

## *Appendix: An Inventory of Distinguishing Dialect Features*

The following inventory summarizes many of the dialect features of American English mentioned in the text, as well as some features not covered. It is limited to phonological and grammatical features. For each of the features, a brief general comment is given about the linguistic patterning of the feature, as well as a statement about its dialect distribution. We emphasize items that are socially significant in terms of the standard–vernacular continuum rather than those that are strictly regional, although many of the features are both socially and regionally meaningful. To the extent possible, traditional orthography is used in representing forms, but this is not possible in all cases. Exhaustive descriptions of a full range of North American English dialects are found in Kortman et al. (2004) and Schneider et al. (2004). More comprehensive descriptions of Southern American English vernaculars are found in works such as Bailey (2001) and Cukor-Avila (2001), and more extensive descriptions of Appalachian English are found in Wolfram and Christian (1976) and Montgomery and Hall (2004). Descriptions of African American English (AAE) structures are found in Rickford (1999) and Green (2002). In our discussion of dialect features, we often use the term general American English as a basis of comparison. This term is used simply to refer to varieties of English that are not characterized by the particular dialect trait under discussion. Though this use is related to the term “standard English,” it avoids some of the value judgments often associated with the label “standard.” Furthermore, in many cases, differences between dialects may be equally standard (or nonstandard), so that the distinction between standard and vernacular is not always appropriate.

### **Phonological Features**

#### *Consonants*

##### *Final cluster reduction*

Word-final consonant clusters ending in a stop can be reduced when both members of the cluster are either voiced (e.g. *find*, *cold*) or voiceless (*act*, *test*). This process affects both clusters that are a part of the base word (e.g. *find*, *act*) and those clusters formed through the addition of an *-ed* suffix (e.g. *guessed*, *liked*). In general American English, this pattern may operate when the following word begins with a consonant (e.g. *bes' kind*), but in vernacular dialects, it is extended to include following words beginning with a vowel as well (e.g. *bes' apple*). This pattern is quite prominent in AAE and English-based creoles; it is also common in dialects of English that retain influence from other languages, such as Latino English, Vietnamese English, Hmong English, and so forth. It is not particularly noticeable in other American English dialects.

##### *Plurals following clusters*

Words ending in *-sp* (e.g. *wasps*), *-sk* (e.g. *desks*), and *-st* (e.g. *tests*) may take the “long plural” *-es* (phonetically [ɪz]) plural in many vernacular varieties, following the reduction of their final

clusters to *-s*. Thus, items such as *tes'* for *test* and *des'* for *desk* will be pluralized as *tesses* and *desses*, respectively, just as words ending in *-s* or other *s*-like sounds in general American English (e.g., *bus*, *buzz*) are pluralized with an *-es* ending (*buses*, *buzzes*).

In some rural varieties of English such as Appalachian and Southeastern coastal varieties, the *-es* plural may occur even without the reduction of the final cluster to *-s*, yielding plural forms such as *postes* and *deskes*. Such forms are considerably rarer in AAE and seem to be a function of hypercorrection, in which speakers who formerly produced *desses* for *desks* simply add the *k* while retaining the long plural *-es*, resulting in forms like *deskes*.

#### *Intrusive t*

A small set of items, usually ending in *-s* and *-f* in the standard variety, may be produced with a final *t*. This results in a final consonant cluster. Typical items affected by this process are *oncet* [wʌnst], *twicet* [twaɪst], *cliff*, and *across*. Intrusive *t* is primarily found in Appalachian varieties and other rural varieties characterized by the retention of older forms.

A quite different kind of intrusive *t* involves the “doubling” of an *-ed* form. In this instance, speakers add the “long past form” *-ed* (phonetically [ɪd]) to verbs that are already marked with an *-ed* ending pronounced as *t* (e.g. [lʊkt] “looked”). This process yields forms such as *lookted* for *looked* and *attacked* for *attacked*. In effect, the speaker treats the verb as if its base form ends in a *t* so that it is eligible for the long past form that regularly is attached to verbs ending in *t* or *d*.

#### *th sounds*

There are a number of different processes that affect *th* sounds. The phonetic production of *th* is sensitive to the position of *th* in the word and the sounds adjacent to it. At the beginning of the word, *th* tends to be produced as a corresponding stop, as in *dey* for *they* ([d] for [ð]) and *ting* for *thing* ([t] for [θ]). These productions are fairly typical of a wide range of vernaculars, although there are some differences in the distribution of stopped variants for voiced vs. voiceless *th* ([ð] vs. [θ]). The use of *t* in *thing* (voiceless *th*) tends to be most characteristic of selected European American and second-language-influenced varieties, whereas the use of *d* in *they* (voiced *th*) is spread across the full spectrum of vernacular varieties.

Before nasals (*m*, *n*, *ng*), *th* participates in a process in which a range of fricatives, including *z*, *th*, and *v*, may also become stops. This results in forms such as *arithmetic* for *arithmeti* or *headn* for *heathen*, as well as *wadn't* for *wasn't*, *idn't* for *isn't*, and *sebm* for *seven*. This pattern is typically found in Southern-based vernacular varieties, including Southern European American and African American vernacular varieties.

In word-final position and between vowels within a word (that is, in intervocalic position), *th* may be produced as *f* or *v*, as in *efer* for *ether*, *toof* for *tooth*, *brover* for *brother*, and *smoov* for *smooth*. This production is typical of vernacular varieties of AAE, with the *v* for voiced *th* [ð] production more typical of Eastern vernacular varieties. Some Southern-based European American dialects, as well as some varieties influenced by other languages in the recent past, also have the *f* production in *tooth*.

Some restricted varieties use a stop *d* for intervocalic voiced *th* as in *oder* for *other* or *broder* for *brother*, but this pattern is much less common than the use of a stop for *th* in word-initial position.

#### *r and l*

There are a number of different linguistic contexts in which *r* and *l* may be lost or reduced to a vowel-like quality. After a vowel, as in *sister* or *steal*, the *r* and *l* may be reduced or lost. This feature is quite typical of traditional Southern speech and Eastern New England speech. It is a receding feature of Southern European American English, especially in metropolitan areas.

Between vowels, *r* also may be lost, as in *Ca'ol* for *Carol* or *du'ing* for *during*. Intervocalic *r* loss is more socially stigmatized than postvocalic *r* loss and is found in rural, Southern-based vernaculars.

Following a consonant, the *r* may be lost if it precedes a rounded vowel such as *u* or *o*, resulting in pronunciations such as *thu* for *through* and *tho* for *throw*. Postconsonantal *r* loss may also be found if *r* occurs in an unstressed syllable, as in *p'ofessor* for *professor* or *sec'etary* for *secretary*. This type of *r*-lessness is found primarily in Southern-based varieties. Before a bilabial sound such as *p*, *l* may be lost completely, giving pronunciations like *woof* for *wolf* or *hep* for *help*. Again, this is characteristic only of Southern-based varieties. Other regional dialects (e.g. Pittsburgh, Philadelphia) sometimes vocalize *l* after a vowel to the point where it is almost indistinguishable from a vowel, thus making the words *vow* and *Val* sound the same.

Sometimes *r*-lessness causes one lexical item to converge with another. Thus, the use of *they* for *their* as in *theyself* or *they book* apparently derives from the loss of *r* on *their*, even though speakers who currently use *they* in such constructions may no longer associate it with *r*-less *their*.

There are also occasional instances in which an intrusive *r* may occur, so that items such as *wash* may be pronounced as *warsh* and *idea* as *idear*. Certain instances of intrusive *r* are the result of a generalized pronunciation process, whereby *r* can be added on to the ends of vowel-final words (e.g. *idear*), particularly when these words precede vowel-initial words (*the idear of it*). Other cases (e.g. *warsh*) seem to be restricted to particular lexical items and are highly regionally restricted as well.

#### *Initial w reduction*

In unstressed positions within a phrase, an initial *w* may be lost in items such as *was* and *one*. This results in items such as *She's* [ʃɪz] *here yesterday* for *She was here yesterday* and *young 'uns* for *young ones*. This appears to be an extension of the process affecting the initial *w* of the modals *will* and *would* in standard varieties of English (as in *he'll* for *he will*, or *she'd* for *she would*). This process is found in Southern-based vernaculars.

#### *Unstressed initial syllable loss*

The general process of deleting unstressed initial syllables in informal speech styles of general American English (e.g. *'cause* for *because*; *'round* for *around*) is extended in vernacular varieties so that a wider range of word classes, for example, verbs such as *'member* for *remember* or nouns such as *'taters* for *potatoes*, and a wider range of initial syllable types (e.g. *re-* as in *'member* for *remember*, *su-* as in *'spect* for *suspect*) are affected by this process.

#### *Initial h retention*

The retention of *h* on the pronoun *it* [hit] and the auxiliary *ain't* [heɪnt] is still found in vernacular varieties retaining some older English forms, such as Appalachian English and Outer Banks English. This form is more prominent in stressed positions within a sentence. The pronunciation is fading out among younger speakers.

#### *Nasals*

There are a number of processes that affect nasal sounds; there are also items that are influenced by the presence of nasals in the surrounding linguistic environment.

One widespread process in vernacular varieties is so-called “g-dropping,” in which the nasal [ŋ], represented as *ng* in spelling, is pronounced as [n]. This process takes place when the *ng* occurs in an unstressed syllable, as in *swimmin'* for *swimming* or *buyin'* for *buying*. Linguists refer to this process as “velar fronting” since it involves the fronting of the velar nasal [ŋ], produced toward the back of the mouth, to [n], a more fronted nasal sound.

A less widespread phenomenon affecting nasals is the deletion of the word-final nasal segment in items such as *man*, *beam*, and *ring*, particularly when the item is in a relatively unstressed position within the sentence. Even though the nasal is deleted, the words still retain their final nasal character, because the vowel preceding the *n* has been nasalized, through an assimilation process common to all varieties of English. Thus, *man*, *beam*, and *ring* may be pronounced as *ma'* [mæ̃], *bea'* [bɪ̃], and *ri'* [rɪ̃], respectively, with the vowel carrying a nasal

quality. Most frequently, this process affects the segment *n*, although all final nasal segments may be affected to some extent. This process is typical of AAE.

The phonetic quality of vowels may be affected before nasal consonants, as in the well-known merger of the contrast between [ɪ] and [ɛ] before nasals as in *pin* and *pen*. Some Southern dialects restrict this merger to a following *n*, whereas others extend it to following *m* (e.g. *Kim* and *chem*) and [ŋ] as well.

#### *Devoicing*

Consonant devoicing entails the phonetic change of voiced sounds to their voiceless counterparts, as in [d] to [t], or [z] to [s]. This pattern is quite prominent in dialects of English that retain influence from other languages, such as varieties like Pennsylvania German English, Wisconsin English, and Jewish English, so that words like *lose* sound like *loose*. It is especially common in Pennsylvania German English and Jewish English to devoice word-final voiced stops (e.g., *-b*, *-d*, *-g*), so that a word like *bad* sounds more like *bat*. Word-final [d] devoicing is also common in AAE (although many times the final stop becomes glottalized, so that *wood* is pronounced more like [wɔʔ]).

#### *Other consonants*

There are a number of other consonantal patterns that affect limited sets of items or single words. For example, speakers have used *aks* for *ask* for over a thousand years and still continue to use it in several vernacular varieties, including vernacular AAE. The form *chimley* or *chimbley* for *chimney* is also found in a number of Southern-based vernaculars. The use of *k* in initial (*s*)*tr* clusters as in *skreet* for *street* or *skring* for *string* is found in vernacular AAE, particularly rural Southern varieties. Such items are usually very noticeable and tend to be socially stigmatized, but they occur with such limited sets of words that they are best considered on an item-by-item basis.

### *Vowels*

There are many vowel patterns that differentiate the dialects of English, but the majority of these are more regionally than socially significant. The back vowel THOUGHT and the front vowel TRAP are particularly sensitive to regional variation, as are many vowels before *r* (e.g. compare pronunciations of *merry*, *marry*, *Mary*, *Murray*) and *l* (compare *wheel*, *will*, *well*, *whale*, etc.). Although it is not possible here to indicate all the nuances of phonetic difference reflected in the vowels of American English, several major patterns of pronunciation may be identified.

#### *Vowel shifts*

There are several shifts in the phonetic values of vowels that are currently taking place in American English. The important aspect of these shifts is the fact that the vowels are not shifting their phonetic values in isolation but as rotating systems of vowels. As noted in the text, one major rotation is the Northern Cities Vowel Shift. In this rotation, the phonetic values of two series of vowels are affected; the low long back vowels are moving forward and upward, and the short front vowels are moving downward and backward. For example, the THOUGHT vowel, as in *coffee*, is moving forward toward the LOT vowel of *lock*. The LOT vowel, in turn, moves towards the TRAP vowel, so that outsiders sometimes confuse *lock* with *lack*. The TRAP vowel, in turn, moves upward toward the DRESS vowel. At the same time, another rotation moves the KIT vowel toward the DRESS vowel. The DRESS vowel, in turn, moves backward toward the STRUT vowel, which is then pushed back. Short vowels and long vowels tend to rotate as different subsystems within the overall vowel system. Diagrammatically, the shift may be represented as shown in figure A.1. In this chart, front vowels appear to the left of the chart and high vowels towards the top. For convenience, “key

words” in terms of idealized standard American English phonemes are given. The arrows point in the direction of the phonetic rotations taking place in the shift.

Regionally, the pattern of vowel rotation represented in figure A.1 starts in Western New England and proceeds westward into the northern tier of Pennsylvania; the extreme northern portions of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois; Michigan; and Wisconsin. It is concentrated in the larger metropolitan areas. More advanced stages of this change can be found in younger speakers in the largest metropolitan areas in this Northern region, such as Buffalo, Albany, Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago. Minority groups in these metropolitan areas tend not to participate in this phonetic shift.

The Southern Vowel Shift is quite different from the Northern Cities Vowel Shift. In this rotation pattern, the short front vowels (DRESS and KIT) are moving upward and taking on the gliding character of long vowels. In general American English, a vowel like FACE actually consists of a vowel nucleus and glide, where the nucleus is like the DRESS vowel and the glide is like the FLEECE vowel, whereas a vowel like DRESS vowel does not have this gliding character, at least not in the idealized standard variety. In the Southern Vowel Shift, DRESS vowel takes on a glide, becoming more like *beyd* [bɛɪd]. Meanwhile, the long front vowels (FLEECE and FACE) are moving somewhat backward and downward, and the back vowels (GOOSE and GOAT) are moving forward. This phonetic rotation is illustrated in figure A.2.

A third, more recent vowel shift is the Northern California Vowel Shift. Like the Southern Vowel Shift, the back vowels are moving forward, so the GOOSE vowel becomes more like *giws* and the GOAT vowel more like *gewt*. But the front vowels are shifting in quite different directions. The KIT vowel is rising towards the FLEECE vowel before *ng* and lowering towards the DRESS vowel before other consonants. Meanwhile, the DRESS vowel is lowering towards the trap vowel, which in turn, is shifting in two directions. The TRAP vowel becomes a diphthong like *stee-and* for *stand* before nasals, while it shifts towards the LOT vowel elsewhere, so that *hat* sounds closer to *hot*. This shift is illustrated in figure A.3.

#### *Low back vowel merger*

One of the major regional pronunciation processes affecting vowels is the merger of the low back vowel, THOUGHT, and the low back/central vowel, LOT. This merger means that word pairs like *caught* and *cot* or *Dawn* and *Don* are pronounced the same. This regional merger radiates from several areas, one in Eastern New England, centered near the Boston area, one centered in Western Pennsylvania in the Ohio Valley, and one covering a large portion of the American West, excluding major metropolitan areas such as Los Angeles and San Francisco.

#### *Other vowel mergers*

There are a number of vowel mergers or “near mergers” that take place when vowels occur before certain kinds of consonants. The following mergers may occur before *r*, *l*, and the nasal segments (*m*, *n*, *ng*).

- | THOUGHT and LOT, as in *Dawn* and *Don* (Western Pennsylvania, Eastern New England, much of the Western US)
- | KIT and FLEECE before /l/, as in *field* and *filled* (South; sporadically elsewhere)
- | FACE and DRESS before /l/, as in *sale* and *sell* (South; sporadically elsewhere)
- | GOOSE and FOOT before /l/, as in *pool* and *pull* (South; sporadically elsewhere)
- | FACE, DRESS, TRAP before /r/, as in *Mary*, *merry*, *marry* (many areas of the US, including the South)
- | KIT and DRESS before nasals, as in *pin* and *pen* (South)

Different dialects naturally may be distinguished by the kinds of mergers in which they participate. Thus, some varieties in the South and some other areas of the United States merge the vowels of *Mary*, *merry*, and *marry*, while the regional dialect of Southeastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey that encompasses Philadelphia merges *merry* and *Murray* at the same time that it keeps these items distinct from *Mary* and *marry*.

Other dialects may be characterized by vowel shifts in which a vowel moves so close to another vowel that speakers from other dialect areas may think the two sounds have merged. In reality, a subtle distinction between the two sounds is maintained. For example, the backed and raised PRICE vowel of the Outer Banks of North Carolina in words like *tide* may seem quite similar to the CHOICE vowel, but it is maintained as distinct. Similarly, the KIT vowel may be raised so that it sounds almost like FLEECE, particularly before palatals such as *sh* and *tch*, so that people may hear *feesh* for *fish* and *reach* for *rich*. Just as with PRICE and CHOICE, though, a distinction between KIT and FLEECE is preserved. This near merger is also found in some mainland Southern varieties, including the Upper Southern variety of Appalachian English. Isolated varieties may also retain a lower vowel production of TRAP before *r* so that *there* may sound like *thar* and *bear* like *bar*.

#### *TRAP (æ) raising*

The vowel of words such as *back* or *bag* may be raised from its typical phonetic position so that it is produced closer to the DRESS vowel. The feature is found in a number of Northern areas and is an integral part of the Northern Cities Vowel Shift.

#### *Variants of MOUTH (au)*

The vowel nucleus of words like *out*, *loud*, and *do wn* may be produced in a number of different ways. In one pronunciation, which is sometimes referred to as Canadian Raising because of its prominence in certain areas of Canada, the nucleus of MOUTH is pronounced as a mid central (COMMA) rather than low vowel (LOT), so that a phrase such as *out and about* sounds like *oat and aboat* [əʊt n əbəʊt]. This pronunciation is found in coastal Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, as well as some scattered dialect regions in Northern areas. Other dialect areas (e.g. Philadelphia) pronounce MOUTH with a fronted nucleus [æ], as in [dæʊn] for *down*; and there is at least one dialect area (Pittsburgh) where /au/ may be produced with little or no glide as well, as in *dahntahn* for *downtown*.

In a somewhat different production, the glide of MOUTH may be fronted as well as the nucleus, so that *brown* [bræɪn] may actually be confused with *brain* and *house* [hæɪs] may be confused with *highest*. This production is concentrated in the coastal dialects of the Mid-Atlantic and Southeastern US, such as those of Smith Island and Tangier Island in the Chesapeake Bay and the North Carolina Outer Banks.

#### *Variants of ai*

Several different processes may affect the diphthong PRICE in words such as *time*, *tide*, and *tight*. The FLEECE glide which forms the second half of this PRICE diphthong (made up of [a] + [ɪ]) may be lost, yielding pronunciations such as [tam] for *time* and [tad] for *tide*. This glide loss, or ungliding, is characteristic of practically all Southern-based vernaculars and is not particularly socially significant in the South. The absence of the glide is more frequent when the following segment is a voiced sound (e.g. *side*, *time*) than when it is a voiceless one (e.g. *sight*, *rice*), and only certain European American Southern varieties exhibit extensive ungliding of the PRICE vowel before voiceless sounds.

Another process affecting some varieties of American English involves the pronunciation of the nucleus of the PRICE/ai/ vowel as a mid central (COMMA) rather than low vowel (LOT), so that *tide* and *tight* may be produced as [təɪd] and [tətɪt]. This process often parallels the raising of the nucleus of the MOUTH vowel and is also referred to as Canadian Raising because of its widespread presence in Canada. In the US, this type of PRICE raising is found in the Tidewater Virginia area and other Eastern coastal communities. It is especially common before voiceless sounds (e.g. [tətɪt] “tight”).

The nucleus of PRICE may also be backed and/or raised (that is, [aɪ] is pronounced as something like [ʌ<sup>ɪ</sup>]) so that it sounds quite close to the CHOICE vowel. This backing and raising is associated with the Outer Banks of North Carolina, where speakers are referred to as “hoi toiders” for *high tiders*. A few other dialects of American English use a backed nucleus

for the PRICE vowel, including New York City English and some mainland Southern varieties. For other differences in vowel nuclei and glides, see chapter 3.

#### *Final unstressed BOAT (ou)*

In word-final position, general American English *ow*, as in *hollow* or *yellow*, may become *r*, giving *holler* or *yeller*, respectively. This “intrusive *r*” also occurs when suffixes are attached, as in *fellers* for *fellows* or *narrers* for *narrows*. This production is characteristic of Southern mountain varieties such as those found in Appalachia or the Ozarks, although it is found to some extent in rural varieties in the lowland South as well.

#### *Final unstressed COMMA (ə) raising*

Final unstressed *a* (or the COMMA vowel), as in *soda* or *extra*, may be raised to a high vowel (FLEECE/HAPPY) giving productions such as *sody* (phonetically [sodi]) and *extry* [ɛkstri]). Again, this production is found in rural Southern vernaculars.

#### *Other variations of schwa*

In most varieties of English, the vowel in unstressed syllables is reduced to a schwa-like quality, so that, for example, *because* sounds like *buhcause* [bəkɔz] and *today* like *tuhday* [tədeɪ]. However, speakers of Chicano English are more likely to produce a non-reduced vowel closer to the FLEECE vowel or the GOOSE vowel, as in *beecause* [bikɔz] or *tooday* [tudeɪ].

#### *ire/our collapse*

The sequence spelled *ire*, usually produced in general American English as a two-syllable sequence which includes the PRICE diphthong (i.e. [taɪ.ə] “tire”; [faɪ.ə] “fire”), can be collapsed into a one-syllable sequence when the PRICE vowel is unglided to the LOT vowel. This process yields pronunciations such as *far* for *fire* and *tar* for *tire*. It affects not only root words like *fire* but also the PRICE vowel + *er* sequences formed by the addition of an *-er* suffix, as in *buyer* [bar]. A similar process affects *-our/-ower* sequences which phonetically consist of a two-syllable sequence involving the MOUTH diphthong and *r*, as in *flower* [flaʊ.ə] or *hour* [aʊ.ə]. These sequences may be reduced to a single syllable, so that *flower* sounds like *fla'r* [flar] and *hour* like *a'r* [ar].

## Grammatical Features

### *The verb phrase*

Many of the socially significant grammatical structures in American English varieties involve aspects of the verb phrase. Some of this variation is due to the principles of readjustment discussed in chapter 2, but there are also some items that have their roots in the historical origins of different dialect varieties.

#### *Irregular verbs*

There are five ways in which irregular verbs pattern differently in standard and vernacular dialects of English. For the most part, these different patterns are the result of analogy, but there are also some retentions of patterns that have become obsolete in standard varieties. These differences are as follows:

- 1 past as participle form

- I *had went* down there.
- He may *have took* the wagon.
- 2 participle as past form
  - He *seen* something out there.
  - She *done* her work.
- 3 bare root as past form
  - She *come* to my house yesterday.
  - She *give* him a nice present last year.
- 4 regularization
  - Everybody *knowed* he was late.
  - They *throwed* out the old food.
- 5 different irregular form
  - I *hearn* [heard] something shut the church house door.
  - Something just *riz* [rose] up right in front of me.

Dialects vary according to which of the above patterns they exhibit. The majority of vernaculars in the North and South indicate patterns 1, 2, and 3. Some rural vernaculars in the South may exhibit pattern 5 in addition to the first three. Varieties subject to the influence of second-language-learning strategies will often reveal a higher incidence of regularization pattern 4 than other varieties.

#### *Co-occurrence relations and meaning changes*

There are a number of different types of constructions that can vary from dialect to dialect based on the types of structures that can co-occur with certain verbs. There are also meaning changes that affect particular verbs. These constructions and meaning changes include the following types:

- 1 shifts in the transitive status of verbs (i.e. whether or not the verb must take an object)
  - If we *beat*, we'll be champs.
- 2 types of complement structures co-occurring with particular verbs
  - The kitchen *needs remodeled*.
  - The students *started to messing* around.
  - I'll *have him to do* it.
  - The dog *wanted out*.
  - Walt *calls himself dancing*.
- 3 verb plus verb particle formations
  - He *happened in* on the party.
  - The coach *blessed out* [swore at, yelled at] his players.
- 4 use of progressive with stative verbs
  - He *was liking* the new house.
  - She *was wanting* to get out.
- 5 verbs derived from other parts of speech (e.g. verbs derived from nouns)
  - Our dog *treed* a coon.
  - We *doctored* the sickness ourselves.
- 6 broadened, narrowed, or shifted semantic reference for particular verb forms
  - He *carried* her to the movies.
  - My kids *took* the chicken pox when they were young.
  - I been *aimin'* to [intending] go there.

For the most part, differences related to meaning changes and co-occurrence relations have to be dealt with on an item-by-item basis. All vernaculars, and many regional varieties, indicate meaning shifts and co-occurrence relations not found in standard English to any great extent.



### *Special auxiliary forms*

There are a number of special uses of auxiliary forms that set apart vernacular dialects of English from their standard counterparts. Many of these auxiliaries indicate subtle but significant meanings related to the duration or type of activity indicated by verbs, or “verb aspect.”

#### *Completive done*

The form *done* when used with a past tense verb may mark a completed action or event in a way somewhat different from a simple past tense form, as in a sentence such as *There was one in there that **done** rotted away* or *I **done** forgot what you wanted*. In this use, the emphasis is on the “completive” aspect or the fact that the action has been fully completed. The *done* form may also add intensification to the activity, as in *I **done** told you not to mess up*. This form is typically found in Southern European American and African American vernaculars.

#### *Habitual be*

The form *be* in sentences such as *Sometimes my ears **be** itching* or *She usually **be** home in the evening* may signify an event or activity distributed intermittently over time or space. Habitual *be* is most often used in *be* + verb *-ing* constructions, as in *My ears **be** itching*. The unique aspectual meaning of *be* is typically associated with AAE, although isolated and restricted constructions with habitual *be* have been found in some rural European American varieties. In recent stylized uses often associated with hip-hop culture, the form has been extended to refer to intensified stativity or super-real status, as in *I **be** the truth*.

#### *Be + s*

In some restricted parts of the South (e.g. areas of the Carolinas where the historic influence of Highland Scots and Scots-Irish is evident), *be* may occur with an *-s* third-person suffix as in *Sometimes it **bes** like that* or *I hope it **bes** a girl*. However, *bes* is not restricted to contexts of habitual activity and thus is different from habitual *be* in AAE. *Bes* is also distinguished from *be* in contemporary AAE by the inflectional *-s*; further, *bes* is a receding form, while *be* in AAE is quite robust and escalating.

#### *Remote time béen*

When stressed, *béen* can serve to mark a special aspectual function, indicating that the event or activity took place in the “distant past” but is still relevant. In structures such as *I **béen** had it there for years* or *I **béen** known her*, the reference is to an event that took place, literally or figuratively, in some distant time frame. This use, which is associated with vernacular AAE, is dying out in some varieties of this dialect.

#### *Fixin’ to*

The use of *fixin’ to* (also pronounced as *fixta*, *fista*, *finsta*, and *finna*) may occur with a verb with the meaning of “about to” or “planning to”. Thus, in a sentence such as *It’s **fixin’ to** rain*, the occurrence of rain is imminent. In a construction such as *I was **fixin’ to** come but I got held up*, the speaker is indicating that he or she had intended to come. This special use of *fixin’ to* is found only in the South, particularly in the South Atlantic and Gulf states.

#### *Indignant come*

The use of the form *come* as an auxiliary in sentences such as *She **come** acting like she was real mad* or *He **come** telling me I didn’t know what I was talking about* may convey a special sense of speaker indignation. It is a camouflaged form, in the sense that it appears to be much like a comparable general American English use of *come* with movement verbs (e.g. *She came running home*), but it does not function in the same way as its standard counterpart. It is found in AAE.

#### A- prefixing

An *a-* prefix may occur on *-ing* forms functioning as verbs or as complements of verbs as in *She was a-comin' home* or *He made money a-fishin'*. This form cannot occur on *-ing* forms that function as nouns or adjectives. Thus, it cannot occur in sentences such as *\*He likes a-sailin'* or *\*The movie was a-charmin'*. The *a-* is also restricted phonologically, in that it occurs only on forms whose first syllable is accented; thus, it may occur on *a-followin'* but not usually on *\*a-discóverin'*. As currently used by some speakers, the *a-* prefix may be used to indicate intensity, but it does not appear to have any unique aspectual marking analogous to habitual *be* or completive *done*. It is associated with vernacular Southern mountain speech but is found in many other rural varieties as well. To a lesser degree, an *a-* prefix also can be attached to other verb forms, such as participles in *She's a-worked there* or even to simple past forms as in *She a-wondered what happened*.

#### Double modals

Double modals are combinations of two modal verbs, or verbs expressing certain “moods” such as certainty, possibility, obligation, or permission. Possible combinations include *might could*, *useta could*, *might should*, *might oughta*, and so forth. Sentences such as *I might could go there* or *You might oughta take it* are typically Southern vernacular structures; in Northern varieties, modal clustering occurs only with *useta*, as in *He useta couldn't do it*. Double modals tend to lessen the force of the attitude or obligation conveyed by single modals, so that *She might could do it* is less forceful than either *She might do it* or *She could do it*. In some Southern regions, double modals are quite widespread and not particularly stigmatized.

#### Liketa and (su)poseta

The forms *liketa* and *(su)poseta* may be used as special verb modifiers to mark the speaker's perceptions that a significant event was on the verge of happening. *Liketa* is an avertive, in that it is used to indicate an impending event that was narrowly avoided. It is often used in a figurative rather than literal sense; for example, in a sentence such as *It was so cold, I liketa froze to death*, the speaker may never have been in any real danger of freezing, but the use of *liketa* underscores the intensity of the condition. *(Su)poseta*, in sentences such as *You (su)poseta went there*, parallels the general American English construction *supposed to have*.

#### Quotative *be like* and *go*

Over the past few decades, the use of *be like* and *go* to introduce a quote (e.g. *So she's like, "Where are you going?" and I go, "Where do you think?"*) has shown phenomenal growth. Once associated with Valley Girl talk in California, it is now used throughout North America, as well as the British Isles, Australia, and New Zealand. It is also now used in a wide variety of vernacular varieties, even some situated in comparative cultural or regional isolation. Because of its relatively recent expansion, it is much more common among speakers born after the 1960s than those born earlier, though it is now even being adopted by some older speakers. Some speakers of AAE may still use *say* to introduce a quote, as in *I told him, say, "Where you going?"* but its use is rapidly receding. In fact, quotative *be like* is taking over in AAE as it is in other dialects. Quotative *be like* can also be used in a somewhat more figurative sense, to introduce an imagined quote, or what the speaker was thinking rather than literally saying at the time, as in *I was like "What is wrong with you?"* A related form is quotative *be all*, as in a sentence such as *I was all, "What's going on?"*

#### Absence of *be* forms

Where contracted forms of *is* or *are* may occur in general American English, these same forms may be absent in some vernacular varieties. Thus, we get structures such as *You ugly* or *She taking the dog out* corresponding to the general American English structures *You're ugly* and *She's taking the dog out*, respectively. It is important to note that this absence takes place only on “contractible” forms; thus, it does not affect *they are* in a construction such as *That's where they are*, since *they are* cannot be contracted to *they're* in this instance. Furthermore, the

absence of *be* does not usually apply to *am*, so that sentences such as *I ugly* do not occur. The deletion of *are* is typical of both Southern European American and African American varieties, although the absence of *is* is not very extensive in most European American vernaculars. A more general version of *be* absence – that includes *am* and past tense – is sometimes found in varieties developed in the process of learning English as a second language.

#### *Subject–verb agreement*

There are a number of different subject–verb agreement patterns that enter into the social and regional differentiation of dialects. These include the following:

- 1 agreement with existential *there*  
*There was* five people there.  
*There's two women* in the lobby.
- 2 leveling to *was* for past tense forms of *be*  
*The cars was* out on the street.  
*Most of the kids was* younger up there.
- 3 leveling to *were* with negative past tense *be*  
*It weren't* me that was there last night.  
*She weren't* at the creek.
- 4 leveling to *is* for present tense forms of *be*  
*The dogs is* in the house.  
*We is doing* it right now.
- 5 agreement with the form *don't*  
*She don't* like the cat in the house.  
*It don't* seem like a holiday.
- 6 agreement with *have*  
*My nerves has* been on edge.  
*My children hasn't* been there much.
- 7 -s suffix on verbs occurring with third-person plural noun phrase subjects  
*Some people likes* to talk a lot.  
*Me and my brother gets* in fights.
- 8 -s absence on third-person singular forms  
*The dog stay* outside in the afternoon.  
*She usually like* the evening news.

Different vernacular varieties exhibit different patterns in terms of the above list. Virtually all vernacular varieties show patterns 1, 2, and 5 above (in fact, MAE varieties are moving towards the pattern found in 1), but in different degrees. The patterns illustrated in 6 and 7 above are most characteristic of rural varieties in the South, and that in 8 is most typical of vernacular AAE. The leveling of past *be* to *weren't* in 3 appears to be regionally restricted to some coastal dialect areas of the Southeast such as the Eastern Shore of Virginia and Maryland, and the Outer Banks of North Carolina.

#### *Past tense absence*

Many cases of past tense *-ed* absence on verbs (e.g. *Yesterday he mess up*) can be accounted for by the phonological process of consonant cluster reduction found in the discussion of phonology. However, there are some instances in which the use of unmarked past tense forms represents a genuine grammatical difference. Such cases are particularly likely to be found in varieties influenced by other languages in their recent past. Thus, structures such as *He bring the food yesterday* or *He play a new song last night* may be the result of a grammatical process rather than a phonological one. Grammatically based tense unmarking tends to be more frequent on regular verbs than irregular ones, so that a structure such as *Yesterday he play a*

*new song* is more likely than *Yesterday he is in a new store*, although both may occur. In some cases, both phonological and grammatical processes operate in a convergent way.

Tense unmarking has been found to be prominent in varieties such as Vietnamese English and Native American Indian English in the Southwest. In the latter case, unmarking is favored in habitual contexts (e.g. *In those days, we play a different kind of game*) as opposed to simple past time (e.g. *Yesterday, we play at a friend's house*).

#### *Historical present*

In the dramatic recounting of past time events, speakers may use present tense verb forms rather than past tense forms, as in *I go down there and this guy comes up to me*. . . . In some cases an -s suffix may be added to non-third-person forms, particularly with the first person form of *say* (e.g. *so I says to him* . . . ). This structure is more prominent in European American vernaculars than in AAE.

#### *Perfective be*

Some isolated varieties of American English may use forms of *be* rather than *have* in present perfect constructions, as in *I'm been there before* for “I've been there before” or *You're taken the best medicine* for “You have taken the best medicine”. This construction occurs most frequently in first-person singular contexts (e.g. *I'm forgot*) but can also occur in the first-person plural and in second-person contexts as well (e.g. *we're forgot, you're been there*). Occasionally, the perfect tense can even be formed with invariant *be*, as in *We be come here for nothing* or *I'll be went to the post office*. Perfective *be* derives from the earlier English formation of the perfect with *be* rather than *have* for certain verbs (e.g. *He is risen* vs. “He has risen”). In most cases, it is a retention of the older pattern.

### *Adverbs*

There are several different kinds of patterns affecting adverbs. These involve differences in the placement of adverbs within the sentence, differences in the formation of adverbs, and differences in the use or meaning of particular adverbial forms.

#### *Adverb placement*

There are several differences in terms of the position of the adverb within the sentence, including the placement of certain time adverbs within the verb phrase, as in *We were all the time talking* or *We watched all the time the news on TV*. These cases do not hold great social significance and are not particularly socially stigmatized. More socially marked is the change in order with various forms of *ever*, as in *everwhat, everwho, or everwhich* (e.g. *Everwho wanted to go could go*). These are remnants of older English patterns and are mostly dying out.

#### *Comparatives and superlatives*

Most vernacular varieties of English indicate some comparative and superlative adjective and adverb forms that are not found in standard varieties. Some forms involve the regularization of irregular forms, as in *badder* or *mostest*, while others involve the use of *-er* and *-est* on adjectives of two or more syllables (e.g. *beautifullest, awfulest*), where the standard variety uses *more* and *most*. In some instances, comparatives and superlatives are doubly marked, as in *most awfulest* or *more nicer*. As we discuss in chapter 2, both regularization and double marking are highly natural language processes.

#### *-ly absence*

In present-day American English, some adverbs that formerly ended in an *-ly* suffix no longer take *-ly*. Thus, in informal contexts, most general American English speakers say *They*

*answered wrong* instead of *They answered wrongly*. The range of items affected by *-ly* absence can be extended in different vernacular dialects. These items may be relatively unobtrusive (e.g. *She enjoyed life awful well*) or quite obtrusive (e.g. *I come from Virginia original*). The more stigmatized forms are associated with Southern-based vernacular varieties, particularly Southern mountain varieties such as Appalachian and Ozark English.

#### *Intensifying adverbs*

In some Southern-based vernaculars, certain adverbs can be used to intensify particular attributes or activities. In general American English, the adverb *right* is currently limited to contexts involving location or time (e.g. *He lives right around the corner*). However, in Southern-based vernaculars, *right* may be used to intensify the degree of other types of attributes, as in *She is right nice*. Other adverbs, such as *plumb*, serve to indicate intensity to the point of totality, as in *The students fell plumb asleep*. In some parts of the South, *slam* is used to indicate “totality” rather than *plumb*, as in *The students fell slam asleep*; *clean* may be used in a similar way in other areas, including some Northern dialects (e.g. *The hole went clean through the wall*). The use of *big* in *big old dog*, *little* in *little old dog*, and *right* in *It hurts right much* also function as intensifiers in these varieties.

A special function of the adverb *steady* has been described for AAE. In this variety, *steady* may be used in constructions such as *They be steady messing with you* to refer to an intense, ongoing activity.

#### *Other adverbial forms*

There are a number of other cases in which the adverbial forms of vernacular varieties differ from their standard counterparts. Some of these involve word class changes, as in the use of *but* as an adverb meaning “only,” as in *He ain’t but thirteen years old*, or the item *all* in *The corn got all* (“The corn is all gone/finished”). In many Midland dialects of American English, *anymore* may be used in positive constructions with a meaning of “nowadays,” as in *She watches a lot of videos anymore*.

Some vernacular dialects contain adverbial lexical items not found at all in standard varieties, for example, adverbs of location such as *yonder*, *thisaway*, *thataway*, and so forth (e.g. *It’s up yonder*; *It’s thisaway*, not *thataway*). Other adverbial differences come from the phonological fusion of items, as in *t’all* from *at all* (e.g. *It’s not coming up t’all*), *pert’ near* (e.g. *She’s pert’ near seventy*), or *druther* (e.g. *Druther than lose the farm, he fought*). In parts of the South historically influenced by Scots-Irish, the adverb *whenever* may be used to indicate a one-time event (e.g. *Whenever he died, we were young*) rather than habitually occurring events (e.g. *Whenever we dance, he’s my partner*), as it does in most general American varieties. Again, such differences must be considered on an item-by-item basis.

### *Negation*

The two major vernacular negation features of American English are the use of so-called “double negatives,” or the marking of negative meaning at more than one point in a sentence, and the use of the lexical item *ain’t*. Other forms, resulting directly from the acquisition of English as a second language (e.g. *He no like the man*), are found in the speech of people learning English as a second language, but these do not seem to be perpetuated as a continuing part of the vernacular English variety of such speakers once they have completed their transition to English. An exception may be the negative tag *no* as found in some Hispanic English varieties, as in *They’re going to the store, no?*

#### *Multiple negation*

There are four different patterns of multiple negative marking found in the vernacular varieties of English:

- 1 marking of the negative on the auxiliary verb and the indefinite(s) following the verb  
The man *wasn't* saying *nothing*.  
He *didn't* say *nothing* about *no* people bothering him or *nothing* like that.
- 2 negative marking of an indefinite before the verb phrase and of the auxiliary verb  
*Nobody didn't* like the mess.  
*Nothing can't* stop him from failing the course.
- 3 inversion of the negativized auxiliary verb and the pre-verbal indefinite  
*Didn't nobody* like the mess. (“Nobody liked the mess”)  
*Can't nothing* stop him from failing the course.
- 4 multiple negative marking across different clauses  
There *wasn't* much that I *couldn't* do (meaning “There wasn't much I could do”).  
I *wasn't* sure that *nothing wasn't* going to come up (meaning “I wasn't sure that anything was going to come up”).

Virtually all vernacular varieties of English participate in multiple negation of type 1; restricted Northern and most Southern vernaculars participate in 2; most Southern vernaculars participate in 3; and restricted Southern and African American vernacular varieties participate in 4.

ain't

The item *ain't* may be used as a variant for certain standard American English forms, including the following:

- 1 forms of *be + not*  
She *ain't* here now.  
I *ain't* gonna do it.
- 2 forms of *have + not*  
I *ain't* seen her in a long time.  
She *ain't* gone to the movies in a long time.
- 3 *did + not*  
He *ain't* tell him he was sorry.  
I *ain't* go to school yesterday.

The first two types are found in most vernacular varieties, but the third type, in which *ain't* corresponds with standard *didn't*, has only been found in AAE.

*Past tense wont*

The form *wont*, pronounced much like the negative modal *won't*, may occur as a generalized form for past tense negative *be* – that is, *wasn't* and *weren't*. Thus, we may find sentences such as *It wont me* and *My friends wont the ones who ate the food*. Although the form probably arose through the application of phonological processes to forms of *wasn't* and *weren't*, *wont* now seems to serve as a past tense analogue of *ain't*, since both *ain't* and *wont* have a single form for use with all persons and numbers (as opposed to standard forms of *be + not*, which vary quite a bit by person and number). Its use is restricted to rural Southern varieties, particularly those found in the South Atlantic region.

### *Nouns and pronouns*

Constructions involving nouns and pronouns are often subject to socially significant dialect variation. The major types of differences involve the attachment of various suffixes and the use of particular case markings – that is, inflectional forms that indicate the role which nouns and pronouns play in the particular sentences in which they occur.

### Plurals

There are several different ways in which plurals may be formed which differentiate them from plurals found in general American English. These include the following:

- 1 general absence of plural suffix  
Lots of *boy\_* go to the school.  
All the *girl\_* liked the movie.
- 2 restricted absence of plural suffix with measurement nouns  
The station is four *mile\_* down the road.  
They hauled in a lotta *bushel\_* of corn.
- 3 regularization of various irregular plural noun forms  
They saw the *deers* running across the field.  
The *firemans* liked the convention.

Plural absence of type 1 is found only among varieties where another language was spoken in the recent past and, to a limited degree, in AAE. In category 2, plural suffix absence is limited to nouns of weights (e.g. *four pound, three ton*) and measures (e.g. *two foot, twenty mile*) that occur with a “quantifying” word such as a number (e.g. *four*) or plural modifier (e.g. *a lot of, some*), including some temporal nouns (e.g. *two year, five month*); this pattern is found in Southern-based rural vernaculars. Category 3 includes regularization of plurals that are not overtly marked in general American English (e.g. *deers, sheeps*), forms marked with irregular suffixes in the standard (e.g. *oxes*), and forms marked by vowel changes (e.g. *firemans, snowmans*). In the last case, plurals may be double-marked, as in *mens* or *childrens*. Some kinds of plurals in category 3 are quite widespread among the vernacular varieties of English (e.g. regularizing non-marked plurals such as *deers*), whereas others (e.g. double marking in *mens*) are more limited.

### Possessives

There are several patterns involving possessive nouns and pronouns, including the following:

- 1 the absence of the possessive suffix  
The *man\_ hat* is on the chair.  
*John\_ coat* is here.
- 2 regularization of the possessive pronoun *mines*, by analogy with *yours, his, hers*, etc.  
*Mines* is here.  
It's *mines*.
- 3 the use of possessive forms ending in *-n*, as in *hisn, ourn, or yourn*. Such forms can only be found in phrase- or sentence-final position (called absolute position), as in *It is hisn* or *It was yourn that I was talking about*; *-n* forms do not usually occur in structures such as *It is hern book*.  
Is it *yourn*?  
I think it's *hisn*.

The first two types of possessives are typical of vernacular varieties of AAE, and the third type is found in vernacular Appalachian English and other rural varieties characterized by the retention of relic forms, although it is now restricted to older speakers in these varieties.

### Pronouns

Pronoun differences typically involve regularization by analogy and rule extension. The categories of difference include the following:

- 1 regularization of reflexive forms by analogy with other possessive pronouns such as *myself, yourself, ourselves*, etc.)  
He hit *hissself* on the head.

- They shaved *themselves* with the new razor.
- 2 extension of object forms with coordinate subjects
    - Me and him* will do it.
    - John and them* will be home soon.
  - 3 adoption of a second-person plural form to “fill out” the person–number paradigm (*I, you, he/she/it, we, you, they*)
    - a *Y’all* won the game.
      - I’m going to leave *y’all* now.
    - b *Youse* won the game.
      - I’m going to leave *youse* now.
    - c *You’uns* won the game.
      - I’m going to leave *you’uns* now.
  - 4 extension of object forms to demonstratives
    - Them* books are on the shelf.
    - She didn’t like *them* there boys.
  - 5 a special personal dative use of the object pronoun form
    - I got *me* a new car.
    - We had *us* a little old dog.

The first four types of pronominal difference are well represented in most vernacular dialects of English. The particular form used for the second-person plural pronoun (type 3) varies by region: 3a is the Southern form, 3b is the Northern form, and 3c is the form used in an area extending from Southern Appalachia to Pittsburgh. The so-called personal dative illustrated in 5 is a Southern feature that indicates that the subject of the sentence (e.g. *we*) benefited in some way from the object (e.g. *little old dog*).

Other pronoun forms, such as the use of an object form with a non-coordinate subject (e.g. *Her in the house*) and the use of subject or object forms in possessive structures (e.g. *It is she book*; *It is he book*), are quite rare in most current vernaculars, except for those still closely related to a prior creole. The use of possessive *me*, as in *It’s me cap*, is occasionally found in historically isolated varieties which have some Scots-Irish influence.

#### *Relative pronouns*

Differences affecting relative pronouns (e.g. *who* in *She’s the one who gave me the present*) include the use of certain relative pronoun forms in contexts where they would not be used in general American English and the absence of relative pronouns under certain conditions. Differences in relative pronoun forms may range from the relatively socially insignificant use of *that* for human subjects (e.g. *The person that I was telling you about is here*) to the quite stigmatized use of *what*, as in *The person what I was telling you about is here*. One form that is becoming more common, and spreading into informal varieties of general American English, is the use of the relative pronoun *which* as a coordinating conjunction (i.e. *and*), as in *They gave me this cigar, which they know I don’t smoke cigars*.

In general American English, relative pronouns may be deleted if they are the object in the relative clause. For example, *That’s the dog that I bought* may alternately be produced as *That’s the dog I bought*. In most cases where the relative pronoun is the subject, however, the pronoun must be retained, as in *That’s the dog that bit me*. However, a number of Southern-based varieties may sometimes delete relative pronouns in subject position, as in *That’s the dog bit me* or *The man come in here is my father*. The absence of the relative pronoun is more common in existential constructions such as *There’s a dog bit me* than in other constructions.

#### *Existential it/they*

As used in sentences such as *There are four people in school* and *There’s a picture on TV*, the American English form *there* is called an existential, since it indicates the mere existence of something rather than specific location (as in *Put the book over there*). Vernacular varieties may use *it* or *they* for *there* in existential constructions, as in *It’s a dog in the yard* or *They’s a*



*good show on TV. They for there* seems to be found only in Southern-based vernaculars; *it* is more general in vernacular varieties.

### *Other grammatical structures*

There are a number of additional structures not included in this overview of vernacular grammatical constructions. Some of the excluded forms include those that were once thought to be confined to vernacular varieties but have been shown to be quite common in informal standard varieties. For example, we did not include the structure known as “pronominal apposition,” in which a pronoun is used in addition to a noun in subject position, as in *My father, he made my breakfast*, because this feature is found in practically all social groups of American English speakers, even though it is often considered to be a vernacular dialect feature. Furthermore, it is not particularly obtrusive in spoken language. It has also been found that the use of inverted word order in indirect questions, as in *She asked could she go to the movies*, is becoming just as much a part of informal spoken general American English as indirect questions without inverted word order, as in *She asked if she could go to the movies*. Other differences, such as those affecting prepositions, have to be treated on an item-by-item basis and really qualify as lexical rather than grammatical differences. Thus, forms such as *of a evening/of the evening* (“in the evening”), *upside the head* (“on the side of the head”), *leave out of there* (“leave from there”), *the matter of him* (“the matter with him”), *to for at* (e.g. *She’s to the store right now*), and so forth have to be treated individually. Infinitive constructions such as *for to*, as in *I’d like for you to go* vs. *I’d like you to go*, or even *I’d like for to go* also constitute a case of a restricted lexical difference. Similarly, cases of article use or non-use, such as the use of articles with certain illnesses and diseases (e.g. *She has the colic*, *He had the earache*) affect only certain lexical items in particular dialects. Traditional *Linguistic Atlas* surveys and the *Dictionary of American Regional English* give much more adequate detail about these forms than can be given in this overview.

*Figure A.1* The Northern Cities Vowel Shift (adapted from Labov 1991)

*Figure A.2* The Southern Vowel Shift (adapted from Labov 1991)

*Figure A.3.* The Northern California Vowel Shift