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/æ/ before voiceless fricatives A lengthening (and later retraction) of /æ/ before /f, θ, s/ in the south of England, cf. *staff* /sta:f/, *bath* /ba:θ/, *pass* /pa:s/ (Jespersen 1940 [1909]: 297–298 [1.5], Ekwall 1975: 25–26 [1.5]). This did not happen in the north of England (Wells 1982: 203 [1]) or in some conservative varieties outside England, that is in eastern/south-eastern dialects of Irish English. In the United States a lengthened and possibly nasalized realization of the low front vowel /æ/ is found (see following entry), probably because the retraction in England postdates the formative years of American English in the colonial period (Montgomery 2001: 140 [5.1.1]). See BATH LEXICAL SET.

/æ/ tensing Historically, the vowel transcribed as [æ] was a short vowel in a word like TRAP. Before voiceless fricatives and sequences of nasal+obstruent the vowel was lengthened (see preceding entry), giving long vowels in *path*, *staff*, *pass*; *dance*, *advance*. In some varieties of English there has been a similar lengthening in other environments, especially before sonorants, that is before /n, r, l/. In these cases the vowel is often ‘tensed’, that is lengthened and possibly raised yielding [mɛ:n, mɛən, mɪən] for *man*. Varieties may vary in which of the sonorants trigger tensing, those varieties of American English with tensing have it before nasals, but rural Irish English has pre-liquid tensing. /æ/ tensing has resulted in a split with the TRAP vowel, for example in New Orleans speech (YAT): (i) tensed before nasals, fricatives and voiced stops (Labov 2007: 365 [1.2]), for example *pass* and *bad*, and (ii) lax, that is short [æ], in other environments. In the large cities of the mid Atlantic states, e.g. New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia, tensing may not apply to minor lexical categories, such as auxiliaries and function words, so that pairs like *halve* [heəv] and *have* [hæv] can be distinguished by the presence or absence of tensing. Reference to this feature can be as ‘ASH-tensing’ given that ASH is the name (in Old English and much later in the IPA) for the vowel transcribed as [æ].

/æ/ tensing, pre-liquid A feature of traditional rural dialects in the south of Ireland which show tensing before /r/ and /l/, for example *calf* [kæ:f], *car* [kæ:r] (both without an inglide). This tensing does not apply in pre-nasal position, contrast this with the situation in many varieties of American English (see previous entry).

A Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue In the Augustan era (early eighteenth century) a general opinion was that English had decayed considerably after the Elizabethan era. For this reason Jonathan Swift published his proposal in 1712 and expressed his views on how the language was deteriorating. Attitudes like these fed into the prescriptivist tradition which came to the fore in the mid eighteenth century, see contributions in Hickey (ed., 2012 [1.1.2]).

/ɒ/ before voiceless fricatives Lengthening of /ɒ/ (to /ɔ:/) before /f, θ, s/ can still be found among older and rural southern British speakers (Upton & Widdowson 1996: 10–11 [2.1]), as in *cross* /krɔ:s/, *often* /ɔ:fn/, *cloth* /klɔ:θ/ but is not found with younger speakers. In most of these instances the pronunciation has been reversed to a short vowel in RP but the long vowel has been retained in other varieties of English, for example Dublin English.

AAVE See AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH.

ablaut A change in the stem vowel of a verb to indicate a change in tense, normally from past to preterite or with the past participle. Ablaut is common in Germanic and is still seen in strong verbs in English, cf. *sing–sang–sung* (three different vowel qualities); *come–came–come* (two different vowel qualities). Also called *apophony*.

Aboriginal Australian English See ABORIGINAL ENGLISH.

Aboriginal English A term chiefly used for varieties of English spoken by members of the Aboriginal population of Australia (Butcher 2008 [8.1.1]). For Australia it is assumed that before the establishment of British settlements in New South Wales in the late eighteenth century there were upwards of 300,000 people in Australia who spoke about 500 distinct languages. In early New South Wales (the eastern half of Australia before the formation of Queensland and Victoria as subdivisions of Australia) many authors assume that a pidgin arose, perhaps with possible creolization (Malcolm 2001: 210 [8.1.1]). The pidgins which still exist in the Kimberley region (north-western Australia), the Northern Territory and Cape York Peninsula are taken to be remnants of a much wider spread of pidgins across northern, eastern and south-eastern Australia. The settlement of later Queensland between 1823 and 1859 may have involved the use of New South Wales pidgin English as a lingua franca by the native population, this hypothesis being supported by the occurrence of words in pidgin English in Queensland from languages of the Sydney area. This pidgin is assumed to have lasted at least to the late nineteenth century and fed into Cape York Creole and Kriol, the latter variety being carried to the Kimberley region during the twentieth century, Malcolm (2001: 213 [8.1.1]). On the structure of Australian creoles, see Shnukal (1991 [8.1.2]) for Torres Strait Creole and Sandefur (1991 [8.1.2]) for Kriol. A similar dissemination is assumed for a southern movement into the area of later Victoria (then a part of New South Wales). Nyungan English was widely used in the south in the mid to late nineteenth century and taken to be based on New South Wales pidgin English.

If the scenario of an earlier pidgin in New South Wales, which affected other areas in the south and especially the north, is valid (with later approximation to more standard varieties)

then the shared features of Aboriginal English could be accounted for by the retention of some traits of the earlier pidgin. The second explanation for commonalities would appeal to typological similarities among the native languages of the east, south-east, south and west. Substrate influence on incipient varieties of English among Aborigines would then be taken to have been fairly uniform across large tracts of south and east Australia. A third explanation of similarities would appeal to convergence among varieties, deriving from a desire, whether conscious or not, for speakers to have a common form of English which would differ from that of the white community (Malcolm 2001: 214–215 [8.1.1]).

Transfer from substrate languages and/or residual effects of pidginization and possible creolization result in the non-standard pronunciation of sibilants, inter-dental and labiodental consonants. The distinction in voice is not always adhered to. Variable pronunciation of initial /h/ is common. Unstressed vowels tend not to be phonetically reduced and words with an initial (unstressed) schwa may be realized without this, Malcolm (2001: 215 [8.1.1]).

The use of the copula in equative sentences is not always obligatory and the usage of auxiliaries and modals may deviate from that in standard English. Verb paradigms may show regularization and the third person singular present tense may not show inflectional *-s*. Questions are often conveyed by intonational means rather than by word order inversion or the use of *wh*-forms. Equally, nouns are not always marked for plural and/or possession. With personal pronouns a distinction between a dual and a plural may be found similar to that between inclusive and exclusive forms for the first person plural in TOK PISIN (in Papua New Guinea). Australian creoles, and perhaps Aboriginal English, may have been affected by Melanesian pidgins brought by workers on sugar plantations in Queensland in the late nineteenth century.

Code switching is a characteristic of many forms of English in contact with indigenous languages. Lexical items entered Aboriginal English, and from there into more general forms of English, probably due to code-switching in early forms of Aboriginal pidgin English, for example *gin* ‘Aboriginal woman’ (cf. Dharuk *diyin* ‘woman, wife’), *waddy* ‘Aboriginal war-club’ (cf. Dharuk *wadi* ‘stick, club’). Code switching may be the origin of such ubiquitous terms as *boomerang* ‘curved flat piece of carved wood which returns to thrower’ or *koala* ‘bear-like native marsupial’.

N.B. The term ‘aboriginal English’ is also found to refer to the English spoken by the indigenous people of Canada, that is, aboriginal Canadians.

absolute construction Part of a sentence, usually at the beginning or the end, which is not formally linked to the rest and which is functionally similar to a subordinate clause. The relationship between the two units is implied by the context, *Weather permitting, we will leave tomorrow. This being the case, we have to act quickly.*

academy An institution, usually with official status in a country, which regulates the use of the standard variety. In the English-speaking world there are no language academies. South Africa is a partial exception: it has an academy with a journal, the *English Academy Review*, but the institution does not have official recognition. In previous centuries there was debate in England about whether an academy was needed, but in the end the functions of such an academy, for example to produce authoritative works on the standard, such as grammars and dictionaries, were fulfilled by major publishing houses such as Oxford University Press and Cambridge University Press in England or Merriam-Webster in the United States. In this respect English-speaking countries differ from European countries, for example France, Italy and Sweden which do have academies. In the case of Spanish there is an academy in Madrid and others in the major Spanish-speaking countries of Central and South America as well as an association of such academies which strives to agree on standard usage for Spanish.

Acadia A part of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French colony of New France (*La Nouvelle France*) in Canada which at its maximum extent included the area of the present-day Maritimes (New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island) and the stretch of coast down to Maine in the United States. After the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), Acadia became a British territory, but it was not until the 1750s that the French speakers were expelled – some of whom moved to Louisiana, the area of the Mississippi delta where the descendants of the Acadians form the Cajun ethnic group today (CAJUN ENGLISH).

accent (1) A reference to pronunciation, that is the collection of phonetic features which allow speakers to be identified regionally and/or socially. Frequently it indicates that someone does not speak the standard form of a language, cf. *He speaks with a strong accent.* (2) The stress placed on a syllable of a word or the type of stress used by a language (volume, length and/or pitch). In the International Phonetic Alphabet primary accent is shown with a superscript vertical stroke placed before the stressed syllable as in *polite* [pə^hlaɪt]. A subscript stroke indicates secondary stress, e.g. *a 'black₂bird* (compound word) versus *a 'black 'bird* (syntactic group).

accent bar A reference to the fact that a local accent is often an obstacle to social advancement and public acceptance.

acceptability judgement An assessment by a native speaker of whether a structure is well formed and hence acceptable. Such judgements vary across varieties of English, not just in vernacular varieties. There are degrees of well-formedness with some structures being rejected outright, for example **which read did Fiona book?*, and others triggering uncertainty in native speakers, e.g. ?*He left yesterday for London.* For instance, there is a general preference for the ordering of adverbials in English: those which refer to a speaker's state of knowledge (*probably*) or attitude (*happily*) structurally precede those more directly associated with the subject, for example *Probably, Fiona did the work quickly. Happily, Fiona managed the situation tactfully.* ?*Quickly, Fiona probably did the work.* ?*Tactfully, Fiona happily managed the situation.*

acceptable A reference to whether a word, phrase or sentence is regarded by native speakers as WELL FORMED in their language. Judgements frequently vary with native speakers and linguistic analyses which are based on doubtful linguistic examples are empirically weak. The label 'acceptable' is preferable to 'correct' as it is not evaluative.

accidence A now obsolete term deriving from Latin *accidentia* (from the verb 'to happen; fall (towards)'), itself employed as a translation of Greek *parepomēna* (lit. 'what follows') and previously used for 'morphology'.

accommodation A term from sociology (used primarily by Howard Giles) and applied to sociolinguistics, above all by the British sociolinguist Peter Trudgill. It assumes that when speakers are in face-to-face interaction with other speakers they will adapt their speech to that of their interlocutors, perhaps in an effort to make them feel at ease or to be socially accepted by them. If this accommodation occurs across an entire community then it can lead to new dialects which contain combinations of input features. Accommodation is taken to be responsible for the reduction in differences between dialects and for the rise of intermediate forms. It does not take place via the media (Trudgill 1986: 40 [1.2.3]). Additionally, individuals who

leave a rural area, go to a city and return are accommodated to as they are regarded as being carriers of prestige forms by local inhabitants. *See* DISSOCIATION.

acculturation model A conception of how second language acquisition works. It attempts to account for the fossilisation of L2 acquisition among adults at a certain stage which is far from target-like. As reasons for this it proposes the degree of socialization, integration into the L2-speaking social group and identification with it.

accusative In an inflectional language the formal marking of the direct object of a verb. A similar marking can be found after prepositions. As a term from traditional Latin grammar it is inappropriate in modern English as the latter does not have any corresponding inflection. *See* OBLIQUE CASE.

acoustic phonetics One of the three main areas of phonetics which is concerned with analysing the physical properties of sounds. *See* ARTICULATORY PHONETICS and AUDITORY PHONETICS.

acquired (1) A reference to any knowledge which is gained in early childhood in the process of first language acquisition. (2) A reference to a disturbance in language which derives from an injury or a disease, that is which is not hereditary.

acquisition The process whereby children absorb linguistic information unconsciously and internalize it, using it later when they wish to speak the language in question – their native language. Acquisition is unconscious, largely unguided and shows a high degree of completeness compared to second language learning. A broader definition of the term would also include the unguided learning of a second language in a language contact situation.

acquisition, manner of In language shift scenarios there can be many different ways in which English is acquired by the shifting population. This is of relevance to the type of English which results from the shift. *See* Hickey (2007b [3.3]) and Mesthrie (1992 [6.3.1.5]).

acrolect The variety in a CREOLE-speaking community which is closest to the standard form of the language which served as original input (LEXIFIER LANGUAGE), for example English, Dutch, French, Portuguese in former colonies. The acrolect usually enjoys greatest prestige in the community where it is found, for example standard Jamaican English.

acronym A word which is composed of the initial letters of a group of other words, for example *NASA* from *National Aeronautics and Space Administration*.

active A type of sentence in which the semantic subject is also the formal subject, for example *Fiona cooked the evening meal*. Active contrasts with passive in which this is not the case, for example *The evening meal was cooked by Fiona* (here *meal* is the formal subject and *Fiona* is governed by a preposition). Active sentences are taken as more basic than passive ones and are quantitatively more common in speech.

Acts of Union A series of acts passed by the English parliament with the intention of integrating countries under the English crown. The first act of union involved Wales (in two

stages: 1536 and 1543), the second involved Scotland (1707) and the third Ireland (1801). With the acts of union the parliaments of these countries were abolished and their members of parliament came to sit in Westminster, London. In 1801 the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland came into being, in 1922 (with the partition of Ireland and independence for the south) it was renamed the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

actuation In theories of language change, the trigger which initiates change. This can be the preference for a type of pronunciation or a certain grammatical structure among speakers of a group (an external trigger). The drive to regularize paradigms in morphology would be an example of an internal trigger and is typical of early language acquisition. See ANALOGICAL CHANGE, PROPAGATION, TERMINATION.

adaptation A stage which often follows BORROWING in which foreign words are made to conform to the phonology of the receiving language, for example early French loans in English have initial stress (as is typical of the lexical stems in English), for example *certain, forest, hostel, malice*, but later French loans have not been adapted to this pattern, for example *prestige, hotel, police*, all with stress on the second syllable.

address system The set of rules which specify what forms are appropriate when speaking to others in a certain social context. In most European languages (except English and Irish) there is a twofold system with one set of pronouns used for familiar address (*tu, toi, ta, ton* in French) and one for formal address (*vous, votre*). The range of each set differs among groups in any given society and between different countries but in general the former – T-FORMS – are used among friends and relatives and the latter – V-FORMS – with strangers.

adjective A word class of items which generally qualify a noun. Because of this adjectives are normally found either before or after the noun they refer to, in SVO and VSO languages respectively. Adjectives in this position are termed ‘attributive’, for example *The dry snow made for good skiing* while those placed after a verb are called ‘predicative’ as in *The snow is very dry*. Adjectives can be qualified by adverbs (as in the example just given).

adjectives, comparative and superlative forms of Forms of an adjective indicating degree, either via the suffixes *-er/-est* or the adverbs *more/most*, for example *a more interesting book; the wettest summer; a most ridiculous claim*. In some cases a superlative with *-most* may be permissible: *The bottommost book in the pile; The northernmost island*. Regularized comparatives/superlatives also occur, for example *That’s a badder horse, The baddest horse*. Double comparatives and superlatives occur in some present-day and historical varieties, for example *A more kinder person I do not know; The most darkest day we’ve had so far*.

adjectives, comparison of This is realized in English (i) by the suffix *-er*, when the adjective is not more than two syllables long, for example *full : fuller, common : commoner* or (ii) by the use of *more* before the adjective, for example *more interesting, more dangerous*. There would appear to be a tendency towards the analytic comparison as in *The most common type of mistake*.

adjunct Any element which is optional in a phrase, that is which can be omitted without affecting its grammaticality, for example adverbial phrases as in *He left (in a hurry)*.

adolescent speech The speech of individuals between puberty and their late teens. This is a stage in which young people find their bearings in society and establish their personality. It is also a period in which individuals vary in their use of language depending on what groups in their speech community they associate with or aspire to. See Eckert (1988, 2004 [1.1.10]), Rampton (1995 [1.1.10]), Romaine (1984 [1.1.10]).

adopters, early and late For any instance of language change there will be (i) innovators, those who initiate a change and (ii) adopters who pick this up. The latter group can be divided into two with a small group of early adopters and a larger, more mainstream, group of late adopters. Only when the latter has adopted the change completely can it be said to have taken place fully.

advanced pronunciation A form of a variety which shows all features characteristic of this variety to the fullest degree, including the most recent changes. For example, advanced RP would show the merger of words like *poor* and *pour*, something which does not hold for all RP speakers.

adverb A word class encompassing those elements which qualify verbs (*She smiled slyly*) or adjectives (*A remarkably good linguist*). Some adverbs can qualify a clause or an entire sentence as in *Surprisingly, Fiona left for home*.

adverbs, inchoative and counterfactual In forms of Southern American English there are additional constructions not found in England: (1) *fixin'* to in the sense of 'about to do something', for example *They're fixin' to leave town* and (2) *liketa* in the sense of 'almost' ('AVERTIVE *liketa*', Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 87 [5.1]; Feagin 1979 [5.1.9]), for example *We liketa drowned that day*. In Newfoundland English, *had (a)liketa* is common (Clarke 2010: 94 [5.2.8]). The term 'inchoative' denotes the beginning of something and 'counterfactual' something which is not the case.

adverbs, intensifying Intensifiers vary across the anglophone world, for example *They're fierce cruel; I'm pure robbed, You're dead right* in Ireland/Scotland/England. Varieties of North American English have other intensifiers, for example *right, plumb* (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 378 [5.1]; see Clarke 2010: 93 [5.2.8] on Newfoundland English).

adverbs, order of In Afrikaans English the usual order of place, manner, time is not always kept to, for example *She went this morning by bus to town* – here: time, manner, place – (Watermeyer 1996: 117 [6.3.1.2]) and is probably due to first language interference.

adverbs, unmarked Adverbs which indicate degree, for example augmentatives, are often used without the typical adverbial ending *-ly*, *That's real cool!* (not *really*). *He's awful busy these days*. (not *awfully*).

affix An element which is attached to a lexical base. Affixes are usually bound morphemes and can either serve to indicate a grammatical category, for example *child* (noun) and *childish* (adjective), or to form a new word, for example *commission* and *decommission*. Some affixes are unproductive, that is cannot be used to form new words at will, for example *get* and *forget*. Affixes are subdivided into *prefixes, infixes* and *suffixes*. Only the first and third type are common in English.

affricate A phonetic segment which consists of a stop followed immediately by a fricative. Affricates act as units phonologically and are synchronically indivisible, for example /tʃ/ in *church* /tʃɜ:tʃ/ or /dʒ/ in *judge* /dʒʌdʒ/. The [ts] in *cats* /kæts/ is not an affricate because the two segments are separable, that is *cats* consists of /kæt/ + /s/.

Africa, East A large area encompassing countries from Ethiopia down to Mozambique on the Indian Ocean side of Africa. Three of these countries were former British colonies: Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania. The position of English there has been somewhat different from that in Southern and West Africa not least because of the long-standing indigenous lingua franca, Swahili. English was thus used as a supplementary language and not a primarily pidginized one as was the case in West Africa. Because the native languages of Eastern Africa frequently belong to the Bantu group there is in most instances a common substrate. Furthermore, English interacts with Swahili in this region so that code-switching and mixed forms result. In general East African English is non-rhotic and has a simplified vowel system with frequent syllable-timing. See Schmied (2012 [6.2]).

Africa, English in Africa has a long and complicated colonial history. The west coast was first visited by the Portuguese in the late fifteenth century. In later centuries European countries established trading posts (for which they often paid ground rent to local rulers) or traded from on board their ships. Later the continent came increasingly to feel colonial pressure from major European powers. This development reached its peak in the nineteenth century with the SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA when the entire continent was divided up by the Europeans, usually with no regard for the demographic distribution of the indigenous peoples. Thus the Belgians took a huge part of equatorial Africa calling it Belgian Congo (later Zaire now the Democratic Republic of the Congo). The Portuguese took Angola and the British took lands on the east and west coasts such as Kenya, Uganda and Nigeria, Ghana respectively. What was later to become the Republic of South Africa had an early Dutch and a later English presence. A German presence was to be found in the late nineteenth century (Germany was unified in 1871 and experienced colonial expansion in the following decades), for instance in Togo, Cameroon, in German East Africa (Deutsch-Ostafrika), but most German speakers went to South-West Africa (Deutsch-Südwestafrika), present-day Namibia. Some countries such as Cameroon have had periods under different colonial powers, in this case Britain, France and Germany. The result of this colonial vying for hegemony is that Britain largely prevailed (i) in West Africa, from The Gambia to Nigeria and partly into Cameroon, (ii) in East Africa (Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania) and (iii) in Southern Africa (South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland). The English language developed differently depending on whether there were substantial numbers of settlers, as in South Africa and Zimbabwe, who continued native speaker English at the particular African location.

Africa, South See SOUTH AFRICA.

Africa, Southern A distinction is made between South Africa – a country, officially called the *Republic of South Africa* – and Southern Africa – a region which consists of South Africa and the English-dominant countries Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. English is also widely used in Namibia, former South-West Africa. The English language was first brought to South Africa at the end of the eighteenth century. It spread northwards during the nineteenth century with the colonial exploration of present-day

Zimbabwe and Zambia (former Southern and Northern Rhodesia respectively). The area on the left of Lake Nyasa (in present-day Malawi) was affected by this and partly anglicized. This was also true of Bechuanaland (present-day Botswana) which resisted incorporation into South Africa. The area of present-day Namibia came under German control later in the nineteenth century but was also affected by the spread of the English language from South Africa and by Afrikaans. Mozambique remained a dependency of Portugal (until 1975) and did not come under the influence of English.

Africa, The Scramble for A term used to describe the division of Africa by European powers during the 1880s and 1890s. During this period, these powers established their political authority in Africa. From the mid 1870s the European powers showed a determination to expand inland from the African coast. The Berlin Conference of 1884–1885, ostensibly to deal with the future of the Congo, laid the foundations for the political division of Africa into zones controlled by European powers who drew up treaties relating to their spheres of influence and subsequently proceeded to conquer these militarily. British East Africa included the areas of present-day Uganda and Kenya. In South Africa Cecil Rhodes pushed northwards in the 1880s establishing later Rhodesia (Southern and Northern, present-day Zimbabwe and Zambia respectively). The area of Bechuanaland was roughly coterminous with present-day Botswana while Nyasaland equated with modern Malawi. The area of present-day Namibia became German South-West Africa. Togo and Cameroon became German colonies for a time (until the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 after Germany's defeat in World War I) as did tracts of East Africa known as Deutsch-Ostafrika 'German East Africa'. Most African countries became independent from their European colonizers in the mid twentieth century, often involving military struggle as the Europeans resisted independence movements, for example the French in Algeria or the Belgians in the Congo.

Africa, West A reference to the set of nations on the coast of Western Africa from Gambia, in the north-west, to Cameroon in the south of the region. It is here that trade contacts were most intensive from the beginning of European involvement with the region onwards. Pidgins developed to a greater degree here than in other parts of Africa. Most of the countries of West Africa are former colonies of England (hence the official language of many of them is English) and the base for the pidgins spoken in this region is English, *see* WEST AFRICAN PIDGIN ENGLISH. There are also more acrolectal (more formal) varieties which belong to the set of New Englishes, non-native forms of English which have become established as independent varieties in countries which were formerly colonies of England.

African American English A reference to varieties of English used in the United States (referred to in Canada as African Canadian English) by people who are wholly or partially of African descent. This accounts for over 10 per cent of the population, the figures depend on the definitions of African American: the United States Census Bureau gave the total population 'Black or African American alone or in combination' in 2010 as 13.5 per cent or some 42 million; 'Black or African American alone' was given as 12.6 per cent or 39 million. The majority of African Americans are the descendants of slaves taken by the British from West Africa to America to work on the plantations of the South. Initially, the transportation was via the Caribbean, then directly to the south-east coast of the later United States. Although there was a concentration of African Americans in the rural South, the migration to the large cities of the INLAND NORTH in the early twentieth century (Anderson 2008 [5.1.10]) meant that

urban African American varieties developed outside the South (*see* GREAT MIGRATION). Because these were severed from the historical core area they have frequently undergone developments not shared with the original varieties in the South. Varieties of African American English embody a large number of non-standard features on all levels of language. Some of these are almost conventional stereotypes and their frequency varies greatly – some are indeed quite rare. There is also a range of sub-varieties, for example with young/urban/hip hop contrasting with rural/traditional, and they have characteristics of their own. Furthermore, most of these features are not distinctive and are shared with many other non-standard varieties.

Pronunciation (1) Consonant clusters in non-initial position are reduced to a single segment: *test* [tes], *desk* [des] *looked* [luk], *talked* [tɔ:k]. (2) Non-prevocalic /r/ is absent: *car* [ka:], *party* [pa:ti]. (3) Frequent deletion of final /l/, particularly before labials or word-finally with auxiliaries: *help* [hɛp], *he'll be home* [hi bi ho:m]. (4) Stopping of initial /ð/ to either [d̥] (dental stop) or [d] (alveolar stop): *this* [d̥is], *there* [d̥e:]. (5) In word-final position /θ/ is frequently shifted to [f] (also found in COCKNEY English); this shift is also found for /ð/ (→ [v]) in word-internal position: *bath* [baf], *teeth* [ti:f] *brother* [brʌvə]. (6) Velar nasals are realized as alveolars: *She's comin' tomorrow*. (7) The distinction between short /ɛ/ and /ɪ/ is frequently lost before nasals (also in southern white American English). The neutralization is to the raised vowel [ɪ]: *pen, pin* [pɪn]; *ten, tin* [tɪn]. (8) Glide reduction with /ai/, a feature typical of the Upper South, is also found in African American English before voiced segments: *five* [fa:v], *time* [ta:m]. (9) Initial stress is often found with words with non-initial stress in other varieties, e.g. 'police, 'define.

Grammar, general (1) Negative concord (the agreement of all polarity items with each other within a clause) serves the purpose of intensifying a negation, for example *I ain't givin' nothin' to nobody*. (2) Existential *there* is replaced by *it*: *It ain't no football pitch at school*. (3) Plurals are not marked if preceded by numerals. *He here for three year now*. (4) The genitive is not necessarily marked with /s/ (as position is sufficient to indicate this category) *I drove my brother car*. (5) A formal distinction is frequently made between second person singular and plural: *you* [ju:] (singular) and *y'all* [jɔ:l], derived from *you + all* (plural); this is also a general southern feature.

Grammar, verbal syntax (1) Third person singular -s is variably omitted. *She like my brother*. (2) The copula is deleted in equative sentences, that is those of the form X=Y. *She a teacher. They workers in the factory*. (3) *Come* has been grammaticalized as a type of auxiliary. Often labelled 'indignant' *come* (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 373 [5.1]) because it denotes disapproval: *He come tellin' me some story* 'He told me some false story'. (4) *Like to/liketa* has often the meaning of 'almost'. *She liketa fell out the window*. 'She almost fell out of the window.' (5) Bare subject relative clauses occur, for example *He the man (who) got all the cars*. (6) Double modals are found occasionally within the same verb phrase (as elsewhere in the South, e.g. in Appalachian English): *He might could do the work. She may can do the work*. This is probably an inherited feature from Scots-derived dialects originally brought to the United States in the eighteenth century which then diffused into the language of the African-American population (*see* APPALACHIAN ENGLISH). (7) The number of verb forms is reduced: the past has typically one form, based either on the simple past or the past participle: *I've already ate. He drunk that stuff before*.

Grammar, verbal aspect (1) Uninflected *be* marks habitual aspect *They be out on the street at night*. 'They are always out on the street at night.' Bailey & Maynor (1985 [5.1.10]), following Weinreich, Labov & Herzog (1968 [1.2]), distinguish between one form, *be*₁, which is

derived through deletion of *will/would*, and another, *be₂*, which does not show an underlying modal and which takes *do* support: *He be in his office tomorrow.* (*He will...*) but *He be in his office every morning.* (*He does be...*). (2) An iterative aspect is expressed by *steady*: *They steady talkin' outside our house.* 'They are always talking outside our house.' (3) Stressed *been* occurs to indicate the remote past *I 'been travel to New York.* 'I travelled to New York a long time ago.' *Jodie, she 'been married to Chuck.* 'Jodie has been married to Chuck for a long time.' (4) The unstressed past participle form of *do*, *done* [dʌn], is used to signal a completed action: *He done cook the food.* 'He has cooked the food.'

Vocabulary Some items are clearly of West African origin, such as *buckra* 'white man', *tote* 'to carry', *goober* 'peanut', *yam* 'sweet potato' (note: the origin of *jazz* is unknown). Semantic extensions of existing English words are: *homies* 'close friends; prisoner inmates', *bloods* 'other blacks', *whities* 'white people', *bad* 'good, admirable', *cool* 'good, neat', *hip* 'knowledgeable', *dude* 'male' (often disparaging). Some of these usages have diffused into general American English and from there to other languages, for example, *cool*.

Pragmatics In-group language is characteristic of black street gangs in the major northern cities of the United States (such as New York, Philadelphia, Chicago). Discourse structure is quite different from that of white Americans. Verbal insulting can take on ritual forms and volatile, rhythmic eloquence is known as *rappin'*.

African American English, diaspora varieties of In the early nineteenth century some African American slaves from the southern United States left the country and settled elsewhere. The groups which then arose constitute diaspora which are assumed to have retained features of African American English of the time. Diaspora communities were established in the north-west of the Dominican Republic on the Samaná Peninsula, in the Bahamas (Hackert and Huber 2007 [5.1.10.3]) and in eastern Canada in Nova Scotia (Poplack & Tagliamonte 1991 [5.1.10.4.]). The slaves who left the United States with the assistance of the American Colonisation Society settled in West Africa and founded the state of LIBERIA.

African American English, sources of African American English can be traced back to forms of English which developed in the seventeenth century in the Caribbean after the slave trade had been started by European powers. This trade consisted of transporting native Africans from West Africa to the islands of the Caribbean where they worked on the plantations for their English masters. Later, with crowding on smaller Caribbean islands, such as Barbados, black slaves were moved to the southern coast of the present-day United States and put to work on tobacco and cotton plantations.

African American English, terms for The present-day label (2013) is a development in terminology which has a considerable history. African American Vernacular English was simplified to the current term by removing 'Vernacular' and thus gained a broader reference. Prior to this, the brief use of 'Afro-American', which did not imply equal status of both elements, was discontinued. The label 'Black English Vernacular' or just 'Black English' was found in literature in the 1960s and early 1970s, most notably in William Labov (1972) *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular* [5.1.10.1]. The term 'Negro speech' occurs in Wolfram (1969) *A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech* [5.1.10] but was never widespread in linguistic literature. The linguistic term 'African American English' follows a preference in American society for 'African American' rather than 'black' as not all members of this ethnic group are the sole descendants of Africans. In other countries 'Black

English' is a common label for the speech of those of African descent, cf. 'British Black English' and 'South African Black English'.

African American English, theories of origin There are two major hypotheses concerning the origins of African American English: (i) the creolist hypothesis posits a creole which arose in the formative years of African American English due to the different linguistic backgrounds of slaves and the need for basic communication. This creole would have progressively lost its most basilectal features through a process of decreolization. (ii) the Anglicist or dialect hypothesis (see previous entry but one) which maintains that the non-standard features of African American English arose through contact with regional speakers from Britain and Ireland. The later segregation of the slaves meant that other features arose not found in the input forms. Nonetheless, it is true that many of the features of African American English also occur in dialects of the British Isles, for example grammatical features such as HABITUAL ASPECT, COPULA DELETION or unmarked plurals after numerals and phonological features such as FINAL CLUSTER SIMPLIFICATION and ASK-METATHESIS. Recent research tends to stress compromise positions between the poles just outlined and the neo-Anglicist hypothesis (Poplack 2000 [5.1.10]) emphasizes new features, for instance in urban African American English, not necessarily present among the input dialects. See Poplack (ed., 2000 [5.1.10]), Schneider (1989 [5.1.10]), Winford (1997–1998 [5.1.10]), Holm (2003 [9.]).

African languages On the continent of Africa, four large language groups are generally recognized. These are (roughly from north to south) (1) Afroasiatic (which contains Arabic and Berber), (2) Nilo-Saharan, (3) Niger-Congo (which contains the BANTU LANGUAGES) and (4) Khoisan, now regarded as a set of families (*see* KHOISAN LANGUAGE FAMILIES).

Afrikaans A colonial language based on southern dialects of Dutch which developed in the Cape region of South Africa from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards. Its grammar has been simplified compared to Dutch, a fact which has led many linguists to believe that Afrikaans arose through a process of pidginization with later creolization (Roberge 2002, 2007 [6.3.1.2]). For this, inter-ethnic contact between colonists and their slaves (of African or South Asian origin) and Khoe workers may have been responsible. Decreeolization would then have followed, much as with forms of African American English in North America.

Afrikaans English Varieties of English spoken in South Africa by individuals whose first language is AFRIKAANS. Afrikaans English is not a single FOCUSED VARIETY (Watermeyer 1996: 121 [6.3.1.2]) so that not all features will necessarily be present in all forms.

Pronunciation (1) [æ] is raised to [ɛ] which leads to a push shift for the mid vowels. (2) The lax high front vowel /ɪ/, as in *bit*, is centralized to [ə], except initially or after /h/ (*see* KIT-BIT SPLIT). (3) Fronting of /u:/ and /ʊ/ to /y(:)/ is not as prevalent as in other varieties because Afrikaans has phonemic /y:/ which inhibits the forward movement of high back vowels. (4) /ɑ:/ may be raised and rounded to [ɔ:] and hence front and unrounded as a hypercorrection in Afrikaans English: [ä:]. (5) High off-glides can be reduced or lost entirely, for example *side* [sɑ:d], but this does not hold for all speakers. (6) Consonants show final devoicing as in Afrikaans, for example *bread* [bret]. (7) Afrikaans does not have voiced sibilants or /θ, ð/ and the latter are commonly realized as stops with occasional replacement of /θ/ by /f/. (8) /r/ can be realized as an alveolar trill or tap (especially intervocalically). (9) Voiceless stops may

lack aspiration. (10) Alveolar stops may be dental /t, d/ > [t̪, d̪]. (11) Epenthetic [h] can occur as a hiatus-breaker, for example in a word like *theatre*.

Morphology (1) There is a tendency not to mark verbs in the third person singular, for example *His temper flare up. Monday mornings when the school start*. (2) A tendency exists not to mark (non-punctual) verbs in the past *And all the sand blow against my legs*. (3) Demonstrative pronouns may reduce to one, for example *You can control that steps. Where can you get that contacts?* (4) Singular *it/there* can occur with plural referents. *It was funny things happening. There is some other instruments*.

Syntax (1) *Busy* is used in a much larger range of contexts (perhaps an extension based on Afrikaans *is besig om...*), for example *He is busy sleeping on the sofa. She is busy worrying about the children*. (2) Progressive forms of stative verbs are attested: *My mother was having her suspicions*. (3) The order of adverbials is different from other varieties of English: time, manner, place (from Afrikaans): *She went this morning by bus to town*. (4) Adverbials occur post-verbally before an object: *They demand now their rights*. (5) Use of *now* for the immediate future: *I'll phone her now* or as an intensifier: *He's now really stupid*. (6) With WH-questions the interrogative word order is maintained in subordinate clauses, for example *I must just find out when is he coming. How can I tell you how was it?* (7) Deletion of verb markers and contracted forms of the verb 'to be' occur: *She looking tired; The wife play*.

Vocabulary Apart from specific terms from the region and direct borrowings from Afrikaans there are features which could be due to transfer or retention, for example the use of *learn* for *teach*. Afrikaans has only one word *leer* but dialects of English had, and some have, *learn* with an animate object in the sense of *teach*. Confusion may occur with sets of verbs with complementary meanings, for example *lend* and *borrow* (Afrikaans again has one word *leen* covering the semantic range of both these verbs). But again some dialects of English have *lend* in both senses. The inherited distinction of *less* and *fewer* (the former for non-countable nouns and the latter for countable ones) is not necessarily maintained, for example *Less students are studying Afrikaans these days* perhaps because Afrikaans uses *min* in both cases. However, the lack of this distinction could be due to its demise in more general varieties of English.

Afrogenesis The view that the essential features of Atlantic creoles were already established in West Africa before slaves were transported to the Caribbean and North America. Proponents of this view, such as John McWhorter, claim that the assumption is necessary to account for the structural similarities among Atlantic creoles.

Afro-Seminole A creole spoken by a few hundred speakers in present-day Oklahoma (Seminole County), Texas (Bracketville) and possibly in north Mexico as well. Ian Hancock suggested that Afro-Seminole is related to Gullah and that both are early creole forms of African American English.

after perfective See PERFECTIVE, IMMEDIATE.

Age of Discovery, The A period from the fifteenth century and continuing into the eighteenth century, during which European explorers discovered new sea routes around the world mainly for the purpose of trade with locations outside Europe. Among the most famous explorers of this era are Christopher Columbus, Hernán Cortés, Francisco Pizarro, Vasco da Gama, John Cabot, Juan Ponce de León, Ferdinand Magellan, Willem Barentsz, Abel Tasman, Jacques Cartier and James Cook.

age-grading A reference to the possible differential use of features across the lifetime of speakers. The key periods are adolescence and early adulthood. When individuals emerge from childhood at puberty they orientate themselves increasingly towards groups outside the family and they may adapt their realization of key variables depending on how they position themselves vis-à-vis these groups. For instance, whether individuals living in London shows TH-FRONTING may depend on whether they wish to associate with groups who already have this feature. Later reorientation, for example when their employment leads to new associations, may involve removing this feature from their speech. However, there does not seem to be firm evidence for large groups varying in the same manner between adolescence and adulthood across a number of generations. See Chambers (2009 [1.1.1]).

agglutinative A term used in language typology to denote those languages, such as Finnish, Turkish or many Bantu languages, which use formally transparent, bound morphemes to indicate grammatical categories. An example of agglutination from English would be *mean-ing-less-ness* or *un-bear-able-y*.

/ai/ and /au/, realization of (1) A conditioned raising of diphthong onsets, with /ə, ʌ/ before voiceless segments, otherwise /a/, is a marked characteristic of Canadian English with the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ (Chambers 1973 [5.2]). This feature – significantly for the first diphthong only – is also found in other varieties, in the central Fens (East Anglia, Britain 1997 [1.2.3]), in Scots and Ulster Scots (for /ai/ and with slightly differing conditions than elsewhere) and is attested for coastal Virginia and South Carolina (Kurath & McDavid 1961 [5.1.3]) as well as in the FALKLAND ISLANDS. The varieties with centralization only for /ai/ often have fronting of the onset of /au/, that is [æʊ] / [ɛʊ]. (2) The retraction of the onset for /ai/ is frequent across the anglophone world: [ɑɪ] is a common realization in the Southern Hemisphere and the retraction can also be accompanied by raising as with [ɔɪ] for /ai/ in OCRACOCKE BROGUE, North Carolina (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 369–370 [5.1]); a low-central onset, often rounded, also occurs in Ireland and Newfoundland, for example *time* [tʰɪm]. (3) ‘Diphthong flattening’ or ‘glide reduction’ are terms used to refer to the lack of an upward glide with the /ai/ diphthong (and in some few varieties with /au/ as well), that is *five* /faɪv/, *hide* /haɪd/ tend to be realized as [fɑ:v] and [hɑ:d] respectively in areas as far apart as the southern United States and South Africa (Lass 1987: 305–306 [1.5]; Wells 1982: 614 [1]), this glide reduction occurring preferentially before voiced segments. (4) For non-rhotic varieties the distinction between /ai/ and /au/ is not always clearly maintained before (historic) /r/, for example *tyre* and *tower* can be [tɑːə] (Wells 1982: 239 [1]). (5) The shift of the onset for /au/ to the front, for example *down* [dɛʊn], is commonly attested in vernacular varieties in the south of England (Wells 1982: 303–304 and 347–348 [1]) and a degree of fronting is frequent elsewhere in the anglophone world.

The context-sensitive realization of diphthong onsets would seem to have a phonetic motivation: before voiceless segments the tongue shows increased tension which prevents it from lowering to a more open position, that is one that has a central rather than a low onset, see (1) above. Before voiced segments the tongue shows less tension resulting in a lax articulation with phonetic lengthening of the vowel. This can lead to a low onset for diphthongs, as in (1), and also to a lack of tongue movement with a reduction of the diphthong glide as the result, see (3) above.

ain't A negated form found in many vernacular varieties. It can represent (i) negated *be* in the present: *She ain't talkin' to nobody* or (ii) negated *have* in the present: *I ain't no time to go*

there now. In African American English it can stand for *didn't*, for example *He ain't say nothing* 'He didn't say nothing'. See VERB BE, NEGATIVE FORMS.

Aitken, A. J. (1921–1998) Scottish lexicographer and linguist known for his work on dictionaries of Scots and for his formulation of the SCOTTISH VOWEL LENGTH RULE.

Aitken's Law See SCOTTISH VOWEL LENGTH RULE.

Aku An English-based creole spoken in Gambia by a few thousand Aku people who are related to the liberated slaves of Sierra Leone. It is closely related to KRIO (spoken in SIERRA LEONE).

Alford, Henry (1810–1871) An English scholar, editor and poet. A prolific writer and later Dean of Canterbury, he published *A Plea for the Queen's English* in 1860 (later simply *The Queen's English*) in which he gave advice on issues of uncertainty in his day, such as the use of *shall* and *will*, that of *whom*, intrusive /r/ in words like *idea* (/r/, LINKING AND INTRUSIVE), along with matters of orthography.

alliteration The repetition of a consonant or cluster at the beginning of a word used as a device in poetry or in set phrases. It is common in (British) English to form new phrases using alliteration, for example *lager lout*, *road rage*, *loony left*, ESTUARY ENGLISH.

allomorph A non-distinctive variant of a morpheme, for example /d/ and /t/ as an indicator of past tense with weak verbs. The allomorph used depends on the value for voice of the stem-final consonant, for example *walk* /wɔ:k/ ~ *walked* /wɔ:kt/ and *spell* ~ *spelled* /spel/ ~ /speld/. There is a further allomorph – /ɪd/ – found when the stem final consonant is an alveolar stop, for example *pit* /pɪt/ ~ *pitted* /pɪtɪd/; *weld* /weld/ ~ *welded* /weldɪd/.

allophone The realization of a phoneme, enclosed in square brackets. A phoneme can have different allophones, frequently depending on position in the word or on a preceding vowel, for example [l] and [ɫ] in standard English English, at the beginning and end of a word respectively. Varieties of English can vary in the allophones they have for phonemes which they have in common, for example there is a phoneme /r/ in every variety of English but its realizations vary greatly. See /r/, REALIZATION OF.

allophones In the Canadian province of Quebec this term refers to those people who are neither anglophones (English speakers) nor francophones (French speakers) and do not belong to the First Nations (aboriginal people). Typically, allophones are recent immigrants to Quebec.

alphabet A system of letters intended to represent the sounds of a language in writing. For all west European languages the Latin alphabet has been the outset for their writing systems. However, because each language has a different sound system different combinations of letters have arisen and letters have come to be written with additional symbols (diacritics) attached to them. In the historical development of English different spelling practices have arisen and others were adopted from abroad, for example the Anglo-Norman spelling of English, with <ou> for /u:/ or <th> for /θ, ð/, derives from medieval French.

alphabet, pronunciation of There are two letters of the English alphabet which vary significantly across the anglophone world. (1) The first is the last letter of the alphabet, <z>, which is pronounced [zed] in Britain and [zi:] in the United States. Where there are connections with both these countries, as in Canada (Chambers 2009 [1.1.1]), speakers may vacillate between pronunciations, but here [zed] is stable and [zi:] is the minority variant (chiefly among pre-school children). In the southern hemisphere which has a late British colonial legacy, the pronunciation is [zed]. A minor variant of this is [ə'zed] found in Ireland. (2) The letter *h* is normally pronounced without the sound itself, that is as [eitʃ]. However in Ireland, and significantly with the Catholic population of Northern Ireland, the pronunciation is /he:tʃ/.

alphabetism A proper name which is pronounced by reading out the letters of which it consists, for example *BBC* [bi: bi: si:], *UN* [ju: en].

Alternative Histories of English The title of an influential volume edited by Richard Watts and Peter Trudgill (2001 [1]) in which the development of varieties outside the mainstream of southern English English formed the focus.

alternatives, lexical Some common words vary across major varieties of English, for example *faucet* and *tap*, *gas* and *petrol*, the first being American and the second British usage. In some cases, often because of the influence of American English, alternatives exist in one and the same variety, for example *rubbish* and *garbage* in English in England, although the latter word is traditionally regarded as American usage.

alveolar A reference to sounds which are formed at the alveolar ridge (the bone plate behind the upper teeth). Alveolar sounds are formed with the tip or the blade of the tongue. Examples are /t, d, s, z, l, n/ in English.

alveolar realization of velar nasals The use of an alveolar nasal for a velar one, typically in the present participle/gerund of verbs, for example *walking* ['wɔ:kɪŋ], but also for common nouns, for example *morning* ['mɔ:niŋ]. This is probably an archaic feature in English. Wyld (1956 [1936]: 289 [1.5]) points to spelling evidence which suggests the alveolar [ŋ] for [ŋ] occurred in England at least from the fourteenth century onwards. It is a very widespread feature of vernaculars today and is often referred to as (ING), see Labov (1989 [1.6]).

alveolo-palatal A reference to sounds formed with the hard palate as passive articulator and the blade of the tongue as active articulator. Examples are the two English fricatives [ʃ] and [ʒ] as in *push* and *vision*.

ambiguous A term referring to an item or structure with two or more possible meanings and which requires a context for its interpretation, for example the homonyms *bear* or *bank*.

amelioration A semantic change which leads to an improvement in meaning as when *nice* progressed from 'ignorant' to 'pleasant' in the history of English.

American Colonization Society The Society for the Colonization of Free People of Color of America (the full name) was founded in 1816 with the aim of repatriating freed slaves from the New World back to Africa. The society was instrumental in the establishment of the colony of Liberia in the 1820s, leading ultimately to the founding of the country Liberia in 1847.

American Dialect Society A society dedicated to the study of the English language in North America and other languages/varieties connected with this. Founded in 1889, it publishes the academic journal *American Speech*.

American English A collective term for varieties of English spoken in the United States, perhaps excluding vernacular forms in Hawai'i. It encompasses native speaker varieties and includes ethnic varieties such as AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH and first language CHICANO ENGLISH. Historically, American English has its roots in the English of early seventeenth-century settlers on the eastern coast. First-language English emigrants who arrived in the following century, notably the Ulster Scots are also taken to have had a formative influence on American English and their speech has a direct continuation in Appalachian English. Still later emigration groups, for example southern Irish of the nineteenth century are not assumed to have influenced mainstream American English apart from donating a few words. The larger numbers of other European nationalities which emigrated to the United States throughout its history, for example Germans, Scandinavians, Dutch, French, Poles and Italians along with Jews from various countries, did not play a decisive role in the emerging profile of American English.

The European history of North America begins with the discovery of Central America by Christopher Columbus in 1492 when he landed on the Bahamas. Various parts of the coast of North America were discovered at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Between 1584 and 1586 Sir Walter Raleigh began his attempts to colonize North Carolina (then part of 'Virginia' named after Queen Elizabeth I), including the first unsuccessful settlement on ROANOKE ISLAND. British colonization continued in the following years with the firm establishment of British rule at the beginning of the seventeenth century (Jamestown, Virginia 1607; Plymouth, New England, 1620; The Massachusetts Bay Colony (at the site of later Boston, 1630). Some other European countries were also directly involved in the conquest of America: the French in Canada but also the Dutch in New York (the city, founded in 1625, was called New Amsterdam until 1664).

Among the earliest states were those of the historical area of New England (not the name of a present-day state): Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island (Maine was later formed from northern Massachusetts and Vermont from an area between east New York state and west New Hampshire). New York state occupied an inland area immediately west of New England. Immediately south of New England were the four middle states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Delaware. The remaining states belonged to the South: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. This group formed the original THIRTEEN COLONIES.

The eighteenth century saw the emigration of approximately a quarter of a million Ulster Scots from the north of Ireland to the colonies. These often settled in frontier regions, such as western Pennsylvania and further south in the inland mountainous regions of the colonies, founding varieties later recognizable as APPALACHIAN ENGLISH.

In 1776 the Thirteen Colonies declared independence in a military struggle against England. British rule ended after a disorganized and uncoordinated campaign against the rebellious Americans in 1777 which led to the Treaty of Paris (1783) conceding American sovereignty over the entire territory from the Great Lakes in the north down to Florida in the south. After independence the United States consolidated territories inland from the Atlantic coast and in 1803 purchased over 2 million sq km in central North America from the French for 15 million dollars, *see the* LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

The colonization of North America proceeded from east to west (for both Canada and the United States). The western states were settled in the nineteenth century, first by pioneers

then by farmers and other settlers. The Gold Rush of 1848 led to the rise of California as a unit within the United States (just as the 1858 gold rush in British Columbia put it on the map that year, later joining the Canadian confederation in 1871). The last of the states to be founded were those in the region immediately east of the Rocky Mountains such as Wyoming (1890) and Utah (1896) and the more southerly states such as Arizona (1912) and Oklahoma (1907). Further territorial extensions were achieved by the annexation of land from Mexico (with the Peace of Guadalupe in 1848), with the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867 and with an American presence on Hawai'i from 1878 onwards. The development of the states in the nineteenth century suffered a setback with the Civil War of 1861–1865, ostensibly caused by the refusal of the Southern states to abolish slavery, which they claimed was necessary for their plantation economy, and their attendant temporary secession from the Union.

Today the United States consists of a federation of 48 contiguous states along with Alaska and Hawai'i (to give 50). It has an area of 9.3 million sq km and a population of over 300 million. The ethnic composition is approximately 87 per cent white (including about 10 per cent Hispanics in increasing numbers), and 11 per cent African Americans. The capital is Washington, District of Columbia (on the border of Maryland and Virginia). English is de facto the official language of the United States but it does not have this status in the federal constitution.

Various immigrant groups have differentially retained their original languages, for example Italians and Jews (Yiddish). Immigrants vary greatly in the degree of language maintenance they exhibit, for example small groups like the Estonians show a high degree while the Ukrainians and the Irish have little or none. Of more recent origin are the many immigrants from Asian countries, for instance the Chinese, Japanese and Korean populations, especially on the west coast. The largest ethnic group in the present-day United States are the Latinos (Hispanics), chiefly in the south-west, now in excess of 35 million.

The traditional dialect regions of the United States are the following. (1) The North-East with Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont and Maine (the New England area, see above); (2) The Inland North consisting of up-state New York, northern Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, eastern Wisconsin and most of Michigan, this area enclosing the migration routes into the region of the Great Lakes in the nineteenth century, especially after the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825; (3) The North Midland, stretching from Pennsylvania across to Southern Illinois; (4) The South Midland, a band lying south of this, approximately from Maryland across to eastern Oklahoma; (5) The South encompassing all the states from Virginia through North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia to Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana across to eastern Texas. A separate MIDLAND region is usually assumed (Montgomery 2004 [5.1.6]; it is posited in the *ATLAS OF NORTH AMERICAN ENGLISH*, see Chapter 20) and consists of an intersection of Lower North and Upper South in the classification offered by Carver (1987 [5.1.2]) but not generally accepted now. The five divisions just given encompass the eastern half of the present-day United States. The western half, all the states west of a line from Texas to North Dakota do not show comparable dialect differentiation, probably because the entire west was settled at a much later stage. Nonetheless, the following areas can be recognized: (1) Upper Midwest (Minnesota, northern Iowa and western Wisconsin); (2) South-West (New Mexico, Arizona, southern California, Nevada, Utah and Colorado); (3) West, the region from the Midwest, extending through the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific coast. Within these broad regions there are recognizable subareas, usually relic areas which preserve early dialect input features, for example Scots-Irish traits in APPALACHIAN ENGLISH. See also OCRACOKE BROGUE, OZARK ENGLISH.

US inhabitants are highly mobile and internal migration has been responsible for the spread of features, for example the Southern rural form *fixin' to* as in *She's fixin' to go to church now* has recently spread from rural to urban areas in Oklahoma in the face of migration into the state (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 30–31 [5.1]). The following remarks refer to broadly supraregional speech in the United States, what is often termed 'General American (English)'. For speakers across the United States this is a non-regional accent though it may have evolved from Midwest accents or at least is closest to the accents of this area. Vernaculars of the Inland North are clearly distinguished from General American by their participation in the NORTHERN CITIES SHIFT. There are different registers of supraregional speech in the United States forming a continuum from most to least colloquial. Certain features are present in colloquial registers, for example QUOTATIVE 'LIKE', which do not occur in higher registers.

Pronunciation (1) Presence of non-prevocalic /r/ (absent in southern vernaculars and recessively in the north-east). (2) Tensing of /æ/ in pre-nasal position, frequently with nasalization of the vowel. (3) Intervocalic /t/ commonly realized as a tap [ɾ]. (4) Frequent unrounding of /ɔ/ to [ɑ, a] making items of the LOT lexical set sound very different from English English. (5) No retraction of low vowels before voiceless fricatives or nasals, for example *grass, dance* both with [æ:] or [ɛ: / ɛə] in the latter word by pre-nasal tensing. (6) Absence of T-glottalization and H-dropping. (7) Word stress patterns can be different from English English, for example *a'dult* : 'adult, 'direct : di'rect, 'address : ad'dress : 'inquiry : in'quiry.

Grammar (1) Increased use of unmarked adverbs. *He's awful tall. That's real funny. I near crashed the truck.* (2) Use of *do* for questions and negative sentences is more common than in England (equivalents given in brackets). *Did he have a chance to do it? (Had he a chance to do it?). Do you have you enough money? No, I don't (No, I haven't). He doesn't have a driving licence, sure he doesn't? (hasn't he?).* (3) A large number of phrasal verbs with different meanings from English English: *hold off* (= *restrain*); *figure out* (= *understand*); *check out* (= *leave*); *get through* (= *finish*); *count in* (= *include*); *stop by* (= *visit briefly*). (4) Differences among prepositions: *aside from* (= *besides*); *in back of* (= *behind*); *for* (= *after*), for example *The school was named for him.* *on* (= *in*), for example *I live on George Street.* *in* (= *into*), for example *He ran in the kitchen.* *than* (= *from*), for example *She is different than her sister.* *through* (= *from ... to*) *Monday through Friday.* (5) Lack of prepositions with expressions of time and the verb *write*: *I met him (on) Tuesday. I wrote (to) her last week.* (6) Pronominal usage allowing 'he' after 'one': *One never does what he should. One always deceives himself.*

Vocabulary Some American vocabulary reflects older English usage, for example *mail* for *post* (compare *Royal Mail* in England with the older form), *fall* for *autumn* (a French loan), though this probably is the case in only a minority of forms. In the following the first word corresponds to American, the second to British usage, but note that the American words are often found in English English as well: *apartment* / *flat*; *trash can* / *dustbin*; *attorney* / *solicitor*, *barrister*; *baby buggy* / *pram*; *bartender* / *barman*; *bug* / *insect*; *bus* / *coach*; *cab* / *taxi*; *candy* / *sweets*; *check* / *bill*; *chips* / (*potato*) *crisps*; *preacher* / *clergyman*; *clerk* / *shop assistant*; *coed* / *female student*; *store* / *shop*; *corporation* / *company*; *diaper* / *nappy*; *dishpan* / *washing-up basin*; *eraser* / *rubber*; *corn* / *maize*; *drugstore* / *chemist's*; *dumb* / *silly*; *elevator* / *lift*; *fall* / *autumn*; *first floor* / *ground floor*; *gas station* / *petrol station*; *first name* / *Christian name*; *flash-light* / *torch*; *French fries* / *chips*; *freshman* / *first year student*; *garbage* / *rubbish*; *grade* / *gradient*; *jelly* / *jam*; *liquor* / *spirits*; *highway patrolmen* / *mobile police*; *high school* / *secondary school*; *hood* / *bonnet*; *kerosene* / *paraffin*; *lumber* / *timber*; *mail* / *post*; *movie* / *film*, *picture*; *movies* / *cinema*, *pictures*; *muffler* / *silencer*; *doctor's office* / *surgey*; *pacifier* / *dummy*; *parking lot* / *car park*; *penitentiary* / *prison*; *period* / *full stop*; *pitcher* / *jug*; *realtor* / *estate*

agent; roadster / two seater; roomer / lodger; section / district; sedan / saloon; quarter / term; sidewalk / pavement; sophomore / second year student; slingshot / catapult; highway / motorway; streetcar / tram; subway / underground; suspenders / braces; taffy / toffee; truck / lorry; trunk / boot; turtleneck / poloneck; undershirt / vest; vacation / holidays; weather bureau / met office; school / college; ride / drive; rise / raise; cookie / biscuit; faucet / tap.

Word formation This is an innovative sphere of American English, though it is not always possible to state whether a new form derives solely from American usage, cf. the use of derivational suffixes: *-ster*: *gangster, oldster*; *-ician*: *beautician, cosmetician*; *-ee*: *escapee, returnee*; *-ette*: *roomette, drum-majorette*; *-ite*: *socialite, sub-urbanite*; *-ize*; *to winterize, to itemize, to fictionalize*. Conversion as a word formational process is widespread as in English English. *a bug – to bug, resource – to resource; commercial* (adj.) *commercial* (noun); *hike* (verb) – *hike* (noun). There are also frequent instances of back-formation, for example *jelly* > *jell*; *enthusiasm* > *enthus*; *bachelor* > *to bach*. In the sphere of computing American English is virtually the only source of new English terms, for example *flatscreen, central processing unit, hard disk, USB-stick, solid-state drive, compact disc, graphics card, mainboard, broadband, cloud computing*.

American English, influence on English in England Throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century there has been a pervasive infiltration of American words into English in England, the more general of which coexist with their British counterparts. Some of these words are part of passive knowledge among speakers of English in England, for example *gas* ‘petrol’, while others are indeed used, for example *movie* ‘film’. The former group often consists of words which have a different meaning or a different semantic range in English in England, this blocking the adoption of the American meaning, for example *trailer* ‘caravan’ only means (with reference to vehicles) ‘articulated attachment to a car for transporting goods, material, etc.’ in English English.

The following examples consist of the American word followed by the traditional British word: *movie / film; mental / insane; can / tin; garbage / rubbish; gas / petrol; mad / angry; filling station / garage; elevator / lift; reel / spool; trailer / caravan; I guess / I think; truck / lorry; lumber / timber; French fries / chips*. In some cases the American term has successfully ousted the British one as in the case of *radio* for *wireless*. Certain prepositional verbs have become part of English English without users realizing their origin: *to put sth. over; to get sth. across; to stand up to; to go back on*. A few imports from American English have occurred without their being an exact English equivalent already, for example *okay* (nineteenth century, of uncertain origin), *phoney* (possibly of Irish origin in the United States).

American English, Southern A reference to those varieties of English spoken in the South of the United States. The SOUTH already begins at Virginia in the central Atlantic coast and stretches through the Carolinas down to Georgia and then across Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana to eastern Texas. The latter area on the Gulf of Mexico is known as the Lower South because historically the South (of the original Thirteen Colonies) is now the south-east of the United States. Linguistically, the South would include the inland states West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas and Oklahoma. Florida, which was for a long time under Spanish control, does not historically belong to the linguistic South. Upper Southern speech is found in Kansas, Missouri and lower Indiana and Illinois (*see also* HOOSIER APEX). Given that the South is such a large area many of the statements about its features may not be true for all Southern varieties. See Nagle & Sanders (eds, 2003 [5.1.9]) for recent contributions on Southern English.

Phonology (1) A salient feature is the breaking of short vowels and the general lengthening / diphthongization of vowels (popularly termed ‘Southern Drawl’) with the flattening of the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ (see /AI/ AND /AU/, REALIZATION OF). Breaking involves a slight off-glide towards the end of a vowel articulation, for example *bin* [bɪ^hn], *done* [dʌ^ən]. These developments are part of the SOUTHERN SHIFT in which the /i:/ in *meet* and the /e:/ in *mate* are retracted and lowered with the /ɪ/ in *bid* and the /ɛ/ in *bed* shifting upwards and to the front, diphthongizing in the process. The mid and high back vowels /u:/ and /o:/, as in *boot* and *boat* are fronted considerably. (2) The PEN-PIN MERGER involves the raising of the /ɛ/ to /ɪ/ before nasals and is widespread across the entire South. (3) The assimilation of /z/ to /d/ before /n/ is a widespread feature, especially in the Lower South: *wasn’t* > *wadn’t*; *business* > *bidness* (see Z-STOPPING, PRE-NASAL). This may be a relic dialect feature as it occurs in the British Isles as well, for example in south-east Ireland which had early input from the south-west of England. (4) The lack of a length distinction for /ɪ/ and /i:/ before /l/ rendering pairs like *feel* and *fill* homophones. Other features such as the stop realization of /ð/ may be more indicative of African American than of a Southern vernacular. Features such as the MARY-MERRY-MARRY MERGER may be part of a more general development in American English and hence not clearly indicative of the South (the first word tends to have /e/, Kretzschmar 2008: 47 [5.1]).

Grammar (1) Counterfactual *liketa*: *It was so cold, I liketa froze* (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 52 [5.1]), historically from *like to have*. (2) *Y’all* as a second person plural pronoun: *Where y’all goin’?* (3) *A*-prefixing: *The wind was a-blowin’ hard all day*. (4) Auxiliary *done*: *I done crash the truck*. (5) Non-standard distribution of *was* and *were*: *We was tryin’ real hard all the time* (see VERBAL CONCORD, NON-STANDARD). (6) Use of oblique pronoun forms to express relevance: *I made me a big pie*. (7) Inchoative *fixin’*: *They’re fixin’ to mend the road*. (8) Distal locative adverb *yonder*: *Those fields yonder need drainin’*. (9) Copula deletion, as in *They wor-kin’ in town these days*, is found in older white Southern speech and in African American English.

American English, spelling The spelling of American English has been a concern since the late eighteenth century when Noah Webster, the father of American lexicography, brought out his *Dissertations on the English Language* (1789) in which he suggested separating American from British English. Certain spelling changes proposed by Webster are older forms, such as *-er* for *-re* (cf. *theater*) or *-or* for *-our* (cf. *honour*) and not all of Webster’s suggestions became part of American English spelling, for example his proposal that one write *oo* for *ou* in words like *soup* and *group*. In general, American English has single instances of sonorants in past forms of verbs, for example *traveled*, *labeled*, *occured*, as well as single letters in many spellings of neo-classical formations in English, for example *program* (British *programme*), though *diagram* is the spelling in both British and American English. Shorter forms of words are also preferred, for example *dialog* for *dialogue* and spellings in *-nse* are found for *-nce* in British English, for example *defense*, *offense*, *license*. *F* can replace *ph*, for example *sulfur* versus *sulphur*, while *f* or *w* can correspond to *gh*, for example *draft* versus *draught* and *plow* versus *plough*, and *in-* equates to *en-* in *inquiry* (British *enquiry/inquiry*) and *inclosure* (British *enclosure*).

American Heritage Dictionary A major American dictionary published in Boston by Houghton Mifflin in part as a reaction to the tolerant attitude to colloquial language shown in *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary* (1961). However, it combines prescriptive and descriptive statements and derives the latter from authentic texts of American English.

American Language, The An influential book (1919 with later editions and supplements) by the American journalist and popular author Henry Louis MENCKEN.

American Revolution The political and military campaign in the late 1770s and early 1780s to achieve independence for the THIRTEEN COLONIES. The separation from Britain led to a movement of Loyalists, of about 12,000–20,000 by 1800, from the American colonies northwards into Canada (Dollinger 2008: 67 [1.2.6]). Soon they were joined by ‘late Loyalists’, in search of free land grants rather than a territory still loyal to Britain. This provided an input of early American speech during the formative period of Canadian English (Bloomfield 1948 [1.2.6.], Dollinger 2008: 64–68 [1.2.6.]). Other destinations for those Loyalists who left the American colonies were Spanish-controlled Florida and islands of the Caribbean such as the Bahamas where black slaves were also taken in.

American Samoa *See* SAMOA, AMERICAN.

American Sign Language A fully-fledged sign language, developed in the United States in the nineteenth century. The system was initiated by Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet (1787–1851), a Protestant minister from Martha’s Vineyard who wanted to have a manual-visual system for communication with his deaf daughter. With a few others he founded the Institution for the Education of the Deaf and adopted many elements of French sign language which he had become acquainted with in a visit to Paris (his efforts to gain support for his enterprise in England were in vain). American Sign Language is quite dissimilar from British Sign Language although both represent English. The sign language is generally regarded as an equivalent to natural language with a structured phonology, grammar and vocabulary.

American Speech *See* AMERICAN DIALECT SOCIETY.

Amish [ɑ:mɪʃ] A term for anabaptist communities, largely in the USA (Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana) and Canada (Ontario), who practise a traditional lifestyle different from their surroundings. *See* PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN.

analogical change A type of change where one element changes to another on the basis of a similar pattern which already exists, the latter providing the model for the change, for example a plural *fishes* on the basis of *dish*: *dishes*. Another example would be the vernacular plural *youse* /ju:z/ formed by adding the plural morpheme {S} to *you*. The similarity in such cases is usually phonetic. Analogy also applies in grammar, for instance where a regular structural pattern provides a model. In Irish English positive epistemic *must* provided the model for the negative by the addition of a negator, that is *mustn’t* means ‘it cannot be the case’, as in *He mustn’t be Canadian*, where standard English would have *He can’t be Canadian*. Analogical change may have the effect of masking earlier changes in a language and must always be considered when reconstructing historical forms.

analytic A term used for a language which tends to use free morphemes to indicate grammatical categories. Modern English is largely analytic. Other languages, such as Chinese or Vietnamese, are much more analytic and approach a relationship of one word per morpheme.

analytical comparison A comparison formed by using the words *more* or *most* rather than by suffixing *-er* or *-est*. It usually applies to adjectives of more than two syllables and in some cases of just two, for example *simpler*, *simplest* but often *more common*, *most common*.

anaphora Grammatical elements which refer back to something which has already been mentioned in a discourse, for example *Nora bought a new car recently but is not satisfied with it*. The reference often crosses a sentence boundary and thus is important in creating cohesion in texts or speech.

Anglo- (1) A prefix which means ‘connected to or derived from England/English’ as in *Anglo-Norman* (a form of French in England in the Middle Ages). (2) A reference to forms of English in different Asian countries which show some historical continuity, usually through the mixing of colonial and local populations, for example *Anglo-Indian*, *Anglo-Malay*.

Anglo-Celtic A reference to that section of the Australian population which is of English, Irish, Scottish or Welsh origin. This excludes Aborigines and later European / Middle Eastern immigrants such as Italians, Croatians, Greeks or Lebanese.

anglocentric A term which implies that an approach or analysis, in language or literature, is biased towards England and takes the privileged status of English culture for granted. Much criticism is found in post-colonial studies of earlier stances in literature, and sometimes in linguistics, which are covertly, or even overtly, anglocentric.

Anglo-Indians A section of the population of present-day India who are of British male and Indian female descent, a legacy of the colonial involvement with India. This group consists of about 100,000 native speakers of English today and is mentioned in the Indian constitution. See Coelho (1997 [7.1.1]). Historically, the term also referred to English people born in India, for example the writer Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936). See EURASIAN.

Anglo-Irish A term formerly used as a label for varieties of English in Ireland (this usage was also found outside Ireland, for example in Canada (Kirwin 2001 [5.2.8])). It was also common in references to literature and in politics.

anglophone A term used to refer to English-speaking countries or to PIDGINS and CREOLES which have English as their LEXIFIER LANGUAGE.

Angloromani A combination of English and Romani spoken by groups of Romani in England and also the United States and to a much lesser extent in South Africa and Australia. See Bakker and Kenrick (2007 [2.11]).

Anglo-Saxon A reference to the language and culture of the Germanic settlers in England during the Old English period (450–1066). As a linguistic term it has generally been replaced by ‘Old English’.

Anglo-Saxonism (1) A word, phrase or grammatical structure which consists solely of Germanic elements. In previous centuries there were many writers who sought to rid English of those borrowings from classical languages which they felt were alien to English. Replacements were suggested, for example *witcraft* for *knowledge*, but did not gain wide acceptance. The Dorset dialect poet and scholar, William Barnes (1801–1886), was one of the major supporters of the move to ‘purify’ English in this way, see his *An Outline of Speech-Craft* (1878, London: Kegan Paul). (2) The support of an exclusively Germanic pedigree for the English race and a belief in its inherent superiority.

angloversal A restriction of the notion of VERNACULAR universal to features of English vernaculars, for example that adverbs tend to have the same form as adjectives as in *His sister is real pretty*.

Anguilla A small island in the Caribbean, the most northerly of the Leeward Islands with a population of less than 15,000. The island was colonized by the British in the mid-seventeenth century and is now a British Overseas Territory. Anguillan Creole is the basilectal form of English of the island and is related to other Eastern Caribbean creoles.

animate A term for any word or category which refers to a living being, for example the object of a verb. Changes in animacy restrictions have occurred in recent English, for example the verb *alarm* can now take an inanimate object as in *This door is alarmed* ‘fitted with an alarm’. A use with an animate object would be *Fiona was alarmed (by his behaviour)*.

anthropology, cultural The study of differences and similarities between races and cultures which can also include language in which case the subfield is known as linguistic anthropology. The latter is normally concerned with issues of language use rather than structure, for example pragmatics, discourse, politeness norms, ritual language. See ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATION.

anthropology, linguistic See ANTHROPOLOGY, CULTURAL.

anti-deletion A term devised by the South African linguist Rajend Mesthrie to refer to the appearance of sentence elements in BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN ENGLISH which would not normally surface in more standard varieties of English, for example *As it can be seen **that** there is a problem here. Why do you let your son **to** speak Zulu? She made me **to** go.* Mesthrie (2006 [6.3.1.3]).

Antigua and Barbuda A two-island country in the Eastern Caribbean whose name derives from the Spanish for ‘old and bearded’. A British colony from 1632 to 1981 (with a brief spell of French dominance), the island has a population of over 80,000 and an area of 440 sq km. English is the official language. However, Eastern Caribbean creole is used in informal situations by the majority of the population. Colloquial Arabic, Portuguese, and some Indian languages represent non-indigenous languages spoken by minorities in some parts of the islands. See Aceto (2002 [5.3.2]).

Antilles A cover term applying to all the islands of the central Caribbean except Turks & Caicos and the Bahamas which lie to the north of the Greater Antilles. The Antilles are divided into two groups, the Greater and Lesser Antilles. The former comprise Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola (divided politically into Haiti and the Dominican Republic), and Puerto Rico, the largest islands of the Caribbean, plus some associated small islands. The Lesser Antilles, extending in an arc south of Puerto Rico to the north-eastern coast of South America, include the Windward Islands, the Leeward Islands as well as Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao (ABC islands). The Netherlands Antilles, including Margarita, lie just offshore Venezuela as do Trinidad and Tobago which, together with some anglophone islands further north, such as Barbados and St Lucia, form the Windward Islands.

antiquarianism A preoccupation with artefacts of the past, in the current context with language documents. A typical activity of writers and scholars of the eighteenth century, it led to the recording of dialects of English of the time, such as the glossary for FORTH AND BARGY by the English army officer Charles Vallancey.

antonym One of a pair of words which have opposite meanings, for example *dead–alive*. There are graded antonyms which allow different degrees, (*somewhat*) *black–(very) white*, and non-graded antonyms which are binary, *single–married*.

anymore, positive A grammatical structure found in vernaculars of the Midland area of the United States (and further into the west, Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 152 [5.1]; Eitner 1991 [5.1]) as in *They go to Florida on their holidays anymore*. It may well derive from the speech of eighteenth-century Ulster Scots settlers whose predecessors had in turn picked this up from native speakers of Irish before emigration. Butters (2001: 331–332 [5.1]) considers positive *anymore* an extension of the negative use and is doubtful of the proposed Scots-Irish connection.

Aotearoa The name for New Zealand in the indigenous language Maori meaning ‘(land of the) long white cloud’, lit. ‘cloud [*ao*] white [*tea*] long [*roa*]’.

apex (1) The tip of the tongue, adjective: *apical* or *apico-*. The apex is used to produce sounds mainly by forming closure with the alveolar ridge, for instance when articulating [t, d, n]. The tip can also make contact just behind the upper teeth (in front of the alveolar ridge) resulting in dental sounds, for example [t̪, d̪], or just behind the alveolar ridge resulting in retroflex sounds, for example [t̠, d̠]. (2) A pointed geographical region which extends into another and represents an area of speech from the first region in the second, for example the HOOSIER APEX. Another example would be the extension of [ʊ] in the STRUT lexical set (a feature of northern English) down into Oxfordshire in central England (Upton & Widdowson 1996: 14 [2.1]).

aphasia A very general term for language malfunctions which result from brain damage, through accident or disease, but not usually present from birth. The malfunctions can affect production or understanding and may involve the phonetics, grammar or vocabulary of language or any combination of these levels.

apocope The loss of a sound at the end of the word. This is a common diachronic development: English has lost virtually all grammatical endings which it possessed in Old English, except for plural markers and the -s of the third person singular present tense.

Appalachian English The vernacular varieties spoken by the inhabitants of the southern portion of the Appalachian Mountains, a geological feature stretching from New Brunswick in Canada down to Alabama in the United States, running some distance inland parallel to the Atlantic coast. Appalachian English is also spoken in diaspora communities such as in so-called ‘rust belt’ cities of the Midwest (Anderson 2008 [5.1.10]) and logging communities in the Pacific North-West. From south to north the Appalachians cover the north-eastern tip of Alabama, north Georgia, north-west South Carolina, east Tennessee and Kentucky, a small portion of west North Carolina, all of West Virginia and the west of Virginia extending northwards into Pennsylvania,

upstate New York through Vermont, Connecticut and Maine into Canada. The Appalachians consist of various subareas, such as the Blue Ridge Mountains which in their southern end contain the Great Smoky Mountains (south-east Tennessee, north Georgia), a region where Appalachian English is particularly prominent. The south-central Cumberland Mountains contain the Cumberland Gap – at the juncture of Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee – through which Europeans moved in the late eighteenth century initiating settlement west of the Appalachians.

Scots and Ulster Scots settlers who first began to arrive in the mid seventeenth century had a formative influence on later Appalachian English which lasted throughout the eighteenth century when tens of thousands of Ulster Scots settled in what was then the frontier area of the THIRTEEN COLONIES. It developed in isolation and has maintained many relic features of its input varieties. See Wolfram (1976 [5.1.8]), Montgomery (1989 [5.1.8], 2004 [5.1.8]), Anderson (2013 [5.1.8]).

Phonology (1) non-standard initial /h/ in words, for example, *bit* for *it*. (2) Reduction of final *-ow* to rhotacized schwa, for example *yellow* [jɛləʃ], *fellow* [fɛləʃ].

Grammar (1) *A*-prefixing with present participles, for example *He kept a-beggin' for more*. (probably English dialect input, Montgomery 2001: 148 [5.1.1]; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 373–374 [5.1]). (2) *Done* as a marker of perfective aspect, for example *They done left their farm*. (3) Double modals within a single verb phrase, for example *He might could come tomorrow*. (4) The use of *right* and *plumb* as intensifying adverbs.

apparent time A reference to a technique in SOCIOLINGUISTICS whereby the speech of older speakers is examined to determine what the variety they speak was like at the time of their youth. The technique rests on the (not uncontested) assumption that speakers' accents do not vary considerably after early adulthood. See REAL TIME.

applied linguistics The application of insights from theoretical linguistics to practical matters such as language teaching, language planning, remedial linguistics.

approximant A consonant which is produced with very little friction, that is by bringing the active and passive articulators close together but not touching, for example [j] as in *yes* [jes] or [w] as in *wet* [wɛt]. Approximants are vowel-like and show high sonority and often merge with vowels when they are in the coda of a syllable.

***a*-prefixing** A feature of English dialects which was transported to the United States, especially to Appalachia. It consists of the prefix *a-* /ə/ on a present participle to convey a durative sense, for example *They were a-plowin' the fields last week*. Historically, the prefix developed from the preposition *on* which with time was reduced to schwa (as in *asleep*, *alive*, etc.). See Wolfram (1991 [5.1.2]).

archaism Any item or structure which is still present in a language but regarded as a relic from previous usage, for example the verb *wend* 'to go' in English. Archaisms are often confined to set phrases as in *to wend one's weary way*.

Archaizers A collective term applied to those English scholars and writers who favoured the revival of obsolete words to expand the vocabulary of English rather than borrowing from classical languages. The poet Edmund Spenser (?1552–1599) is among the best-known representatives of this group. See NEOLOGIZERS.

areal linguistics The study of languages/varieties from the point of view of their geographical distribution and the possible clustering of features in certain areas. Shared features which are not traceable to common dialect input are normally the focus of attention. See Hickey (ed., 2012 [1.1.2]).

argot A non-linguistic term for the speech of a particular group, for example a profession or trade. In general it is deliberately secretive with vocabulary and phrases not readily comprehensible to others in contact with the group in question. See CANT.

article A grammatical word – or affix – accompanying a noun and specifying definiteness or its absence. It may vary for gender and case in languages with gender distinctions and a formal case system such as German. In English there are two articles, definite *the* and indefinite *a* with *an* a variant of the latter before vowels. In some varieties, above all in second language varieties in Africa and perhaps in Asia the distinction in article may be known versus unknown rather than definite versus indefinite, reflecting usage in the background languages of speakers.

article, reduction of definite See DEFINITE ARTICLE REDUCTION.

article, use of In varieties of English which historically have been in contact with Celtic languages the definite article is found in generic senses. This usage may be extended to those varieties which in turn have been in contact with Celtic varieties of English (Harris 1993: 144–145 [3.3]). The definite article in forms of American English has been viewed as a legacy of Irish influence (Montgomery 2001: 133 [5.1.1]; Butters 2001: 337 [5.1]). The following is a brief list of contexts in which the definite article appears contrary to more standard usage: (1) Generic statements *The life there is hard*. (2) Institutions: *She's gone to the hospital. The young ones are going to the school already*. (3) Diseases: *The child has got the measles*. (4) Seasons: *We left in the spring*. The following are contexts in which the definite article is only found in vernaculars, above all in Ireland: (5) Quantifiers: *He asked the both of them*. (6) Abstract nouns, including languages and objects of study: *Well, I think she likes the languages*. (7) Parts of the body, afflictions: *There's nothing done by the hand anymore. It nearly broke the leg on me. I always had problems with the ol' back*. (8) Relatives, spouses, in-laws: *Go in now to see the mother*. (9) Days of the week, months, seasons, occasions: *So we went into town on the Saturday. Well, how did the Christmas go for you?* See also DEFINITE ARTICLE.

articulation The set of muscular movements necessary to produce a specific sound. A distinction is made between manner of articulation (stop, fricative, nasal, lateral, *r*-sound) and place of articulation, the point in the supraglottal tract at which the articulation takes place.

articulatory phonetics One of three standard divisions of phonetics which concerns itself with the production of sounds. See also ACOUSTIC and AUDITORY PHONETICS.

articulatory setting A reference to the overall positioning of the tongue, jaws and lips along with the configuration of the throat which generally varies from language to language. Hence second-language speakers may sound different from native speakers even though they observe all phonemic distinctions in a language and largely keep to allophonic realizations. See Honikman (1964 [1]), Laver (1980 [1]).

as / at Two polysemous words in English which in the standard can function as adverbs, conjunctions or prepositions. There are also non-standard usages as relative particles, for example *It's his brother as crashed the car*; *Their neighbours at went abroad*. (the latter usage may stem from the reduction of relative *what*). See Anderwald (2008: 457 [2.7]).

Asian Englishes A collective reference to forms of English spoken in South Asia and South-East Asia from Pakistan to the Philippines. There is a considerable range of English in these countries, from poor second language knowledge to near-native competence (recently in Singapore, for instance). A common trait of these varieties is that they have arisen not through large numbers of anglophone settlers but through exposure to English in public life, typically in education.

Asian languages The continent of Asia stretches from Turkey in the west to Japan in the east and from northern Siberia to Sri Lanka in the centre and Singapore in the south-east (with the island nations of Indonesia and the Philippines further south-east still). A great diversity of languages is found in this large area. The following list is approximate. (1) *West Asia*: (a) *Caucasian languages*, (b) *Indo-European languages*; (2) *Siberia*: (a) *Uralic languages* (*Finnic-Ugric, Samoyedic, Yukaghir*), (b) *Paleosiberian languages*; (3) *Central Asia*: (a) *Altaic languages* (*Turkic, Mongolian, Tungusic*); (4) *China*: (a) *Sino-Tibetan* (*Sinitic, Tibeto-Burman*); (5) *Middle East, South Asia*: (a) *Indo-European*, (b) *Afroasiatic*, (c) *Dravidian*; (6) *South-East Asia*: (a) *Tibeto-Burman*, (b) *Tai-Kadai*, (c) *Austroasiatic* (*Munda languages, Mon-Khmer group*), (d) *Miao-Yao* (*Hmong-Mien*).

ASK-metathesis In the history of English (for dialects in England and Ireland, and by extension elsewhere, for example Newfoundland) as well as in African American English and some varieties of African English, such as Ghanaian English, the word *ask* occurs with the stop before the sibilant, that is it is pronounced as [æks] (written dialectally as *ax/axe*), a metathesized form of [æsk]. The standard English form *ask* is probably itself a metathesized form, cf. the Old English verb *axian* [-ks-] 'ask'.

aspect One of the three respects in which verbs may vary (the other two being TENSE and MOOD). Aspect refers to the way in which an action is viewed by the speaker, that is as being terminated (*perfective*), ongoing (*progressive*), recurring (*habitual*), etc. Put simply, tense specifies when an action takes place and aspect how (the internal structure of a temporal event) while mood refers to whether an action is actual or hypothetical, whether a verb represents a statement or a command. CREOLES are noted for having complex aspectual distinctions and those which have developed from English have a more nuanced aspect system than the original input. Table 1 shows divisions of aspectual types which are documented for varieties of English.

(1) The progressive is established in all varieties of English, for example *She was singing when he arrived home* and is currently expanding, for example encompassing verbs like *want* (*I'm wanting to leave that matter be*). Black South African English, along with other second language varieties, shows increased use of the progressive: *I've been knowing English for many years*.

(2) The habitual exists in English by contrast with the progressive, for example *He's meeting the students (now)* versus *He meets the students (every Thursday morning)* (habitual). In addition

Table 1 Classification of aspectual types.

<i>Information about action</i>	<i>Aspect</i>
duration	progressive
repetition	habitual
initiation	inchoative
completion	perfective
<i>Sub-division of perfective</i>	<i>Types</i>
very recent completion	immediate perfective
completion of planned action	resultative perfective
<i>Sub-division of habitual</i>	<i>Types</i>
repeated shorter action	iterative
repeated longer action	durative

many traditional dialects of English have explicit marking of the habitual, with the verb *do*, by using *be* + inflectional *-s* or combinations of these, for example *He does be drinking a lot*, *He bees drinking a lot*, *He does drink a lot* (with unstressed *does*). The dialects with an explicit habitual usually occur in Celtic areas, for example Ireland or south-west England (former Cornish area), and by extension Newfoundland, a fact which strongly suggests that language contact has played a role in its genesis. African American English also has an habitual, expressed via finite *be*, *He be out drinking a lot*. There are two types of habitual, one indicating a repeated brief action and one referring to a repeated but longer action. In Irish English, especially of the south-east, an inflectional *-s* expresses the iterative habitual, for example *They calls this place City Square*, while *does be / duh* [də] *be* is found for the durative habitual, for example *She does be worrying about the children*.

(3) Inchoative aspect indicates the beginning of an action and is less frequent than the other types. An interesting example is the structure *let us*, as in *Let us start to work*, because its contracted form *let's* is developing more the sense of an auxiliary, for example *Let's make a pot of tea* 'I'll make a pot of tea'.

(4) Perfective aspect is widespread in the world's languages and in some, such as the Slavic languages, pairs of perfective and imperfective verbs are found. In varieties of English a distinction is common between an immediate perfective and a resultative perfective. The immediate perfective with *after* is a calque on Irish *tar éis* (Harris 1993: 141 [3.3]) which is used for precisely the same purpose. It also exists in Newfoundland English as a transfer feature from Irish English input. There are a variety of means to express an immediate perfective which usually has high informational value for the hearer. For instance, in Southern American English *done* is used, for example *He done ruined the house*, *She done sold her car*. The resultative perfective indicates that something planned is now completed. In Irish English the word order 'Object + Past Participle' is used (Harris 1993: 160 [3.3]; Hickey 2007b: Chapter 4 [3.3]), for example *I've the book read* 'I am finished reading the book' which contrasts with *I've read the book* 'I read it once' (the O + PP word order has a precedent in the history of English but also an equivalent in Irish in which the past participle always follows the object: *Tá an leabhar léite agam* lit.: 'is the book read at-me'). This type of perfective would seem to occur more widely than just Irish English (and Newfoundland English). The resultative perfect generally precludes the causative

interpretation for this word order, that is *He has the car washed* does not mean ‘He gets someone to wash the car’ unless an agent is specified, for example *He has the car washed by his son at the weekends*.

aspect, historical spread of Throughout the anglophone world habitual aspect, with either a form of *do* or of *be*, is found. There are various subtypes, for example *do* alone, inflected or not; *do* + *be* inflected or not; *be*, inflected or not, for example (1) *He does be working all night*. (2) *He bees working all night*. One, not uncontested view (Rickford 1986 [5.1.10]) maintains that the type in (1) can ultimately be traced to southern Irish English and the type in (2) to northern Irish English. Furthermore, Rickford maintains that the structure found in (1) was carried to the Caribbean and that in (2) to the southern United States, spreading from there to African American English (but see Montgomery and Kirk 1996 [5.1.10.4] for an opposing view). In African American English the habitual is expressed by invariant *be* (Green 1998 [5.1.10]; Labov 1998: 120–124 [5.1.10]).

aspirated Refers to the presence of a small puff of breath after a sound, usually a plosive, suggesting a brief [h]. Voiceless stops are normally aspirated in English (unless they follow /s/). However, in second language varieties this varies depending on whether such stops are aspirated in background languages, see AFRIKAANS ENGLISH.

assimilation A process during which one or more features of a sound are anticipated by a neighbouring sound, usually the more sonorous of the two, for example *want to* > *wanna*, *going to* > *gonna*. The resolution of assimilation can vary as with a word like *sandwich* [sænwɪtʃ] (/nd/ > [n]) or [sænwɪtʃ] (/nd/ > [m]) or [sæŋwɪtʃ] (/nd/ > [ŋ]).

Atlantic creoles A collective reference to the creoles spoken in West Africa and in the Caribbean region including remnants of African American creoles such as GULLAH. Also termed ‘Atlantic group’. See PACIFIC CREOLES.

Atlas of North American English A major publication in 2006 by William LABOV, the founder of modern sociolinguistics, along with his colleagues Sharon Ash and Charles Boberg. The atlas offers a comprehensive overview of the dialects of North America, regional patterns, mergers and current changes in varieties across this large area. See TELSUR.

Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures A project housed at the Max Planck Institute in Leipzig to gather and compare synchronic data on the structures of some 76 pidgin and creole languages. The database used consists of 120 features from different levels of language. See Michaelis, Maurer, Haspelmath and Huber (eds, 2013 [9]).

attributive An adjective placed before a noun and specifying a quality as in *His beautiful wife*. Some adjectives occur preferentially in this position, for example *front* in *A front vowel* and not as a PREDICATIVE adjective: ?*The vowel is front*. The opposite can also be true, for example *galore* as in *There was beer galore at the party*, but not **galore beer* or *The child is asleep* but not **The asleep child*.

auditory phonetics One of the three standard divisions of phonetics which is concerned with the perception of sounds.

AU-fronting See MOUTH-FRONTING.

augmentatives Adverbs which add emphasis to a statement. These vary greatly across varieties of English and have varied historically as well. Examples would be: *That climb was fierce difficult. The drive was pure hell. They're just plain stupid. His family is mega rich.*

Austin, John Langshaw (1911–1960) English philosopher. Born in Lancaster and educated in Oxford where he taught after World War II until his death. He was a representative of the 'ordinary language' school of philosophy. In his posthumously published book *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford University Press, 1962) he outlined his theory of speech acts which was central to the later development of linguistic pragmatics.

Australian Aboriginal Kriol A creole which developed in the area of Sydney during the period of initial settlement by English speakers in the nineteenth century. Kriol was then taken westwards and northwards with nineteenth-century demographic movements in Australia. It gradually receded except for the extreme north of Australia where it survived as a means of communication in the high-contact situation between English, native peoples and Asians. It is still spoken by about 30,000 people. See Sandefur (1991 [8.1.2]).

Australian English A collective term for the varieties of English spoken in Australia. This would include the speech of the descendants of white settlers as well as Aborigines and the newer emigrants of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (Cox 2012b [8.1]). Australia, the southern land, has known different colonial periods. In the early seventeenth century a Dutch expedition under Willem Jansz arrived at the Torres Strait around the same time as Luis de Torres himself. In 1611 some Dutch ships, sailing eastward from the Cape of Good Hope, reached western Australia. Two further expeditions were undertaken by the Dutchman Abel Tasman after whom the large island off the south/south-east coast – Tasmania (formerly Van Diemens Land) – is named. Tasman also explored New Zealand. The first expedition, in 1642, was along the south, across to New Zealand, then north through the South-West Pacific and back north of Papua New Guinea. The second, in 1644, explored north Australia. In 1688 the British explorer William Dampier (1651–1715) explored the north-east; in 1699–1700 he continued, both times writing an exhaustive account of his journeys. However, British involvement in Australia really got underway with James Cook (1728–1779) who, in three major explorations – 1768–1770, 1772–1775 and 1776–1779 – firmly established Australia as an object of colonial interest for Britain. In the last two decades of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries some more explorations by the French and English were undertaken, for instance by Matthew Flinders (1774–1814) who circumnavigated Australia and favoured the use of that name rather than the older New Holland. Originally Australia was used as relief for overcrowded British prisons, for example the First Fleet in 1787 sailed with between 750 and 780 convicts on board; some 250 free persons also sailed. Britain established several penal colonies and by the first quarter of the nineteenth century most of the south-east coast of Australia had been settled by the British. By 1830 probably more than 50,000 convicts had been deported. The decades from 1830 to 1860 saw the rise of Australia as an agricultural and mining economy, the formation of four of Australia's six states and the beginning of the period of non-convict settlers. The economy centred mainly around the production of wool and grain on the one hand and the exploitation of Australia's mineral resources (copper, nickel, etc.) on the other. For a time in the late nineteenth century gold and silver mining was important.

The infrastructure of Australia was greatly improved by the construction of railways in the 1880s. In 1901 the Federation of Australia (consisting of Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, Western Australia, South Australia and the island Tasmania) was formed. Today Australia is independent but still a member of the British Commonwealth with the English monarch as the official head of state. Australia has an area of approximately 7,682,300 sq km and a population of about 23 million. The capital is Canberra, the two largest cities, Sydney and Melbourne, have a population of approximately 4½ and 4 million respectively. The main language is English, a large variety of native languages are spoken in small quantities by Aboriginal communities (native Australians). The white population derives traditionally from English or Irish/Scottish immigrants and is known as ‘Anglo-Celtic’. In the twentieth century there was immigration from other European and Middle Eastern countries, for example Greece, Italy and the Lebanon. Furthermore, Australia feels the proximity to major Asian neighbours like China, Japan and Korea and has immigrant populations from these countries along with India.

There are different views on the origin of Australian English. One is that it was already an established variety when taken to Australia. Another is that it was in origin a mixed dialect, but that this mixing took place in England rather than in Australia. Yet another option is that some of the mixing took place in the cramped quarters on ships during the long voyage from England to Australia. But whatever varieties were spoken on first arrival in Australia these were subject to further developments on contact with speakers from areas outside the Home Counties in England, notably with Irish and to a lesser extent Scottish settlers (Burrige 2010 [8.1]). Initial /h-/ in Australian English supports this standpoint. It would appear to have been lacking in much nineteenth-century input (as in New Zealand) and to have been reinstated, perhaps due to contact with *h*-pronouncing speakers, notably Irish but also Scottish (especially in New Zealand), and some speakers from outside the Home Counties area, for example from East Anglia (Trudgill 1986: 139 [1.2.3]). The role of education and general prescriptivism should be mentioned here (Gordon 2012 [8.2]). Australian English has a general south-east English flavour, it is non-rhotic and has strong diphthongal pronunciations in the FACE, TIME and GOAT lexical sets. By and large Australian English does not have features of Home Counties English which post-date early immigration, for example the realization of intervocalic /t/ as glottal stop as in *butter* [bʌʔə]. However, some features may occur probably due to later internal developments in Australia, for example the vocalization of /l/ as in *milk* [mɪʊk], though the later settlement of South Australia may have provided an impetus for this (Horvath & Horvath 2002 [8.1]).

Varieties of Australian English have often been divided into three types labelled ‘Broad’, ‘General’ and ‘Cultivated’, but a more recent tripartite division is ‘Mainstream’, ‘Aboriginal’, ‘Ethnocultural’, based on somewhat different criteria (Cox 2012a [8.1]). The following remarks apply chiefly to ‘General/ Mainstream Australian English’ but are also valid for many other varieties.

Phonology (1) Australian English is non-rhotic. (2) Traditionally, short front vowels are noticeably raised compared to English English: *bad* [bæd], *bed* [bed], a feature shared with other Southern Hemisphere Englishes, such as South African and New Zealand English. Of recent date is the lowering of short vowels, notably the TRAP vowel. (3) Many diphthongs are shifted somewhat when compared to values in southern English English, for example the onset of the FACE vowel is lowered: *made* [mæɪd], the onset of the TIME vowel is retracted: *high* [hæe] and the onset of the CHOICE vowel is raised: *point* [point]. (4) MOUTH-fronting also occurs: *how* [hæʊ]. (5) T-lenition is found with many speakers in word-final, unchecked position, for example *about* [ə' bæʊt̚]. (6) Syllable-coda velarized /l/, as in *rule* [ru:l̥], is frequently

vocalized, particularly in South Australia. (7) GOOSE-FRONTING, as in *rude* [rʉ:d], is widespread. (8) HIGH-RISING TERMINALS are common especially with younger female Australians.

Morphology Many compounds are formed with typical first elements, for example *bush* as in *bushfire*, *bushman*. Many meanings are derived from the components which are used to form compounds, for example *outback* (from *out* and *back*); *weekender* (from ‘to spend a weekend in a country house’). Back formations, such as *to verse* ‘play against in sports’ (from *versus*) also occur.

Vocabulary HYPOCORISTICS, for example *arvo* ‘afternoon’, *sickie* ‘sick leave’, *kiddo* ‘kid’, *jamies* ‘pyjamas’, *Aussie* ‘Australia’, *barbie* ‘barbecue’, *bickie* ‘biscuit’, *compo* ‘workers’ compensation pay’, *cozzie* ‘swimming costume’ are common and a hallmark of Australian vocabulary as is, perhaps, the very widespread use of the adjective *bloody*. There are not many loans from Aboriginal languages and these are generally cultural terms (*boomerang*, *corroboree*, *waddy*) or flora and fauna (*jarrah*, *kookaburra*, *kangaroo*, *koala*, *mallee*) along with about one third of Australia’s place names (Dixon, Moore, Ramson & Thomas 2006 [8.1]).

An early study of vocabulary is available in *Austral English* (1898) by Edward E. Morris (1843–1902), enumerating over 2,000 words from Australian and New Zealand English of the time (see reference in 8.1). A useful online resource is the *Macquarie Dictionary* at www.macquariedictionary.com.au and the related *Australian Word Map* at www.abc.net.au/wordmap.

Australian languages In Australia a large group of native languages, which had developed over thousands of years before the arrival of white settlers, were and still are spoken, albeit to a greatly diminished extent. The languages can be divided into two large groups: Pama-Nyungan and non-Pama-Nyungan. This term comes from the word for ‘man’ in two languages which are probably related but maximally removed from each other. The remaining languages are simply termed non-Pama-Nyungan and are typologically very diverse. Relationships are difficult to determine as no written records exist. The Pama-Nyungan languages are spoken in nine-tenths of Australia. Non-Pama-Nyungan languages are located in a small part of the Northern Territory.

At the start of the colonial period (late eighteenth century) there were probably more than 500 languages. According to the National Indigenous Languages Survey in 2005 only around 145 of the original 200–250 Australian languages remain today. Only five languages are spoken by more than 1,000 people, four of which are Pama-Nyungan. 19 languages have more than 500 speakers, 45 between 10 and 50 speakers, and 67 fewer than 10 speakers. Even the remaining robust languages are under threat, despite vigorous efforts being made to maintain them: estimates suggest that the number of surviving languages might decline by as much as 50 per cent, as the most critically endangered languages lose their last speakers in the next 20–30 years.

Australian National Corpus An umbrella corpus for a number of existing corpora of Australian English which have been collated and linked via a dedicated website. At present (2012) it consists of nine corpora including *ICE-Australia* (the Australian component of the *International Corpus of English*), the *Australian Corpus of English*, and *The Monash Corpus of Australian English*.

Australian National Dictionary A major lexicographical work with the subtitle ‘A Dictionary of Australianisms on Historical Principles’ compiled under the supervision of William S. Ramson and published in 1988 by Oxford University Press in Melbourne.

Austronesian languages A large family of languages encompassing all the languages of the Pacific (including Maori in New Zealand), the indigenous languages of Taiwan, those of Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines and the languages of Madagascar in the eastern Indian Ocean. This family does not include the languages of Australia or the majority of those on New Guinea. There are several loanwords from Austronesian languages in English, for example *amok* (Malay), *batik*, *junk* (Javanese); *taboo*, *tattoo*, *ukelele* (Polynesian).

Authorized Version of the Bible A complete translation of the Bible for the Church of England which was made at the beginning of the seventeenth century (1604–1611) by a group of academics divided into committees from Oxford, Cambridge and Westminster, each translating a section. Because it was a commission by King James I (ruled 1603–1625) this Bible is referred to as the Authorized Version. Alternatively, it is called the King James Bible. Given its status in English society, it had an influence on the establishment of a formal register of written English.

auxiliary, done as A means of expressing perfective meaning which is common in the southern United States, for example *You done spent all your money* (Feagin 1979 [5.1.9]). This structure is also found in African American English (Labov 1998: 124–134 [1.2]). On its use in Gullah, see Mufwene (2001: 302 [1.2]). Here the classification of *done* as an auxiliary is motivated by its distribution: it is followed by a past participle just like auxiliary *have* in similar structures. The label ‘completive *done*’ is also found (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 87 [5.1]).

auxiliary contraction A feature of spoken language whereby the full forms of auxiliaries are reduced phonetically, for example [ɪf aedə noun]. Because of this it is often unclear what is intended: the form just given could be *If I would have known* or *If I had have known*, but such structures often do not occur in their full form anyway. The reduced *'ve* may be on the way to reanalysis as an invariant particle. Further evidence comes from [wʊdəv], originally a reduction of *would have*, which is increasingly written and even sometimes pronounced as *would of* [wʊd ɒv] as in *I never would of thought that might happen*. See Denison (1998: 140–142, 210–212 [1]), MacKenzie (2013 [1.6]).

auxiliary verb One of a small set of verbs which are used to form tenses by combining with lexical verbs. In English there are two of these, *have* and *be*, the latter now only used to express states, for example *The work is done*. Some conservative traditional dialects in England and Ireland have *be* as well as *have*, for example *I was left school at twelve year of age because my father was in bad health*.

Avalon Peninsula The south-east part of the island of NEWFOUNDLAND which contains the capital St John's and the Southern Shore.