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Further Studies in the Lesser-Known Varieties of English. By Jeffrey R. Williams, Edgar W. Schneider, Peter Trudgill & Daniel Schreier (eds.). (Studies in Language Series). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2015. Pp. xvi, 345. Hardback \$105.

Although much of linguistic research is preoccupied with widely used and known languages and varieties that function as important social capital, there has always also been interest in so-called non-dominant languages. Early work, carried out by missionaries and those employed by imperialist governments often followed an assimilationist agenda, aiming to spread colonial worldviews and life-styles and/or to prove the inadequacy of other languages (Errington 2008). Modern linguistic research on non-dominant languages is predominantly less overtly concerned with larger societal questions and focuses instead on discipline-internal goals such as the discovery of new facts about human language, the testing of theoretical claims about language (Dixon 2008), and the gathering and preservation of linguistic data for posterity (Himmelman 2008).

Varieties of English do not typically figure in language documentation efforts, but research on them follows the broad goals of descriptive linguistics. The editors of the present volume, for instance, justify their focus on so-called lesser-known varieties by arguing that they might provide new “insights into larger questions in linguistics and sociolinguistics” (p. 1). Instead of discussing the precise nature of these insights, the editors tend towards questions of definition though. They propose eight characteristics to define the term lesser-known varieties of English and to justify juxtaposing descriptions of thirteen varieties of English from three broad regions – Europe, Americas, Asia and Pacific – in a single volume. Some criteria refer to broadly linguistic matters (linguistic distinctiveness, emergence from contact), others to sociolinguistic issues (important local means of communication, association with a stable speaker community, speakers as minorities, identity function, endangered status), and yet others are historical in nature (emergence from settler communities, adoption by emerging communities with substantial British inputs).

I first summarize the main socio-historical, sociolinguistic and linguistic characteristics of the thirteen varieties of English. I then assess whether the varieties in the volume constitute a distinctive category of varieties, as suggested by the editors, before commenting on a few final aspects of the volume. I follow the authors’ naming conventions for referring to varieties.

The varieties involved originate from different varieties of English. Palauan, and Malta and Gibraltar English are emerging from American and British English respectively but in all three cases an English-speaking settler community was not at the center of these relatively recent developments. American Indian English developed and spread in schools set up for American Indian children while Caribbean varieties developed from European Englishes – English, Irish and Scottish – spoken by indentured laborers and freed slaves, but also received important inputs from American English varieties (e.g. St Eustatius, Gustavia, Saban Englishes). Gullah West (also locally called Seminole and Mascogo) developed from different Caribbean Englishes and Creoles on North American plantations. Finally, Anglo-Paraguayan English originates with a community of Australian English speakers, Traveller English from Irish and English varieties of English.

With respect to their sociolinguistic situation, we find out that all varieties exist in contexts of contact though involving different levels of intensity. On Saba, St Eustatius and Palmerston Island contact with Dutch and Cook Island Māori respectively happens through the education system. In Malta, Gibraltar and Palau there is intense contact with the widely used L1s (Maltese, Yanito, Palauan) and other languages, while Bequia, American Indian, Gullah West, Palmerston Island, Traveller and Pasifika Englishes are mainly in contact with other Englishes. English plays an important role in all communities, but the details differ. Many varieties are the main vernacular of an ethnically or regionally defined community (e.g. Travellers, American Indians, Bequians, Sabans, Gullah West, St Eustatians, Gustavians, Palmerston Islanders) or of closely related communities (Pacific islanders). Some are spoken by national though not always recognized minorities (Traveller, Gustavia, Anglo-Paraguayan, American Indian, Pasifika Englishes) while others 'belong' to entire island communities (Palmerston Island, Bequia, Saba, St Eustatius, Gibraltar, Malta, Palau). Gibraltar, Malta, and Palau English are only now vernacularizing while others are currently acquired as first languages and used as community languages. Speaker numbers also vary. In some cases they are tiny (Palmerston Island English) while in others they are comparatively substantial (e.g. Malta, Gibraltar, Palau). Only some of the varieties are endangered (e.g. Gustavia English), one no longer has any speakers (Anglo-Paraguayan Englishes) and some are under pressure from other varieties of English (Pasifika Englishes, Irish Traveller English, American Indian Englishes). Finally, the varieties also perform different identity functions. Pasifika and American Indian Englishes index pan-community identities, Caribbean Englishes village-based identities that originate in settlement histories, and Palmerston Island English is linked to a clan founded by an Englishman. In Gibraltar, Malta and Palau, it is the hybrid patterns of use that instill a sense of identity.

The detailed linguistic descriptions are based on corpora of sound recordings which, however, vary in size and makeup. Some consist of a mere one hundred minutes (e.g. Anglo-Paraguayan) while others are substantial publicly available corpora (e.g. Maltese English). Some include mostly synchronic interview data and others also include situated language use and have a diachronic component. Despite this diversity, data sets are broadly comparable. The linguistic descriptions focus on distinctive traits, including variable linguistic features, and generally cover phonological, morpho-syntactic, syntactic and lexical properties. Some authors also mention pragmatic features such as discourse markers (Maltese, Traveller, American Indian, Pasifika Englishes) and/or usage-based issues namely code alternation practices (Gibraltar, Malta, Palauan Englishes).

As in other varieties of English, a number of common vocalic features are attested. Vowel mergers commonly affect one or more vowels – FLEECE-KIT, FOOT-GOOSE, LOT-THOUGHT and TRAP-STRUT – but are only socially stratified in some varieties as in Gibraltar where they are characteristic of older people's speech. Monothongization of the FACE and GOAT diphthongs and to a lesser extent those in NEAR and SQUARE (Palauan, Bequia English) occurs widely. Apart from slightly different realizations of vowel nuclei (e.g. PRICE in Saban and Gustavia English), some varieties do not at all (Maltese Englishes) or only variably (Bequia English) reduce vowels in unstressed syllables. In others (Bequia Englishes), long vowels (CLOTH, PALM) are shortened and centralized.

With respect to consonants, rhoticity varies across and within varieties due to social (Maltese English) or phonological factors (St Eustatius, Bequia, Pasifika and Palauan English). Only Gibraltar English appears to be fully non-rhotic and /r/ is also realized as a retroflex (Bequia English) or a trill (Palmerston Island English). TH-stopping is common but in some varieties there is variation between stop and interdental fricative realizations (St. Eustatius, Gustavia English) or between stops or alveolar fricatives (Palmerston Island, Pasifika English). Alveolar /l/ only is found in Gibraltar, Bequia, American Indian English while variation with velar /l/ is present in others (Palauan English). Other common processes include the merging of /v/ and /w/ (St Eustatius, Gustavia, Palmerston Island Englishes), yod-dropping (Traveller English), palatalization (Gustavia English), and the avoidance of consonant clusters (Palmerston Island English). American Indian English is probably unique in replacing oral stops with the glottal stop. Several articles also mention unique suprasegmental features such as variation in stress placement (Palmerston Island, Palauan, Traveller, Maltese Englishes), differences in pitch patterns (American Indian, Traveller English), and the adoption of a syllable-timed rhythm (Palauan, American Indian, Gibraltar English).

In relation to morpho-syntax, chapters highlight features in various domains. In the noun phrase, features documented include the variable omission of definite articles (Maltese, Traveller English, American Indian English), the absence of non-redundant plural marking (Traveller, American Indian, Bequia, Saban, Seminole, Palauan Englishes) and/or the use of analytic plural makers (e.g. *dem*) (Bequia, St Eustatius, Seminole). For pronouns, there is variation in the use of reflexive pronouns (Traveller, Bequia English), an absence of gender distinctions in 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular pronouns (American Indian English, Gullah West), and a higher incidence of null subjects (American Indian, Bequia, Palauan Englishes). For the verb phrase, the chapters deal with morphological issues such as the absence of subject-verb agreement, variation in the realization of the copula (Gullah West, Bequia, Saban, St Eustatius, Gustavia English) and marking of temporal distinctions and negation. Varieties use non-standard negation markers such as variants of *ain't* (Bequia, Saban English) or *nah* (Seminole). There is cross and intra-variety variation in the interpretation of the unmarked verb form: it may have present and past time (Bequia, Saban, St Eustatius, Gullah West) or also future time reference (Palmerston Island English). Past time is also conveyed by special verb forms or by preverbal *bin* (Seminole, Bequia English) and future by preverbal *will* or *going*. Habitual aspect shows the greatest amount of variation being expressed by *be* and *-s* (Saban English), *do be* (Traveller English) and *doz*, *deh*, *ah* and forms used in standardized varieties (Bequia, St Eustatius Englishes). Finally, flexibility in word order is attested in American Indian Englishes.

The overview discussion suggests that the thirteen varieties do not constitute a distinct category of varieties as regards their sociolinguistic status and history as they emerged and currently exist in very different social conditions. Linguistically, there appears to be less diversity. Unless this results from a theoretical bias, this would be evidence in favor of their distinctiveness, if the same phenomena did not also figure prominently in discussions of other varieties of English. There is some indication of subtle differences in the distribution of shared variable features but since most contributions do not systematically explore patterns of variation using quantitative or qualitative sociolinguistic methods, or refer to related studies that do this (e.g. the

chapter on Bequia), this level of distinctiveness remains mostly hidden. Finally, there is the issue of origins of features, which does receive attention in the article on Traveller English. Other chapters occasionally invoke different mechanisms of change (substrate or adstrate influence, retention, language-internal changes) or highlight special social conditions such as relative isolation - Gibraltar, Palmerston Island English - and settlement histories - Bequia, Saba English - but do not discuss the linguistic and sociohistorical linkages in-depth.

The chapters also vary in other respects. Some articles are around forty pages long (Malta, Palau Englishes) while others are less than half that length (Bequia, Anglo-Paraguyan, Pasifika Englishes). In some, primary importance is given to linguistic aspects (Bequia Englishes), whereas others include substantial sociohistorical sections with a less detailed linguistic section (Anglo-Paraguyan Englishes). Many of the chapters privilege sociohistorical over sociolinguistic matters in line with the current diachronic focus of research on varieties of English. Moreover, patterns of variation are noted, but especially their social correlates receive little systematic attention in most contributions. Given that many of the locations referred to in the volume are little known, it is unfortunate that only three of the chapters (Malta, Bequia, and Saba English) include illustrative maps. Last but not least, a discussion of theoretical issues in research on varieties of English and an assessment of the conclusions that can be derived from the contributions in the introduction or a concluding chapter would have much enhanced the coherence of the volume. As it stands, the primary contribution of the volume seems to be in the area of expanding our empirical base rather than fundamentally tackling wider theoretical or typological questions.

Lesser-known varieties of English may not constitute a unique category of varieties of English, but that does not make them less interesting or worthy of study. The thirteen chapters provide a wealth of insights into the spread and ways of how English is appropriated around the world. They prove wrong the commonly held assumption that linguistic heterogeneity is a property of large urban populations and provide an excellent starting point for sociolinguistic, contact linguistic and linguistic anthropological research projects that will unearth more detailed insights into the dynamics of language use outside of the urban western context.

Dixon, R. M.W. 2007. Field linguistics: a minor manual. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 60(1): 12–31.

Errington, Joseph J. 2008. *Linguistics in a Colonial World: A Story of Language, Meaning and Power*. New York: Blackwell.

Himmelman, Nikolaus P. 2008. Reproduction and preservation of linguistic knowledge: Linguistics' Response to language endangerment. *Annual Reviews of Anthropology* 37: 337-350.