Trade in late 16th/early 17th centuries
- English ships traded with Native Americans between Nova Scotia and the Chesapeake Bay
  - Fishing, especially cod (Cape Cod in MA)
  - Trade for furs
- Crews often headed by English officers, but frequently had international members (EFL or GenE)
- Some Native Americans did learn English well enough to act as interpreters
  - Samaset and Squanto perhaps most famous – via trade and slavery
  - Contact also left smallpox – many areas highly depopulated
  - Greatest influence of Native American languages - lexicon

Colonial English
- Northeast – Puritans often highly educated, left to avoid persecution
  - High emphasis on establishing schools when towns reached a certain size
  - Religious motivation – read Bible in vernacular, train ministers
  - Harvard founded within 10 years of settlement
  - Between 89-95% of men and 42-62% of women literate; 60% of households had books
- Exposure to written texts > greater uniformity in terms of grammar and lexicon; pronunciation varied, however
  - Greater uniformity in written English
  - Rise of prescriptive attitudes
- Outside Northeast – literacy less widespread

Colonial English 2
- Koineization – formation of a common tongue
  - dialect leveling due to many settlers coming from southern England
  - Very few English regional dialects retained, except perhaps in Newfoundland
  - America developed its own regional traits – not 100% uniform, but possibly based on a language that was already koineized
- Probably over at least three generations

Colonial English 3
- Dutch – New York was a former colony
- German immigration into PA; Mennonite/Amish population
  - Pennsylvania Dutch actually German (Deutsch)
- More important in 19th and 20th centuries:
  - German – immigration from central/eastern Europe
  - French – from Louisiana and Canada
  - Spanish – US Southwest and California from Mexico/Central America
Slave languages from Africa and Caribbean

The frontier
- A region, not a line, and usually an idea, not a fixed region
- Ideological more than geographical – boundary between civilization and wilderness
- Anti-intellectualism/formal speech/education
- Lack of availability of books/papers until urbanization arrived
- Conscious use of non-standard forms

Linguistic Variation (continued)
- **Standard language** - the dialect that is socially and culturally considered the “most proper” form of the language
- General American - tendency toward “Midwestern” accent, but again, very pronounced regional differences

US dialects
- General tendencies; not hard, fast rules
  - New England - generally southern/eastern English settlers
  - Western New England/PA - northern England
  - Ulster Scots - Western PA, WV, VA, OH
- These are being questioned by more recent scholarship – a lot of mixing of immigrant groups did occur

US dialects 3
- beginning in the mid-nineteenth century - rise of immigration from Europe
  - Irish to eastern cities (Boston, NY)
  - Germans to Midwest, esp. central OH
  - Scandinavians to the upper Midwest, MN/WI
- Late nineteenth and early twentieth - Eastern Europeans
  - mostly in Eastern cities, but into the Midwest as well (Cleveland)
  - Many Jewish immigrants (Yiddish)
- West Coast - Asians (China, Japan, Philippines, Malaysia)
- Late twentieth - South/Central America, Caribbean, SE Asians due to political/economic problems in homelands

Immigration
- Assimilation (join general culture) vs. maintenance of identity
- A stew or a melting pot?
- First-generation speakers: L1 interference
  - Emblematic markers (shibboleths)
  - Code-switching; register changes
  - Idioms from native language
- Second generation – about half speak the native language
- Third generation – down to about 10%
Northern Cities Shift
- New England to the west through the Great Lakes region (NY, PA, OH, IN, IL, MI, WI)

Southern Shift
- /æ/ splits into /æ:/ and /æ/
- Long and short o: /ɔ(:)/, /ɑ: /
- /ə/ > α: (esp. before pause or voiced consonant)
- Back vowels can front, esp. /u:/ > /ʉ:/
- Short front vowels go peripheral and up - /æ/ /ɛ/ /ɪ/ > almost /ɛ/ /e/ /ʏ/

Low Back Merger
- Boston and Pittsburgh
- /æ/ remains stable
- Long α and short o merge (cot sounds like caught)
  - Gender implications – lower middle-class women

General American (GA) dialect
- **Rhotic** - /l/ is usually pronounced in all positions
  - compare **rhotacism** - /l/ is dropped or pronounced in variant ways
  - Lower South/AAVE – less rhotic
  - Upper South and North – more rhotic
  - New England – some English non-rhotic survivals
- post-stress /l/ voiced almost to /d/ (better)
- /l/ more velar (Walter would sound almost like water in RP)
- /æ/ for bath, dance, class (RP /a/)  
- /a/, /ɔ/ are phonemic (tot, taught)

GA dialect 2
- long i, oi/oy are clearly diphthongized as /aɪl/, /ɑɪl (high, boy)
- /l/ as a final unstressed vowel (cloudy, rainy); most others dropped or silenced
- Retention of unstressed medial vowels and addition of secondary stress (RP
/sekretri/, GA /sekretəri/; RP *sécret*ry [<a> dropped], GA *sécret*àry)

GA dialect 3
- /θ/, /ʃ/, /ɔ/ is phonemic in RP, allophonic in GA (RP *card*, *cot*, *caught*)
- RP tends to vary the pitch of sounds more in neutral conversation than GA will
  - “neutral” - not emphatic or interrogative

American Regional Dialects
- Nine major areas: Eastern New England, NYC, Mid-Atlantic, Western PA, Upper South, South, Inland North, Northwest, Southwest
- Based on clusters of features - not always the most precise way of distinguishing dialects

AAVE/“Ebonics”
- Shares quite a bit with standard English - many traits show up in other dialects of English, and is *isomorphic* in many respects (no varying forms - almost identical)
- Some unique features
- Political, social, economical reasons for making distinctions - both speakers and non-speakers sometimes exaggerate the differences

AAVE - Consonants
- Nonrhotic - /r/ often lost (brother = /brədər/)
- /r,l/ can be vocalized to /ɯ/ (silk would sound almost like sick)
- Consonant clusters (including unstressed vowels) tend to simplify - *missed* would sound like *miss*
  - These are not unique to AAVE - traits common to other American dialects
  - Example: I frequently see students write *biased* as /bəus/ - consonant cluster

AAVE - Consonants
- /θ/ goes to /t/ initially, /ʃ/ medially/finally in some cases (thin = /tɪn/, something = /sʌmʃm/, with = /wɪt/)
  - Also found in the London/Cockney dialect, or in Irish English – settlement patterns in America
- /ð/ goes to /d/ initially, /s/ medially or finally (them = /deɪm/, brother = /brədər/, soothe = /səʊθ/)  
- /ŋ/ usually replaced with /n/ - common to other dialects of English as well

AAVE - Vowels
- Diphthongs /aɪ,əɪ/ tend to simplify to single vowels: *buy* = /ba/, *toy* = /tɔ/
  - Fairly unique feature of AAVE
- /ɪ, ɛ/ tend toward /l/ before nasals: *rent* = /rɛnt/  
  - you see this in Texas or around Philadelphia, for example, in non-AAVE speakers

AAVE - Prosody
- Mostly the same as GA
Tendency to move the stress to the first syllable (*Détroit*)
More variations of pitch in neutral speech; may be more stylistic than systemic (needs more study)

**AAVE Grammar**
- Many “variations” can be found in other non-standard American dialects; the distinction can be overstated
- Multiple negations: “don’t have none”
- Redundant subjects (*my brother, he did...*)
- Non-standard verb forms (*he begun yesterday*)
- Non-standard prepositions (*different to mine*)
- *ain’t* for *am not* or *haven’t*
- *a* instead of *an* before a word beginning with a vowel
- Inversion in indirect questions (*he asked me when did I come*)
- Omission of *have* in perfect tenses (*we been doing...*)

**AAVE Grammar 2**
- Loss of the surviving inflections (*Jim bike* for *Jim’s bike, he make me something, he talk to me yesterday*)
  - may be a loss of consonant clusters, not a loss of inflection, and in any case, simplification is a common trait of many English dialects
- Omission of linking *to be* (*I tired; he hungry*)
- Invariant *be* for continuing action
  - *he be grouchy* = *he’s always grouchy; he grouchy* - right now
- *done* - recent past; *been* - farther past, but vanishing
  - *I done it. vs. I been doing it.*

**American Indian English(es)**
- About 200 languages spoken in North America; 500 at time of colonization
- Pressure to conform to English/assimilate to Western society
- Native language often influences English language systems
- Long/short vowel distinction not always maintained
- Loss of inflections for plurals or possessives
- Uncountable nouns treated as countable

**Latino/a English**
- Many Spanish-speaking immigrants to the US
- A number of Spanish words have gained currency in the Southwest that may or may not be used elsewhere; some are definitely part of US/worldwide English
- If one is bilingual, there may be a mixed use of Spanish and English words in discourse, or the person will code-switch back and forth
- If the person speaks one or the other, or is somewhere along the spectrum, there will be more Spanish-induced changes in English than English-induced changes in Spanish; a matter of debate, but there is enough evidence to suggest that more than just lexical and phonological changes are going on
Latino/a English features
- /ð θ/ dentalize as /d t/
- Loss of consonant clusters (common to many English dialects)
- Chicano/a – t-flap, do not merge /b v/, do not use /dʒ/ for /j/, or merge /æ/ and /ɑ/ or /e/ and /et/; may use /tʃ/ for /ʃ/, but stigmatized
- Fronting of /u/ (look) and raising of /æ /
- Multiple negation
- Invariant *be*
- Bilingualism – often lost by second or third generation, as noted above

Canadian English
- Originally a French colony; after French and Indian War (1763), became British
- Large increase in number of English-speaking Canadians from Loyalists fleeing after the Revolution
- Most immigrants Scots, Irish, English, but a very open immigration policy
- Officially bilingual - French/English

Canadian English 2
- No official pronunciation - CBC encourages RP if there is a difference between GA/RP, but not officially required, and many regional variations exist
- Three major dialect regions: Newfoundland, Eastern, Western

Canadian Consonants
- pretty much like American English
- rhotic
- t voiced
- a few speakers distinguish /hw/ from /w/
  - whale/wail the same in GA, but not always in Canadian
- Older or highly educated speakers may use British RP
  - schedule, lieutenant as /ʃedʒəl, leftənənt/

Canadian Vowels
- Canadian Raising:
  - /au/, /aʊ/ become /əʊ/, /əʊ/
  - about -/əʊt/, write -/rət/, house -/həʊs/
- aunt and France - /æ/ more pronounced than GA
- been -/bən/, GA -/bɪn/
- either/neither -/(n)uːθər/; GA -/(n)ɪðər/

Prosody, Morphology, Syntax, Lexicon, Semantics
- Prosody - generally accented like GA, but a tendency to accent like the British
- Morphology/syntax generally identical to GA; got used for gotten, and here or there can be dropped (has he been yet?)
- Lexicon generally the same - British words and a high percentage of Algonquian
words

Semantics generally identical - tag expressions like “eh?”

US English in Africa and Asia

- Liberia - formed by freed slaves, 1822 - only African country whose English is patterned after GA
- Philippines - Spanish colony ceded to America; independent 1946 (English/Tagalog)