Mesthrie 2005) that essentially constituted 'mock language' (in the sense of Hill 1993). Amidst all of this *be* + *-ing* has stabilized in vernacular styles of personal narration that show considerable storytelling expertise. This function, which is a subtype of the Conversational Historical Present (CHP) in mainstream English (Wolfson 1979), serves to create a foregrounding effect in narratives, to build up suspense and to create an 'involved' style of narrating. The construction also marks solidarity in informal community settings.

14.1 Introduction

From the work of Crystal, Kachru, Görlach, Schneider, McArthur and others it is now accepted that English has multiple bases of authority and prestige. In addition to the traditional centres of English like the UK and the USA, varieties elsewhere have achieved international acceptance in one domain or other, in an era of global communication and television networks and channels. The easy acceptance of Caribbean and Australian varieties in

international cricket commentary watched on a regular basis on global satellite TV is a case in point. In this domain these two varieties – and increasingly Indian English too – are not just accepted, but carry as much weight as British English and (for other sports) American English. This is one of the stories of the ongoing spread of English. Another concerns the continued migration of people out of the former colonies into western centres, including English-speaking terrain. Again this goes beyond the traditional UK and US attractors, into places like Australia, Canada and New Zealand. The kinds of accommodation processes and changes effected upon varieties that are already identifiable (Indian English, Caribbean English, West African English) in new migratory contexts are deserving of detailed research within sociolinguistics. My chapter aims to show how the study of migrant and ethnic varieties in such colonial and postcolonial contexts can broaden our understanding of the limits of English. I focus on a construction well known in New English studies – the use of *be* + *-ing* progressives in wider contexts than traditionally allowed. I look at the history of this usage in South African Indian English (SAIE), including a history of stigmatization by more powerful L1 speakers, and then examine how the construction has stabilized in one context free from the stigma of L1 speakers, viz. its role in narratives of personal experience in community settings.

14.2 *Be* + *-ing* in New Englishes

There is consensus that the extension of the progressive into stative or habitual contexts is much more characteristic of the New Englishes than historical L1 varieties. New English sentences like the following are commonly reported:

- (1) It is really very toxic to the user because it produces a lot of smoke, heavy smoke and it *is smelling*. (E. African Eng, Schmied 2004: 930)

(1) shows that for East African English the stative sense of *smell* does not preclude formal co-occurrence with the *be* + *-ing*. Schmied (2004: 930) notes that the lifting of this restriction applies ‘particularly to some verbs . . . in marked specific meanings. The prime example is *have*.’ Note, for example, that for the verb *produce* in the same sentence the present habitual occurs without *be* + *-ing*. The extension of *be* + *-ing* has been reported in all the major L2 varieties of English in Africa and Asia (Mesthrie 2004: 1134). I now take a closer look at this and related usage in SAIE.

14.3 *Be* + *-ing* in SAIE

As a baseline, it is first necessary to chart the myriad functions of this construction in SAIE basilect. First, the standard function of marking present progressive aspect (with *be* + *-ing*) is to be found as in (2):

- (2) I'm *looking* for the matches.

This function competes with several others – the four main ones being: historic present of narration (sentence 3); habitual (4); perfective (5); past habitual (6); and simple past/preterit (7).

- (3) I'm *suffering* here now and the pain *is getting* worse. ('I was suffering [from chest pains] and the pain was getting worse' – in a narrative set in the past.)
- (4) He's *travelling* to town every day. ('He travels to town daily.')
- (5) I'm *staying* this house seven years. ('I've been staying in this house for seven years.')
- (6) We *was talking* English at home. ('We used to speak English at home.')
- (7) Hawa, she's *telling* she cooks an' all. ('Don't you remember, she said she (still) cooks and so forth'; *hawa* is a discourse marker, etymologically from *here you are*.)

A further consideration is that basilectal and pre-basilectal SAIE speakers may use *-ing* to varying extents in a 'bare *-ing*' construction without the preceding auxiliary verb *be*:

- (8) Just like that *carrying* on, you know. ('We carry on / are carrying on just like that ...')

The construction was a prime target for stereotyping of SAIE, as I show (Mesthrie 2005) in an analysis of a radio programme of Natal in the 1940s. The text of the programmes was reproduced in a booklet *The Adventures of Applesammy and Naidoo*, carrying the subtitle *A book for young people, based on the stories behind the popular broadcasts of 'Applesammy and Naidoo'*. The booklet comprises twenty-five short chapters or episodes detailing the misadventures of its two anti-heroes. Much of the presentation is dramatic, with direct speech of the two main characters making up approximately 564 sentences (5,681 words). An illustrative excerpt, from the first chapter (p. 5), follows:

- (9) 'Me I very good pishing man me,' said Naidoo, in the broken English that he always spoke. 'Me I catching plenty that Simons, gallunters, stumping noses, chads and sharks. All kind big pish me I catching.'
- 'You catching that pawpaws Naidoo?' asked Applesammy.
- 'What you meaning man. That vegetable they not going by that sea.'
- [*Colloquial Standard English*: 'Me, I'm a very good fisherman, I am,' said Naidoo, in the broken English that he always spoke. 'Me, I catch plenty of salmon, grunters, stump noses, shad and sharks. I catch all kinds of big fish.'

'Do you catch paw-paws [papayas, i.e. porpoises RM], Naidoo?' asked Applesammy.

'What do you mean, man. Those vegetables don't go to the sea.']

In Mesthrie (2005) I argued that *Applesammy and Naidoo* is a caricature, rather than a representation that linguists might draw on for SAIE studies, from a period for which little other linguistic data exists. This caricature is one that has been doing the rounds in the British Asian Empire since the nineteenth century. It is also parallel to the caricatures of African Americans in the US, in the radio series *Amos and Andy* (Anthony Kroch, personal communication, 2002). Linguistically, some of the features have their roots in Butler English, a variety spoken by house-servants in British India – the butler being a rather less dignified figure than that of upper-class Victorian England. Butler English was documented by Schuchardt (1891), who claimed that English employers also used the jargon in conversing with their employees. Hosali (2000) showed that this pidgin-like variety survives to the present day in parts of south India. In Mesthrie (1990) I showed that pre-basilectal SAIE shows many similarities with Butler English, but that it probably arose independently in Natal, where it is not a coherently defined entity in the way that the basilect is. However, because the existence of a similar variety to Butler English has been reported in at least one other territory (Burma) where British settlers employed immigrant Indians, it could well have been transported as a kind of foreigner talk by British settlers in Natal with prior experience of India. An illustration of such foreigner talk occurs in George Orwell's *Burmese Days*:

- (10) It was after nine now, and the room, scented with the acrid smoke of Westfield's cheroot, was stifling hot. Everyone's shirt stuck to his back with the first sweat of the day. The invisible *chokra* who pulled the punkah rope outside was falling asleep in the glare.

'Butler!' yelled Ellis, and as the butler appeared, 'go and wake that bloody *chokra* up!'

'Yes, master.'

'And butler!'

'Yes, master?'

'How much ice have we got left?'

'Bout twenty pounds, master. Will only last today, I think. I find it very difficult to keep ice cool now.'

'Don't talk like that, damn you – "I find it very difficult!" have you swallowed a dictionary? "Please, master, can't keeping ice cool" – that's how you ought to talk.

We shall have to sack this fellow if he gets to talk English too well. I can't stick servants who talk English. D'you hear, butler?'

'Yes, master,' said the butler, and retired. (Orwell 1934: 24–5)

I have quoted this passage at length because the employer uses one of the constructions studied in this chapter, as a kind of foreigner talk ('can't *keeping* ice cool' for 'I can't keep the ice cool'). This example of foreigner talk involves pro-drop and the 'bare *-ing*' form. That is, *-ing* is preceded by a modal, rather than by *be*; and the Verb + *-ing* is really a nonfinite form. This was one of the constructions favoured in the *Applesammy and Naidoo* stereotype (n = 206 out of 207 sentences with modals vs 0 out of 161 in a sample of 8 SAIE basilectal and pre-basilectal speakers). A close analysis of the *be* + *-ing* form in *Applesammy and Naidoo* showed how linguistic stereotyping was achieved in ways that can be easily characterized within variation theory:

- (a) The basis for the stereotype is the use of *-ing* by pre-basilectal (and even basilectal) speakers who use *-ing* forms fairly often without the verb *be* in the present progressive, and who extend it to occasional use in other contexts like the habitual present or the simple past.
- (b) The stereotype presents a variable rule for *-ing* as if it is invariant in each of the contexts concerned.
- (c) The stereotype overgeneralizes the rule grammatically to 'neighbouring' contexts in which pre-basilectal *-ing* does not occur (imperative, future, modal auxiliary).
- (d) The stereotype overgeneralizes the variable rule socially insofar as almost all Indian speakers are made to speak like this.
- (e) The stereotype overgeneralizes the rule stylistically insofar as the speakers speak in this way in all styles. (See particularly the authorial comment cited earlier: ... *said Naidoo, in the broken English he always spoke.*)

In this chapter I wish to take a closer look at one of the above functions, viz. the deployment of *be* + *-ing* in narratives of personal experience by SAIE speakers, taken from my fieldwork interviews of the 1980s. I single out for close analysis three narratives involving motor accidents. I will compare them with a control group made up of three narratives from non-SAIE sources: Labov's (1972) fighting story told by Boot – a young African American Vernacular English (AAVE) speaker; Macaulay's (1994) narrative told by J.M., a speaker from Scotland, and Malan's surfing narrative told by a young white male from Cape Town. For statistically appropriate comparisons it will be necessary to extend the database later in this chapter.

14.4 The linguistic study of narratives

The pioneer in the field of narrative analysis within English linguistics is of course Labov, whose work is foundational. Narratives in my SAIE corpus follow the generic pattern outlined by Labov (1972) and Labov and Waletzky (1967): *abstract – orientation – complication – evaluation – result – coda*. Moreover, his delineation of narrative clauses (essential to the narrative plot and following a set serial order) as against clauses

marking evaluation (which may occur at various points of the narrative, and which act to authenticate the story rather than move the plot along) works very well for the SAIE corpus. The appeal of his analysis of the effects of switching between tense and aspectual elements and the effect of modals and verbs of perception on narration is readily apparent in my present attempts to understand SAIE narration. Essentially, Labov (1972: 376) argues that (strict) narrative clauses in his AAVE research are in the simple past (preterite): 'no member of the auxiliary appears in the surface structure except some past progressive *was ... ing* in the orientation section, and occasional quasimodals *start, begin, keep, used to, want*'. The use of modals is more frequent in the evaluative clauses (e.g. *Who could have known this?*), as is the use of direct speech which is often used by the narrator 'to quote the sentiment as something occurring to him at the moment rather than addressing it to the listener outside of the narrative' (Labov 1972: 372). Regarding the use of *be + -ing* Labov proposes the following: 'Progressives in *be ... ing* which are usually used in narratives to indicate that one event is occurring simultaneously with another, but also may indicate extended or continued action.' Most of 'these occur in orientation sections; some also are found suspending the action in an evaluative section ...' [as in his example clause *I was looking* – R.M.]. However, the work of other scholars shows that narrative clauses may also contain progressives (Wolfson 1978; Schiffrin 1981).

Wolfson (1978) introduced the term Conversational Historical Present (CHP) for the use of the present to denote the past in conversation and especially narration. Schiffrin (1981) and Wolfson (1978) indicate that CHP is confined to sections of the narrative describing complicating actions or narrative events while background information and asides are conveyed either in the past or general present tense [= habitual present – R.M.]. Wolfson proposes that the CHP is not important in itself, but switching from CHP to past and vice versa is what creates effectiveness in perspective. This line of enquiry is pursued by Johnstone (1987), who showed in addition that for verbs of saying there appears to be a reasonably strong correlation between relations of power between the first-person narrator and other characters in the narrative (*I said* vs *she says*). Schiffrin (1981), however, disputes the notion that it is the switching of tenses that is the main bearer of narrative vividness rather than the CHP. She concludes (1981: 58) contra Wolfson that 'We now have a basis to confirm that the HP makes the past more vivid by bringing past events into the moment of speaking.'

In her study of children's narratives in Cape Town, Malan (2000) stresses the online and offline dimensions of storytelling in the difference of presentation of plot versus its significance. Online narration uses CHP and simple pasts, offline sections involve evaluation in the present tense, but sub-clauses are often stative (e.g. *this is nice* – Malan 2000: 117).

(i.e. sari bought in India rather than South Africa), the gold jewels she was wearing on the day of her accident, and the fact that her husband who died used to use snuff; Mr Mungar gives the name of the doctor who treated him during the accident (and emphasizes it twice despite it being unlikely to be known by the interviewer); Mrs Naraidoo mentions how her son who drowned at sea was going to join the Special Branch of the police force the next day. Although mention of the sari and the joining of the police force may at a pinch be said to be ironical, i.e. stressing how happy or significant events eventually turn awry, this is not true of the other cases. All these instances of what Labov called 'evaluation' serve to emphasize the veracity of the story: the narrator can still recall background details that reinforce the authenticity of the telling.

Grammar, especially tense, is of key interest in the present context since there exist substantial similarities and one major difference between SAIE and other varieties. SAIE narratives draw a general contrast between the story world and the evaluative world. There is a tendency for the simple past to be the preferred tense of the narrative clause, with switches to the CHP (i.e. simple or timeless present) in the most significant of these narrative clauses (to be illustrated in Bikram's narrative below). Past progressives with *was* + *-ing* are used for some prolonged action or evaluation. In all these respects SAIE accords with what I call the 'Labovian narrative'. There is one usage which is only a minor tendency in the narratives I have perused in the sociolinguistic literature, but which is a major characteristic of traditional SAIE narration: the use of the present progressive instead of the past progressive or simple past. As Bikram's narrative shows, this may occur in the orientation, complication and evaluation sections, but not in the abstract or coda. His three sentences are: *One night I'm coming with the girls* (Orientation); *I'm sending it* (= 'going at great speed' – Complication); *I'm feeling lousy whole day, you know* (Evaluation).¹ This narrative was one part of a whole series of self-selected dog stories told by four young men in the 1980s at a gathering at which I was also present and tape recorded. The dog-owner, Frankey, is an important element in the story: the seemingly foolish guy who turns out to be wiser than the narrator in his love for his dog.

- (12) *Bikram's (male 24 years) dog narrative*
 Ey, dogs, Vijay,² very strong, you know why? [Abstract]
 you know, one night I'm coming with
 the girls [Orientation]
 you know, every time I pick up
 girls like [pick up girls = 'fetch them for work']
 you know Frankey – Buffalo's son
 that mad ou, Frankey [ou = 'guy, male, young man']

Frankey, with couple dogs was walking
 now every time his dogs come
 and rush the van by Masla's turn-off
 Masla's turn-off by the blind-rise there
 So one morning, I'm late now [Complication]
 I'm sending it, you know, with the girls in
 the back [sending it = 'speeding']
 say about 10–15 girls in the back of the van
 on the blind rise the dog came to the van
 ey, . . . first the schoolchildren were waiting for the bus there
 for the dog's sake I must hit the schoolgirls? [Evaluation]
 I reckon bugger this dog [Complication]
 I gave the dog backwheel, frontwheel, everything over
 Ey, that thing went tut, tut, tut [tut = sound of
 breaking bones]
 Ey, you know Frankey was standing there and looking at me
 [Interruption: Vijay: Buffalo junior. Raj: He's mad?
 Bikram: No, he drinks juba an' all,
 [juba = provincial brand of African beer]
 waste that ou, you know] [waste = 'wastrel, ne'er-do-well']
 So you know what, out of courtesy now, I came out
 I see the dog [is] finished man
 You know, like its spine an' all [is] broken
 That thing [is] walking, you know, like this [gestures] in front of
 the road
 So now, I told Frankey 'Ey, sorry, but why don't you tie your
 dogs up?'
 I reckon 'You know how many times your dog comes and rush
 the van?'
 He reckon, 'no' [reckon = 'reckoned/said']
 I told him 'Ey, you know what Frankey, the favour I can do you
 I'll go and bring the gun
 And I'll shoot it for you'
 He's looking at me now
 I reckon, 'No, that's the only logical thing to do now.'
 I reckon, 'You can't take that thing to a vet an' all
 It'll die'
 He reckon, 'No, I'll take it to my verandah
 You'll see, I'll cure it'
 I thought this ou [is] talking nonsense
 I pulled out [pull out = 'leave']
 So I told him 'sorry' an' all
 ten times I told him 'sorry', man
 I pulled out

I'm feeling lousy whole day, you know [Evaluation]
 Because Frankey, now, [it's] his pet dog you know
 Lousy I'm feeling, eh.
 After one week now I checked Frankey walking with the
 same dog. [Result]
 [LOTS OF LAUGHTER]
 I stopped the van
 I asked Frankey, 'Ey, the same dog I smashed?'
 He reckon 'Yah'
 I couldn't believe it, Vijay [Evaluation]
 I couldn't believe it
 I reckon 'Frankey, same dog I knocked?'
 He reckon 'Yah, same dog.'
 [Coda signaled by the repetition and pause]
 [end of narrative, theme immediately taken up by next speaker:
 'You know Munshi's dog, Sally?'. . .]

There is an impressive array of tenses in the above narrative, which I identify and provide a key example from the excerpt:

- I'm coming* – Present progressive for Past progressive (Stylistic function).
- I pick up* – Habitual (present) (= 'I usually pick up')
- was walking* – Past progressive (literal not stylistic)
- I see* – CHP₁ (simple present for simple past). Note: for this speaker
 **I'm seeing* is probably ungrammatical.
- came* – simple past (unmarked narrative tense)
- I must hit* – modal plus verb (not narrative tense)
- that's* – copula *be* (stative, not part of narrative tense)
- walking* – gerund (subordinate clause)

There are eight instances of the progressive in this short passage: five present progressives as against three of the past progressive. These appear to create a foreground–background effect: *I'm coming*, *I'm sending it*, *He's looking*, *I'm feeling lousy* (twice) all foreground the durative verbs involved; whereas *was walking*, *were waiting*, *was standing* serve to background the durative verbs involved. The first set thus neatly falls into a subclass of the CHP, which I would like to call the Conversational Historic Progressive (or CHP₂). Wolfson (1979: 171) notes of this form that 'Where the progressive is used in CHP, it takes the place of the past progressive, and has the meaning of action continued over a certain period of time – as opposed to a single finite action which is expressed in simple CHP₁.' While this is true of the CHP₂ verbs in Bikram's narrative, there is a sense in which the same verb can have a progressive or a simple historic form, without a difference in duration (see the CHP variants *I'm looking at him* vs *I look at him*; *I feel lousy* vs *I'm feeling lousy*). Schiffirin (1981: 57) proposes instead that HP progressives (her term

Table 14.1 *CHP₂ verbs by frequency in three SAIE narratives*

is/are + V-ing	Bickram	Ebrahim	Mrs Pillay	Total
going		4	1	5
calling			4	4
troubling			4	4
asking			2	2
coming		2		2
approaching		1		1
climbing	1			1
looking	1			1
making (a noise)			1	1
running			1	1
sending	1			1
streaming		1		1
TOTAL	3	8	13	24

for CHP₂) go well beyond their durative function: 'Because of the usual meaning of present-tense action verbs in the progressive . . . the co-occurrence of the HP with the progressive is a way of making a past event sound as if it were occurring at the moment of speaking – a way of making it more vivid.'

CHP₂ contrasts with the ordinary CHP₁ which is prototypically a simple present (1 out of 65 in the control group from the sociolinguistics literature of CHP₂ vs 8 CHP₁). CHP₁ does occur in SAIE narratives, but less frequently than CHP₂. In Bickram's narrative, CHP₁ occurs only twice, but very effectively: *I'm late now* and *I see the dog is finished*. The use of the CHP₁ in the most dramatic part of the narrative is thus evident in Bickram's narrative (I see the dog is finished) and Ebrahim's accident story (I saw a Mazda 626 take the turn and the lady loses control because-why she was a bit too fast).

Table 14.1 gives the full set of CHP₂ verbs in the three SAIE narratives studied. These are all durative or non-punctual. By contrast the verbs that are punctual (non-durative) seldom appear in the progressive in the three SAIE narratives studied: the forms in Bikram's narrative are *smashed*, *knocked*, *checked* (= 'saw'), and not **smashing*, **knocking*, **seeing*.

Table 14.2 gives a breakdown of the proportion of tenses apportioned to main clause verbs in the three SAIE narratives and the three control narratives. Table 14.3 gives the percentages of the range of verb tenses in the two groups.

It is clear that the most striking difference is the use of CHP₂ in SAIE and its negligible occurrence in the three control narratives. Since this is a rather small sample overall, a quick check was done for another thirteen narratives from western sources available in the literature: Wolfson (1979), Johnstone (1990), Schiffrin (1981), Labov (1972), Malan (2000) and Macaulay (1994). As Table 14.4 shows, the picture does not change much: the total number of present progressives (CHP₂) in these thirteen non-SAIE narratives was 11 out of 461 main clause verbs (or 2 per cent). Whereas there are no instances of CHP₂ in seven of these thirteen narratives, six of them do use the CHP₂ of the kind

Table 14.2 *Use of tenses in six narratives*

Tense	Bikram	Ebrahim	Mrs Pillay	SAIE total	Boot (AAVE)	JM	Ridley (SAE)	Control group total
Simple Past	25	27	53	105	21	12	25	58
Timeless Present*	7	6	4	17	—	—	2	2
CHP ₁	2	12	11	25	—	—	8	8
Past Progressive	3	1	6	10	1	1	5	7
Present Progressive (CHP ₂)	5	13	15	33	0	0	1	1
Modal + Verb	12	3	5	20	4	2	2	8
TOTAL	54	62	94	210	26	15	43	84

* e.g. *there's a bend in the road.*

Table 14.3 *Percentage comparison of SAIE and control group*

	SAIE	Control
Simple Past	50	69
Timeless Present	8	2
CHP ₁	12	10
Past Progressive	5	8
Present Progressive (CHP ₂)	16	1
Modal + Verb	10	10
	101%	100%

Table 14.4 *Use of CHP₂ in thirteen western narratives*

Source	No. of main clauses	No. of CHP ₂ verbs
Johnstone	88	—
Wolfson	104	—
Wolfson	21	3
Wolfson	20	1
Labov 1972	47	—
Labov 1972	29	—
Macaulay 1994	30	1
Macaulay 1994	12	—
Schiffrin	56	—
Schiffrin	12	1
Schiffrin	15	4
Schiffrin	12	1
Malan 2000	15	—
TOTAL	461	11

Table 14.5 *Use of tenses in SAIE narrative clauses (complication only)*

Tense	SAIE speakers			SAIE total	SAIE %	Control group speakers			Total	Control group %
Simple Past	17	15	42	74	61	13	5	12	30	86
CHP ₁	2	7	8	17	14			3	3	9
Past Prog	2	1	4	7	6			1	1	3
Pres Prog (CHP ₂)	2	9	13	24	20			1	1	3
TOTAL	23	32	67	122	101	13	5	17	35	101

evident in SAIE (e.g. *they're looking down at us; they're sitting over in Europe spending it; and the maid and the operator are having this great conversation*).

A comparison with a long mid-western US narrative kindly provided by Johnstone (1987) gives further evidence that SAIE behaves differently with regard to this feature. Johnstone (1987: 199–200) provides a long and skilful narrative of a college frat, Louie, who in a drunken prank falls 30 feet from a tent but is saved from death by the four or five cans of beer he had stuffed into the back pockets of his baggy pants. It is my feeling that an SAIE speaker telling the same story to an ethnic peer would have drawn out the action even more with strategic use of the CHP₂ as follows:

<i>Johnson's narrator</i>	<i>Probable SAIE 'involved' style equivalent</i>
I just watched him	I'm looking at him
I heard a rip	I can hear something tearing
He fell through	He's falling through the chairs ...
We hollered for him	We're screaming now ...

To return to Table 14.3, we see close to total agreement between the two groups on the frequencies of CHP₁, past progressives and modal + verb. It also shows that the simple past is the most common form in both SAIE and the control group. The disparity in CHP₂ usage is made up by greater use of the simple past in the control narratives, however, which seem more terse in presentation than the SAIE expansive narrations. Table 14.5 is excerpted from the raw figures that went into the making of Table 14.2, this time focusing only on narrative clauses, i.e. leaving out the tenses used in the abstract, orientation, evaluation, result and coda sections. By definition this excludes the timeless present and modal + V collocations. Again, although there is some modification of the proportions in narrative clauses, the greatest variance remains in the use of CHP₂ in SAIE.

14.6 Further comparisons with US English

Although earlier studies cited above do not provide much data on CHP₂, subsequent studies suggest an increasing role for it in US English. Couper-Kuhlen (1995) proposes that the use of progressives in narratives, especially

Table 14.6 *A comparison between proportions of past and historic present in SAIE and US English in 'complication' sections (after Schiffrin 1981)*

	SAIE			Philadelphia		
	Progressive	Non-prog.	Total	Progressive	Non-prog.	Total
HP	24 (77%)	17 (23%)	41	36 (49%)	80 (11%)	116
Past	7 (23%)	74 (77%)	81	37 (51%)	631 (89%)	668
TOTAL	31	91	122	73	711	784

present progressives, is a new development in US English. She argues convincingly that they serve a foregrounding rather than a narrow temporal function. She calls this the foregrounded progressive, and notes that it is only used intermittently in place of the simple past in oral North American English narrative. Couper-Kuhlen's analysis fits the SAIE data quite well. However, it is not possible to conclude whether there is a quantitative difference between the two varieties (as I have maintained in the preceding section), since hers is not a quantitative study. One such US study which does afford a quantitative comparison is that of Schiffrin (1981). In her data from Philadelphia gathered by students and researchers in 1976 and 1977, Schiffrin (1981: 57) reports 36 progressive HP forms in a count of 784 clauses. Of all the studies perused in this comparison with SAIE, this comes closest to the relatively high use of CHP_2 in SAIE and therefore warrants closer examination. At first this might appear to be a counterexample to my claims for the special status of CHP_2 in SAIE. The careful setting out of Schiffrin's analysis in variationist terms makes a further comparison possible of the proportion of progressive verbs serving CHP_2 function as against normal past progressive marking (Table 14.6).

The most important comparison for the purposes of this chapter are rows 1 vs 2 under 'Progressive' (i.e. columns 2 and 5). This enables a comparison of CHP_2 vs 'normal' past progressives. Here SAIE shows a higher ratio of 7:2 vs Philadelphia 1:1. Table 14.6 also facilitates a comparison of CHP_1 to 'normal' simple pasts (preterits) (rows 1 and 2 under 'non-progressive' in columns 2 and 5). Again SAIE shows a higher ratio of CHP_1 to simple pasts (SAIE 2:7 vs Philadelphia 1:8). I would not be surprised if a larger database showed the first comparison to be statistically significant but not the second. (It is not possible to undertake such tests given the small number of SAIE narratives studied.) Another possible difference is that in Schiffrin's data (1981: 51) CHP verbs are rare in orientation sections, but in the SAIE narratives five of eleven orientation clauses were in the progressive, four of these in CHP_2 (see Bikram's *One night I'm coming with the girls*). Despite the higher count of CHP_2 in Schiffrin's Philadelphia data over all the other fifteen western narratives consulted, SAIE still shows the greatest proportion of CHP_2 in this study.

Table 14.7 *Past and historic present in a Bhojpuri narrative of personal experience*

	Progressive	Non-prog.	Total
HP	5 (71%)	9 (32%)	14
Past	2 (29%)	19 (68%)	21
TOTAL	31	91	35

It is my contention that CHP_2 operates independently in these two data sets. Most importantly the SAIE data show a continuity with that of Indian languages, especially Bhojpuri in the South African context, thus reflecting the role of contact and transfer (see also Odlin, this volume). I will exemplify this claim briefly with a passage from a narrative in Bhojpuri regarding assault and robbery that was part of an informal interview with a 66-year-old female that I carried out in 1999. The present progressive in South African Bhojpuri is made up of verb stem + present participle *-at* + copula *hai*. It is rather similar to the English present participle except for the word order pattern (in which auxiliaries follow the main verb). Mrs Sitaphal uses this as a CHP_2 form with foregrounding function. Table 14.7 shows the occurrences of past versus historic present in her narration, in the same ways as in Table 14.6. In total, there were 52 clauses, of which 17 were excluded from this comparison for two morphological reasons: (a) they may involve a quotative form (*bole*) whose morphology is difficult to fit into the categories of Table 14.6; or (b) they may involve an absolute form well known in Indic languages, comprising verb stem + particle *ke*, which translates into a coordinated clause in English (e.g. *They entered and enquired*, whereas the Bhojpuri form is literally ‘enter – having – they enquired’). Table 14.7 shows a close fit with the SAIE figures of Table 14.6 and not with the Philadelphia figures.

The similarities in the Bhojpuri narration and the SAIE realizations in Table 14.6 are not coincidental. Furthermore, the SAIE rhetorical question technique in narratives outlined above is drawn from Bhojpuri (and possibly other Indian languages). In Mrs Sitaram’s narrative it turns up once in *Tā kā bolat he?* (‘Then what is he saying?’), which is immediately answered by a clause directly quoting the robber.

At the same time, CHP_2 usage has not been reported as salient in other varieties of South African English. Kay McCormick, who has worked on English narratives in South Africa in other contexts, confirms (personal communication, 2010) that the SAIE data presented in this chapter seem specific to the dialect. In everyday conversation the CHP is associated with humour and in-group style in SAIE. For example, a relative of mine describing what it was like to have shaved his head as a mark of respect to his deceased brother said to his nephews: *Ey, it’s hard to get used to it, eh!*

I went to take a shower the other day. I'm in the shower now and I'm putting the shampoo and I'm wondering 'Ey why this thing is not taking now.' I forgot my head is gone bald. There is ethnic and stylistic investment in this humorous anecdote. Firstly, this deployment of tenses is a carry-over from Bhojpuri (and possibly other Indian languages for other speakers) narrative style. Secondly, in more public speech unconsciously marked as non-ethnic, the speaker is unlikely to use this style of narration. Therefore the parallels with US English are likely to be coincidental.

14.7 Conclusion

This study of narrative shows the relation between ethnic and mainstream varieties of English. Within an overall similarity, there is space for ethnic nuances in grammar, discourse and narrative styles. Despite the *Applesammy and Naidoo* stereotype of a generation ago, SAIE speakers are skilled users of English in their narratives of personal experience, which use a wide range of tenses. The three speakers studied are not privileged speakers of English: all three are rural; two are poor and elderly, and had only a primary education (= junior school) and English as L2; the other is younger with high school education with a shot at university which he refused, and English as L1. Yet none of them commits the infelicities of the *can going* sort mentioned in Orwell's *Burmese Days* or *Applesammy and Naidoo*. Nor do they show any significant use of New Englishisms like *I am knowing*, *I am understanding*, *I'm having a cold*. If they do, they do not deploy them (or find reason to deploy them) in their personal narratives. Rather, in the course of shifting from L2 to L1 under less than perfect circumstances regarding accessibility to and input from native speakers, they have strategically selected something from the past (a predilection for over-use of *be* + *-ing* compared to the 'native' norm) and turned it into an effective way of building contrasts between background progressives (*was* + *-ing*) and foregrounded progressives (*is* plus *-ing*, or more usually *'m* + *-ing* in first-person personal narratives). Moreover, the predilection for present progressives (CHP₂) gives an extra resource for contrast with CHP₁, leaving the latter to truly announce the most climactic of the narrative clauses.

15 English as a contact language: the role of children and adolescents

PAUL KERSWILL, JENNY CHESHIRE, SUE FOX
AND EIVIND TORGENSEN

15.1 Introduction: children, contact and change

This chapter deals with language change resulting from face-to-face contacts between speakers. Such contacts take place in specific sociolinguistic contexts and extend over particular periods of time. This means that, in order to understand the mechanism of contact-induced change, we need to know, at the very least:

1. The particular social contexts of the contacts – for instance, whether they are contexts of trade, of social domination (as in master–servant relations), or of more intimate and equal relations such as peer-groups involving young people
2. The frequency and intensity of the contacts, and the period over which they take place – are they transient, as in the case of tourism, or are they protracted and intense, as in the case of immigration or invasion?
3. The ages of the people concerned – given that different age groups acquire language(s) in different ways, and given that children, adolescents and adults contract different types of social relations with other people.
4. The differences and similarities between the language varieties in contact: broadly speaking, are we dealing with language contact or dialect contact?

Because of the time-depth needed before changes to the structure of a language are apparent, it is not surprising that, at least in historical studies prior to the written record, we do not find any empirical, or even systematic consideration of the role of social context and speaker-type. Contact between speaker populations needs to be more than fleeting to have a long-term effect on language, and (we presume) needs to be regular even if individual contacts are merely transactional. Typically in historical linguistics we see discussions of the outcomes of contact with no specific attempt at a sociolinguistic explanation (see Fischer, Schendl, Wright, all this volume), with very few exceptions (one of them being Lenker 2000, who applies the social network concept to Old English). A mode of

sociolinguistically realistic explanation is, however, provided by historical sociolinguistics which, using what is (in later periods) often a fairly rich written record including information about both writers and recipients, projects back from what is known about the sociolinguistics of present-day communities to past stages of a language (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003). So far, however, the methodology has not been explicitly applied to contact situations, nor has it been able to take a systematic approach to the age variable simply because the writers are all adults.

The extent of the problem for historical contact studies is considered by Trudgill (2010a), who, in a discussion of influences on early English, makes the claim that:

[I]n historical linguistics, something almost like a consensus about the importance of the role of Old Norse seems to have been achieved. For example, Poussa has it that contact with Old Scandinavian was responsible for ‘the fundamental changes which took place between standard literary Old English and Chancery Standard English, such as the loss of grammatical gender and the extreme simplification of inflexions’ (Poussa 1982: 84). Kroch *et al.* (2000) make precisely the same point ...

Trudgill’s thesis is that it is essential to establish the sociolinguistic circumstances of the contact. The particular parameter he argues for is whether contacts were mainly between post-critical period speakers (adolescents and adults) or between speakers who are still within the critical period for language learning (i.e. children; Lenneberg 1967). He draws this conclusion from the relatively well-understood characteristics of dialect acquisition, typified by the work of Chambers (1992) (though Trudgill does not mention his work here). Research in this area (see also Roberts and Labov 1995) shows that, when faced with learning a new dialect, for example because they have moved to a different dialect area, children are more successful than either adolescents or adults in learning complex phonological features, while evidence (cited by Trudgill) from pidginization suggests that adults are not at all adept at learning irregular inflectional morphology and new morphological categories. Trudgill’s conclusion is that, in situations where it is mainly adults who are in face-to-face contact, simplification is likely to occur by way of an increase in morphological transparency – that is, a one-to-one correspondence between a particular linguistic form and its function – and by a loss of morphological categories, for example the disappearance of grammatical gender. Conversely, where the contact is between children – and this is most likely in cases where there is intermingling of populations over a protracted period – complexification can occur, particularly through the addition of new linguistic categories. Trudgill’s example is that of the Balkan *Sprachbund*, or language area, in which a number of languages have acquired (among other features) a suffixed definite article. The acquisition of such features, Trudgill argues, can only

take place in ‘stable, long-term, co-territorial contact situations which involve childhood – and therefore proficient – bilingualism’ (Trudgill 2010a: 314).

The critical point for Trudgill is that the contacts between speakers of Old Scandinavian and Old English are thought to have been of precisely this kind, and so, rather than large-scale simplification taking place, one would expect at the very least some increase in complexity. He argues instead that simplification in Middle English is the result of contact with speakers of Late British (one of whose descendants is Welsh), where relations were very different: it is thought that Britons were in a state of subservience to the Anglo-Saxons, as slaves, and that their children would have learned Old English as an L1 in a simplified form based on their parents’ L2. This language would then emerge as the Middle English of the post-Norman Conquest manuscripts.

What is missing from Trudgill’s account is evidence that children, adolescents and adults actually do behave as he predicts. A linguistic typologist who comes a little closer to doing this is Nichols (2009), who shares Trudgill’s approach to the explanation of differences in complexity. Taking twenty-four Caucasian languages, she measures their complexity in terms of the number of contrastive phonological elements. Those languages which are located in centres of trade and which, importantly, have high numbers of adult learners have fewer contrastive elements, that is, greater simplicity. Yet this remains speculative: the study lacks a systematic investigation of contacts between speaker groups. Historical studies of contact which shift the focus firmly to the role of both children and adults are Omdal’s (1977) and Solheim’s (2009) investigations of the new dialect of the small Norwegian town of Høyanger, established in 1916, and Trudgill’s (2004a) presentation of a deterministic model of the formation of New Zealand English in the late nineteenth century. Yet even here we are dealing post hoc with contact, some considerable time after the new varieties emerged and well after the crucial generations of speakers had become fully mature or were no longer living.

Observing the role of children in any kind of *completed* change is in principle impossible without access to carefully gathered historical speech data from the relevant speakers. Even though we now have recourse to older recordings, systematic data from children and adolescents are rare, and studies comparing older and recent recordings of these age groups are relatively scarce. Kerswill (2003: 235–8) and Cheshire, Kerswill and Williams (2005: 154) contain brief comparisons of this kind for English, while Gregersen (2009) and Schøning (2009) provide more detailed analyses of Danish data.

Notably none of these studies deals with language or dialect contact. Studies which deal with children’s and adolescents’ speech operate within the dominant variationist paradigm of a speech community in which the

relationships between the language varieties depend on social differentiation along gender and class lines (or along other relevant parameters): this is the Labovian notion of ‘inherent variability’ (Labov 1969), by which the variation exhibited by speakers, both individually and collectively, is seen as both linguistically and socially structured. In this model, contact is seen as an external force impinging on the speech community, to be treated separately (Labov 2001: 20). For Labov, the principal contact mechanism is that of diffusion, in which linguistic features are spread across geographical space by adult-to-adult contacts (Labov 2007) – an approach which, as we argue shortly, may be only partially adequate.

Labov’s two basic scenarios (the canonical, contact-free speech community vs diffusion across geographical space) are not parsimonious: as we shall argue below, there are further community types where contact seems to be a defining feature – an inherent characteristic, in fact. However, his approach points up the crucial importance of the social contexts, including speaker age, through which language change is mediated, whether or not contact is implicated.

15.2 Children and adolescents in language change

Kerswill (1996) provides a general framework for the propagation of changes through populations, focusing on three key person-to-person relationships through which changes can be channelled:

1. Caregivers’ influence on infants and young children (from birth to age 6)
2. Influence of peer groups on preadolescents (ages 6 to 12)
3. Influences on adolescents (ages 12 to 17)

These relationships can be seen as prototypical dyads for these three life stages. As will become clear, they also take into account what is known about how children and young people acquire dialect features – both those of their own communities and communities they come into contact with.

15.2.1 *Caregivers’ influence on infants and young children (birth to age 6)*

There is a burgeoning literature on the transmission of ‘sociolinguistic competence’ from adults to young children. Local’s (1983) longitudinal study of a young Tyneside child between the ages of 4;5 and 5;6 foreshadowed the results of later research. Local investigated the child’s acquisition of the morphologically determined Tyneside alternation between monophthongal [i] in closed syllables, as in *freeze*, and diphthongal [ɪi] in open syllables, as in *free* – a distinction which gives rise to *freeze* and *free*s as a minimal pair. The child did not at first use the adult vernacular distribution of the two vowels, as he sorted out those aspects of input variability which were linguistically relevant and those which were sociolinguistically

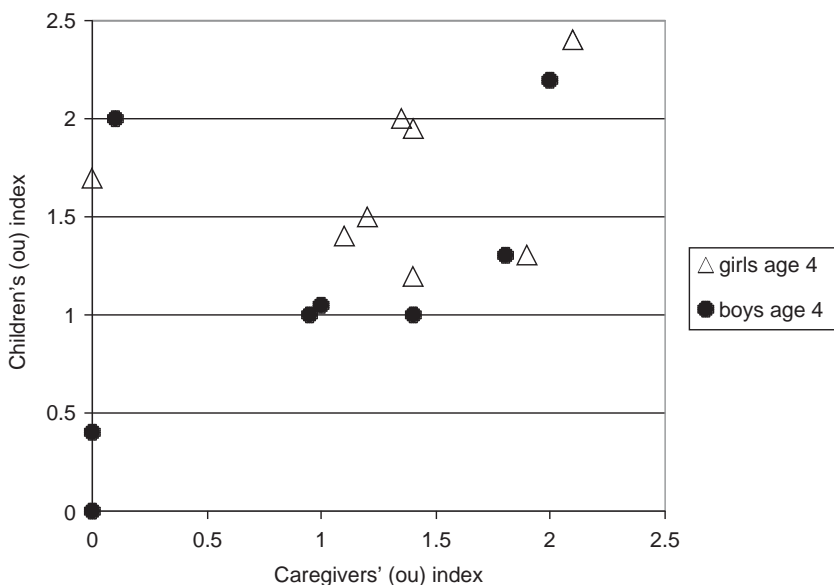


Figure 15.1 Fronting of GOAT: correlation of (ou) indices for 4-year-old children and caregivers (from Kerswill and Williams 2005: 1030)

salient. At the same time as acquiring the correct distribution, he used an exaggerated diphthongal variant in particular expressive sociolinguistic styles. The conclusion from this is familiar from later studies of the acquisition of first-dialect phonology: a child simultaneously acquires phonologically and sociolinguistically relevant variability during these early years, and does so by paying close attention to fine-grained phonetic variation (Foulkes, Docherty and Watt 2005; Smith, Durham and Fortune 2007). Importantly, the same phonetic cues convey both linguistic and indexical information.

15.2.2 *Influence of peer groups on preadolescents (ages 6 to 12)*

Preadolescence is the life stage where other children gradually become the decisive models for dialect acquisition at the expense of adults. We provide evidence from the first of our contact scenarios, the new town of Milton Keynes, which was established in the late 1960s (Kerswill and Williams 2000, 2005). As we will argue, the pattern for the particular variable we consider is likely to be similar to the pattern in old-established, low-contact speech communities. The variable is the vowel of the lexical set of GOAT (Wells 1982), which in the south-east of England is being fronted. Figure 15.1 shows the correlation between 4-year-olds and their principal (female) caregiver in terms of their use of fronted vs less fronted variants in

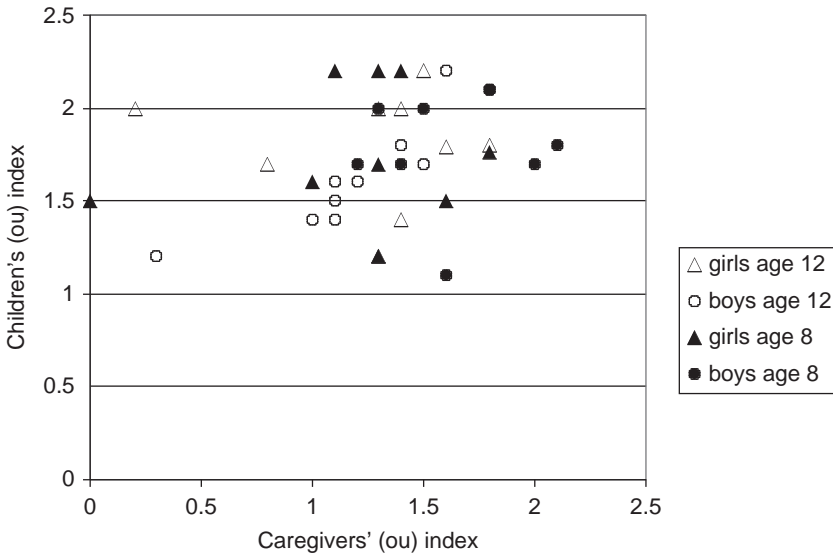


Figure 15.2 Fronting of GOAT: correlation of (ou) indices for 8- and 12-year-old children and caregivers (from Kerswill and Williams 2005: 1031)

sociolinguistic interviews (as determined through auditory analysis), calculated as an index ranging from 0 to 3.

The four caregivers who score 0 or just above have northern England or Scottish origins: in two cases the child follows the caregiver's fully back vowel, while the remaining two prefer typical south-eastern central or fronted variants. The remaining caregiver–child pairs all have south-eastern origins, and for them there is a strong and significant correlation with an r^2 of 0.355. Figure 15.2 shows equivalent data for 8- and 12-year-old children: in this case, there is no correlation at all. Moreover, the overall fronting scores are higher for the older children than for the caregivers, suggesting that the children are taking part in the general south-eastern fronting of this vowel – which raises the question of how young children acquire changes in the process of diffusing outwards.

These data suggest that, for children, the transition from being linguistically mainly caregiver-oriented to mainly peer-oriented takes place some time between the ages of 4 and 8 – probably at the lower end of this scale (see Chambers 2003: 185, who associates this with the start of pre-school).

The fronting of GOAT is a regular, 'Neogrammarian' sound change, with no lexical or phonological constraints, and is thus cognitively simple to effect. Later, we will examine another such change, the fronting of /u:/ as in GOOSE, which continues well into the late teens. Clearly, dialect contact is

a defining characteristic of Milton Keynes. However, GOAT-fronting is widespread in the region, and almost all the adults are from precisely this region. We can assume that the pattern of transmission in other, non-contact towns will be similar. The fronting of GOOSE is also widespread, and this likewise differentiates it sharply from changes which are clearly contact-based. We return to this important point later in the context of a different contact scenario.

The cognitive ease of GOAT-fronting does not apply in cases where phonological restructuring is entailed. Chambers (2003: 177) shows that the cut-off for the acquisition of a new contrast is very difficult after around the age of 13: Canadian youngsters living in England did not acquire the distinction between /ɒ/ in LOT and /ɔ:/ as in THOUGHT if they had arrived after this age. However, caution is needed, since Sankoff (2004) shows that two northern English individuals in the TV series *Seven Up* had at least variably acquired the southern /ʊ/-/ʌ/ distinction in adulthood.

15.2.3 *Influences on adolescents (ages 12 to 17)*

The adolescent life stage is characterized by broadening peer-group involvement and the formation of youth subcultures. At the same time, the ability to modify phonologies (and probably grammars) has become restricted in the same way as for adults (Lenneberg 1967). Eckert (2000) shows that Neogrammarian vowel shifts are embedded in adolescent social structures, and that both advanced (newer) and conservative (older) variants of the vowels concerned serve indexical functions. This further demonstrates adolescents' ability to 'handle' such changes. The pattern, then, is similar to that for younger age groups, but the social functions change with the development of adolescent identities.

15.2.4 *Geographical diffusion, children and the difficult conceptualization of 'contact'*

In our discussion of GOAT-fronting, we focused on the shift from caregivers to peers as a primary linguistic model during childhood. We did not consider how this rapidly spreading feature is carried to a new location in the first place. Although Labov's (2007) diffusion model assumes face-to-face contact involving adult speakers, there is ample evidence that young children acquire features which are diffusing geographically – the fronting of both GOAT and GOOSE being cases in point. A further example in British English is *th*-fronting (the introduction of /f/ and /v/ for the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/, respectively). This apparently became the majority vernacular form, from a zero base, in Norwich among cohorts born between 1959 and 1973 (Trudgill 1999b: 138). It is also a majority feature among young children in Milton Keynes, Reading, Hull and Durham, while this is

not so for their parents (Kerswill 2003: 232–8). Clearly, the adoption of this feature has little to do with direct transmission from parents. A contributory factor may be the ‘naturalness’ of this merger, and interaction with older children will be important, too. This does not address the possible mechanisms through which the feature is actually adopted into the community. Stuart-Smith and colleagues’ study of the influence of television on the adoption of *th*-fronting in Glasgow suggests complexity and the presence of a number of weak effects acting in concert (Stuart-Smith 2006). Paradoxically, it is the working-class teenagers, the group with the least contact with outsiders, who use this feature the most. Within this group, engagement with London-based soaps, such as *EastEnders*, favours the use of *th*-fronting, as does contact with relatives living in the south of England and a positive attitude towards ‘Cockney’. In cases where a diffusing feature is being adopted by children, face-to-face contact remains a measurable factor which is, however, easily overridden by others, including social class (as a proxy, presumably, for an orientation towards standard language) as well as engagement with television as a part of everyday social practice. Children’s use of *th*-fronting for identity-marking purposes, rather than being seen as a failure to repress a natural process, is suggested by the fact (so far only reported anecdotally) that they may adopt it long after having acquired the less ‘natural’ dental fricatives.

15.3 Children and adolescents in language and dialect contact

We now consider contact scenarios as such, and the role of different age groups in contact-driven change. Where there is adult-to-adult contact, we can expect simplification to occur, as predicted by Trudgill and Nichols. Simplification will become part of a local vernacular if the contacts and the ensuing accommodation on the part of the adults are extensive enough.

Language (or dialect) contact involving children rather than adults occurs in at least three types of context. The first type is where there is community-wide language shift, with adults transmitting what is for them a second language to the children (as in Ireland in the nineteenth century). In the second, much more common type, language or dialect contact occurs when the children of immigrants or in-migrants grow up acquiring the host-community language, alongside or even replacing the parental variety. In the third type, systematic contact between child speakers of different dialects occurs in new-dialect (or koiné) formation, as in Høyanger and New Zealand. In all three scenarios, the speech communities are highly diffuse (in Le Page and Tabouret-Keller’s 1985 sense), with few focused norms for children to attend to as they mature sociolinguistically – by contrast with canonical speech communities.

Evidence suggests that the linguistic outcomes differ strongly between these scenarios. Language shift may lead to a substratum influence on the

emerging L1 (Hock 1991: 481–5; see also Hickey, this volume). Outcomes for second-generation immigrants vary: complete adoption of the host-community language may be tempered by the use of an ‘ethnolect’, usually incorporating phonetic and sometimes discourse features adopted in modified form from the original L1 (Alam 2009; Stuart-Smith, Timmins and Alam 2011), with the use of these features being contingent on participation in particular peer groups as well as the features having an identity-marking function. Finally, in new-dialect formation, identity factors are initially weak (or, according to Trudgill 2004a, absent), with the result that the outcome is a new, mixed variety containing features from the contributing dialects in rough proportion to the relative numbers of speakers of those dialects in the original input mix, as well as some simplification, particularly of morphology.

How do these three scenarios fit in with the three-stage model outlined above? The model deals with adult–child and child–child contacts. A central part of the Labovian model concerns the transmission of language and language variation and change from older to younger generations. Incrementation is the mechanism by which changes are propagated, and it depends for its operation crucially on children detecting directions of change from the output of older speakers (older children and adolescents as well as adults). What characterizes contact scenarios is that there is a linguistic discontinuity between generations: where there is migration, parents are not members of the host speech community in a narrow sense, but have historical associations elsewhere, while their children are being socialized into the community in which they reside. In language shift, the community is constant but the language is not. Transmission of a community language or dialect, along with changes in it, becomes impossible by the canonical mechanism, so that we need to look for different modalities for language and dialect acquisition and the propagation of change. As before, these modalities involve contacts with other people (and other social-psychological factors, as we saw in the discussion of change in Glasgow), but now roles, relationships and social dynamics will be different. The three-stage model needs to be modified, in other words.

Horvath’s 1985 study of Sydney English is significant in that it incorporates language contact into an explicitly Labovian model. This study deals with the vowels of FLEECE, FACE, GOAT, PRICE and MOUTH, as realized by a sample differentiated by social class, gender, age and ethnicity. The interest for us is the manner in which Australians of Greek and Italian descent were sampled, with most of the older group (mostly in their 40s) having arrived as young adults, while the younger participants (aged around 15) were Australian-born. A principal components analysis (which serves to group speakers by overall linguistic behaviour) revealed what Horvath refers to as a ‘core’ and a ‘peripheral’ group, with the latter composed entirely of adult Italians and Greeks (Horvath 1985: 71). This is no surprise, given the foreign ‘accented’ nature of

their speech. However, among this group are a number of users of native Australian variants which she labels 'Ethnic Broad'. These take a phonetically more extreme form of what is assumed to be the direction of change for these vowels (resulting in what Wells (1982), discussing London Cockney, calls 'diphthong shift'). But this direction of change is not confirmed by comparing the young speakers with the older age group. While middle-class Anglos (Australian-born of British/Irish descent) seem to be following the direction of the vowel shift, this is not true of either the working-class speakers or any of the Italian and Greek adolescents, whose vowels are actually less shifted. In fact, Greek and Italian adolescents are in the lead in this shift reversal (1985: 94). Horvath argues that this runs counter to expectations, since the 'ethnic' adults have the most shifted vowels: the youngsters have moved right away from the parental model, even those parents who are (near-)native speakers of English. This kind of disjunction is one we return to. The Sydney shift reversal shares some characteristics with one found in multiethnic districts of London (Kerswill, Torgersen and Fox 2008), where non-Anglo young people are similarly in the lead. However, while the Sydney shift reversal seems to have a socially unmarked, mainstream pronunciation as its target ('General', in Australian terminology), in London the move is towards a new 'multiethnolect' containing some features of minority origin. Later, we return to the very different contact situation in London.

Khan's (2006, 2009) study of young working-class teenagers in Birmingham (England) contrasts three major ethnicities, Pakistani, Black Caribbean and White, but does not investigate adults. There are striking patterns of vowel variation, with many Whites favouring both traditional variants and levelled, relatively non-regional pronunciations, while the other two groups use pronunciations of both English and minority-language origin. For all three groups, there is use of both English and minority features, depending on the speaker's expressed identities as well as the ethnicity of social networks. As in Sydney, there is a tension between transmission of local features and the adoption of non-local ones of either English or foreign-language origin, drawing from a shared pool of variants. Again, we return to this finding in the context of London.

Similarly, Fox's (2007) study contrasts adolescents in Tower Hamlets, London, where the population is predominantly of Bangladeshi origin, especially so in the younger age groups. In the main, the Bangladeshis do not adopt the traditional London variants but use pronunciations of minority-language origin (with some modification for those who interact with Anglos). The Anglos do use traditional variants but show evidence of adopting variants used by their Bangladeshi peers. Friendship networks are shown to play a key role, with those Anglos who use more of the minority-language-influenced variants being those who have the most social interaction with Bangladeshi friends. This is in keeping with the findings reported here for the London context to which we turn now.

15.4 Children and adolescents in language change: the multilingual metropolis

A particular high-contact scenario is increasingly found throughout Europe: that generated by the high level of immigration of people of different language backgrounds, often from the host country's ex-colonies, to working-class neighbourhoods of major cities, followed by the socialization of the incomers' children in communities whose linguistic profiles become transformed by their presence. Our case study is inner-city London, which has seen very high rates of immigration in the last forty years and where we have recently carried out two large-scale research projects. Both language contact and dialect contact have been common in London throughout its history. As the capital city it has always been a destination for immigrants, and we assume that the innovation that has long been associated with London English (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 165) is in large part due to the language contact that has typically occurred there. The role of children and adolescents in the emergence of innovations has not so far been investigated, however.

The *Linguistic Innovators* project (Kerswill, Cheshire, Fox and Torgersen 2004–7) recorded 49 adolescents aged 16–19 in Hackney, an ethnically diverse inner-city area where some ninety-five different languages are spoken as a first language by schoolchildren (Hackney Council 2010; see Baker and Eversley 2000). We compared the English of the Hackney adolescents with that of 8 older speakers in the borough as well as with 49 adolescents and 8 older speakers in a different borough in outer London, Havering. Havering is predominantly monolingual; in fact, many of the original inhabitants of Hackney were relocated there as part of the London slum clearance that took place after World War II. The second project, *Multicultural London English* (Kerswill, Cheshire, Fox and Torgersen 2007–10), focused on the ages at which different features of London English, including the innovative ones, were acquired in a neighbouring north London borough that was multiethnic and multilingual in the same way as Hackney. We recorded 120 individuals in the following age groups: 4–5, 8–9, 12–13, 16–19, about 25 and about 40 (the latter group consisting of the caregivers of some of the children).

We turn first to the diphthong system, which has undergone a rapid and massive shift which is in part a case of 'diphthong shift reversal' (Torgersen and Kerswill 2004), taking a more extreme form than that of the young Sydney speakers referred to above. Figure 15.3 shows the vowel system of an elderly Anglo Londoner, recorded in 2005 (see Cheshire, Kerswill, Fox and Torgersen in press for a full account of the vowel study). This contrasts sharply with that of a young Londoner of Caribbean ancestry, shown in Figure 15.4.

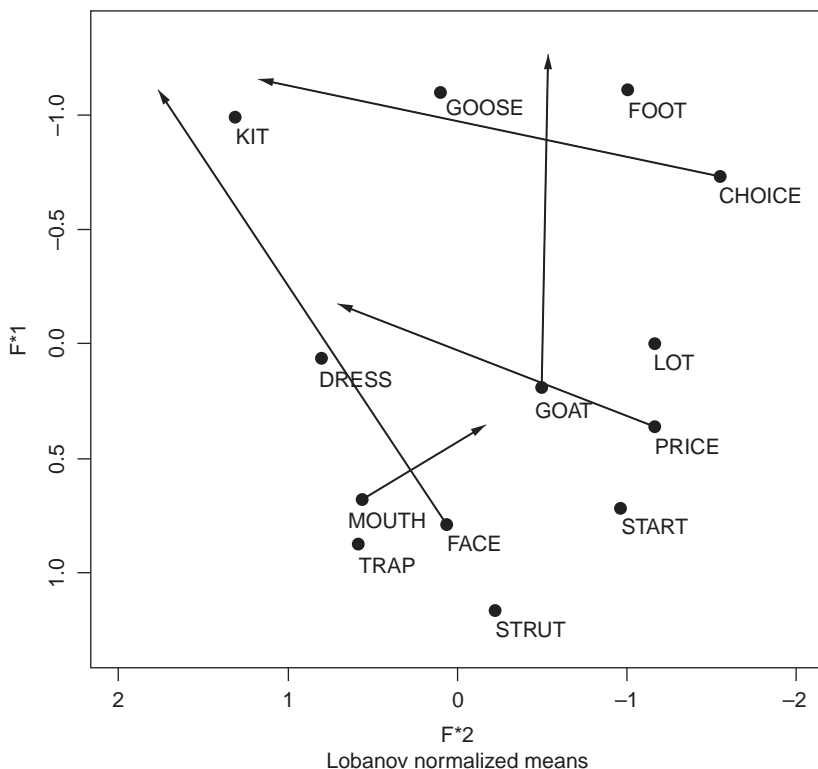


Figure 15.3 Diphthong system of an elderly Anglo male speaker from Hackney, born 1918

There are a number of striking differences between these two vowel systems. The diphthongs FACE and GOAT have very much higher starting points in the younger speaker, while MOUTH and to some extent PRICE are more central. GOOSE is now front, while FOOT remains back. TRAP and STRUT have moved in an anticlockwise direction, matching findings for a south-eastern short-vowel shift (Torgersen and Kerswill 2004). The speaker in Figure 15.4 is very much representative of other young Afro-Caribbeans in London, though speakers of other ethnicities, including Anglos, variably have the same characteristics, albeit in less extreme form. From our point of view, there are two questions: first, given the fact that some of these changes represent the reversal of a vowel shift which is a continuation of the Great Vowel Shift, are there contact motivations for them? Secondly, what is the contribution of different child and adolescent age groups to the changes?

Figure 15.5 (a, b) shows that this vowel system is more or less in place by the age of 8.

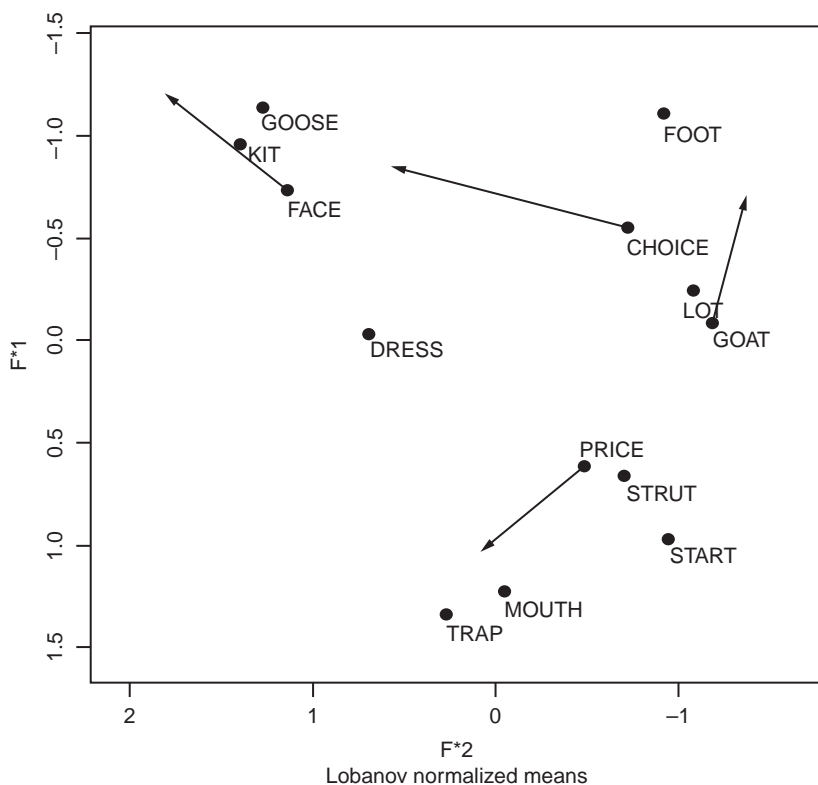
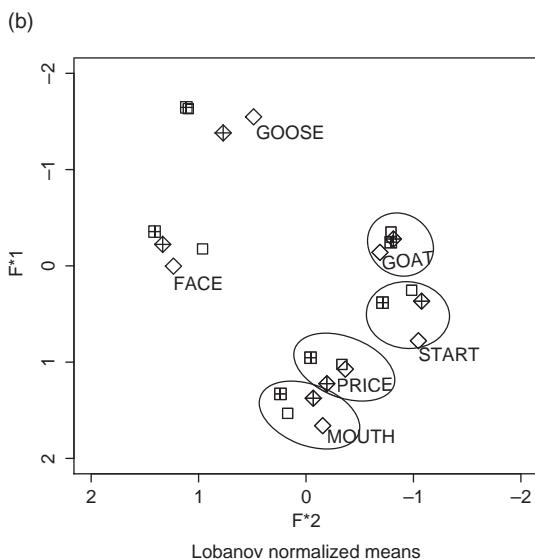
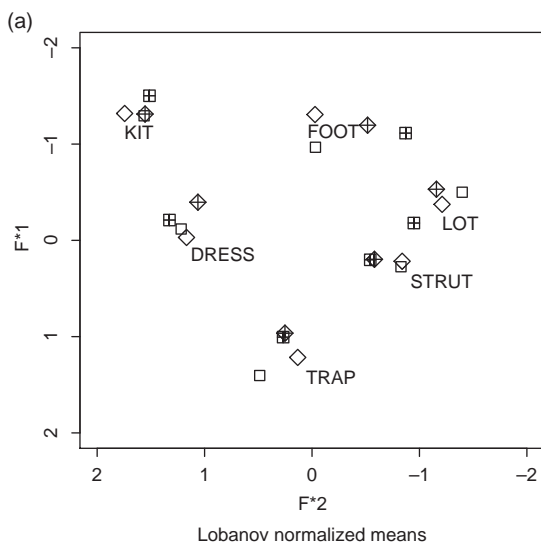


Figure 15.4 Diphthong system of a young male from Hackney, Afro-Caribbean origin, born 1989

Figure 15.5b displays the diphthongs plus GOOSE and START of female and male 8-year-olds of white British (Anglo) and other (non-Anglo) ethnicities. As can be seen, the positions of the onsets of the diphthongs are similar to those of the adolescent Afro-Caribbean in Figure 15.4, though there are some differences related to ethnicity, in that Anglos have lower onsets for FACE and MOUTH. Figure 15.5a shows that, for FOOT, the Anglos have a much fronter pronunciation than the non-Anglos. There is one major difference between the adolescent and younger age groups: GOOSE among the younger age group has not yet reached the degree of fronting found among the adolescents.

The questions of the origins of these vowel features and the contributions of the different age groups can now be addressed. The high onsets of FACE and GOAT result in vowels which are similar to those of the English of the various groups of incomers. Thus, both Caribbean and West African Englishes have similar qualities, as do those of the Indian subcontinent as



Key:



= Anglo female (N=3)



= Anglo male (N=3)



= non-Anglo female (N=9)



= non-Anglo male (N=5)

Figure 15.5 London inner city vowels: Multicultural London English project, 8-year-old speakers. (a) Short monophthongs, (b) diphthongs plus GOOSE and START. (For diphthongs, only onsets are shown.)

well as second-language varieties. However, the fronted GOOSE vowel is almost entirely absent from these varieties, though a similar vowel exists in Turkish. We must discount a contact origin for GOOSE, but look instead to its patterning by age and geography in England, where it is spreading. The fact that young speakers appear to increase the degree of fronting as they grow older is in line with findings in the region more generally (Kassab 2008). This patterning also resembles that of other features which are ‘global’ in scope, such as the spread of the quotative form BE LIKE – which we discuss below. This contrasts strongly with the community-internal vowel changes, which, we claim, emerge from the particular high-contact situation of the inner city, and are found already among young children. In what follows, we describe in more detail the multilingual context in which these children are growing up, and the consequences for the acquisition of an English morphosyntactic feature and a discourse-pragmatic feature.

We turn now to non-phonological features. Adolescents in Hackney used several innovative grammatical and discourse features that we did not observe in the speech of their peers in Havering. These include an indefinite pronoun *man*, as in (1), *still* as a discourse marker, as in (2), the *why ... for* question frame, as in (3) and a new quotative expression *this is + speaker*, as in (4).

- (1) it's her personality **man**'s looking at
- (2) I got the right moves innit but I ain't telling you though **still**
- (3) I said '**why** you searching my jacket **for**?'
- (4) **this is me** 'I'm from east London'

We attribute the emergence of these innovations to the more linguistically diverse situation in Hackney: although there is dialect contact in Havering, in Hackney and elsewhere in the inner city there is also language contact, as we have seen, with many bilingual children acquiring English as a second language.

The 4–5-year-old children in the sample for the Multicultural London English project had been born in London, with parents that were recent immigrants from India, Jamaica, the Philippines, Turkey, the Congo, Nigeria and Bangladesh. In addition there were two mixed White British/Afro-Caribbean children. This mix of language backgrounds is typical of the children attending the multiethnic primary school where we carried out our fieldwork. According to our terminology, these children are ‘non-Anglo’, to distinguish them from white monolingual ‘Anglo’ children whose families have been living in London for several generations. The non-Anglo children are fluent in English in that they speak it at quite a fast pace and show no problems of comprehension, but many of them have not yet acquired the syntax that is usually in place by this age when the primary caregiver is a speaker of English. Consider, for example, the forms in (5) below used for negation by Yeliz, a 5-year-old Turkish–English bilingual child in this group, as well as her subject pronoun form *him* and uninflected third singular verb form *go*. By the age of 5 English L1 children have usually acquired English patterns of negation, subject and object pronoun

form and present tense -s (unless, of course, there is a local dialect where these forms differ); see Brown (1973).

- (5) Yeliz: I not got a pony. not got it I not got the pony now
 Arfaan: you haven't? where is it? has it run away? where is he?
 has he run away? has he gone?
 Yeliz: him go there

Note that we avoid using the terms 'native speaker' and 'non-native speaker' to refer to the Anglo and non-Anglo children, since it would be not only difficult but also counterproductive to categorize all the non-Anglos as non-native speakers, for the reasons given by Fraurud and Boyd (2006) with reference to a similar multiethnic setting in Sweden. The reasons include the problems of determining accurately the age of onset of the acquisition of English and the number and nature of the first language or languages that the children acquire: in the case of Yeliz, for example, Turkish is spoken in the home but her parents also speak English at home, so she is simultaneously acquiring both Turkish and English as first languages. However, for her parents English is a second language and we assume that their variety is an interlanguage L2 one – an example of the disjunction across generations already referred to; Yeliz's older siblings, however, have acquired English in London in a similar way to herself. Other non-Anglo children in the sample have different language histories, making any attempt at categorization hugely problematic. This, then, is a good example of the type of contact scenario mentioned earlier, where speech norms are highly diffuse. Children differ in the varieties of English to which they are exposed in the home (with some children not hearing English at all at home), and for them the peer group is an important influence on their speech. In the multiethnic schools that these children attend, though, the peer group consists mainly of children like themselves, so there is a great deal of variation in peer-group English.

By the age of 8, the children in our sample have acquired the major patterns of English syntax. Their English is now very fast and fluent, but there are indications that they are still learning the language. For example, there is a frequent use of *thing* when specific words do not come immediately to mind, allowing the speaker to maintain fluency and, as in (6), their turn in the conversation:

- (6) Uzay: he uhm he uhm. he loves him first then thing. he gets all of James Bore's money [Arfaan: yeah] and ra and give it to the bad guy (Uzay_Dumaka 24.40)
- (7) Uzay: he's not my cousin he's my thing
 Arfaan: oh he's just your friend okay

The 8-year-olds have acquired English partly, of course, through the school, with some influence from their teachers as well as, in some cases,

from their caregivers and older siblings, but the major influence has been the language of their friends. The language acquisition process is best described as group second-language acquisition (Winford 2003a: 235), where the language is acquired in an unguided way, in informal interactions. Some of the children's friends are 'Anglo' Londoners whose parents use traditional forms of London English, but many are non-Anglo Londoners who are acquiring English in a similar way to themselves. We assume that the fluidity of language norms and lack of a single clear target variety accounts for much of the linguistic innovation that has been characteristic of London English. Some of the innovations that occur will be idiosyncratic, transitory, and may not survive, but others may become used within the peer group and then be acquired by younger children. As Meisel (2010: 19) points out, if non-native speakers of the language that children are acquiring are the predominant group in the linguistic environment, the input for child language learners can contain the triggers for grammatical reanalysis and language change.

We will discuss two of the innovations we find in the London data in some detail, to provide examples of the role of children and adolescents in promoting language change in this type of contact setting. In each case there is an interaction between developmental trends typical of child language acquisition and the linguistic flexibility typical of unguided group second-language acquisition. We begin by considering the acquisition of verbal morphology, specifically in the past forms of BE. The use of *was* and *were* is variable throughout the English-speaking world, except of course in standard English where *was* is used with first- and third-person singular subjects and *were* elsewhere. In present-day England, there is a widespread tendency to level the variation to a system that has *was* in positive contexts and *were* in negative contexts, as in (8); see Cheshire and Fox (2009) for details.

- (8) yeah the teachers weren't that good because they was always off
(Jennifer J/S/A 6.20)

As expected, the adolescents in Havering had the variable vernacular *was/weren't* pattern typical of elsewhere in England. Non-standard *wasn't* did not occur in Havering at all. In Hackney, however, the adolescents used non-standard *was* in positive contexts less frequently than both their peers in Havering and the older speakers in Hackney; and in negative contexts they used both non-standard *wasn't* and non-standard *weren't*. The frequency of the latter form was lower than that of the Havering adolescents. They do not seem, then, to be acquiring the pattern that is widespread elsewhere, or at least not to the same extent.

There were significant ethnic differences in the use of both non-standard *was* and non-standard *wasn't* in Hackney, which we attributed to the language histories of the adolescents. The analysis is presented in detail in

Table 15.1 *Percentage (total N) non-standard was, wasn't and weren't in north London (from Cheshire et al. 2011: 183)*

	4–5-year-olds	8–9-year-olds	12–13-year-olds	16–19-year-olds	Caregivers
Positive contexts					
non-standard <i>was</i>	78 (9)	56 (162)	77 (208)	37 (357)	45 (157)
Negative contexts					
non-standard <i>wasn't</i>	100 (1)	50 (10)	73 (15)	48 (27)	27 (15)
non-standard <i>weren't</i>	33 (6)	25 (32)	22 (54)	31.5 (89)	22 (59)

Cheshire and Fox (2009). Briefly, Afro-Caribbean speakers (most notably male speakers) used high frequencies of both non-standard *was* and non-standard *wasn't*, reflecting the fact that varieties with a creole history tend to use *was* throughout the past BE system (Bickerton 1975: 115). Bangladeshi speakers, on the other hand, tended to use mainly standard English forms, reflecting the social and cultural insularity of their childhood when they would have used Sylheti or another community language at home and with their friends, acquiring their English in more formal guided settings at school. Other speakers who had acquired English as their second language tended to use the *was/wasn't* forms that are typical of interlanguage varieties of English (Schumann 1978). The Anglo Londoners, growing up in a highly multiethnic area, were exposed to the speech of many different ethnic groups both at school and in their multiethnic friendship groups. Although the older speakers in Hackney used both non-standard *wasn't* and non-standard *weren't*, for the Anglo adolescents the overall rates of these forms were higher than for the older speakers in their community. Their overall rates also differed from those of their peers in Havering, who not only did not use non-standard *wasn't* at all but who also used non-standard *weren't* more frequently (again, see Cheshire and Fox 2009 for details). In Hackney there was a correlation between the Anglo adolescents' use of non-standard *was* and *wasn't* and the extent to which their friendship groups were multi-ethnic, confirming the influence of language contact on the variable use of past-tense forms of BE.

The data from the Multicultural London English project allow us to see how younger children are using past forms of BE. Table 15.1 shows that in positive contexts the 16–19-year-olds use non-standard *was* at roughly the same rate as the 16–19-year-olds in Hackney (the overall rate for this age group in Hackney was 42 per cent). The three younger age groups all have higher rates of non-standard *was* in positive contexts, especially the 4–5-year-olds and the 12–13-year-olds. All age groups use non-standard *wasn't* more frequently than non-standard *weren't*, suggesting an overall tendency to prefer the *was/wasn't* pattern to the *was/weren't* pattern.

Table 15.2 *Percentage (total N) non-standard was in north London in positive contexts: age and ethnicity (from Cheshire et al. 2011: 183)*

Ethnicity (total no. speakers)	8–9- year-olds	12–13- year-olds	16–19- year-olds	Caregivers	Percentage for all age groups (total N)
‘other’ (11)	24 (17)	90 (39)	37 (19)		63 (73)
Anglo (27)	65 (49)	71 (108)	36 (100)	47 (116)	53 (373)
Turkish/Kurdish (8)	71 (28)	80 (25)	26 (68)		48 (121)
Black African (9)	43 (23)	70 (20)	45 (49)		50 (92)
Black Caribbean (18)	72 (25)	75 (4)	36 (95)	39 (41)	43 (165)
Mixed white/Black Caribbean (4)	78 (9)	92 (12)	54 (26)		68 (47)
Bangladeshi (2)	0 (11)				0 (11)
Percentage for all ethnicities (total N)	56 (162)	77 (208)	37 (357)	45 (157)	

Again, though, the language histories of the speakers is important. Table 15.2 shows rates of non-standard *was* in positive contexts for speakers organized into different ethnic groups.

Grouping speakers in this way is problematic: for example, in the 4–5-year-old group there are too few tokens and the language backgrounds are too diverse for us to subdivide the children in this way, and the ‘other’ group consists of a diverse set of speakers for whom the number of tokens would have been too low had we attempted to group them into separate ethnic groups. Nevertheless the table allows us to see that the two Bangladeshi children again use only standard forms whereas most of the other 8–9-year-old and 12–13-year-old groups (with the exception of the younger Africans) have very high rates of non-standard *was*, including the Anglo children. The 4–5-year-old children were ‘non-Anglos’ whose language histories could explain their high use of non-standard *was*: as mentioned above, *was* is common both in interlanguage varieties and in varieties originating from an English-based creole. It is also usual for young children to use *was* throughout the past BE system when they first acquire English (Brown 1973). Although we might have expected the Anglo children to be adding some *were* forms to their grammar by the time they reach the age of 8, we assume that the fact that their peer group includes many non-Anglo friends accounts for their high frequencies of non-standard *was* forms (and correspondingly low frequencies of *were* in positive contexts). The peer group is an important influence on the 6–12-year-old age group, as we saw earlier. By contrast, the 16–19-year-olds all have lower rates of the non-standard form, perhaps indicating a growing acceptance of standard forms at this age.

The number of tokens of past BE in plural negative contexts is too low for us to make anything other than a broad categorization into Anglo and

Table 15.3 *Percentage (total N) non-standard wasn't/weren't in north London in negative contexts: age and ethnicity (from Cheshire et al. 2011: 184)*

	8–9 years	12–13 years	16–19 years	Total
<i>wasn't</i>				
Anglos	0 (1)	50 (8)	50 (4)	46 (13)
non-Anglos	100 (7)	50 (22)	62 (29)	
<i>weren't</i>				
Anglos	78 (9)	39 (28)	41 (17)	46 (54)
non-Anglos	0 (21)	4 (23)	24 (67)	16 (111)

non-Anglo speakers; however, we can see from Table 15.3 that the non-Anglos appear to prefer *wasn't*, as we might expect (note that in non-standard *weren't* contexts the 8–9-year-olds' score of zero means of course that they use only (standard) *wasn't*). The Anglos use both patterns, but non-standard *wasn't* occurs with frequencies that are as high as or higher than non-standard *weren't*.

These figures confirm that inner London has both the *was/weren't* pattern and the *wasn't/were* pattern, and that it is not following the widespread trend elsewhere in England towards a levelled *was/weren't* pattern. The reason, we suggest, lies in the language contact that exists in inner London. Older speakers in Hackney used both non-standard *wasn't* and non-standard *weren't* (with frequencies of 30 per cent and 17 per cent respectively). They also used non-standard *was* in positive contexts, at a rate of 51.5 per cent. We assume that their usage represents an earlier system in London English. Non-standard *were* does not occur in London in positive contexts, so *was* also occurs in the most frequent contexts for past BE (first and third singular forms in positive contexts). The tendency of second-language learners and English-based creole speakers to prefer *was* in positive and negative contexts alike further increased the numbers of the *was* form in the pool. Children tend to use only *was* in the early stages of acquisition, and we assume that this tendency was reinforced as they grew older, as a result of the high rates of *was* (both standard and non-standard), in their linguistic environment. The adolescents seem to have decreased their use of non-standard forms as they become more sociolinguistically mature, but their earlier high frequencies mean that the net result for their speech is a higher use of *was* overall than for previous generations of Londoners. The process recalls the new-dialect formation scenario, where the outcome of variation depends on the overall frequency of different variants (Trudgill 2004a).

However, frequency is far from being the only relevant factor determining the outcome of language contact in the multilingual metropolis. The new quotative expression *this is* + *speaker* owes its emergence to communicative pressures and discourse style rather than to frequency, as we will briefly

Table 15.4 *Quotatives in north London (from Cheshire et al. 2011: 186)*

	4–5 years	8–9 years	12–13 years	16–19 years
<i>say</i>	93.9 (46)	39.5 (202)	25.4 (163)	17.0 (218)
<i>think</i>	–	0.6 (3)	1.9 (12)	7.2 (92)
<i>go</i>	4.1 (2)	31.1 (159)	23.8 (153)	7.3 (94)
<i>zero</i>	2.0 (1)	2.0 (10)	14.5 (93)	12.5 (160)
<i>be like</i>	–	17.0 (87)	25.9 (166)	45.7 (584)
<i>this is + speaker</i>	–	5.3 (27)	2.0 (13)	3.0 (38)
<i>tell</i>	–	1.6 (8)	0.3 (2)	2.2 (28)
others	–	2.5 (13)	1.6 (10)	2.7 (34)
Total no. quotatives	49	512	642	1279

explain (for a fuller discussion, see Cheshire *et al.* 2011, Fox 2012). Unlike *was*, *this is + speaker* does not occur very often: in the data from the Hackney adolescents, for example, it accounts for only 4.8 per cent of the total quotative forms used (61 tokens out of a total of 1282; see Cheshire *et al.* 2011, Fox 2012). In the north London data it is also relatively infrequent, as Table 15.4 shows.

Like non-standard *wasn't*, the form was available in the pool of variants in inner London, though in this case perhaps in embryonic form (Gordon and Trudgill 1999): there is one token of *this is me* as a quotative in the recordings of London Jamaican made by Mark Sebba in the early 1980s, and we are aware of two tokens in the COLT corpus recorded in the 1990s, from ethnic minority speakers of unspecified origin (Fox in press). Although the form is still relatively infrequent in London, it is robust, used by all the child and adolescent age groups in our sample except the 4–5-year-olds (these speakers use quotatives infrequently, and most use only *SAY*).

Table 15.4 shows that the 8–9-year-olds use *this is + speaker* more frequently than the other age groups (and by contrast, we note in passing that the ‘global’ quotative *BE LIKE* increases with age into late adolescence, in accordance with findings elsewhere, e.g. Tagliamonte and D’Arcy 2009). Importantly, *this is + speaker* is used not only by non-Anglo children (in the data from the 8–9-year-olds it is used by three children of, respectively, Turkish, Nigerian and Afro-Caribbean descent) but also by four Anglo children. The fact that earlier attestations are from minority ethnic speakers suggests that the form may originate in the speech of Afro-Caribbean or bilingual children and is then acquired by their monolingual peers: if so, this would confirm Meisel’s argument that grammatical change can occur in monolingual L1 development as well as in bilingual L2 speakers, if the cue for change is contained in the speech to which they are exposed (Meisel 2010: 19).

Why, though, would the monolingual children choose to use a quotative expression that they hear only rarely? One reason, we suggest, lies in the

Table 15.5 *Content of the quote for different age groups in north London*

	4–5 years	8–9 years	12–13 years	16–19 years
direct speech	95.5	74.5	94.3	94.5
non-lexicalized sound and gesture	4.6	23.3	3.6	1.9
inner dialogue	0	0.2	3.6	2.8
Total N	44	494	557	977

Table 15.6 *Quotative and non-quotative uses of this is + speaker (from Cheshire et al. 2011: 175)*

<i>this is + speaker</i>	8–9-year-olds	12–13-year-olds	16–19-year-olds
quotative uses	51% (N=27)	87% (N=13)	93% (N=38)
non-quotative uses	49% (N=26)	13% (N=2)	7% (N=3)

discourse function of *this is + speaker* in the speech of the group that uses it most frequently, the 8–9-year-olds. Although the other age groups use *this is + speaker* almost exclusively to introduce reported direct speech, the 8–9-year-olds use it with roughly equal frequency to introduce both direct speech and non-lexicalized sound and gesture, as in (9) and (10), (with rates of 48.1 per cent and 51.9 per cent, respectively).

(9) Lydia: then. then THIS IS ME ‘xxxxxxx <making noises>xx’
46.00

(10) Uzay: this is me.<does an action that makes Arfaan laugh>
34:15:00

This age group quotes non-lexicalized sound and gesture far more frequently than the other age groups, as Table 15.5 shows: it accounts for almost a quarter of their reported discourse, whereas it is negligible for the other groups. The 8–9-year-olds’ preferred form for introducing non-lexicalized sound and gesture is GO (66 per cent of this type of quote is introduced with GO), but they use *this is + speaker* with almost the same rates as BE LIKE for this function (with rates of 12.2 per cent and 15.7 per cent, respectively).

Furthermore, the 8–9-year-olds also use the form with non-quotative functions, to refer to the actions or feelings of a protagonist in a narrative:

(11) he doesn’t he. this is him there’s year six THIS IS HIM he’s
near the goal uhm I’m saying to I’m there (Uzay_Dumaka 6.35)

(12) he’s sitting/on a chair. THIS IS HIM like he’s drunk or
something (Louise_Lydia 4.35)

These non-quotative uses account for nearly half the *this is + speaker* tokens in this age group, as Table 15.6 shows. The form is also used with

non-quotative functions by the 12–13-year-olds, but much less frequently, and these functions are rare in the 16–19-year-old age group.

It looks, then, as though *this is + speaker* is adopted by the younger children with the general function of introducing mimesis: to perform reported actions, gestures, sounds or speech in a way that appears to mimic the way that they actually occurred. This seems to be a particular characteristic of the narrative style of the 8–9-year-olds. Güldemann (2012) points out that through mimesis speakers create speaker–hearer involvement, and that the pragmatic force associated with quotative forms that introduce mimesis makes them subject to linguistic innovation. The narrative style of the 8–9-year-olds, then, may account for their choice of *this is + speaker* to introduce mimesis generally. Perhaps the form was introduced by this age group, with older children and adolescents then refining their use of the form until for them it introduces only direct reported speech (though as Fox (2012) shows, adolescents use *this is + speaker* as a way of creating speaker–hearer involvement at moments of high drama in a performed narrative). Alternatively, the form may have been introduced by the adolescent age group, with younger children then expanding its functions beyond that of a quotative expression.

It is relevant that many of the bilingual 8–9-year-olds in our sample are not yet fully proficient in the use of English, as mentioned earlier. Unlike SAY, GO and BE LIKE, the semi-fixed construction *this is + speaker* does not need morphosyntactic agreement, so it is a useful form for learners who want to keep the floor and keep up with the pace of speech in the interactions of the friendship groups. Of course, using a form that creates speaker-involvement is also a useful ploy for these purposes.

Finally, we can note that in many of the world's languages quotative verbs and quotative particles have evolved diachronically from grammaticalized 'speaker-predicating quotative indices' of this kind (again, see Güldemann 2012). Güldemann argues that it is common to recruit as a quotative marker an identificational or presentational structure that focuses on a nominal referring to the source of the quoted text. The form of the expression could thus be seen as a quasi-natural way of introducing quoted speech when speakers wish to foreground the source or the content of the quote. Furthermore similar structures that focus on the speaker in the same way that *this is + speaker* does are found in present-day Belfast English, where *here's + speaker* introduces a quote (Fox 2012) as well as in colloquial Portuguese and in Croatian (again, see Güldemann 2012). Perhaps, then, there are similar forms to *this is + speaker* in some of the other languages spoken by the children.

Thus for the new quotative expression there are several possible factors that can explain its emergence. It already existed in London English, albeit in embryonic form; similar constructions may exist in some of the languages spoken by the bilingual speakers; deictics are in any case often used to

highlight the source or the form of the quote; the narrative style of 8-year-old speakers involves a frequent use of mimesis and this in turn is a likely environment for linguistic innovation; and, finally, the flexibility of language norms in group second-language acquisition makes creativity and innovation especially likely not only for bilingual children but also for their monolingual peers.

15.5 Conclusion

This chapter raises two main questions in relation to the roles of children and adolescents in contact-induced change: what kinds of features do different age groups acquire? What is the importance of the contact scenario itself? We turn first to the notion of complexity. Does complexification occur when children are involved? The use of two patterns for past forms of BE in inner London and the addition of a new quotative to the quotative system could perhaps be seen in this way. A more convincing example would be the new pronoun *man*, which we saw earlier in example (1), but in our data this occurs only sporadically. A further example of complexity, perhaps, is that of the relativizer form *who*, which seems to have been harnessed by the 16–19-year-olds in Hackney as a topic marker, used when the referent of the antecedent noun phrase is intended to be a topic of the forthcoming discourse (Cheshire, Fox and Adger n.d.). As yet, though, we have no evidence that this usage occurs in the north London data.

In terms of the vowel data, it is completely clear that the young children have a fully fledged English phonology, regardless of the language backgrounds of their caregivers. In most cases, the vowel inventory is both greater and, in terms of a feature such as tense/lax, more complex than the input languages. Exceptions to this prove the rule: when it was found that a British-born participant was using a vowel system close to that of Ghanaian English, it transpired that he had spent many of his formative years at school in Ghana.

The particular contact scenario was crucial for the outcomes across the speech communities as wholes, while life histories were crucial to the understanding of how an individual responded. Because of the high number of languages spoken by the first-generation immigrants and a general lack of residential segregation, we would expect majority features, such as more or less monophthongal FACE and GOAT, to win out – and this seems to have been borne out. In general, the situation is one of unguided group second-language acquisition, and we have argued that this can lead to some of the discourse strategies resorted to, for instance in the case of quotative expressions. A good deal is shared across speakers, to the extent that we can talk of a pool of features which, together, form a rather variable repertoire which we have labelled ‘Multicultural London English’. Arguably, it has become vernacularized, that is to say, it is a new variety of

English alongside other 'lects' such as regional dialects. But individuals have different levels of competence in English depending on the time spent in London and on their social and family networks. The linguistic reflexes of their learning strategies are, likewise, part of the mix.

Of course, not all innovations will persist and become used beyond the peer group. The existence of these forms, however, bears witness to the creativity that is possible when language contact occurs, and the analyses that we have presented here show that interaction between young children and adolescents is crucial to the outcomes of contact-driven change.

16 Innovation and contact: the role of adults (and children)

SARAH G. THOMASON

This chapter addresses a much-discussed question: who changes language? More specifically, the focus here is on the agents of contact-induced language change – what kinds of contributions we might expect from children and from adults. This issue is reflected in debates among historical linguists as to whether internally motivated language change is initiated by young children during first-language acquisition or by adults, or by both. It is possible to identify changes in language-contact studies, usually temporary ones initiated by young children, and it is also possible to identify changes initiated by adults. The conclusion, therefore, is that both adults and children are responsible for contact-induced changes, although perhaps not for the same kinds of changes: shift-induced interference (see Hickey, this volume; Kerswill, Cheshire, Fox and Torgersen, this volume), which is due to imperfect learning of a target language by members of a speech community, is likely to be exclusively an adult phenomenon, or at least not primarily initiated by young children during first-language acquisition. I will not address in detail the question of the role of adults vs. the role of children in the initiation and spread of linguistic changes more generally, but some implications of the results from contact-induced change will be discussed in the concluding section.

After laying some preliminary groundwork (Section 16.1), I will outline briefly the debate about agents of change in historical linguistics and then consider innovations introduced by children and adults in contact situations in which both child L1 learners and adults have full effective access to the source language(s) (Section 16.2). Section 16.3 is devoted to innovations in contact situations that involve imperfect learning by a group, typically because of lack of full access to a target language, and to an argument that young children are unlikely to be major contributors to these changes. The chapter ends with a brief conclusion (Section 16.4).

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16.1 A few preliminaries

To set the stage for the following discussion and to make my premises clear, I will begin with four definitions, a methodological assumption, and an outline of an important sociolinguistic distinction (see Thomason 2001 for further analysis and examples of most of the issues addressed in this section).

First, how is “language change” to be defined in the first place? In historical linguistics this question rarely arises, because the time scales that historical linguists focus on are large enough to make the definition trivial: language change is the sum of differences between two chronological stages of a single language. No one argues, for instance, that Old English or Middle English, or even the Early Modern English of (for instance) Shakespeare, is structurally identical to Modern English, and the differences are easy to identify. But modern sociolinguistic studies of ongoing change and stable variation make a precise definition of language change problematic, not least because it is impossible to provide a precise definition of “a language.” (Consider the thriving subfield of World Englishes, which raises the question of how many English languages there are.) I will not dwell on these issues here. Instead, I will avoid entirely the issue of what “a language” is, and I will keep to the trivial definition of language change, with the important caveat that in many or most cases of ongoing and recent changes, one might have to wait a few centuries to see whether synchronic variation translates into permanent change in an entire language. In addition, one other definitional point must be emphasized: every linguistic change comprises two distinct processes, an innovation and the spread of that innovation through a speech community. In this chapter I will be focusing on the innovation, not on the spread.

Second, my definition of contact-induced change is somewhat idiosyncratic. Here it is: contact is a source of linguistic change if it is less likely that a given change would have occurred outside a specific contact situation. Crucially, this definition does not entail that contact is the only source of a given change; there may be both an external and an internal motivation for a given change. Multiple causation is always a real possibility, as it is in strictly internally motivated linguistic changes. The definition, of course, includes the most obvious category, linguistic interference – the transfer of linguistic features (with or without actual morpheme transfer) from one language to another (see Hickey, this volume). The definition includes at least three other phenomena as well. Some changes in some dying languages do not make the language more similar to the dominant language to which its speakers are shifting; such changes do not involve interference features, but by my definition they are nevertheless contact-induced changes, because they would be less likely to occur if intense contact of a particular kind were not leading to language death. My definition also includes changes that occur in a late stage of a chain-reaction process that was

triggered in the first instance by a borrowing. A rather common example is the borrowing of a subordinate conjunction into a language in which native subordination constructions are non-finite, but in which the borrowing of a conjunction leads eventually to the development of finite subordinate clauses. The finite subordinate clauses are not themselves borrowed. Still, the borrowing of the conjunction has a snowball effect: it sets off a series of changes that result in a significant change in the morphosyntactic expression of subordination, so even the late-stage changes are ultimately contact-induced. Finally, my definition of contact-induced change includes deliberate changes introduced by a speech community in order to make their speech more different from the speech of their neighbors, who speak dialects of the same language or a very closely related language (see [Section 16.4](#) for further discussion).

Third, defining bilingualism is important in the context of this chapter. But it is not as easy as one might expect, because the term is interpreted in different ways by different scholars. I will use it to refer to the condition in which a person speaks more than one language fluently. I will not attempt to define “fluent” precisely; rather, the term is used to refer to a state that is at least close to native command of a language. I also will not be concerned with the issue of dominance here: I am not convinced by the common claim (or assumption) that for all bilinguals one of their languages is dominant (see e.g. van Coetsem 1988), but this issue does not arise in the following discussion. I will use “bilingualism” throughout to refer to fluency in two or more languages – that is, to avoid the clumsy label “bilingualism/multilingualism,” I will interpret “bilingual” more broadly than fluency in just two languages.

A fourth definition is required by my title: who counts as an adult? For the purposes of this chapter, anyone past the early stages of L1 acquisition – that is, after the critical period(s) – is an adult. In other words, adolescents are also adults, in this context: when they learn a new language, they are engaging in L2 acquisition, and they therefore potentially exhibit imperfect learning (see Odlin, this volume; Kerswill *et al.*, this volume). As we will see, the distinction between contact effects via imperfect learning and contact effects where imperfect learning does not play a role is crucial to my arguments. I will not address the question of child L2 acquisition, on which there is now a sizable and growing literature (see e.g. Lakshmanan 1994; Schwartz 2004; Hulk and Cornips 2006), because it is not yet clear how, or if, it might affect the conclusions I draw here.

A crucial methodological assumption in the following discussion is that the question of whether a linguistic change is *possible* is settled as soon as an innovation appears anywhere, just once, in a single person’s speech, regardless of whether the innovator is an adult or a child. The subsequent fate of that innovation is a matter of linguistic and especially social *probabilities*. One implication of this assumption is that relevant examples include not

only completed contact-induced linguistic changes but also ephemera such as speech errors and the joking introduction of foreign elements into one's speech. Moreover, because calculating the social and linguistic probabilities is so difficult – indeed impossible, now and for the foreseeable future – we can reasonably talk only about *necessary* conditions for change, not about *sufficient* conditions for change. In other words, we cannot predict when or whether change will occur. This is as true of contact-induced change as it is of internally motivated change: even the most intense contact situations do not always lead to significant contact-induced changes. This methodological assumption justifies the use of examples in the following sections that are not demonstrably permanent changes in the grammar of any language.

Finally, a robust sociolinguistic predictor (Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Thomason 2001: ch. 4) is relevant to the analyses in this chapter. The vast majority of well-established contact-induced changes fall into one of two categories. Changes under conditions of full bilingualism – that is, changes in which imperfect learning plays no role – begin with non-basic vocabulary, and only later (if at all) include structural features and perhaps also basic lexical items. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) use the term *borrowing* in a narrow sense to refer to this type of interference; typically, though by no means always, the agents of borrowing in this sense introduce features from a second language into their first language. In sharp contrast, where imperfect learning does play a role in the process, the predominant interference features are phonological and syntactic, although lexicon and morphology transfer may also occur. (Most known historical instances of this type of change have been labeled “substrate influence,” a term I avoid because of its often inaccurate social implications. The relatively few known instances of superstrate shift, most notably the Norman rulers' shift to English in England, comprise a partial exception to my generalization, as they often include a great many loanwords.) This is *shift-induced interference*, so called because it mainly occurs when a speech (sub-)community shifts entirely to another group's language. The process is complex. First, the shifting speakers fail to learn certain features of the target language (TL) – often features that are universally marked and therefore relatively difficult to learn – that are lacking in their original language; and second, they may also carry over features from their first language (L1) into their version of the TL. These two kinds of interference features combine to form the shifting group's version of the TL, the TL2. In addition, if the shifting group is integrated into the TL speech community, original TL speakers may borrow a subset of the interference features in TL2, thus forming TL3, a melded version of the TL.

16.2 Who changes language, children or adults?

The answer to this question depends in part on what counts as language change. For the past forty years, generativists have placed the locus of

language change in children's acquisition of their L1 (e.g. Halle 1962; Lightfoot 1979, 2002). The argument is that the child constructs her grammar on the basis of input from adults and older children, and that innovations (by comparison to the adult grammar) are included in the internalized grammar of the child acquirer and thus constitute language change. An opposing view, held for instance by sociohistorical linguists like Lesley Milroy and James Milroy (personal communication 2003), is that language change is not the innovation itself, but rather the spread of the innovation through the speech community. Proponents of the latter view, and some other non-generativists as well, argue that young children are never the primary agents of change, in part because children are not the main participants in the kinds of social networks that are responsible for the propagation of a change in a community.

Both of these positions are too extreme, in my opinion. A complete account of a linguistic change must surely include both the original innovation and its spread through the community: excluding either the one or the other from the domain of language change seems quite arbitrary. However, I will focus here on the first step, which is the innovation and its initial spread to enough people that it is a viable candidate for spread throughout the community. As far as I know, it is uncontroversial that very young children are not the main agents of the spread of a change within a speech community, so the disputed locus of change would have to be the innovation itself. Moreover, even if adults are the primary innovators, an innovation will not become a change in a community's main language unless it is eventually acquired by children during first-language acquisition, where adults' innovations form part of the input for the process of acquisition. In any case, theory-driven arguments for the sole agency of either children or adults in initiating language change must be supported by empirical evidence if they are to be convincing.

Again, given my focus here on contact-induced change, I will ignore internally motivated innovations. In shift-induced interference, the agents of change – the innovators – are adults, or at least not very young children engaged in L1 acquisition. In borrowing changes (in the narrow sense of Thomason and Kaufman 1988), the innovators are both children and adults, because both children and adults, by definition, have full access to both (or all) the languages in the contact situation.

16.2.1 Borrowing: child-initiated changes

There is certainly evidence that both children and adults produce linguistic innovations, and contact-induced change provides some of the clearest examples. For children's innovations, numerous syntactic examples can be found in the literature on bilingual L1 acquisition (see Kerswill *et al.*, this volume). Because my focus is on the role of adults, I will give only a few

examples of child-initiated changes, primarily in order to highlight what seems to be a significant difference between child and adult innovations.

De Houwer and Meisel (1996) report, for instance, that a group of children who were learning both German and French as L1s displayed increased frequency of word-order patterns that are more restricted in their occurrence in one or both of the adult languages. And Müller and Hulk (2001) found evidence of systematic syntactic innovations in the speech of children with three different L1 pairs, German/French, Dutch/French, and German/Italian. Specifically, the bilingual children had a much higher level of object omission in their French and Italian than monolingual French- or Italian-speaking children. Overall, the object omission patterns were closer to colloquial Dutch and German, as in (1):

- (1) Question: Kommst Du mit zur Titanic?
 Answer: Ø hab ich schon gesehen.

Phonological examples are rarer in the literature, but Queen (2001) discusses a phonological innovation in the intonation of bilingual Turkish/German children. Her focus is on two different but isofunctional phrase-final intonation patterns in monolingual Turkish and monolingual German. A group of bilingual school-age children turned out to have both patterns in both their L1s, and they had introduced a functional distinction between the two intonation contours. Strikingly, neither the children's German-speaking teachers nor their Turkish-speaking parents noticed that the children's intonational system differed from those of monolingual adults.

These phonological and syntactic examples share a noteworthy feature: they are all relatively subtle changes that might be unnoticed by adult L1 speakers. The innovative word-order and object-omission patterns in bilingual Germanic/Romance-speaking children differed from the adult system in frequency and scope, but they did not introduce anything wholly new into either L1; and although the children Queen studied had a novel intonation pattern in each of their L1s – a pattern that did not exist previously in German or Turkish – both the new contour and the new distinction apparently slipped “under the radar” of the adults' perception, so that the children were perceived as perfectly ordinary L1 speakers of German and Turkish. This suggests that perhaps bilingual children's innovations are unlikely to be dramatic major changes. That is, perhaps child-initiated changes always target more abstract and (in the context) less salient structural features. One might expect exceptions in cases with very extensive typological overlap, as in mutual or one-way interference in dialects of the same language. But these hypotheses would be very difficult to test, given the still small amount and variety of data currently available.

Before we turn to innovations introduced by bilingual adults into one or both of their languages, one other point should be emphasized here. As Queen points out, the change she studied does not fall neatly into either the

“borrowing” or the “shift-induced interference” category of interference. At first glance it looks like borrowing, because the children are growing up with two L1s and are thus becoming fully fluent in both Turkish and German; but the change could also be viewed as the result of imperfect learning, because the children ended up with an intonational system that was not identical to that of either L1. But the latter interpretation would require a very different process from ordinary shift-induced interference, which closely resembles second-language acquisition both as a process and in its results. The same argument can be applied to the syntactic examples as well: they are neither obviously borrowing nor obviously shift-induced interference (see Hickey, this volume; Kerswill *et al.*, this volume). It might therefore be best to treat bilingual children’s innovations as instances of a different process entirely, separate from these two categories.

16.2.2 Borrowing: adult-initiated changes

The borrowing domain in which adult agency is clearest is the lexicon. Adults are certainly responsible for “learnèd” borrowings and all borrowings from written sources (including email), since L1 acquirers are preliterate. Adults are also the agents in cases like the one described by Ad Backus (personal communication 1999), in which bilingual young adult Dutch speakers insert English words into Dutch morphosyntax in conversation because it is considered trendy.

In structural borrowing, it is harder to be certain whether adults or children are the innovators. But here too there are occasional “learnèd” structural borrowings, for instance the introduction of aspirated stops into spoken Tamil under the influence of Sanskrit, the sacred language of Hinduism, or the ban on split infinitives in English, which is said to have been decreed by eighteenth-century grammarians who were motivated by the fact that Latin infinitives (being single words) cannot be split. Innovations of these types were definitely introduced by adults, not children.

One set of cases in which dramatic linguistic innovations can be confidently attributed to adults rather than children comprises bilingual mixed languages. In these most extreme cases of borrowing, new languages are created abruptly by groups of bilinguals who are socially distinct from the speech communities of both component languages. The number of well-documented stable bilingual mixed languages is very small, and it may be that most bilingual mixtures are ephemeral. But in principle any such mixtures (including the fashionable mixture of English lexicon and Dutch structure reported by Backus) could become fixed as the first language of a speech community.

Three especially striking and well-documented cases are Michif in south-central Canada, Mednyj (or Copper Island) Aleut on one of the Commander islands off the east coast of Russia, and Media Lengua in central Ecuador. In each case the creators must have been fully fluent bilinguals, because

there is no significant distortion in either component of the mixed language; and the mixtures resemble nothing reported from bilingual child acquisition, because they are infinitely more drastic as changes.

Michif was created by bilingual French/Cree offspring of mixed marriages between Canadian French (and some Scots) traders and Cree-speaking Indian women. The mixed-blood offspring of these marriages were legally distinct from both whites and Indians, and some of them coalesced into a distinct social group as well, as buffalo hunters on both sides of the Canada/US border. The language they created, which served as a symbol of in-group identity, consists of French noun phrases in a Cree matrix. The verb and sentential syntax display fully elaborated Cree structure, with all the expected Algonquian complexity in the verb morphology; the noun phrase, however, is French, phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically. There is a bit of leakage from the Cree portions of the grammar into the French portions, but not vice versa. The language looks like a conventionalized (or fossilized) and greatly expanded type of code-switching, because a common code-switching pattern involves inserting noun phrases from one language into sentences that otherwise come from the other language. Although young children are very unlikely to have been the initiators of the mixture, Michif became a first language, and probably the main language, of at least some of the mixed-blood communities. It is still spoken on the Turtle Mountain Reservation of North Dakota, and few of its modern speakers know either French or Cree. There is no question, therefore, of the language's independence from its source languages, and it is also evident that children have learned it as a first language. (See Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 228–33 and Bakker and Papen 1997 for further information on Michif.)

Mednyj Aleut is also the language of a mixed-blood population, in this case the offspring of Russian fathers and Aleut mothers. The population arose in the nineteenth century during the period of the Russian fur seal trade in the Bering Sea and its vicinity, and like the speakers of Michif, the mixed-bloods were socially separate from both source speech communities. On Mednyj Island they were economically powerful middlemen between the Russian traders and the Aleut fishermen, but they were socially stigmatized because their parents were not married to each other. Linguistically, the mixture in Mednyj Aleut differs sharply from the mixture in Michif. The lexicon as a whole is primarily native Aleut (though there are Russian loanwords throughout the language). Noun inflection is entirely Aleut, as is non-finite verb inflection; but the entire finite verb inflectional system is Russian, including both the categories and the grammatical morphemes themselves. Here too it appears that the mixed language was created to underscore the new group's ethnic identity. Like Michif, Mednyj Aleut was later learned as a first language by the community's children. (See Thomason 1997a, b and references there for discussion.)

Media Lengua, finally, was created by bilingual Spanish/Quechua speakers who had traveled to Quito, the capital of Ecuador, for work; they

learned Spanish there and then returned to their Quechua-speaking villages, where their mixed language marked them as partly Quechua and partly Spanish in culture (see Muysken 1997 for details). That is, here too the function of the new language is to symbolize the culturally mixed identity of the new ethnic (sub)group. The linguistic composition of Media Lengua splits the lexicon from the structure and thus differs from those of Michif and Mednyj Aleut: Media Lengua consists of Spanish vocabulary and Quechua grammar.

There are two compelling reasons for rejecting the participation of young children as major contributors to the emergence of these and other bilingual mixed languages. First, as noted above, the creators of the new languages have to have been fluent bilinguals, and the nature of the mixtures sharply distinguishes them linguistically from all data currently available on bilingual L1 acquisition. Second, all known bilingual mixtures are “in-group” phenomena. These new languages are not needed for intergroup communication; the members of each group already have two languages in their repertoire, and either would be quite sufficient for communication within the group. Instead, the new languages serve as symbols of new populations, separated by blood and/or culture from both source populations. Young children engaging in L1 acquisition do not yet possess the social development that would motivate the creation of such a symbol.

The abrupt creation of a bilingual mixed language is a more extreme form of a common linguistic phenomenon – namely, deliberate distancing changes in an individual’s speech or in a whole language. These are contact-induced changes, according to my definition: they occur only when there is language or dialect contact (see Thomason 2007 for detailed discussion). Many, perhaps most, changes in this category resemble bilingual mixed languages in serving to identify in-group members. Teenage slang is the most obvious example. For instance, monolingual English-speaking grandparents who claim that they cannot understand their monolingual English-speaking grandchildren are exaggerating, but the whole point of inventing slang words is to separate your own group from some other group – in this case, older generations. A somewhat similar example is Thai schoolboys’ use of Chinese first-person and second-person singular pronouns instead of native Thai pronouns, a fashion that exploits their bilingual repertoires (Hiranburana 1998; Court 1998).

The vast majority of deliberate contact-induced linguistic changes are no doubt lexical innovations. But deliberate structural changes also occur – the examples of abruptly created bilingual mixed languages prove this, and there are less dramatic deliberate changes as well. The innovation in American English of the *-fuckin’-* infix, as in *abso-fuckin’-lutely*, is one example. Deliberate phonological innovations, with various motivations, also occur, as in the dialect of Lambayeque Quechua (Peru) whose speakers deliberately distorted their words so that their dialect would be more distinct from that of their neighbors. The process they adopted was metathesis of certain VC

sequences, e.g. *yamra* from *yamar* and *kablata* from *kabalta* (David Weber, personal communication 1999, citing research by Dwight Shaver).

Secret languages of various kinds also fall into this category, from adolescents' made-up Pig-Latin-like "languages" to community-wide languages like Mōkkī, the language of the Lōrīs of Baluchistan, which cannot be dismissed as child's play (Bray 1913: 139–40):

Mōkkī, the cant of the Lōrīs, ... is an artificial jargon, which the Lōrīs have mechanically invented on the basis of the language of the people among whom they live, and which they more especially employ when they want to keep their meaning to themselves ... it seems doubtful whether its artificiality suffices to debar it from being classed as a language ... it is at any rate acquired naturally and as a matter of course by Lōrī children; it is no longer, it would seem, simply a secret patter; it is becoming a language for the home-circle.

All these deliberate changes, like bilingual mixed languages, are created by adults (including adolescents), not by very young children. As noted above, small children lack the social motivations that drive such group-identifying changes.

16.3 Shift-induced interference: adult-initiated, not child-initiated

This type of interference is closely connected with second-language acquisition (SLA). The main difference is that the rich SLA literature focuses primarily on processes of second-language learning in individuals, while the focus of study in shift-induced interference is the effects of a whole group's SLA on the target language (see Odlin, this volume). There are other differences too, perhaps most notably the fact that in SLA there is a well-grounded assumption that the learners' goal is the acquisition of (typically) a well-established standard language, whereas shift-induced interference can affect a non-standardized TL, and the shifting group may not even wish to speak the TL the way original L1 speakers speak it (see Hickey, this volume). Still, the similarities between the learners' errors reported in the SLA literature and the results of shift-induced interference are striking – which is hardly surprising, since in both cases the main effect is failure to achieve native-like command of a TL (native-like, that is, from the viewpoint of original TL speakers). Because of this close connection, it is also unsurprising that very young children do not appear to play a major role in initiating the changes that typically characterize shift-induced interference. The social factors that promote language shift may certainly affect children's acquisition, but they will arguably apply most strongly to adults in the shifting community (see Kerswill *et al.*, this volume). If children's access to the TL is sufficiently limited in their early years, they may in fact eventually acquire the TL as a second language, not as a first language.

A question remains open here, though: what if children have enough exposure to the larger community's dominant language, the original TL (the TL₁), to acquire some of it in early childhood, but not enough exposure to acquire it as a child growing up primarily in that community would? Would we, in such a case, expect the child's version of the TL to be like their parents' L₂ version (the TL₂), especially if they hear the parents' version more often than the original version? Or would we expect the children's superior language-learning skills to move them beyond their parents' version and closer to the TL₁, given the same amount of exposure to the TL₁? As far as I know, this question has not been fully addressed empirically (but see Kerswill *et al.*, this volume); but it is a bit hard to imagine very young children being attuned to the kinds of social factors that would prompt them to prefer TL₁ to TL₂ features, so it is not clear what would motivate them to acquire the larger community's TL₁ instead of their home community's TL₂. In spite of this indeterminacy, however, attributing the primary role in shift-induced interference to adults seems justified by what we know of the progress of language shift: adults innovate to form the TL₂, and what their children learn is the TL₂, not the TL₁.

Let us look at a few typical examples of shift-induced interference. A phonological example was reported by Pavle Ivić (1964). A northern dialect of Serbo-Croatian that is spoken in the former Yugoslavia near the Hungarian border differs sharply from other Serbo-Croatian dialects in having fixed penultimate stress. Elsewhere in Serbo-Croatian (in what is now called Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian), stress is free and therefore phonemic. But Hungarian stress is predictable, fixed on the initial syllable of the word. According to Ivić, Hungarian speakers on the Yugoslav side of the national border shifted in sizable numbers to the local Serbo-Croatian dialect; assuming that stress was fixed (because it was in their L₁), but perceiving that it was not fixed on the first syllable of the word, they settled on a kind of "average" stress placement, on the penultimate syllable. This feature of their TL₂ was adopted by original TL speakers, so that the whole dialect now has fixed penultimate stress. What makes this example typical of shift-induced interference is not only the deviation from the original TL stress system, but also the fact that the resulting pattern matches neither the shifting group's heritage language nor the original TL. Instead, it is a learners' perceptual compromise between the two incompatible systems.

In the morphosyntax, a typical example is the innovative causative formation in some Ethiopic Semitic languages, a change that was initiated by Cushitic speakers who were shifting to Semitic (see Leslau 1945, 1952, and Thomason 2001: 111–13 for a more detailed discussion of the Ethiopian Highlands *Sprachbund*). In Semitic languages outside Ethiopia, the causative is formed by means of a prefix; in Cushitic languages the causative is formed by means of a double suffix. In Ethiopic Semitic, the causative formation is a double prefix – keeping the original Semitic placement of the causative affix,

but doubling it according to the Cushitic pattern. Like the Hungarian-influenced stress pattern described above, this change in Ethiopic Semitic is a compromise between the two causative formations, but not identical to either.

This general pattern of change, in which a TL structural feature is partially reinterpreted according to a functionally congruent heritage-language pattern, is of course not the only type of change produced by interference through shift. Sometimes a new category is introduced into the TL₂, often but not always using morphemes native to the TL. An example is the so-called second genitive case in Russian, an innovative case category with a partitive function. The contrast between the inherited genitive (GEN) and the new partitive (PART) formation is illustrated in (2):

- (2) a. cena čaj-a
price tea-GEN
'the price of tea'
b. čaška čaj-u
cup tea-PART
'a cup of tea'

Example (2a) shows the inherited genitive, where the phrase *price of tea* does not focus on a particular part, or portion, of tea; (2b), by contrast, specifies a portion of tea, and it has the partitive case. Both suffixes, *-a* and *-u*, are native Slavic and indeed Indo-European suffixes. Originally they belonged to different noun classes and expressed the same function, the single inherited genitive (which included both partitive and general genitive constructions). But in Slavic the noun class to which *-u* belonged merged with the noun class to which *-a* belongs, and in the process most original suffixes in the vanishing noun class were replaced by suffixes from the surviving class – except in this one structure point, where shifting Finnic speakers kept both genitive suffixes and used them to express the partitive/non-partitive distinction that is native to Finnic languages. This is an instance of shifting speakers' carryover of structural features from the L₁(s) to the TL. The other common result of shift-induced interference, loss of TL features that the heritage language of the shifting group lacks, is illustrated by such changes as the loss, in Ethiopic Semitic, of the inherited dual number category (Cushitic languages have no dual).

A caveat (partly repeating a point made at the beginning of this section) is in order here. It is difficult, and perhaps impossible, to prove that adults are the initiators of these and other instances of shift-induced interference. But, for the reasons given above, it is at least very unlikely that young children are the sole initiators of these changes, and for social reasons it also seems unlikely that they play a major role in the process.

Just as bilingual mixed languages provide evidence for adults as agents of contact-induced change in situations where imperfect learning is not a

factor, other mixed languages – specifically pidgins – provide evidence for adults as the primary agents of change in contact situations in which imperfect learning is a significant factor. A pidgin, by definition, is no one's first language: that is, there is no speech community whose children learn a pidgin as (one of) their first language(s). Of course this does not mean that a pidgin cannot become a native language; but if it does, it ceases to be a pidgin and becomes a creole. There is considerable controversy about processes of pidgin genesis and creole genesis, but most specialists at least agree that a new pidgin language is created by adults and used for purposes of intergroup communication, not as the primary language of any speech community. Like shift-induced interference, pidgin genesis therefore has much in common with second-language acquisition. Two main motives for pidgin genesis have emerged from studies of these languages. First, and most prominently in the literature, pidgins arise in new contact situations in which three or more groups who do not share a common language need to communicate, and for whatever reason do not learn and use any one of the languages involved. Second, pidgins sometimes arise in part through native speakers' deliberate simplification and distortion of their native language in a new contact situation, in order to prevent outsiders from learning their "real" language (see Thomason 2001: ch. 7, for discussion of both of these routes to pidgin genesis). These two motives are not mutually exclusive, of course.

In sharp contrast to borrowing situations, then, there are no clear instances of either shift-induced interference or pidgin genesis in which young children can be shown to play a major role in the process, and there is both linguistic evidence (in the linguistic similarities to what happens in SLA but not in bilingual L1 acquisition) and social evidence (in the social motives and contacts) to indicate that adults are the major agents in these processes.

A final point needs to be made about the role of adults in cases of language shift. This concerns the common claim that shift-induced interference predictably results in overall simplification of the receiving language. Among the most prominent proponents of this position is Trudgill, who argues as follows (2004b: 306):

communities involved in large amounts of language contact, to the extent that this is contact between adolescents and adults who are beyond the critical threshold for language acquisition, are likely to demonstrate linguistic pidginisation, including simplification, as a result of imperfect learning.

Similarly, Kusters claims that "Type 1 communities [relatively isolated, mainly L1 speakers] permit complexities, while Type 2 communities [many L2 learners] restrict them" (2003: 9). And John McWhorter claims that English (in England) has been considerably simplified over the centuries because it has been learned as an L2 by so many people (e.g. 2005; see also Fischer, this volume).

All these claims are based on the premise that imperfect learning in language shift situations inevitably leads to overall grammatical simplification of the target language. But shift-induced interference, although it does often simplify parts of the TL grammar, also very often does not result in overall simplification; sometimes parts of the TL2 actually become more complicated as a result of learners' "errors," and in numerous other cases the linguistic outcome is neutral as far as complexity is concerned. All these possibilities are illustrated above.

16.4 Conclusion

The discussions in [Sections 16.2 and 16.3](#) of borrowing (in the narrow sense of Thomason and Kaufman 1988) and shift-induced interference, respectively, motivate two general claims about the relative likelihood of adult and child agency in contact-induced change. First, while both children and adults can be shown to be responsible for changes in borrowing situations, where imperfect learning plays no role in the process, only adults are clearly responsible for shift-induced interference. And second, only adults are likely to be the initiators of drastic changes of the kinds that are sometimes found in ordinary contact situations but are especially common in extreme cases like the creation of bilingual mixed languages and pidgin genesis. This conclusion is strengthened by the growing body of evidence that adults can and do introduce deliberate changes into their language (Thomason 2001: 149–52, 2007), with results ranging from extensive lexical distortions to morphological innovations.

What are the implications of these conclusions for the more general question of the roles of children and adults in initiating internally as well as externally motivated linguistic changes? One conclusion, at least, is clear: if adults can introduce substantial contact-induced innovations into their languages – and obviously they can and do make such changes – then it becomes very difficult to argue that they cannot do so with internally motivated changes as well. In fact, some of the deliberate changes that are turning up in the literature show that adults do this quite easily, given a strong enough social motivation (Thomason 2007). One set of examples comes from language planning, which often includes structural as well as lexical prescriptions. Some of the rules invented by grammarians actually become part of the standard language for which they were invented – in English, thanks to the busy eighteenth-century grammarians, and in other languages as well, e.g. Estonian (Saagpakk 1982).

Given these results, neither extreme sole-agency position adopted by some historical linguists can be correct – not for contact-induced change, and therefore not for internally motivated change either. There is another reason for this conclusion about internally motivated change in addition to

the ones already discussed. Regardless of whether a given innovation has an internal source within the language's structure or an external source in another language or dialect, the progression of a successful innovation as it becomes fixed within each speaker's grammar and is adopted by other speakers will be determined by the same kinds of social and linguistic factors. To give a simple example, the replacement of English *deer* in the generic meaning 'animal' by the French loanword *animal* and the replacement of English *slay* in the generic meaning 'strike' by the native word *strike* must have followed the same route – innovation, competition between new and old forms, eventual triumph of the new form in the generic meaning, and narrowing of meaning in the old form. Children are not the only initiators of linguistic change; adults are also not the only initiators of linguistic change.

17 Accelerator or inhibitor? On the role of substrate influence in interlanguage development

TERENCE ODLIN

17.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the role of substrate influence (a.k.a. transfer) in the acquisition of a new language (most typically, a second language). The main aim will be to show that individual learner performances call into question deterministic claims about the extent of transfer in second-language acquisition (SLA).¹ However, the discussion will also consider how researchers can interpret group behaviors soundly while not losing sight of the problem of individual variation.

The first part of the chapter will review two perspectives on SLA, one contrastive and the other developmental. Following this review is an empirical study of the English of 210 schoolchildren in Finland, showing the need for both contrastive and developmental perspectives. The group and individual variation in the results will also prove useful for inferences about other cases where English has been in contact with other languages.

17.2 Contrastive and developmental perspectives

Two perspectives have long been prominent in SLA research, one focusing on cross-linguistic differences and one on linguistic development. Within each of these perspectives there exist different emphases and methods, but the two perspectives themselves have sometimes been thought of (albeit mistakenly) as incompatible; they will be termed the *contrastive perspective* and the *developmental perspective*.² The emphases of the contrastive perspective are evident in the very first page of Uriel Weinreich's *Languages in Contact*: "The greater the differences between systems [languages or dialects], i.e. the more numerous the mutually exclusive forms and patterns in each, the greater is the learning problem and the potential area of interference" (1953: 1). Robert Lado took a very similar position:

We assume that the student who comes into contact with a foreign language will find some features of it quite easy and others extremely difficult. Those elements that are similar to his native language will be simple for him and those elements that are different will be difficult. The teacher who has made a comparison of the foreign

language with the native language of the students will know better what the real learning problems are and can better provide for teaching them. (1957: 2)

Lado is frequently cited, but the similarity of these two quotations has not so often been discussed, even though Lado cited *Languages in Contact* as empirical support for his own belief about the importance of comparing languages, i.e. contrastive analysis.³

While one might see a deterministic stance in Lado's statement (or even in Weinreich's), such determinism is clearer in the denial of Charles Fries of the relevance of child language acquisition in his preface to Lado's book:

Learning a second language . . . constitutes a very different task from learning the first language. The basic problems arise not out of any essential difficulty in the features of the new language themselves but primarily out of the special "set" created by the first language habits.

By the 1970s, this claim was rejected implicitly if not explicitly by many SLA researchers reading new work on child language. Often these researchers were also looking at actual behaviors of second-language learners which seemed more compatible with a developmental perspective.⁴

In the developmental perspective, all languages have hierarchies of difficulty or scales of complexity.⁵ Although this perspective is sometimes consistent with a contrastive perspective, there can be more than one interpretation of the same phenomenon, such as the omissions in the sentence *And man go cafeteria*, which was written by a native speaker of Finnish (Section 17.5). In the contrastive perspective, such omissions are attributable to the influence of Finnish, a language with very few prepositions and no articles. In the developmental perspective, function words entail a certain inherent difficulty, as seen in omissions of articles and prepositions by native-speaker children (e.g. Brown 1973: 262–4). Some influential SLA researchers have interpreted such omissions in L2 as developmental errors (e.g. Dulay, Burt, and Krashen 1982: 166). Although they concede the possibility that transfer might interact with developmental difficulties (1982: 164), they posit an invariant hierarchy of difficulty for fourteen grammatical morphemes studied by Brown so that, for example, there should be no major difference in individual histories of the acquisition of articles and prepositions in relation to morphemes such as plural *-s* and progressive *-ing*, which the testing of Dulay *et al.* identified as relatively easy as opposed to morphemes which proved difficult for Brown's children and also for second-language learners (e.g. the contractible auxiliary in *Your mommy's coming*). Like Brown, Dulay *et al.* judged articles to be midway on the difficulty scale. Krashen (1981: ch. 4) called the sequence of acquired morphemes the "Natural Order."

Apart from the supposed Natural Order in the acquisition of grammatical morphemes, another developmental perspective is evident in what

Pienemann (1998) and colleagues call Processability Theory (PT). Instead of focusing on grammatical morphemes, PT considers more general grammatical properties, and it posits an acquisition sequence of five stages: 1. words; 2. category procedure; 3. phrasal procedure; 4. S-procedure; 5. subordinate clause procedure (Pienemann, Di Biase, Kawaguchi, and Håkansson 2005: 141). The most elementary PT stage shows a use of L2 word forms which have meanings but supposedly no syntactic categorization. The second stage, category procedure, shows the onset of using affixes such as the English plural *-s*, while the third stage involves phrase formation including noun phrases and prepositional phrases. The fourth stage involves intra-clausal relations of constituents such as between subjects and verbs, and the final stage involves interclausal relations. These stages are tantamount to “processing prerequisites” (Pienemann *et al.* 2005: 143), and the sequence is strictly implicational:

according to PT, both the construction of the L2 from “square one” and developmental constraints on L1 transfer follow from the hierarchical nature of the learning task ... In this scenario, there is no other logical point of departure for this L2 construction process than the beginning of the processability hierarchy because the hierarchy at this point is stripped off [*sic*] all language-specific lexical features and syntactic routines. (Pienemann *et al.* 2005: 143)

The strict implicational sequence assumes a chronology, as seen in the hypothesis “that the distinctive syntactic features of subordinate clauses will be acquired *after* interphrasal exchange of information” [i.e. after the fourth stage] (Pienemann 1998: 68, emphasis added). A related assumption is that “the learner will construct the formulator of the L2 from scratch” (Pienemann *et al.* 2005: 143), where “formulator” designates an ensemble of language-specific morphosyntactic routines required in the production of speech or writing (see Levelt 1989; Kormos 2006).

Apart from the differences in the kinds of structures studied in Natural Order research and PT investigations, these two developmental perspectives also differ somewhat in how they account for language transfer. For Dulay *et al.*, cross-linguistic influence plays only a tangential role, and what guides L2 acquisition is essentially the same as what guides L1 acquisition: a cognitive “organizer” (1982: 54) like the Chomskyan Language Acquisition Device of the 1970s, which gradually copes with the hierarchy of difficulty.⁶ Processability Theory, on the other hand, offers wider scope for cross-linguistic influence. Once second-language learners have reached a particular developmental stage, the knowledge state attained by a learner may be favorable for making interlingual identifications, that is, judgments of similarity of structures in the native and target languages. The idea of developmental readiness predates PT, as seen in a study of English negation patterns of a child who also spoke German (Wode 1983), where

German-influenced negation patterns emerged only after more basic developmental stages in negation had been attained. Similarly, work with adults by Collins (2002) indicates that French learners of English must be able to use certain form–meaning relations involving tense and aspect before attempting any modeling of the English perfect on the French *passé composé*.⁷

The so-called Natural Order suggests a law of nature and seems to rule out any significant role for transfer. However, this determinist stance is manifestly untenable. In a detailed review of studies of developmental sequences (Luk and Shirai 2009), grammatical morphemes such as English articles and plural inflections usually appear later in the developmental sequences of speakers of Japanese, for instance, than they do in the sequences of speakers of Spanish (which, unlike Japanese, routinely uses articles and plurals). Furthermore, if morphemes such as articles were subject only to developmental factors and not to transfer, zero articles should be randomly distributed without any preponderance in one language group in comparison with another. However, this was not the case in a comparison of zero articles in the English writing of speakers of Finnish and Swedish, where zero was significantly more frequent among the Finnish speakers (Odlin 2012).

In contrast to the dubious claims of the Natural Order, the emphasis of PT on developmental readiness as a precondition for transfer does have some support (e.g. Wode). Even so, some PT analyses of transfer (e.g. Håkansson, Pienemann and Sayehli 2002) have been challenged by empirical work (e.g. Bohnacker 2005). Though sometimes helpful, the notion of developmental readiness proves inadequate as an explanation for all cases of transfer, and the experiences of Finnish learners offer additional evidence of the inadequacy. As seen above, Finns have problems with supplying articles and prepositions, and the following empirical study will offer additional details as well as the case for transfer. Yet while Finns have problems with even such basics of the third PT stage (phrase production), their native language seems to help them construct subordinate clauses (the fifth PT stage), which thus violates the deterministic hierarchy of PT.

17.3 Typological contrasts and overlaps in Finnish, Swedish, and English

Despite the challenges posed by the developmental perspective, the contrastive perspective of Weinreich and Lado proves helpful in understanding group differences related to language distance, as seen in the analyses of Ringbom (1987, 2007) comparing the relative success of large groups of native speakers of Finnish and Swedish in their acquisition of

English in schools in Finland. Ringbom views the socioeconomic and cultural differences between the two linguistic communities as minimal, and yet Swedish speakers more often than not outperform Finnish speakers on nationally administered English examinations. Several kinds of evidence provided by Ringbom and others suggest that the typological and lexical similarity of Swedish and English (both being Germanic languages) explains the usually greater success of the Swedish-speaking population.

Finnish is a Uralic language in the Finno-Ugric branch, and Ringbom deems it “wholly different” (2007: 35) from Indo-European languages. Indeed, some typological contrasts are striking. Finnish and English differ in how they code domains such as spatial reference, with English relying mainly on prepositions and Finnish on nominal case inflections and postpositions. For example, the allative inflection *-lle* often corresponds to English *on*:

- (1) Chaplin ja tyttö kävelevät tiellä ja istuvat
 Chaplin and girl walk-PL road-ADES and sit-PL
 nurmikolle. (FX 23)
 grass-ALLA
 ‘Chaplin and the girl walk on the road and sit on the grass.’

Finnish and English likewise differ in noun phrase (NP) reference devices since English uses definite and indefinite articles while Finnish uses neither. Thus *girl* and *grass* are marked with articles in the translation, while no determiner is used to mark *tyttö* and *nurmikolle*. The correspondence between English prepositions and Finnish inflections is not one-to-one, as seen in the viability of using *on* for the translation of both the allative *-lle* and the adessive *-llä*.⁸

Despite Ringbom’s view of Finnish and English as “wholly different,” he also notes that “It is possible to perceive at least some similarities also across wholly unrelated languages” (2007: 8). Subordinate clauses can certainly illustrate that point, as in the italicized examples:

Relative clause:

- (2) Sinne tulee se sama tyttö joka varasti leivän. (FW 09)
 Sinne tulee se sama tyttö joka varasti leivän
 There comes that same girl who stole bread
 ‘There comes the same girl who stole the bread.’

Adverbial clause:

- (3) Kun poliisi tuli nainen sanoi että mies varasti leivän. (FW 15)
 Kun poliisi tuli nainen sanoi että mies varasti leivän
 when policeman came woman said that man stole bread
 ‘When the policeman came, the woman said that the man stole the bread.’

Nominal clause:

- (4) Silloin eräs nainen sanoi *että se on tuo tyttö*. (FX 29)
 Silloin eräs nainen sanoi että se on tuo tyttö
 Then some woman said that it is that girl
 'Then a certain woman said that it is that girl.'

One important similarity between Finnish and English is word order. Both are SVO languages (although Finnish clause constituents are more permutable), and the word order parallels are especially great in subordinate clauses. In contrast, the word order in Japanese is SOV, and the differences extend to subordination: the relativizing element is at the end of the clause instead of at the beginning, and the nominal complementizer is likewise clause-final, as are temporal conjunctions in adverbial clauses (Kuno 1973). Apart from word order, Finnish and English are somewhat alike in having, for instance, relative pronouns; even some Indo-European languages such as Persian do not have relative pronouns (Lazard 1957), and outside of Indo-European, such pronouns are probably even rarer (Keenan 1985; Comrie and Kuteva 2005). Accordingly, it is natural to wonder about the extent to which these similarities between Finnish and English have consequences for acquisition. The following empirical study identifies such consequences.

17.4 Participants and methods

The study focuses on the English of native speakers of Finnish but will occasionally compare this group with Swedish speakers, all being school-children in Finland who wrote descriptions of events in the Charlie Chaplin film *Modern Times* (Jarvis 1998). The members of the two language groups will be referred to with the shorthand "Finns" and "Swedes," but it should be remembered that the students were Finnish citizens. The first column of Table 17.1 identifies the language background with the numbers after the letter indicating the year of school: thus F5, for example, designates Finns in the fifth grade, and S7 Swedes in the seventh grade. While the F5 and S7 groups differ in their years of schooling and also in their ages (the former 11–12 and the latter 13–14), both groups were in their third year of English study when Jarvis collected his data. The F5 group began English before studying Swedish while the F9B group began English after considerable study of Swedish, and the F7 and F9A groups had likewise studied some Swedish.

The research design allows for a rather straightforward assessment of the role of substrate influence, especially since Jarvis also collected data for the same task from native speakers of Finnish, Swedish, and English: the examples of subordinate clauses (examples (2)–(4)) as well as example (1) come from the Finnish data sets. Further details about the advantages of such a methodology are given by Jarvis (2000) and Odlin (2009a).

Table 17.1 *Experimental participant groups (Jarvis 1998)*

Group	N	L1	Ages	Grade	English instruction	Swedish instruction
F5	35	Finnish	11–12	5	3rd year	None
F7	35	Finnish	13–14	7	5th year	1st year
F9A	35	Finnish	15–16	9	7th year	3rd year
F9B	35	Finnish	15–16	9	3rd year	7th year
						Finnish instruction
S7	35	Swedish	13–14	7	3rd year	5th year
S9	35	Swedish	15–16	9	5th year	7th year

The entire film is a silent movie (although produced in the 1930s), and in the two segments viewed there were nine titles. Two scenes were presented to all groups. The first was a 5-minute sequence and later a 3-minute sequence. After each segment, participants were given approximately 30 minutes (for the first segment) and 14 minutes (for the second) to write their narratives (Table 17.1). Further details of the elicitation procedure and materials are discussed by Jarvis (1998: 85–93).

17.5 Selected learner profiles

In this section, the focus will be on the success of certain Finns in using subordinate clauses in English despite clear difficulties in using articles and prepositional phrases. In the next section, the discussion will shift to the evidence for actual Finnish influence. Two common errors among Finns – but not among Swedes – were omissions of prepositions and articles, as in the following cases:

- (5) And man go cafeteria. (F5 5)
 (6) Chaplin, girl and policeman drop [fall from] a car. (F5 48)

In example (5), which was briefly discussed in Section 17.2, there is no preposition following the verb and no article before *man* or *cafeteria*, while in example (6) a preposition is needed as well as the definite article *the* before *girl* and *policeman*. Although zero prepositions and zero articles are problems for many Finns, subordinate clauses appear in the data:

- (7) Relative: Then police take that man *who help that women*. (F5 12)
 (8) Adverbial: The film starts *when the woman stoles a bread from a car*. (F5 09)
 (9) Nominal: ...Charlie said *that he stole the bread* ... (F7 06)

The profiles in Tables 17.2 and 17.3 show that zero prepositions and zero articles are not unusual even among Finns who use subordinate clauses.

The zero prepositions in Table 17.2 are cases where the syntactic environment required a preposition; thus the learner F5 01, for instance,

Table 17.2 *Learner profiles showing developing subordination yet also occurrences of zero prepositions*

Subord clauses				Rep phrases	
	Rel	Adv	Nom	Prep	Zero prep
F5 01	1	0	0	1	4
F5 14	2	6	1	7	1
F5 44	0	0	1	0	2
F5 46	0	0	1	5	1
F5 47	0	1	0	1	1
F5 48	0	1	0	3	4
F5 51	0	1	1	0	6
F5 53	1	0	2	0	1
F5 55	0	0	3	1	6
F5 59	0	1	2	1	3
F5 60	0	0	2	0	1

Table 17.3 *Learner profile showing developing subordination yet little control over articles (from Odlin, Jarvis, and Sanchez 2008)*

Subord clauses				Articles				
	Rel	Adv	Nom	Suc (Def)	Zero (Def)	Suc (Ind)	Zero (Ind)	Reversal
F559	0	1	2	5	10	0	7	0
F9A 07	3	4	1	0	13	1	4	0
F9A 31	0	1	1	3	15	3	6	8
F9B 19	2	2	1	1	36	2	5	3

supplied only one obligatory preposition and showed four cases of omissions of a preposition. Even though prepositional phrases have an obligatory preposition and even though they are formally less complex than subordinate clauses, the group of learners in this table produced more subordinate clauses than prepositional phrases. Such a group characterization should, however, be qualified by noting the obvious individual variation, which will be discussed in more detail later. Still, some individuals resemble others and illustrate subtypes: for example, F5 14 and F5 46 normally use prepositions (though with an occasional lapse) whereas F5 44 and F5 51 show no use at all of prepositions.⁹

Table 17.3 shows a similar pattern. Even though noun phrases are formally less complex than subordinate clauses and even though articles are (with very few exceptions) obligatory while subordinate clauses are often optional (but see below), the group of learners identified here produced more subordinate clauses than target-like articles. The syntactic environments studied required articles, but most NPs have zero articles. It seems

implausible to attempt to explain so many zero articles as lapses, not only because of F9A 07, who used just one article, but also because some learners seem to have only a vague notion of the semantics and pragmatics of articles, where, for instance, F9B 19 uses 3 articles successfully, 3 unsuccessfully (e.g. using a definite instead of an indefinite article), and also shows 41 cases of zero. This finding is replicated in Sharma (2005b), who found that zero articles were a persistent feature even in otherwise highly proficient speakers in Indian immigrants in the US.

17.6 Evidence of Finnish influence

As noted in Section 17.2, omissions of articles were frequent among the Finns yet rare among the Swedes; moreover, the Swedes rarely employed the wrong article, which is another common difficulty for some Finns. Such results support inferences of negative transfer (i.e. substrate influence leading to divergence from the target) among the Finns and positive transfer (influence leading to convergence) among the Swedes. Similar inferences follow from the results for zero prepositions, which are rare among Swedes yet common among Finns. Also significant are uses by Finns of English forms as postpositions (something that Swedes do not do), with such errors being consistent with postpositional patterns in Finnish (Odlin 2012).

As for subordinate clauses, there seems to be considerable positive transfer among both Finns and Swedes, although the evidence is less direct since both Finnish and Swedish use subordination; accordingly, the difficulties of one group cannot be so plainly contrasted with the successes of another, as was the case with articles and prepositions. However, a developmental explanation (as in Processability Theory) for the success of Finns is unworkable as an alternative account, that is, to argue that Finns have acquired English subordination patterns without any help from their native Finnish. If subordination always emerged developmentally, it would be unclear why individuals such as F9A 07 show little progress with the formally simpler article system yet manage to use complex sentences (Table 17.3). It would likewise be unclear why individuals such as F5 51 manage to produce any subordinate clauses since they show little or no ability to use prepositional phrases (Table 17.2). Far more plausible is the inference that individuals such as F9A 07 and F5 51 are especially prone not just to negative transfer involving articles or prepositions but also to positive transfer involving subordination patterns.

The positive transfer of some subordination patterns is, paradoxically, implied on occasion by errors showing L1 influence at work (Ringbom 1987: 59), as in these cases:

Omission of *if* in concessive conditionals:

- (10) Charlie said that we'll get a home *even I have to go to work*. (F7 08)

Table 17.4 *Use of even if, even (and no if), and if (and no even) in reproducing a title in Modern Times*

	Finns	Swedes
<i>even if</i>	11	17
<i>even</i>	9	0
<i>if</i>	3	3

Use of the complementizer *että* in nominal clauses:

- (11) Policeman tell streetphone [speaks in a call box] to policestation
että they are getting a C.C.'s with policecar. (F5 43)

Use of *what* in headed relative clauses:

- (12) he go to restaurant and order everything *what are in menu* (F9A 17)

Sentence example (10) shows an attempt to quote what Charlie Chaplin says to Paulette Goddard (his co-star) in a title in one scene in *Modern Times*. The verbatim title is “I’ll do it! We’ll get a home even if I have to work for it.” The omission of *if* might seem to be a potential lapse of any writer, but there were no Swedes who omitted *if*, as Table 17.4 indicates.

Nine Finns seem to be using *even* as a conjunction instead of as an adverb and thus seem to be making an interlingual identification of *even* with the Finnish conjunction *vaikka* (Odlin 2009b). *Vaikka* codes in just one morpheme the “concessive conditional” meanings of *even if* and *even though* that are coded distinctly in English (König 1988). Yet it can also be affirmed that the same nine Finns show some positive transfer in the sense that they were influenced by the subordination pattern of their native Finnish and thereby succeeded in producing adverbial clauses.

The complementizer *että* in example (11) is patently due to Finnish influence and likewise implies the transfer of the concomitant subordinate clause. In example (12), the use of *what* as a relative pronoun instead of *that* or *which* indicates the influence of the Finnish relative pronoun *mikä* (Karlsson 1995: 150). No Swedes used such a form, though a few used *som* or *some*, apparently from an illusion that Swedish relative pronoun *som* has a cognate relative form in English (Odlin 2006).

Although examples (10)–(12) reflect similar patterns of subordination in Finnish and English, the generally great typological distance between the two languages sometimes complicates the subordination picture, as in this attempt at relativization:

- (13) And policeman come to streets and he see a man *who (jolla) is a bread.* (F9B 19) [=And a policeman comes to the street, and he sees a man who has the bread.]

The *jolla* which the Finn put in parentheses is a relative pronoun marked for adessive case (translatable as *on whom* or *at whom*), with the parenthetical item perhaps being intended to signal some doubts about *who* as the translation equivalent of *jolla*. This formulation of what seems a bizarre relative clause reflects the normal “locational” expression of possession in Finnish, which has no common lexical verb corresponding to English *have*; thus, *I have money* translates as *Minulla on rahaa* (on-me is money). While there is a major difference between English and Finnish on this point, locational patterns are typologically common (Clark 1970). Although the overall clause hardly seems a case of positive transfer, the fact that the Finn tried to use a Finnish relative structure does reflect some facilitating influence.

Examples 10–13 contradict the assumption of Processability Theory that learners invariably build their interlanguage formulators from scratch (Section 17.2) because the examples indicate that Finnish subordination patterns provide a scaffold for some learners. Accordingly, it seems better to view the L2 formulator as a hybrid of native and target language processing, as in Selinker’s notion of interlanguage.

17.7 Factors affecting acquisition and language transfer

Apart from the aforementioned problem of the formulator, a second shortcoming of PT is its assumptions about linguistic complexity: in effect, PT equates formal development with linguistic development. In Pienemann’s book-length discussion, his consideration of English articles is minimal, and the rule for noun phrase formation is NP → (det) N (1998: 94), and although elsewhere in the book some details are added, there is no discussion of factors such as whether the noun is count or noncount or whether the NP has generic or specific reference. Both of these semantic conditions matter because the presence or absence of an article is not really optional (as in Pienemann’s NP sketch); for instance, a singular count noun normally requires a preceding article (or some other determiner), whereas a noncount noun disallows an article in generic reference. In effect, the formally simple pattern of article use belies the complexity of the semantic and pragmatic factors that affect the well-formedness of any NP in actual use (Odlin 2012). While linguistic complexity no doubt affects what is acquired earlier or later, the notion of complexity itself needs to factor in meaning as well as form.

Despite their formal simplicity, articles entail a complexity that delays their acquisition by many Finns for a long time, and for some Finns (e.g. F9A 07 in Table 17.3) formally complex subordinate clauses become productive before articles do. Yet as with articles, subordination involves more than just formal factors. Givón (1980: 372) sees it as related to a general cognitive intuition: “No two propositions in human language, so long as they are uttered at some juxtaposition to each other, are totally independent

of each other.” A sizable literature on subordinate clauses illuminates their roles in contributing to coherence and grounding: e.g. Fox and Thompson (1990) on relativization, Thompson and Longacre (1985) and Kortmann (1991) on adverbial clauses, and Givón (1980) on complement (i.e. nominal) clauses, as well as an attempted synthesis considering all three types in the framework of Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1991: ch. 10). There are clear examples of the semantic/pragmatic utility of specific subordination patterns used by the Finns. For instance, many of the Finns’ nominal clauses involve reporting the utterances of film characters (as in example (9), *Charlie said that he stole the bread*).

Although structural similarity and functional utility are important factors in the transfer of subordinate clauses, they are not the only ones: textual frequency also seems crucial. In an analysis of the use of cleft sentences and conditional adverbial clauses, Odlin (2009b) found that Finns used many more of the latter than of the former in English even though both structures not only exist in Finnish but are also similar to English patterns. The greater use of conditional clauses seems related to the fact that these structures occurred more often than clefts did in the Finnish narratives of native speakers. The Swedes, in contrast, used clefts quite frequently, both in Swedish and in English.

17.8 Individual variation and group differences

Linguistic complexity, structural similarity, functional utility, and textual frequency in the L1 are all factors affecting acquisition and transfer. When taken together, they help illuminate the following answer to the question in the title of the chapter: substrate influence accelerates and also inhibits the acquisition of English by some Finns. Their early use of subordinate clauses shows transfer as an accelerator and their difficulties with prepositional phrases and articles show transfer as an inhibitor. While the answer seems to vindicate Weinreich and Lado (Section 17.2), individual differences make untenable any determinist contrastive perspective such as Fries’s dismissal of developmental factors.

Most of the learner profiles in Tables 17.2 and 17.3 do contradict Processability Theory, but not all Finns took advantage of the possible positive transfer of subordinate clause patterns. In regard to prepositional phrases and subordinate clauses, at least three types of profiles are compatible with PT:

- A. Any Finn who used no prepositional phrases (either with or without a preposition) and no subordinate clause (example: F5 11)
- B. Any Finn who used zero prepositions only and no subordinate clause (no examples)
- C. Any Finn who used prepositional phrases (no zero prepositions) but no subordinate clauses (example: F5 33, with 6 PPs)

As seen in the examples, some Finns fit profiles A or C. In addition a fourth pattern is common:

- D. Any Finn who used prepositional phrases (no zero prepositions) and subordinate clauses (example: F5 42, with 6 PPs and 4 SCs)

This pattern is compatible with a developmental perspective but also with a contrastive one, and only longitudinal data could make it clear whether subordinate clauses preceded or followed the use of prepositional phrases. As for Type B, no individual using such a pattern was found in the data, but this type should not be ruled out, as the pattern may emerge in a larger sample. In any case, the existence of even one individual showing the profiles A and C indicates that Finns do not always take advantage of the accelerator of positive transfer to produce subordinate clauses.

As for articles, some Finns were successful in using them while others were not, and some could also produce subordinate clauses (Table 17.3). Individual variation in using articles and subordinate clauses is also evident in work on the acquisition of English as a first language. Brown (1973: 271) indicates that one child (Adam) acquired articles around the same time as reaching Stage IV, which Brown defines as the stage in which children can embed one sentence within another (1973: 20, 32). However, another child (Sarah) acquired articles before Stage IV, and still another (Eve) acquired articles at a later period (Stage V). Brown emphasized the relative similarity in the acquisition histories of the three children involving the same grammatical morphemes later studied by Natural Order advocates in SLA, but individual histories prove quite variable when it comes to relative progress in acquiring articles and subordination.

Yet while individual variation casts doubt on deterministic claims in child language or in SLA, valid group generalizations remain possible, as in Brown's analysis of relative invariance of certain grammatical morphemes. If framed carefully, generalizations also seem possible in SLA, as in Ringbom's analyses of the normally greater success of Swedes with English in comparison with Finns. Moreover, comparisons of zero prepositions and zero articles show that Finns frequently have problems with zero whereas Swedes rarely do. Even though not all Finns show problems with zero and even though not all Swedes manage to avoid the problems, the group differences are statistically significant (Odlin 2012).

The usual difficulty of articles for Finns resembles the relatively greater difficulty that Luk and Shirai (2009) found Japanese speakers experiencing in comparison with Spanish speakers. While Luk and Shirai discredit the so-called Natural Order, they do not reject a developmental perspective altogether, and they cite another developmental analysis as a way to explain observed hierarchies of difficulty. The multiple regression study of Goldschneider and DeKeyser (2001) identified five factors as significant in predicting the relative degree of difficulty of grammatical morphemes:

salience, morphophonological regularity, frequency, semantic complexity, and syntactic category. None of these factors alone proves satisfactory in explaining the observed variance, but the five in combination accounted for a large percentage of the variance. Although certain methodological difficulties prevented them from incorporating transfer into their analysis, Goldschneider and DeKeyser do not rule out its relevance. Indeed, studies of structural frequency in the L1 and the L2 offer ways to bring together contrastive and developmental perspectives (see Selinker 1992; Jarvis 2000).

The profiles in this section and in Section 17.5 suggest that individuals vary in the kinds of frequency that affect them. Apart from frequency, however, other factors might help to understand individual differences. For example, concern about overly literal translation might explain why only one Finn produced a locational structure such as ... *he see a man who (jolla) is a bread* (Section 17.6). In a well-known transferability study (Kellerman 1977), there is considerable individual variation, where some Dutch students were more disposed than others to deem as genuine certain English idioms such as *dyed-in-the-wool*, which has a close counterpart in Dutch. Kellerman emphasized learners' skepticism about cross-linguistic parallels that may seem too close to be real, but his figures (1977: 119) show considerable individual differences. With other structures as well, judgments vary (e.g. Sjöholm 1983; Abdullah and Jackson 1998), and so can transfer outcomes.

17.9 Inferences about substrate influence in language contact

Certain complications of substrate influence in language contact are evident in a recent discussion by Mufwene (2010), who questions how inevitable such influence is in the specific shape that a contact variety takes. Mufwene considers, *inter alia*, serial verbs, a prominent topic in creolistics (e.g. Holm 1989; Winford 1993; Migge 2003), and he emphasizes the individual variation in the immigrant Canadian English of speakers of Vietnamese, a language that has serial verbs. Helms-Park (2003) found that several Vietnamese made use of serial verbs in English but also that not all did, and Mufwene therefore urges caution in interpreting group results: "substrate influence does not occur consistently from one learner to another ... and is not an ineluctable phenomenon in all aspects of SLA" (2010: 22).

Mufwene's rejection of deterministic contrastive scenarios is sound, but when group results are interpreted carefully, they can raise the level of confidence both in the results of a specific SLA study and in possible inferences about other contact situations. Helms-Park had a comparison group of speakers of Hindi and Urdu, languages that do not have serial verbs. In this group, not even one individual produced any serial verbs, and while Mufwene does not comment on this group difference, it clearly suggests significant intergroup variations in immigrant Canadian English.

By a similar logic, the results suggest that if a creole originated in a community with two groups, one whose traditional language had serial verbs and one whose language did not, the former group would be a more likely source of serial verb constructions that might arise in the creole (even if factors such as grammaticalization also played a role). As long as a sizable number of individuals were using serial verbs, new learners of the creole (whether children or adults) would encounter such structures in the input.¹⁰

Frequency in the input does seem to be one factor (among others) affecting ease or difficulty in SLA, as the study by Goldschneider and DeKeyser (2001) suggests. Yet the frequency of a structure in the substrate language also seems to matter (Section 17.7). The findings on the use of clefts by Finns and Swedes are consistent with work on the Celtic Englishes, where clefts and similar focus structures are common in Irish and Scottish Gaelic and also in Welsh as well as in the resulting contact varieties (Filppula 1986, 1999; Paulasto 2006; Filppula, Klemola, and Paulasto 2008; see Klemola, this volume).

Any studies of frequency naturally have to take into account social as well as individual variation. What might seem to be individual in a small sample may prove socially significant in a larger one. The usefulness of large samples is seen in a study of Gaelic influence on the English of seventy-eight individuals in the Hebrides (Sabban 1982). The study focuses on verb phrases, including the use of *will* and *would* in conditional clauses: e.g. *We were pleased if a good breeze of wind will come* (1982: 217). Sabban found that the oldest speakers (most over 70), who tended to use Gaelic more, employed those modals more often than most younger speakers did (1982: 234). Nevertheless, there were some interesting exceptions, as with a youth of 19 who also employed such modals frequently. Sabban's detailed information on social characteristics (1982: 581) sheds light on this seeming exception. The individual grew up on an island where Gaelic is still well entrenched, with parents who were Gaelic speakers, with a teacher who spoke Gaelic, and the youth did not speak English before starting school – in these respects, the speaker had more in common with the majority of older speakers than with the younger groups.

The discussion of individual variation among Finns in Sections 17.5–7 indicated the need for caution in any inferences, whether developmental or substratal. Even so, inferences about group traits are viable when made with caution. Large samples, detailed sociolinguistic information, frequency data about both the L1 and L2, and comparisons of groups (e.g. Hindi and Vietnamese speakers) are all tools sometimes available. Certainly, the more tools, the greater the scope will be for possible inferences. The converse is just as true, however, and in cases of contact in ancient or medieval times, common tools of SLA and sociolinguistics will not be so abundant.

17.10 Summary

This chapter has considered the problem of substrate influence (a.k.a. transfer) with special attention to two issues: the relation between transfer and developmental sequences, and the relation between individual and group behaviors. Understanding such relations is a prerequisite for viable psycholinguistic accounts of SLA as well as for making inferences about language contact from SLA research. Although both contrastive and developmental perspectives offer valuable insights, deterministic versions of either perspective are unsound, as the empirical study suggests. Contrary to the deterministic claims of some developmental researchers, several learners of English studied were influenced by their native Finnish in omissions of articles and prepositions (thus contradicting claims of the so-called Natural Order) and yet the learners showed a facilitating influence from Finnish in the use of subordinate clauses (thus contradicting claims of Processability Theory). In the positive transfer of subordinate clauses, formal similarities between Finnish and English, functional utility, and textual frequency of certain L1 patterns were apparently all factors promoting the convergence, whereas the zero prepositions and zero articles resulted mainly from typological differences in Finnish, a language with few prepositions and no articles. While such transfer discredits deterministic versions of developmental perspectives, deterministic contrastive perspectives fare no better, since not all Finns used subordinate clauses and thus did not avail themselves of the potential positive transfer. Yet even with such individual variation, group comparisons have offered insights, as where native speakers of Swedish used more cleft sentences than did native speakers of Finnish. Such comparisons support inferences about transfer in other contact situations, as with focus constructions in the Celtic Englishes (Filppula 1986, 1999, Paulasto 2006; Filppula *et al.* 2008). Diverse tools can help understand the relation between individual variation and group tendencies, including large samples and detailed sociolinguistic information. Although such tools will not be available for all cases of language contact, they can sometimes help explain why transfer did or did not occur.

18 Speculating on the future of English as a contact language

CHRISTIAN MAIR

18.1 Introduction: ‘Beware of false prophets . . .’ (Matthew 7: 15ff, AV 1611)

Like many another member of the English as a World Language community, I am grateful to the editors of the present volume for putting together a timely collection of research on the central role of language contact for defining our field. To this, I add a more guarded “thank you” to them for assigning me the role of the prophet divining the future of English as a contact language.

In spite of the known risks involved in the task, there is no dearth of prophets in the linguistic community. In the early years of World War II, shortly before the Battle of Britain, for example, J. Hubert Jagger published his *English in the Future*, the second half of which is entirely devoted to the topic of ‘World English’ (1940: 117–93). He starts his discussion on an upbeat note:

The most important event in the history of mankind during the last two centuries has been the growth and diffusion of the English tongue. As a world speech it has already left its competitors behind. It is the speech of two of the most populous states and powerful governments in the world. It is the most widely distributed of all tongues, and is the universal speech of two continents. It is spoken as their native language by about 200 million persons – more than one-tenth of the human race – and as a second speech by millions more. (1940: 122)

Jagger is keenly aware that the phenomenal spread of English from the eighteenth century is due to the British Empire and the emergence of the United States as a world power and demographic giant. Hence his note of concern, which is only too understandable given the time of his writing:

If some sort of world order, or European order, some kind of federation, emerges from the present condition of things – and it is becoming increasingly clear that it

The present chapter was written while I enjoyed the extremely productive and congenial working environment provided by FRIAS, Freiburg University’s Institute for Advanced Studies. I am grateful for this support.

will inevitably come, either by peaceful means or after a period of horror or slaughter ... – either English will be the international medium of that order, with all the advantages attaching to that position, or, outside the continent of North America, it will have reversed its present direction of movement, and will have succumbed before one of its competitors attached to the totalitarian idea. That will happen if, and only if, the democratic idea goes down in the struggle. (1940: 127)

So it has come to pass – in very general terms. Totalitarianism succumbed in 1945 and then again in 1989/1990, and English is the undisputed lingua franca of the present world order. However, what did not occur to Jagger in his speculations was the concrete scenario which was going to unfold, i.e. that English would thrive as a world language even though the Empire which had provided the political basis for its rise would disintegrate within two decades. As soon as the focus shifts from extrapolating general socio-demographic trends to predicting specific linguistic changes, prophecy turns out to be a risky business indeed. Social mobility and developments in media technology, so Jagger argues, will undermine the vernacular base of English and help spread the RP accent throughout the society:

education, frequent and rapid movement, and broadcasting now bring people of all classes into much closer contact than ever before. Therefore we may conclude that the English of Britain will in the future be much more uniform than it was in the past and is now; and that, if there was no interference from outside, the characteristics of Received Standard would prevail more and more. (1940: 18)

Contrary to this prediction, RP has not made any headway since 1940 – either on the ground or in the BBC. In fact, its sociolinguistic reach and significance have probably even decreased. It has ceased to be a relevant pronunciation standard in the territories of the former British Empire (e.g. Australia, South Africa), and the egalitarian ethos of the post-World War II boom years relaxed the pressures on upwardly mobile speakers to conform to RP even in England.

Another prophet, Randolph Quirk, set out to predict the state of ‘English in twenty years’ (1972), again distinguishing the two sides of the coin:

- (a) How different will English be in 20 years; and
- (b) How different will the role of English be in 20 years. (Quirk 1972: 68)

Several of his prophecies have a direct bearing on the issue of language contact. For example, he expects a spate of borrowings into English from other European languages in the wake of Britain’s joining the Common Market in 1973:

So far as linguistic changes related to the language’s European role are concerned, therefore, I foresee a marked Europeanization of English, with large-scale borrowing

of vocabulary, and this process will be small or widespread, gradual or rapid, according to the speed and degree of commitment with which Britain makes her progress into Europe. (Quirk 1972: 71)

As we know, British enthusiasm for Europe cooled considerably under Margaret Thatcher or – to put it in Quirk’s words – ‘the speed and degree of commitment’ with which Britain made her progress in Europe was modest, and so was the actual number of lexical borrowings. On the other hand, much to the regret of advocates of French and German as European languages of diplomacy and administration, Britain’s accession set in motion a trend towards the creeping ‘Englishization’ of institutional communication in the European Union.

On the sociolinguistic “home front”, Quirk hopes for rapid linguistic and cultural assimilation of coloured immigrants to Britain:

The potential legacy of the coloured immigrant is most doubtful and everything depends upon current efforts (by the vast majority of our population) at genuine integration: if these are successful, the legacy is likely to be small since the generation born in Britain adopt the English around them and the idiom of their parents will disappear. I decline to speculate on alternatives. (Quirk 1972: 73)

Again, things have turned out differently. The 1970s and 1980s saw the emergence of London Jamaican and British Creole, which, admittedly, may be on the wane again today. Regardless of their ultimate fate, though, these dialects have certainly left a legacy in mainstream usage. For example, Jamaican words such as *yardie*,¹ *reggae*, *dancehall*, *ragga*, *criss* or *dreadlocks* are firmly established in contemporary British and international youth and pop cultures, and the subcultural vocabulary of Rastafarianism has currency outside the group of adherents of this particular Afro-centric politico-religious movement (e.g. *overstand*, *downpress*, *Babylon*, *reasoning*, *irie*, *I-and-I*). This is a development, by the way, which the *OED* has been quick to note. The specific sense of *Babylon* at issue here (‘contemptuous or dismissive term for anything which to the Black (esp. Rastafarian) consciousness represents the degenerate or oppressive state of white culture; *spec.* the police, a policeman; (white) society or the Establishment’) was recorded in an additional entry added in 1993. *Overstand*, a synonym for ‘understand’ avoiding the supposedly negative connotations of the latter, was added as a draft entry in June 2009, and so was *irie*, a term of positive evaluation (June 2008). In the ‘super-diverse’² London of today, with its extremely multilingual and heterogeneous immigrant population, even more complicated contact-induced changes are under way in what has been described as Multi-ethnic London Vernacular English (Kerswill, Torgersen and Fox 2008; see Kerswill, Cheshire, Fox and Torgersen, this volume).

To assess whether more recent prophecies, for example by Graddol (1997, 2001, 2006) or Kortmann (2001), fare any better, we shall have to wait until the middle of the twenty-first century or the year 2525 respectively.

As the above remarks have made clear, I shall have to take on the prophet's task in a humble spirit – knowing that I will be joining a large group, but also aware of their failures. Fortunately, given the scope of the present volume, my predictions will need to cover the topic of English as a contact language only. In the spirit of Samuel Beckett's 'Ever tried. Ever failed. No matter. Try again. Fail again. Fail better' (*Worstward Ho* [1983]), I will thus join my illustrious predecessors and venture the following three predictions. I feel confident that in a mobile and globalizing world

- there will be more and more diverse contact between English and other languages;
- there will be more and more diverse contact among varieties of English (standard and non-standard);
- the mediated performance (Coupland 2009) of vernaculars will be far more important as a site of language contact in the future.

As the first two predictions will be less controversial than the third, I shall focus on the latter.

18.2 New types of contact between non-standard varieties of English: the mediated diffusion of vernacular features

Colonial and postcolonial currents of migration have ensured that many previously local and marginal varieties of English have now been dispersed throughout the world, providing many new opportunities for contact between languages and varieties. Thus, African American Vernacular English, Chicano English and various kinds of non-standard American Spanish are in regular contact in many urban centres in the United States. It is far easier to hear Jamaican Creole spoken in Toronto, Miami, New York or London today than it was during the days of Empire. A socially heterogeneous Indian diaspora, comprising long-established groups which can trace their history to the imperial system of indentured labour (e.g. Trinidad, Guyana, Fiji, Mauritius) and more recent international business and academic communities, has developed distinct and increasingly visible linguistic profiles, and so forth. As Salikoko Mufwene has pointed out, this is a major contemporary trend:

The increasing population mobility brought about by European colonization and associated especially with today's patterns of economic globalization and war refugeeism have also produced non-hegemonic diasporas, in which languages of the politically and/or economically under-privileged have spread (far) beyond their homelands, making traditional, static geolinguistics clearly out of date. (Mufwene, in Blommaert 2010: xi-xii)

A subset of the non-standard varieties thus deterritorialized has acquired a very high media profile through association with global popular cultural or

subcultural movements, so that alongside traditional feature diffusion through face-to-face language and dialect contact, a new sociolinguistic dynamic is set in motion – the potentially instant globalization of vernacular features through the media. Jamaican Creole may serve as a prime example of this (and has been dealt with as such in Mair 2003). The present chapter will extend the focus of this research to include West Africa, a region linked to the Caribbean through a shared history in the ‘Black Atlantic’ (Gilroy 1993) cultural region.

In the frame of an interdisciplinary research project on ‘World languages – digital languages: digital monitoring of ongoing change and diversification in English, French and Spanish’, undertaken jointly with my colleague Stefan Pfänder (Dept. of Romance Languages, Freiburg), a large number of web-based diasporic discussion forums were identified as sources for material for download and subsequent development as linguistic corpora, among them the ‘Nairaland³ Forum’ (www.nairaland.com), a very large, geographically dispersed and thematically diverse network linking Nigerians in Nigeria and the worldwide Nigerian diaspora, but also welcoming ‘outside’ participants with an interest in West Africa and the African diaspora. While it would be premature to claim that these forums recreate the ‘Black Atlantic’ cultural region of the colonial period as a community of practice in cyber-space in the twenty-first century, there nevertheless seem to be some contributors whose linguistic repertoires and language use deserve special contact-linguistic attention. Consider, for example, the following self-description by a participant:

I am proud to be what I am. I’m Nigerian, Bahamian and British. When people ask me where I’m from, I don’t say ‘Nigeria’, I say ‘Nigeria and the Bahamas’. That is the truth. I’m not fully Nigerian so why claim to be one? When people on the internet ask me where I’m from, I say ‘I’m originally from Nigeria and the Bahamas but I’m currently living in Belgium’. Again, it’s the truth. (CCN [6986], Retro)⁴

In the course of her life, this user would most probably have added considerable sociolinguistic resources to her baseline Nigerian repertoire. Conversely, other users’ familiarity with a supposedly authentic Nigerian linguistic resource, Pidgin, seems to be indirect, through exposure on the web. In a thread devoted to the topic of ‘How many of you speak Pidgin to your parents?’, a female participant declares: ‘the little i kno i learnt on niaraland. [*sic!*] lol!’ (CCN [7635], Kadeejah).

It is tempting to argue that ‘Retro’ and ‘Kadeejah’ are exceptional individuals who are irrelevant to a sociolinguistic analysis of community norms because of their exceptional life stories. Making use of the prophet’s privilege granted by the editors, however, I would rather argue that they are pioneers in a domain which no contact linguistics of the future can afford to overlook, namely the contact between languages and among non-standard varieties of English in mediated multilingual and vernacular performances.

In addition to their important role in spreading *standard* English throughout the world, the media are now an increasingly important avenue for the spread of many *non-standard* varieties, as well, thus giving rise to a *World Non-Standard English* (WNSE), which of course is not a variety in a traditional sense but a pool of globally available non-standard features, which speakers of English (and other languages⁵) can draw on for specific stylistic effects in diverse local contexts. As such, WNSE is a phenomenon which is well suited to supporting Blommaert's recent claim that we need to complement our existing 'sociolinguistics of distribution' with a 'sociolinguistics of mobile resources' in the emerging research paradigm of the sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert 2010; see also Coupland 2010). Existing contact-linguistic concepts may suffice to analyse contact between languages and varieties in face-to-face interaction in migrant situations, even if we are dealing with the super-diversity of the world's global cities; however, they need to be extended if they are also to cover contact in a 'textually mobile world' (Hull and Hernandez 2010) and in the global and increasingly interactive 'mediascape' (Appadurai 1996).

18.3 Cyber-writing: language contact in a linguistically 'hyper-aware' domain

Unlike traditional written text, which overwhelmingly tends to be produced in the standard variety of one particular (national) language, writing for computer-mediated communication promotes informality, directness and emotional expressiveness – and hence the use of non-standard language and, where available, more than one language. Diasporic web-forums are thus bound to develop into domains in which attention is being drawn to linguistic norms and in which linguistic norms are constantly being challenged and renegotiated. Discussions about usage are pervasive in virtually all the Latin American, Caribbean and West African forums investigated by Mair and Pfänder, and very often, the metalinguistic opinions voiced by participants are also enacted with considerable degrees of linguistic playfulness and creativity.

Thus, on the Nairaland Forum, which provides the data for the present study, (West African) English is clearly the default language, but a thread such as 'Igbo Kwenu! ... Join us if you're proud to be an Igbo guy/lady' will inevitably give rise to code-switching of the following kind, in which an utterance in Igbo is heavily laced with English (bold) and Pidgin (bold and italicized) elements:

oga deeje sir. a maghikwa m na i no na **sidelines a watchi ma moves**. biko **pres**, ma nchi gi ooo, ma azu gi ooo *carry go*, aka m ukwu m *no dey again oga* m ga azutara m nchi **first thing tomorrow morning**. **pres**, anu nchi gi gbakwa oku dia. lol nna balluia dikwa *hard.o* burkwa na emelie CIV m ga alakpu kwa ura.iwe di ha no obi **too much**, mmadu eme kupu m isi. (CCN [5456], ifyalways)

[English gloss: Boss carry on sir, I don't know why you sideline me and watch all my moves. Please Pres, take away both your bush meat (grass-cutter) and your fish, my hands and legs are no more there [= I'm no longer interested]. My boss will buy me bush meat first thing tomorrow morning. Pres, to hell with your bush meat. lol. His ball is hard. If they win, my CIV will be asleep. Their heart is full of anger too much; let no one knock off my head.]

Similarly, English, French and Pidgin are in competition in a Cameroonian forum investigated by Mair and Pfänder.⁶ English passages are printed in bold, Pidgin passages in bold and italics (with English glosses):⁷

Mévio: Je crois avoir rencontré Anicet Ekane du Manidem dans certaines rues de ce **site**. Est-il désormais un habitué des lieux? L'es-tu si tu me lis? Je voudrais que nous ayions sur ce **site** des **week-end**⁸ à thèmes où le **Chat** devra accueillir un politicien Kmer pro RDPC ou Opposant qui vienne museauter avec les internautes. Je crois que Big Valère peut trouver quelqu'un pour animer ce genre de rencontres. Qu'en pensez-vous?

Le Pote de Biya: Mévio, Qu'est-ce que tu entends par opposant notoire? celui opposé au libéralisme communautaire? à Biya ? au délitement de l'état camerounais? **biya must go** (allez dire)

Dr T. Gilbert: *Hi Mévio, No mek mi a lap oohhh!!!! U di mimba ce some politik go kam hia? A put ma hand fo faya so dem no go kam. Waiti dem go kam chap ouna non? Dem go go fo lege we dem go gi pagne and mimbo.* Franchement noble Mévio ce serait une tres bonne chose, mais je ne vois pas le premier courageux qui viendra se faire brûler les ailes ici. Qui sait! *kmer na kmer!*

[Hi Mévio, don't make me laugh, will you. Do you remember that any politician ever came here? I'd put my hand into the fire to bet that they won't be coming. Wait, they'll come and eat you, no? They will go for the fools whom they will give native dress and palm wine . . . Cameroon is Cameroon!]

Mévio: Cher ami, par opposant notoire, j'entends simplement celui qui consacre industrie et énergie permanente à la lutte contre le pouvoir de Yaoundé. Pas les mbindi musoteurs comme nous qui faisons notre part de bép bép seulement sur le virtuel. J'espère que c'est plus **clean** comme ça.

Stephano: MÉVIO how non? how que tu bolé tout le monde comme ça?:???

- Le Pote de Biya:** Mévio, connais à titre perso chacun d'entre nous? ce que ceux qui viennent sur le forum font de leur côté pour mettre fin à ce régime? si oui donne nous quelques infos.
Biya must go (allez dire)
- Mévio:** **How** que tu **ték** ça au sérieux comme ça mon ami. J'ai parlé des 'nous' comme ça juste pour rire un peu non? Tu as vu l'effet que ça a eu sur le très puissant Stéphanon non? En plus, pour ma pointe d'humour j'ai dit bêt bêt bêt. Sérieux, si par exemple derrière Le Pote de Biya il y a un haya groupe qui prépare un putsch, lache nous seulement l'info pour que nous on commence à cirer tes bottes dès **tomoro** (lol).

Among the several complications to be noted in this densely multilingual utterance is the internal heterogeneity of the French used. In part, it orientates toward the highly formal, even literary, register, for example in the use of inversion in the question *L'es-tu si tu me lis?* On the other hand, it contains informal and even slangy usage, for example *museauter* 'chat, chew the fat' and the frequently English-inspired neologisms of cyber-French (*site, internaute* etc.). As for the Pidgin, it is interesting to note that it is partly spelled in accordance with French orthographical practice, for example the conjunction *ce* in *u di mimba ce some politik go kam hia*, which in the Anglo West African sphere would usually be rendered as *seh* or *say*. Other examples are the second-person plural pronoun *unu* (here spelled as *ouna*) and the tag *no* (here spelled as *non*). In the switching between French and English, there seems to be a playful element involved in at least some of the switches. Whereas the slogan *Biya must go* is probably best seen as a quote, passages such as *How que tu ték ça au sérieux comme ça mon ami* reveal a more playful element which even extends into the creation of a non-standard spelling of the English verb *take*.

How discussions about language tend to run away in playful enactment is illustrated in the following relatively more monolingual passage from CCN. Participants Toluwalomo and Toshmann criticize Nigerians' readiness to shift and mix international English accents. The point of view expressed is formulated in standard English, the neutral default variety for writing. There is a minimal shift into Nigerian Pidgin at one stage for emotional-expressive reasons. Note that the basis of the criticism is a conviction that there is a 'natural' link between being Nigerian and speaking with a Nigerian accent (and an equally natural link between growing up in Britain and the US and a British or US accent). Anybody who shifts into other accents or mixes accents is accused of being inauthentic, 'phoney' or 'fake' (emphases added in this and the following examples):

Nigerians are something else when it comes to adopting accents. I have no problems, if you **naturally** pick up a UK or US accent via schooling or upbringing in these areas. But when an adult whose speech patterns are well formed goes to the US/UK for 3 months to a year and comes back with an accent, *haba na wah o!* [*What a pity/mess!*] People who have not even gone anywhere, end up having these exasperating accents. Since they are **fake**, geographically you cannot even pinpoint who they are mimicking. I have heard half American half British accents as if that is possible! All these **phoney** fanatics include some so-called broadcasters who are supposed to set the pace and differentiate between fluent english and **phoney** english. African China born and bred in Ajegunle [slum area in Lagos] went to the UK and came back not only with a rape charge but funny accent. Eedris the rapper may not be able to string a grammatical sentence together but what really makes it hard is the accent he picked up. There is this woman on STV with a CNN accent and Barong Eta at Channels Television who switches on accents like a bulb. British, Canadian, American whatever side of the bed I get up from, I think it is a sorry state of our English. We don't need to talk through our noses or drawl before we make sense. Other parts of African take pride in their accents. And even though accents in Nigeria are often subjects of mediocrity and rasness We can still afford to tow ['toe'] that fluent english line. Like Olu Jacobs, Joke Silva and Wole Soyinka. Why are Nigerians obsessed with foreign accents? (CCN [11208], Toluwalomo)

In his response, Toshmann agrees and fully buys into the ideology of linguistic naturalness. The language is West African Standard English, with one widely current localism (*oyibo*) and a less current one (*gwogwotigwo*), which is introduced by the hedge 'what we call . . .':

anyway i understand when someone is looking for a job in customer service and You need to come out of our **natural african accent** which is seen by the british as crude and likely to puch ['push?'] off potential customers but it may be carried on even when we get to our home. but there are those who are trying too hard to be **oyibo** [*white person*, from Yoruba *oyinbo*] by force. even here in cardiff i'm yet to see a welsh citizen who can speak better english than I do. yet some of our people struggle to impose an accent on themselves one guy was said to have spoken like an african born canadian living in london with an american wife and studying french in a german university that is what we call **gwogwotigwo** [*mish mash*, from Igbo] accent (CCN [5346], toshmann)

There is another brief assenting voice, after which a further participant moves from discussion to enactment:

Lol, nice topic. I see this in most naija movies, esp. the females. can't even begin to mention their names 'cause it seems almost all of them do it. It gets me so mad. That's d reason i don't watch naija movies like that. How can You sit down to watch naija movies when i have lots of american movies waitin' for me, just 'cause i love my

country and instead of watchin' smthin' real, all You see is total BS. it's so aggravatin'. (CCN [5463], chiogo)

The post contains several instances of *naija*, a widely current insider spelling for *Nigeria(n)*, which is functionally similar to *kmer* for *Cameroon* in the post quoted above. Note that in addition to this, the mention of American movies triggers a shift to informal spellings representing what the participant considers colloquial American pronunciations of *watching*, *something* and *aggravating*. The fact that *aggravating* – in this particular use – is far more likely in British than in US informal spoken usage is immaterial in the present context. The next post is interesting because it can be seen as a first mild criticism of the ideology of linguistic naturalness that the other participants have endorsed so far. The contributor acknowledges the fact that living abroad for a long time may undermine full competence in one's 'natural' Nigerian accent. However, after admitting as much, he or she draws heavily on Nigerian Pidgin for reassurance.

I couldn't help but laughed when I read this thread thank you so much poster. I hope the words get out starting form here, the thing don tire me 2 ooooo. Come to think of it on the other hand though, most of us that have been abroad for a long time can not completely speak with Naija accent anymore and it sometimes bother me. Thank God sha [exclamation/ discourse particle, from Yoruba] say I still fit rap our language correct. Nice observation, keep up the good work. Is there anyway we can send a message to those Naija actors?. I don't even know any of their names except Genvieve. (CCN [6153], Rlst84sale)

Two additional features deserve attention here. In the posts so far, when standard English was used it was written according to the grammatical and orthographic norm, and deviations from this norm were typing errors or similarly trivial oversights. Here, however, the use of *laughed* could be interpreted as hypercorrection, and the 'missing' third-person inflection in *bother* as either an oversight or a gesture of stylistic informality.

The ideology of linguistic naturalness is in for a massive onslaught in the next post, in which the writer assumes an informal American voice to satirize the point of view of the Nigerian English purists. Conventional non-standard spellings (*whatcha* ← *what you are*), high-profile morphosyntactic non-standardisms (*ain't*, *y'all* – here spelled as *ya'll*) and the taboo-defying self-assertive in-group use of the word *nigger* are all drawn on to achieve the effect. Note that <z> is used for the plural {s} morpheme in *nigg'z*. This is common practice in the global hip-hop community and suggests influence of African American Vernacular English through the media rather than face-to-face interaction.

sup porster? ain't reelly diggin whatcha callin' fake ass accent fakin'. Ya'll know I watch ameriken movies most of the time and ain't gorra be lookin

at dose borin nigg'z imposin Genevieve on me. Did I fake it well enough (CCN [8333], tEsLim)

In yet another turn which is extremely interesting from a contact-linguistic perspective, a Jamaican participant (note the self-identification and the telling pseudonym *AckeeEater*) joins the fray. For him, discussion and enactment are not as easy to separate as for the Nigerian participants. So instead of writing in standard English he goes for an informal mesolectal variety of Jamaican English, as is shown by his handling of the standard English inflections.

Not just Naijans, Jamaicans too! The ones I especially love are the less educated sole speaker of Patois (similar to Naijan Patois) who emigrate to America, assimilate by emulating the inner-city black accent, and return to show off. Comedy Central! Then there's the more educated who can speak English but thinks that to sound Jamaican is still not good enough. They tend to emulate white people, going nasal and all. He! He! He! (CCN [13203], *AckeeEater*)

The topic here is contact between Jamaicans and Nigerians in face-to-face encounters in physical space in the United States and Britain (see Britain, this volume). However, the post is not written in neutral standard English. There is a relaxed attitude to English inflection in informal writing which is very much a reflection of Jamaican spontaneous spoken usage in the mesolectal range and also typical of written usage on Jamaican web forums. Therefore, *AckeeEater* joining the Nairaland Forum is not just a discussion about language contact but also an instance of it, and the question arises whether his cavalier attitude to inflection might in the long run exert an influence on Nigerian writers, for whom – with very minor exceptions (cf. *it bother me*, above) – standard English norms remain powerful also in the domain of computer-mediated communication.

This very substantial thread contains many more posts which cast additional light on the issues discussed here. In all, they show that the Nigerian diaspora is intensely aware of linguistic variation, deeply conscious of the stigma attaching to African accents in the international arena and yet extremely proud of their own variety. One thing all contributors to the debate seem to agree on is that the 'pure' Nigerian accent is under threat through contact with other varieties of English in an age of migration and globalization. What they are worried about is loss of identity – or to express it in the words of the following poster – 'Emeka' turning into 'Micky' within a month of arrival in the US:

yes o omoge [discourse particle + term of address for '(sociable) young lady', Yoruba]. some just over do it to fit in. you'll hear of one emeka person (jic ['Johnny Just Come' = new arrival]) that just landed in yankee and within 1 month, he has changed his name to micky or mekhi and starts speaking yeye

['ridiculous', 'funny', from Yoruba] english like gerrout, mothafu\$ka, shit men, wharabout, yels etc. pitiful. no be by force o. naija peeps to dey overmurder English (CCN [7681], soulpatrol)

18.4 Conclusion: 'mobilizing' contact linguistics to deal with the challenges of the twenty-first century

The examples discussed above highlight some important challenges which the contact linguistics of the future will need to address. The issue is not purely quantitative, i.e. that there may be more migration in the contemporary world than in days of yore. Quite possibly, such an assumption might even turn out to be problematical for the 'Black Atlantic' region, since the dimensions of the eighteenth-century slave trade between Africa and the Americas were certainly such that they may have affected as high a proportion of the population as any contemporary demographic current. Rather than the numbers and percentages of people involved, it is the quality and nature of migration which have changed in the modern world. While emigration was very often a lifetime event in the eighteenth century, it has become temporary for many people today. And even for emigrants who stay abroad permanently, transport technology and the media have made it much easier to retain links with the country of origin and thus to be both 'here' and 'there' at the same time. This has profound implications for sociolinguistics and contact linguistics, as Blommaert has recently pointed out:

the dense presence of telephone and Internet shops shows that even if new migrants reside in one particular place, they are capable of maintaining intensive contacts with networks elsewhere, including often their countries of origin. A burgeoning network of satellite and Internet providers also allows them to follow (and be involved in) events in their country of origin and to consume its media and cultural products. Their spatial organization, consequently, is local as well as translocal, real as well as virtual – and all of this has effects on the structure and development of language repertoires and patterns of language use. Theoretically, this stretches the limits of existing frameworks for analysing and understanding multilingualism and the dynamics of language change. (Blommaert 2010: 7–8)

The data discussed here have shown that for more and more Nigerians the stable link between place (the postcolonial nation state of Nigeria), identity (being Nigerian) and speaking a clearly defined variety of English (Nigerian English) is becoming precarious. We can best account for what is happening on the ground and in digitally supported communities of practice⁹ if we see World English *not* as a *bundle of separate varieties* (which usually have a regional base and can be decontextualized and described by listing their phonetic, morphosyntactic and lexical properties) *but rather as a*

pool of standard and non-standard features of varying and fuzzy regional reach. Today, the features associated with Standard American English and Standard British English have a global reach and AmE and BrE are thus potentially relevant as contact varieties for any other standard or non-standard English. As the forum posts discussed in the present study have shown, Nigerian Standard English now also has a transnational reach. However, as its speakers are painfully aware, in this case extension beyond national boundaries has engendered a considerable degree of stigmatization. An even more important development than the spread of Standard Nigerian English has been the parallel spread of non-standard usage – both in migrant communities on the ground and in the global mediascape. It is in these spheres that hitherto unexpected types of contact between non-standard Englishes worldwide are beginning to show their first effects. Nigerian Pidgin, Jamaican Creole and African American English are now moving as close again as they have been at any time since the heyday of the ‘Black Atlantic’ cultural and communicative region in the eighteenth century.

The climate of linguistic hyper-awareness which has characterized discussions on diasporic web fora investigated reflects the increasing intensity of contact along these newly established links. Following the lead of sociolinguists such as Silverstein (2003), Coupland (2007), Eckert (2008) and Blommaert (2005, 2010), we should aim to add a focus on social styles in interaction to our traditional concerns with statistical correlations between dependent linguistic variables and (supposedly) independent social variables. With regard to language contact, we should ‘mobilize’ contact linguistics and make it part of a ‘sociolinguistics of mobile resources and not of immobile languages’, which is defined as follows:

The shift from language to resources is crucial in all of this . . . The consequences of that shift, however, are not yet deeply understood. We must, for instance, accept that abandoning a structural notion of language (a linguists’ construct, as we know) compels us to replace it by an ethnographic concept such as *voice*, which embodies the experiential and practice dimensions of language and which refers to the way in which people actually deploy their resources in communicative practice. (Blommaert 2010: 180)

Such an approach certainly fits linguistic practices found on the diasporic Nigerian web forum investigated here. Its participants have been shown to have access to a wide range of standard and non-standard English resources. They have also been shown to use them in a distinct way which reflects their concerns and their identity as local citizens and members of a diaspora. In short, they may not have a distinctive Nigerian English which they all share as a variety, but they use available global and local linguistic resources to develop a coherently Nigerian *voice*. I am firmly convinced that the study of

contact among varieties of (non-standard) English will develop into a prime testing ground for this new research programme.

As has been emphasized throughout this chapter, the media are no longer as irrelevant to sociolinguistic and contact-linguistic investigations as they used to be in the age of the classical audio-visual mass-media, which tended to broadcast their programmes to mass audiences across large territories in standard language. Today, vernacular speakers have increasing access to the media through participation in interactive programmes. Radio, as a cheap, technologically robust and easy-to-use medium, has even become vernacularized itself in the form of regionally and socially restricted community broadcasting. And even for the major global players in the media industry at least some vernaculars have become marketable commodities which they help propagate. And last but not least, the analysis of diasporic web forums has shown that the vernacularization of the newest media has probably proceeded fastest, even breaking down long-standing barriers against the use of non-standard language in writing.

If one were to choose a slogan to epitomize the phenomenon, Youtube's motto 'Broadcast Yourself!' would not be the worst choice (cf. Maillat 2008: 318). It conveys a message which is subtly ambiguous. Superficially it refers to the fact that anybody with access to the Web can now become a broadcaster, but in addition it can also be read as a reflexive verb: 'make yourself known to the world', and the best way to do this efficiently is to manipulate the linguistic resources at one's disposal. Seen in this light, the rich mix of varieties of English and other languages encountered on the Nigerian diasporic web forum may not have been perfectly convincing as mimetic representation of spoken usage outside the Web. For this, even the creative spelling practices employed are insufficient. However, this does not mean that the language used is inauthentic and not legitimate data for a sociolinguistic and contact-linguistic investigation. After all, at least for its central members the forum is the home to a thriving community of practice which commands a rich store of standard and non-standard linguistic resources which members draw on creatively in order to style their self-image and to get across their messages.

It is in the study of such mediated vernacular performances (Coupland 2007) in transnational communities of practice that a highly original and genuinely linguistic contribution to our understanding of globalization may take shape. In the study of globalization, economists focus on transnational flows of money, goods and services. Sociologists' and political scientists' focus is on transnational institutions, and scholars in intellectual history and cultural studies are concerned with the global spread of ideas, genres and fashions. By paying close attention to the use of language(s) in mediated transnational communication, linguists can enhance our understanding of a hitherto underexplored aspect of cultural globalization.

We possess (if we use it well) a descriptive apparatus of unparalleled precision, capable of reading infinitely big features of society from infinitely small details of communicative behaviour. Our most persuasive discourse is empirical and descriptive: we are at our best when we provide theoretically grounded and sophisticated descriptions of language problems in the world. The theoretical challenges of globalization may make some scholars inclined to produce more theory than description; in my view this would mean that we thereby sacrifice some of our best and most powerful tools. (Blommaert 2010: xiv)

This is an appeal to study contact among languages and varieties in situ, in its social and communicative setting – and not just focus on the sedimented long-term effects of contact, such as lexical borrowings or instances of structural simplification.

Notes

1 Introduction: nothing but a contact language . . .

- 1 There were, in fact, seven kingdoms (the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy), but not all were politically equally autonomous and the dialect-political entity link between four dialects and four main kingdoms is therefore justified (see Toon 1992: 415).
- 2 Juhani Klemola deals with morphosyntactic substratal influence from Celtic in Chapter 5.
- 3 This method, incidentally, is also used by linguists researching whether and to what extent English was shaped by a Celtic substratum.

2 The role of contact in English syntactic change in the Old and Middle English periods

- 1 General information on the sociocultural and linguistic circumstances of the contacts can be found in many handbooks on the history of English and articles cited there (e.g. Graddol, Leith and Swann 1996; Leith 1997: 7–30; Barber, Beal and Shaw 2009; Brinton and Arnovick 2006), and more particularly in Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 263ff.), Hadley (1997), Hadley and Richards (2000), Hickey (2003), Kastovsky and Mettinger (2003), Townend (2006).
- 2 References to Old English texts are by means of the tags used in the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*.
- 3 The other two instances are in *ChronE* (Irvine) 1110.14 and 1114.6. There is also one example with a past participle in *Ælfric Homilies* 1, 21: 347.76: ... *wæron gesewene englas mid hwitum gyrelum geglengde* ‘were seen angels with white clothes adorned’. Here the adjectival status of the participle is even clearer.
- 4 And see also *Ælfric Homilies* 1, 27: 406, 181 and 29: 428, 287, where *þus cwedendum drihtne / þisum gewordenum* can be translated as ‘with the lord speaking thus/in the words of the lord’ and ‘with this having happened/with this result’.
- 5 Two random examples that I have taken from the web (July 2011): [www.andersoncounseling.net/Individual%20&%20Family%20Therapy%20Intake%20Form%202009.doc] and [www.thespacereview.com/article/422/1] respectively. It is clear from web evidence that in Present-day English the construction is very common.
- 6 Bolinger (1967: 48) shows that, even though, strictly, there is no semantic (argument) link between the oblique NP and the main predicate (the *aci* as a whole functions as the complement of the main verb), there is a ‘surface’ link

- between verb and NP in that ‘the string [predicate]+NP when taken as a constituent in its own right has a meaning compatible with that of the sentence as a whole’. This explains why *I believe the report to be true* is well-formed whereas *I believe the rain to be falling* is not, or at least it is odd.
- 7 Hawkins (1986) shows that English developed what he calls a strict ‘Grammatical Word Order’ (GWO), whereas German (and this is also true for Dutch) makes use of both GWO and PWO (Pragmatic Word Order). For a convenient listing of differences, see www.linglit.tu-darmstadt.de/fileadmin/linglit/teich/hs-trans-session3.pdf.
 - 8 *Blawan* could be both transitive and intransitive in Old English but there is evidence that quite a few verbs came to be interpreted as intransitive due to these ‘awkward’ constructions, see Fischer (1992a: 35–6).
 - 9 Category 3 borrowing is described as ‘slight structural borrowing’ (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 78). Shift or interference affecting the syntax is described on pp. 110ff. It is said to be very difficult to pinpoint (p. 114) for two main reasons: (i) the lack of sufficient evidence (p. 129; the only clear examples are said to come from phonology and morphology, p. 131), and (ii) the fact that ‘syntactic theory has not progressed to a stage where it is possible to define “simpler” or “more complex” uncontroversially’ (p. 130).
 - 10 As is well known, Icelandic is more conservative and still more highly inflexional than the other three Scandinavian languages.
 - 11 Hybrid compounds and indeed hybrid derivations are a more common form of mixing; they also occur later, in Middle English, in the contact with French.
 - 12 Although in this case analogy with OE *broðor* may have played a role too.
 - 13 Concerning the distinction between levelling and simplification, levelling usually occurs within a paradigm while simplification is more encompassing, occurring across paradigms or categories.
 - 14 Kerswill (2002: 671) indeed notes that simplification involves ‘a decrease in irregularity in morphology and an increase in invariable word forms’; this is what we see in Northern texts in both morphology and syntax. In a similar way, McWhorter (2002: 219–20) defines complexity vs simplicity in syntax as the operation of respectively more or fewer rules in any given area of grammar. He notes overall a much stronger decrease in what he calls ‘overspecification’ in the history of English as compared to the other Germanic languages, which he ascribes to contact with the Scandinavians.
 - 15 There have been many suggestions of direct influence. Kirch (1959) deals with four of these suggested by Jespersen (ellipsis of the relative pronoun, and of the complementizer *that*, the genitive before nouns, and the use of *shall* and *will*) and shows there is no evidence for any except perhaps the use of *shall*. Trips (2002) concludes in her book on Old Norse influence on Middle English: ‘All the empirical findings [with respect to] the Scandinavian characteristics like V2 order, object shift and stylistic fronting in the *Ormulum* and other Early Middle English texts, as well as the comparison with these findings and the situation in Old Norse and other early stages of Scandinavian strongly support the hypothesis that Scandinavian influence was so strong then that not only syntactic operations like stylistic fronting were borrowed but also that the change from OV to VO word order was triggered by contact with Scandinavians’ (2002: 332). But here again, the evidence is minimal, as Cloutier (2005) has convincingly shown.

- 16 Nor is it likely to be the result of a typological shift à la Greenberg, from a SOV to a SVO language, which would cause the reversal of Adjective–Noun to Noun–Adjective order, as suggested in Lightfoot (1979: 205ff), first of all because there is no causal relation between the changes in orders, and, secondly, postnominal adjectives constitute only a very minor pattern, which becomes increasingly less frequent in Modern English.

3 Multilingualism and code-switching as mechanisms of contact-induced lexical change in late Middle English

- 1 In the general literature on language contact, however, this question has received more attention; see Thomason (2001), Winford (2003b, 2010).
- 2 The others are passive familiarity, ‘negotiation’, second-language acquisition, bilingual first-language acquisition, change by deliberate decision (Thomason 2001: 129).
- 3 The term code-switching will be used here as a cover term including both ‘inter-’ and ‘intrasentential’ switching. Furthermore, the terms ‘language-mixing’ and ‘mixed(-language) texts’ will be used in our discussion of the written data. For written texts, ‘speaker’ must be replaced by ‘writer’ or ‘scribe’, ‘conversation’ by ‘text’.
- 4 Exceptions to the former are Knowles (1997) and Singh (2005), an exception to the latter Gardner-Chloros (2009).
- 5 The following survey is necessarily sketchy and can only quote a few studies. See also the survey in Schendl (2002a), the contributions in Trotter (2000), and the Introduction in Schendl and Wright (2011).
- 6 The question whether switching was deliberate and conscious is often difficult to answer for historical texts, but it is of limited relevance for our topic and of no importance for the definition of code-switching; see Section 3.4.
- 7 The term ‘base language’ refers to the dominant language of a text and is not used in the sense of the ‘matrix language’, which is generally defined on the basis of linguistic criteria such as function morphemes, etc.; see Myers-Scotton (2002: ch. 3).
- 8 There is a second mixed letter by Kingston on this topic to the king written within a few months (Schendl 2002b).
- 9 See *MED* s.v. *suppōsen*, 1(c) with clause as object attested since (a.1387).
- 10 There is one earlier occurrence of *rebels* in the religious meaning ‘evildoer against God’ (*MED*, s.v. (b)) from c.1350, though the second attestation of this specific meaning also only dates from ‘a.1425 (a.1400)’.
- 11 Note the variation between *velveto* and *velvet* in these two examples.
- 12 In the multilingual context of mixed-language texts, it seems justified to consider such ‘translations’ as part of a wider strategy of code-switching. See Meecham-Jones (2011) for a discussion of code-switching in translations of medieval medical texts. – Researchers such as Tony Hunt, William Rothwell and David Trotter have pointed out that the terms *anglice* and *gallice* often refer to the ‘wrong’ language and have taken this as an indication of the fuzzy borders between these two vernacular languages; see the references and discussion in Schendl (2002a: 69–70).

- 13 The form *nouche* is both Anglo-French and Middle English (see *AND* and *MED*, s.v.), while Middle English also has the variant *ouche*.
- 14 For a different explanation of the early occurrence of this feature as a reflection of bilingual speech; see Ingham (2009).
- 15 For studies of medieval accounts by Wright and Trotter see Section 3.2; for a recent discussion of bridge accounts also Trotter (2010, 2011). The following analysis has greatly profited from their research.
- 16 All three switched terms go back to Old English; see *MED*.
- 17 See *MED* s.v. *nōn-shench* (n.); all *MED* instances from 1342 to 1397 occur in Latin contexts, the first attestation in an English context only dates from 1422.
- 18 See *AND* and *MED*; we disregard minor spelling differences in the two languages.
- 19 For a discussion of a Latin matrix-language shipping account from the same archive see Trotter (2006), where he stresses his view that there is no clear separation of languages in these accounts, neither for the analyst nor for the medieval speaker/writer.
- 20 Nautical terms from Dutch and various Romance languages/dialects in the Southampton *Port Books* and the sociolinguistic context of these texts are discussed in Trotter (2011), who finds no indication that their authors/scribes had linguistic competence in these languages.
- 21 On the frequent overlap of entries between the *MED*, *AND* and *DMLBS* see also Wriht (2011: section 3).
- 22 For *hauser* (< OF *haucier*) see *AND* s.v. *haucer*¹ ‘heavy rope or light cable’; according to the *MED* s.v. *hauser*, it is attested in mixed contexts from the end of the thirteenth century on, in English contexts only from 1417 or 1429; for *polyves* (< OF *polie*, *pulie* and ML *poliva*, *puliva*) see *MED* s.v. *puli* and *AND* *pulie*; for *trief* the *MED* states that possibly all its quotations (based on Sandahl) ‘may be Anglo-French’; *galey* is recorded in monolingual English contexts from c.1300 on, see *MED*, s.v. *galei(e)*.
- 23 This equally applies to present-day code-switching, where the specific functions and textual conventions of written code-switching in literary texts, emails, or internet chats, etc. are still neglected and spoken code-switching has been the basis of most research; on these questions see the volume on written code-switching by Sebba, Mahootian and Jonsson (2012).
- 24 In this chapter we have mainly discussed the integration of foreign terms into English, but this process equally works in the other direction; see the discussion of the terms of English etymology in examples (10a) and (11b), some of which are also given as headwords in the *AND* (e.g. *benche*, *sailyard*, *mast*, etc.), i.e. they are considered as English borrowings into Anglo-Norman by the editors of the *AND*; in Latin-dominant mixed-language texts, we find morphologically integrated forms such as *shopae* ‘shop’ (Trotter 2011). As Wright (2011) points out, Middle English, Anglo-Norman and Medieval Latin shared much of their vocabulary, so that the lexical boundaries between these three languages seem quite fuzzy.

4 The contact origins of Standard English

- 1 See Wright (1996b) for an explanation of how this orthodoxy came about, and a critique.

- 2 See Queiroz de Barros (2007: 96–7) for a brief overview.
- 3 See, for example, work on multilingual medieval texts by Schendl (2000b, 2002a, and this volume), Rothwell (1992, 1994, 2000, 2001, 2010), Trotter (2003, 2006, 2010), Ingham (2009, 2010), Pahta and Nurmi (2006).
- 4 To give an example of letter-graph sequences from each language: the Middle English word *kidel* ‘fishweir’, which was borrowed into English from Anglo-Norman, appears spelt <*kydellus*, *kydellos*, *kedelli*, *kidelloþ*> when written in a Medieval Latin matrix; as <*kydelx*, *kideux*, *kidellez*> when written in an Anglo-Norman matrix; and as <*kyddel*, *kydels*> when written in a Middle English matrix. All these tokens are taken from London fishing ordinances, 1311–1485 (Wright 1996a: 67). Note that the form *kidel* as a headword is a modern lexicographical invention; the roots spelt *kidel*-/*kydel*-/*kedel*- have been subsumed under one heading for our (modern) convenience – there was nothing superordinate, spelling-wise, about the <*kidel*> sequence of letter-graphs at the time. *OED* uses a post-medieval spelling as headword, *kiddle*.
- 5 Such as *-acion-*, *-atur-*, *-and-*, *-yng*; see Wright (1995b, 2000b) for some illustrations and preliminary discussion of *-ing* forms in this text type.
- 6 Not that historians use such terms. They tend to label mixed-language business texts pejoratively (‘Dog Latin’, ‘Pig Latin’, ‘Kitchen French’), and to judge the scribe’s mastery of Latin and French to have been faulty (see Wright 1997a).
- 7 This is what I found in a survey of London guild certificates from 1389, although with no *-s* variants in that particular sample (Wright 2001a: 91).
- 8 A caveat here: the 1389 analysis contains subjunctives which, due to the variable nature of the paradigm at that date, are impossible to distinguish safely from the indicative (Wright 2001a: 88).
- 9 In similar texts from Norfolk of the same date there are 15 different variants for singular *shall* (see Wright 2001a: 89).
- 10 I do not know the regional distribution, other than that it seems to have been widespread, and its underlying phonetic realization is not known – nor is the reason for its abandonment (see Minkova 2003: 189).
- 11 I am not the first to suggest this: ‘However, we shall later suggest that the process of language standardisation involves the suppression of optional variability in language and that, as a consequence, non-standard varieties can be observed to permit more variability than standard ones’ (Milroy and Milroy 1991: 6; my thanks to Christian Mair for pointing this out).
- 12 For a discussion of Zipf’s Law and Mandelbrot’s refinement as applied to English, see Kretzschmar (2009: 190–211, especially 191–3). His data are taken from present-day American English, but his explanation and discussion are pertinent to earlier states.
- 13 There are ten guild returns of 1388–9 for London written in English (see Wright 1999b: 169–96). The London guild returns are chosen for comparison because they were written in English and belong to a similar text type (civic, bureaucratic) to the London Bridge accounts, at a time when most other business documents were multilingual.
- 14 See Ingham (2010) (and references therein) for demonstration that Anglo-Norman was still a spoken language in Britain as late as 1370.
- 15 See Wright (1997b) for a discussion. All five clerks used the spelling <*-yng*> as well as <*-ing*> for the second syllable.

- 16 See Lodge (2010); like Lodge, I follow Trudgill's definition of a koiné as 'a historically mixed but synchronically stable dialect which contains elements from the different dialects that went into the mixture, as well as interdialect forms that were present in none' (Trudgill 1986: 107–8).
- 17 See Raumolin-Brunberg (2002) for a discussion.
- 18 For more on simplification and regularization with regard to Standard English, see Trudgill (2009).
- 19 For more on the different types of language-contact outcome induced by languages learnt in childhood and adulthood, see Trudgill (2010a) and Odlin (this volume).
- 20 See, for example, the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entries for Thomas Sheridan and John Walker.

6 English as a contact language in Ireland and Scotland

- 1 The sample sentences provided in this chapter stem from various data collections of the author, both for Irish and for Irish English. These are the following: CCE = *A Collection of Contact English*, DER = *Dublin English Recordings*, WER = *Waterford English Recordings*. In addition there are a few other abbreviations: M = male, F = female. Before a number, W = West, S = South. TRS-D stands for *Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Speech – Digital*. This collection is based on recordings made by colleagues in the Department of English, Queen's University, Belfast. SADIF stands for *Sound Archives of the Department of Irish Folklore* at University College Dublin.
- 2 Note, though, that some pidgins also make use of target-language material to render pronominal distinctions found in the source language (e.g. Tok Pisin) so this is not in a strict sense typical of a language shift situation.
- 3 For a more general discussion of common developments in Celtic Englishes, including Irish and Scottish English, see Filppula (1997b) and the overview in Filppula (2006, especially pp. 520–7).

8 English as a contact language: the “New Englishes”

- 1 Read's (2002) collection provides a few examples: “the white inhabitants of the United States” speak English “with greater purity” than those of other parts of the Empire (46); “In America the prevailing attitude was one of concern for the purity of English” (57).

9 English as a contact language: lesser known varieties

- 1 These are often interwoven, as the contributions in Schreier, Trudgill, Schneider and Williams (2010) show.

11 The diversification of English: old, new and emerging epicentres

- 1 BrE and AmE are the most commonly used terms, even though English English (EngEng) and US English (USEng) are geographically more precise (see Trudgill and Hannah 2008). I will use these narrower terms at times, especially when they imply a contrast between Englishes within the British Isles or America.

- 2 This is an aspect where we can see a parallel between traditional dialectology and the study of New Englishes, especially studies that are essentially descriptive and present an ‘untheorized set of facts’ (Massey 1984: 2, as quoted in Britain in press).
- 3 See Kachru (1992a) for the three-circles model of New Englishes.
- 4 See also Clyne (1992, 1997).
- 5 ‘Vernacular’ is here used in the sense of ‘non-standard’ norms. Other uses of the term will become relevant for later discussions. See also Leitner (2004: 18), who wonders whether there can be competing internal norms within an epicentre, which in his case would be different regional norms of Australian English. Similarly, Peters (2009) discusses non-standard lexical items as examples of potential epicentric influence.
- 6 On more recent developments in AmE, see Rickford, Buchstaller, Wasow and Zwicky (2007).
- 7 I would like to thank Pam Peters for pointing this out to me.
- 8 Other features of a variety that are presented in textbook materials might lead to the conscious adoption by speakers if they are repeatedly pointed out by the teacher as examples of ‘good usage’ and/or focused in language exercises (thanks to Carolin Biewer for drawing my attention to this).
- 9 This would occur at stage 4 in Schneider’s dynamic model of the evolution of New Englishes (Schneider 2007: 48–52).
- 10 Leith (1997: 159) concedes that English in Scotland is still influenced by external norms: ‘Recent studies of sociolinguistic variation in southern Scotland tend to suggest, however, that in many respects local speech is *exonormative*: English norms are highly influential. As we have seen, Scotland’s upper class had begun to adopt the standards of the London elite during the eighteenth century; more recently, the middle class has moved in the same direction. This is partly a means of avoiding the heavily stigmatised speech of the working class in the big cities, such as Edinburgh ... and ... Glasgow ...’
- 11 For a comparative perspective of different models of English from a contact linguistic perspective, see Schneider (this volume).
- 12 See www.frias.uni-freiburg.de/lang_and_lit/fellows/mair-lili#FRIAS-Projekt, Mair (this volume) and Mair (forthcoming).
- 13 Cf. Gupta (2009) who claims that, in writing, ‘Standard English really is essentially monolithic. In any given text of Standard English (such as a newspaper article) more than 99.5% of words will be words spelled, inflected and used in the same way by Standard English [*sic!*] everywhere.’ Elsewhere, she says that ‘Standard English is a single global variety within which there are substantial differences linked to text type, and a small number of differences linked to region.’ Thus, she does acknowledge that there are differences between standard English in different regions but plays these down by pointing out how rare they are, especially on the level of grammar: ‘There are almost no grammatical differences between the Standard English of one region and another.’ Gupta (2009) claims that ‘[T]he division of Standard English into multiple local Standard Englishes is not justified on linguistic grounds.’ See also Gupta (2006: 99).
- 14 This view emerges from the following quotation in the *OED* entry for *epicentre*: ‘1937 WOOLDRIGE & MORGAN *Physical Basis Geogr.* v. 58 In the region of the epicentre (the point, or small area, immediately above the focus) actual waves or swells occur, which ... are responsible for most of the damage.’

- 15 An obvious mismatch of the geological and the linguistic use of the word is that in geology, the word is used in the context of a single seismic event, whereas in linguistics, epicentric influence is more likely to occur over the course of time.
- 16 On urban hierarchical or cascade spread of language change, see Britain (2010c). The adoption of the gravity model for globalization of variety features is also supported in Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (2003: 536).
- 17 For a critique of the gravity model (i.e. its being insensitive to the differential access that speakers have to resources), see Britain (in press).
- 18 See also Zipp (2010), who found that NZ often diverged from BrE in the use of verb–preposition collocations.
- 19 On register variation on the web, see Biber and Kurjian (2007); however, they do not look at register variation from different domains.
- 20 According to Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008: 153), the term is used ‘to describe a hybrid space, in which the global is adapted to the local (and perhaps vice versa)’. They define the term in the context of multilingual language use or code-switching behaviour; but it could also be applied with the same meaning to the use of English.
- 21 The evidence from the parallel BrE corpora only amounts to fewer than twenty uses of the verb, but is suggestive of a very late twentieth-century development: in B-LOB (1930s), only one occurrence is attested; in LOB (1961) and F-LOB (1991), the frequency rises to four and eight instances, respectively.
- 22 The argument that Gordon *et al.* put forward for the lack of impact of both Irish and Scottish English on the formation of NZE is that the features from these varieties were swamped by the majority input into the variety, which had a strong south-eastern EngEng dialect base (Gordon *et al.* 2004: 247–50).
- 23 Note that one borrowing from an Aboriginal language can be used to illustrate that the loans at times underwent local change, i.e. we are dealing with a mutated innovation rather than an invariant feature: *mia mia*, a loanword from Nyungar for a makeshift shelter, acquires the meaning of ‘duck-shooter’s hide’ in NZE which had borrowed the word *whare* from Maori for a temporary shelter (see Peters 2009: 112).
- 24 See also Gupta (2009): ‘Although it would be foolish to deny that some regions have more clout within the politics of English – the USA has the most, as in other areas – the way power relations work within English are by no means straightforward.’
- 25 One inroad for influences from NZE would be the education sector: in the 1930s, ‘Fiji’s education system came under control of the New Zealand education authorities’ (Tent and Mugler 2008: 235).
- 26 Indians constitute the second largest ethnic group in Fiji. The majority of them are descendants of indentured labourers who were brought to the islands between 1879 and 1916 to work on the sugar plantations. They are variously referred to as Fiji Indians or Indo-Fijians.
- 27 The interview is part of a project on language and identity in the Fiji Indian diaspora in New Zealand. The data were collected in Wellington in 2007 and 2008.
- 28 Following the 2006 coup, New Zealand’s High Commissioner Michael Green was expelled from Fiji in June 2007. The Fiji government has since repeatedly voiced that it does not depend on its Pacific neighbours for political relations,

mentioning China and Korea as likely political partners. China, in particular, has been supporting Fiji internationally in the aftermath of the 2006 coup. It is obvious that these views do not necessarily reflect the attitudes of individual speakers of Fijian background in the country.

- 29 With respect to the attitudinal level, Rajend Mesthrie (personal communication) points out that broad AusE and IndE accents are now accepted in South Africa in the domain of sports reportage (especially cricket); Mesthrie even claims to have started using AusE phrases and vowels in such contexts himself. Even if it is arguable whether this already counts as epicentric influence from AusE, it is certainly enough to argue that epicentric influence might start with such instances of domain-specific crossing.
- 30 The results of the survey, incidentally, support the hypothesis of a growing acceptance of AmE in Sweden and a growing impact that this variety is having on school students' usage despite the fact that the input variety in the classroom is still mostly modelled on BrE.
- 31 Colonial lag versus other kinds of differential language change (see Hundt 2009a) can be verified on the basis of corpus evidence only, unlike epicentral influence, which needs additional kinds of data.
- 32 <http://informationr.net/ir/StyleManual.html>

12 Driving forces in English contact linguistics

- 1 Matto and Momma (2008: 5) are not off the mark in noting: "We may soon find we need a terminology similar to 'Romance Languages' to accommodate the Englishes born in the wake of the British expansion: the 'English language *family*' perhaps, as David Crystal among others have suggested." The differentiation process which is presupposed by this comment does not preclude including English creoles and pidgins within the proposed new language family.
- 2 In this context, we may also note the bias that has arisen against African American Vernacular English, whose origins have been associated with language contact, as opposed to the European American varieties in which the role of contact has either been ignored or considered of little significance. Interestingly, as observed in Mufwene (2009b), the African slaves, along with several white indentured servants, were the first non-anglophones to shift to English as their vernacular. The other European Americans would not feel the pressure to do so until after the American Revolution (1775–83), and some of them not until the twentieth century (see, e.g., Salmons 2003, Wilkerson and Salmons 2008, and Salmons and Purnell 2010 for German). In addition to the time of both language shift and race segregation in the USA since the late nineteenth century, these facts cast new light on the vexed issues of archaic retentions and the impact of substrate or adstrate influence in language shift.
- 3 I have in mind here varieties such as *les français africains* and Portuguese in Portugal's former exploitation colonies of Africa, which, like "indigenized Englishes," have been associated with language contact and distinguished from "native/metropolitan" varieties but have not been lumped with creoles and pidgins.
- 4 As the Romans had no more colonial role to play in England during the time of the relevant Latin influence on English, some scholars may prefer to characterize

this as adstrate influence, since this was brought into the affected language by its own speakers who had learned Latin. The only problem is that in geology, the term can apply to either the substratum or the superstratum, though creolists have used it in reference to European languages other than the “lexifier” that made some contributions to the structures of creoles.

- 5 Because French evolved from Latin, it must sometimes be difficult to distinguish those features that came directly from Latin from those that were borrowed from French. There must be a number of cases where French simply reinforced influences from Latin, such as regarding WH-relative clauses and the associated pied-piping of the preposition. Although this may also be a matter of congruence with Old English, note that this particular subsystem is hardly used in vernacular English.
- 6 This is a history made more complex by the fact that the Scots also contributed to spreading English to Ireland. They played a role captured by Chaudenson’s (2001) invocation of second-generation colonization, whereby an earlier colony serves in the colonization of another territory and thereby influences language evolution in the latter.
- 7 It is problematic to claim that some variety is more divergent than another, because the *terminus a quo* was hardly ever the same from one colonial setting to another. The English dialect mix was not always identical, owing to variation in the demographic compositions of the colonists and the times of the foundation of the colonies. Things are further complicated by variation in the demographic compositions of the colonized populations and in the modes of coexistence between the colonists/colonizers and the other populations.
- 8 It is important not to confuse the focus of this discussion with the teaching of standard English, to people who already speak it natively, in school. This practice has in fact made standard English a kind of L2 variety even for native speakers, many of whom do not command it up to some purist expectations.
- 9 Generally, the slaves and indentured servants did not have the option of shifting gradually, as they either were integrated in the master’s estate (at least during the homestead phase for the slaves) or did not live in communities that were ethnolinguistically homogeneous and economically autonomous enough for them to continue interacting in their heritage languages among themselves. As soon as they arrived in the colonies, the new socioeconomic ecology exerted intense pressure on them to shift to the colonial vernacular.
- 10 This comment should not be interpreted to suggest that all or most of creoles’ features are necessarily of substrate origins. As suggested above, a substantial proportion of those also originate in the non-standard vernaculars targeted by the slave populations. The point is that AAVE and the relevant creole vernaculars emerged concurrently, though in separate contact ecologies, under different dynamics of competition among features from similar but not identical pools of English and African structural materials (Mufwene 2001).
- 11 It is also similar to what occurred in the Romance countries, with latinization (whose ultimate outcome was the emergence of the Romance languages) starting in the emergent Roman-style towns and trade centers, which operated in Vulgar Latin. These became the symbol of modernity and it is from them and the Christian missions that Latin would spread, indigenizing in the process (Mufwene 2005, 2008).

12 As explained in note 10, this does not mean that the structural features that distinguish English creoles from their non-creole kin originate necessarily in the substrate languages. The role of substrate influence is much more complex and has not been fully sorted out. It is actually very likely that the influence consisted in favoring elements in the *terminus a quo* that were (partially) congruous with elements in some of the substrate languages, subject to the Founder Principle and a host of other ecological factors (Mufwene 2001, 2010).

13 Substrate influence and universals in the emergence of contact Englishes: re-evaluating the evidence

1 Note, however, that Lefebvre (1998: 116–18) argues that the ‘Anterior’ marker *te* in Haitian Creole is modeled after the ‘Anterior’ marker *ko* of Fongbe. This explanation doesn’t, in my view, apply to the emergence of Relative Past in CEC. Rather, as I argue below, there appears to be a link between markers like *ko* and others that express ‘perfect’ meaning in Gbe, and markers like *don* and *kaba*, which express ‘perfect’ meaning in CEC.

14 Transfer and contact in migrant and multiethnic communities: the conversational *historical be + -ing* present in South African Indian English

- 1 A narrative by another speaker shows that it may occur, though not commonly, in the Result section.
- 2 This is the name of another participant.

17 Accelerator or inhibitor? On the role of substrate influence in interlanguage development

- 1 Definitions of *transfer* and related terms such as *interference* are discussed at length by Odlin (1989, 2003).
- 2 The term *contrastive* here is not to be equated with the so-called Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (Wardhaugh 1970). *Contrastive* will simply mean the comparison of languages, as used by some researchers both in and outside of SLA (e.g. Chesterman 1991; Lucy 1992; Odlin 2006). By the same token, *perspective* should not be equated with a single theory. Multiple theories can be consonant with a contrastive or a developmental perspective (and sometimes with both).
- 3 Dulay, Burt, and Krashen (1982) have attempted to deny the relevance of Weinreich’s study for SLA, but the denial is hardly consistent with Weinreich’s words (i.e. “the learning problem”) or with several studies that Weinreich cites (see Odlin 1989: 24).
- 4 Although Fries showed a determinist streak, he was not a behaviorist, according to Selinker (2006), as is sometimes claimed. On the other hand, Selinker does consider Lado to have been a behaviorist.
- 5 What counts as “acquired” differs in the child language and L2 research, as does the actual order of “acquired” morphemes. Controversies have arisen about the significance of such differences, but they are beyond the scope of this chapter.
- 6 Chomskyan ideas have, of course, changed considerably from the 1970s, and some recent approaches to SLA attempt to show the relevance of Universal Grammar (e.g. White 2003). There are, however, theoretical and empirical

- problems with such approaches including how well transfer is accounted for (see Robinson and Ellis 2008; Odlin 2003).
- 7 Collins adopted the Aspect Hypothesis (AH) as her framework. While the AH is a developmental approach to the acquisition of tense and aspect, some proponents besides Collins have attempted to integrate transfer into their analyses (e.g. Andersen and Shirai 1996; Rocca 2007).
 - 8 Finnish does have some prepositions, but they are not usually employed to express spatial reference.
 - 9 The patterns of individuals such as F5 14 and F5 46 might be accounted for by what Pienemann (1998: 144–53) calls emergence criteria, which seem to be putative principles to distinguish lapses from more systemic problems. However, even his own criteria could not work to account for the appearance of subordination despite the complete absence of prepositions in cases such as F5 44 and F5 51.
 - 10 The problem of individual variation within group tendencies is widely recognized in inferential statistics as when, for example, researchers report both means and standard deviations (SDs). Mufwene notes the danger of interpreting too much from a statistical mean but does not mention how the SD used along with the mean can help to understand the within-group variation.

18 Speculating on the future of English as a contact language

- 1 The *OED* defines *yardie* as a ‘member of any of a number of West Indian (esp. Jamaican) gangs engaged in usu. drug-related organized crime; also more generally, a Jamaican’ and goes on to point out that ‘in Jamaica the word is not applied to members of a local gang, but to Jamaicans who have been gang-members abroad and who return home’ (s.v. *yardie*).
- 2 The term is used here in the technical sense that Steven Vertovec has given to it (e.g. Vertovec 2007), denoting a qualitatively new level in complexity of global migration and ethnic mixing, especially in the world’s global cities.
- 3 The naira is the Nigerian currency.
- 4 Examples are identified by their tags in the Nairaland-based Corpus of Cyber-Nigerian (CCN), under development in Freiburg. Individual participants are numbered (with their serial number given in square brackets) and additionally identified by the pseudonyms they have given themselves, as these make strong identity-related statements in some cases.
- 5 This can be illustrated with a search for expressions such as *no way* on the German web. Consider this example, which represents official communication from a political party rather than the expected informal tone of the blogosphere: ‘Pfeiffer: Euro-Anleihen – No Way’ (www.presseportal.de/pm/7846/1715025/cdu_csu_bundestagsfraktion).
- 6 The post is from a large corpus of texts downloaded from the Cameroon-Info. Net-website by Stefan Pfänder, Department of Romance Languages, Freiburg. I would like to thank him for his assessment of the French used (see below).
- 7 The topic of the discussion is Cameroon’s long-time President Paul Biya (b. 1933), who was re-elected on the RDPC (Rassemblement Démocratique du Peuple Camerounais) ticket for another seven-year term in October 2004. His 70 per cent plus majority was widely attributed to fraudulent vote counting at the

time and fostered considerable civic unrest, which is reflected in forum discussions. Anicet Ekane, standing for Manidem/Social Movement for New Democracy, was one of his minor opponents in the race. *Kmer* is a phonetic spelling for *Camer*, a popular abbreviation of the country's name.

- 8 The additional complication here is, of course, that *week-end* is an occasionally criticized but widely current anglicism in French and competes with prescriptively correct *fin de semaine*.
- 9 See Meyerhoff (2002) for the use of this term in sociolinguistics.

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