

EXPLORING THE ROOTS OF APPALACHIAN ENGLISH

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1. Introduction

In the popular television series *The Story of English* and the resulting best-selling book (McCrum *et al.* 1986), the idea of tracing connections between American and British varieties of English has recently revived. One episode of the series, *A Muse of Fire*, saw a New Englander dropping in on an East Anglian pub, purportedly in search of the speech patterns of his puritan ancestors. Another episode, *The Guid Scots Tongue*, featured a Scotsman reading from William Lorimer's *The New Testament in Scots* (1983), a translation rendered entirely in Scottish English (=ScE) except that "the Devil speaks Standard English" (McCrum *et al.* 1986:145). On the American side of the Atlantic, the latter episode also presented, as the latter-day descendants of hardy "Scotch-Irish" frontiersmen, denizen storytellers from the Southern Appalachians and long-distance truck drivers spouting Citizens Band slang. On the scholarly front, American linguists have long been interested in exploring the roots of American English (AmE) in the British Isles, but for various reasons their progress has been slow, and in recent years they have shown greater skepticism about establishing connections as the latter have appeared increasingly distant and diverse. At the same time, scholars in other fields have made significant progress in describing the trans-Atlantic diffusion of cultural patterns.

For decades, folklore researchers and collectors have prowled the hills of Southern Appalachia to study the spread of Scottish, Irish and English traits and to capture the echoes of Early American immigrants in song, in story, and in voice. One of the first collectors was Cecil Sharp, an Englishman who tracked down Child ballads in Eastern Kentucky in 1916 and 1917 with his assistant Maud Karpeles (Sharp 1932). Several decades later, Richard Chase prospected for Jack tales in the valleys of North

Carolina (Chase 1956). More recently, another folklorist, Henry Glassie, has documented the similarities between Appalachian and Scottish cabins (Glassie 1978), and an amateur historian, Joseph Earl Dabney, in two elaborate volumes with the provocative title of *Mountain Spirits* (1974, 1980), has analyzed how Appalachian traditions of moonshining corn whiskey can be traced back to King James' Ulster Plantation. Other writers have compared patterns of feuding, family structure, and other social phenomena between Scotland and Appalachia. Most recently, American Civil War historian Grady McWhinney in *Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways of the Old South* (1988) has articulated the unorthodox claim that such personality traits as hospitableness, love of leisure, propensity for violent behavior, and aversion to work were carried over from Ireland, Scotland, and the 'Celtic Fringe' areas of the British Isles to the American South in general and were reinforced enough to steer the 'Celtic' South onto a collision course with the 'English' North, most of whose early immigrants came from the South and East of Britain, in the fateful year of 1861. However, despite much work in these collateral fields of folklore and cultural history and the supposition that a linguistic connection of some kind might be traced from Appalachia ultimately back to Scotland, no systematic effort to pursue the latter has yet been undertaken.

The present paper concerns the systematic study of how much the language of the Scotch-Irish, specifically aspects of the grammar of Scotch-Irish English (ScIrE), has influenced twentieth-century Appalachian English (AppE) in the U.S.¹ It presents the rationale for such an undertaking and addresses a series of important methodological and substantive questions:

- 1) What constitutes evidence for a trans-Atlantic connection between varieties of English?
- 2) How may such a connection be made?
- 3) How have patterns of Old World English changed in the New World context of dialect contact and mixing?

To address the first two questions, this paper proposes a principled approach to identifying trans-Atlantic influences, an approach that is based on the description within each variety and the comparison across varieties of grammatical features and subsystems whose syntactic constraints and semantic qualities have been detailed and that is sensitive to the quantitative distribution of forms within such components of the language as tense and aspect. This approach is based on four "Considerations for comparing

grammatical data" (section 4.2), four "Principles of accountability" (section 4.2), and three "Standards for comparison" (section 4.4). To address the third question, this paper suggests several grammatical features and subsystems for comparison between ScIrE and AppE, presenting a preliminary discussion of nine of them and more detailed attention to two others, the patterning of subject-verb concord and the combining of modal verbs.

The term 'Scotch-Irish' refers in America to settlers from the north of Ireland who had originally come from Scotland, particularly Lowland areas of the Southwest such as Ayrshire, Wigtonshire, and Kirkcudbrightshire (Robinson 1984) in what was known as the Plantation of Ulster that began around 1610.² To Ireland they brought a variety of Scottish English (ScE) in many ways strikingly different from London English. Many of their descendants did not stay, but immigrated to North America in the late 1600s and in significant numbers from 1717. The term 'Scotch-Irish' has had currency from the earliest days of immigration and was used by Queen Elizabeth I as early as 1573 (Hudson 1984), but did not become popular in America until the mid-nineteenth century, when descendants of Protestant Irish from the north wanted to clearly differentiate themselves from the Catholic Irish from the south who had begun to arrive in the U.S. in the 1830s by the hundreds of thousands.

2. Need for research

A century ago, with the creation of the American Dialect Society in 1889, American linguists envisioned that comparing varieties of British English (BrE) with AmE and Canadian English (CanE) would establish missing links in the settlement history of the North American colonies. This vision formed a significant motivation for the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, which began fieldwork in 1929 (Kurath *et al.* 1929). Hans Kurath, first director of the atlas, had begun addressing the challenge of drawing trans-Atlantic connections in speech patterns in a summary article published a year earlier, "The origin of the dialect differences in spoken American English" (Kurath 1928). In this essay, Kurath reviewed forty years of research and came to the following conclusions about affinities between the U.S. and Britain: "The seaboard of New England, ... is in speech akin to the counties whose speech contributed most to the Southern English Standard of pronunciation. The South is divided and uneven in speech. Tide-water Virginia is strongly Southern English in speech, the

Piedmont and the mountain country of the Atlantic states strongly Scotch, Georgia and the Old Southwest mixed of the two in stock and speech — the latter type predominating in the upper South, the former in the lower South. ... The North-and-West has, at all events, a Northern English (including Lowland Scotch) basis in stock and speech" (1928:394-5).

Despite the great ambitions of the Linguistic Atlas project, the goal of making more precise statements than those of Kurath sixty years ago is still unrealized today.³ Kurath in a paper in 1964, "British sources of selected features of American pronunciation: problems and methods", retreated markedly from his earlier generalizations himself. Some difficulties in stating these relationships have undoubtedly been due to the incomparability of American and British atlases (McDavid 1968). Others can be attributed to the massiveness of the task; after Linguistic Atlas work began, American dialectologists realized how much spadework — collection, collation, editing, description — was necessary before comparisons could be attempted, and realized the wisdom of reserving judgment until much more baseline work had been achieved.

But the lack of progress can also be attributed to the taxonomic orientation of linguistic atlases. For all the wealth of material they have collected, it is questionable whether they provide the type of information needed to pin down trans-Atlantic connections in speech. As compilations of hundreds of unrelated vocabulary items, pronunciations, and grammatical forms, such atlases are often quite useful for permitting us to compare the categorical presence or absence of individual elements and the range of forms for specific items. Such data are most valid for vocabulary items (like *redd up*, 'tidy up' (Dressman 1980) and *cracker*, 'poor, rural white' (Otto 1987), both of which derive from ScIrE), less so for pronunciation, and least for grammatical patterns. For grammar we would like to know both the frequencies of individual forms and how these compare to competing forms (e.g., in AppE the relation between *you*, *you'uns*, and *y'all* as plural pronouns). Rarely do atlas data enable us to achieve a larger picture of possible relations between varieties of English because crucial questions soon arise: Do the data exist in a form to enable comparison? How much can we make of resemblances in individual forms between varieties? What do such resemblances add up to? How many are needed to permit a claim for a trans-Atlantic connection between any two varieties of English? Ten? Twenty? Forty? The simple pairwise comparison obscures how items operate in relevant lexical sets, phonological processes, and grammatical subsys-

tems of each variety. Moreover, the focus in individual linguistic items points up perhaps the most serious limitation in the effort to connect AmE and BrE heretofore: the lack of a theory informing the work and the consequent lack of an adequate conception of the comparison.

On another front, research has progressed for more than half a century into the grammatical patterns of American black speech, as to whether those patterns have been influenced by a substratum of West African languages (Turner 1949, Dalby 1972, Alleyne 1980), by Caribbean varieties of Pidgin or Creole English, or by varieties of English in the British Isles such as Irish English (IrE)⁴ by Davis (1971:335), C.-J.N. Bailey (1982), Rickford (1986a), and others.⁵ But comparable work on AppE, the variety of AmE most often cited anecdotally as preserving many older forms, has hardly begun. While modern-day ScE and IrE speakers hardly sound like even distant cousins of their AppE counterparts and many features of ScE receiving much attention in the literature (e.g., negation with *no* and negative contraction to form *dinna*, *winna*, etc.) are strikingly different from AppE, the lack of such work is somewhat surprising for at least three reasons on which we will now focus.

First, it is surprising because the earliest and the predominant immigrant group to settle Southern Appalachia was the Scotch-Irish (Campbell 1921:50-89, Leyburn 1962, Dickson 1966). The usual estimate of studies based on surnames is that as many as 300,000 settlers, almost all Protestants, came to the American colony from the northern counties of Ireland in the six decades before the American Revolution. The ongoing debate over how ethnically and linguistically 'Scottish' (i.e., descending from Lowland Scots) and how 'Irish' these people were will not be entered into here; it remains a lively question, fueled by contemporary rivalries, and is probably in the end unresolvable, given the gaps in the historical records about who immigrated from Ireland to America. Eid (1986:213), the latest entrant in the debate, states that the "paucity of documentation of any kind" prevents the disproof of even the extreme views.

The great majority of Scotch-Irish immigrants landed in northern Delaware or southeastern Pennsylvania, especially in Philadelphia. Most soon headed westward to the frontier areas, pushing across Pennsylvania to the backcountry and southwestward across Virginia, reaching the mountains of Southern Appalachia and settling in North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee within two generations. At roughly the same time, they moved into the Piedmont areas of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia,

so that settlement of much of the interior Southeast had begun by the time of the Revolution. Along with the Germans and the English, the Scotch-Irish were one of the earliest groups, and by many accounts the largest, to populate the colonial backcountry and to move into Appalachia.

Secondly, the lack of research comparing AppE and ScIrE is surprising because of, as mentioned earlier, the long-standing, widely held view that AppE has preserved more and older elements from the British Isles than other varieties of AmE. To be sure, anecdotal commentaries and word-lists comparing forms in AppE with counterparts in older varieties of BrE (but not with ScE or IrE) have been plentiful. The second edition of the *Annotated Bibliography of Southern American English* (McMillan and Montgomery 1989) notes dozens of published efforts to pinpoint archaisms in mountain speech, normally by identifying them with forms found in Chaucer, Shakespeare, or Spenser, and in some cases even Old English (e.g., the third-person singular neuter pronoun *hit*); cf. Brown (1889, 1894, 1897). Southern mountain speech has often been labeled 'Elizabethan' in the U.S., most likely because sixteenth-century literary forms, especially from Shakespeare, are the chief points of reference that amateur American linguists have had with which to compare mountain speech, that is, the only 'data' from an older stage of the language with which they are familiar. Thus the term 'Elizabethan' in American usage has meant little more than 'old-fashioned'. More problematic is the fact that amateur linguists searching for holdovers in AppE usually compare isolated surface forms with little regard to their context or linguistic properties.⁶

Recently a notable beginning has been made to link ScIrE to AmE by Alan Crozier (1984). This valuable article employs dialect dictionaries, linguistic atlas publications, and other sources to argue that thirty-three items in AmE, particularly in Pennsylvania, derive from ScIrE. Twenty-three of these are lexical items such as *bonny clabber* 'curdled sour milk' and *diamond* 'town square'; the ten others are grammatical, such as the past-tense forms *boilt*, *driv*, and *druv*, the conjunction *aginlagain*, and the pronoun *you'ns*.

But beyond Crozier's study, research has been very limited, with only twenty-one items in McMillan and Montgomery (1989) mentioning Scottish or Irish antecedents of Southern AmE forms, most of these items being very brief comments or notes in passing. Larger-scale studies of both ScIrE and AppE, including linguistic-atlas-type studies, have ignored such issues and have focused on providing baseline documentation on a broad range of

individual pronunciations and lexical items, with little material on grammar. As stated earlier, most published data enable suggestive microlinguistic comparisons of individual forms but give little idea of such considerations as the workings of syntactic and semantic constraints on grammatical features, the relative frequency of forms, and how these forms operate within grammatical subsystems such as pluralization for nouns and concord, tense, aspect, and modality for verbs. Studies of language contact and creolization have shown such areas to be particularly fruitful to explore across languages and varieties through making more macrolinguistic comparisons of grammatical subsystems, comparisons that presume detailed quantitative accounts of how such subsystems operate in each variety. According to some linguists, such "quantitative patterns can apparently preserve linguistic history over several centuries and several continents" (Labov 1980:xvii).

In some ways, the shortage of research looking for ScIrE grammatical features in AppE may be understandable. Research on IrE until quite recently has been preoccupied with other issues (Kallen 1985), most notably the degree of Irish Gaelic influence, the demarcation between Scottish-derived and English-derived varieties in Ulster (Barry 1981, Gregg 1985), and the determination of how much Northern Irish English (NIrE) has been preserved from earlier periods, especially the Renaissance (Braidwood 1964). Hence, data for comparison have not been available, nor has there been more than minimal contact between scholars in the two fields, with the result that students of AppE have been unaware of the few descriptions of IrE and ScE. Unfortunately, the consequent lack of comparison has left unanswered key questions about the relationships between regional and nonstandard varieties of English since the seventeenth century.

3. A 'missing link' hypothesis

This leads us to the third reason why we might expect more comparisons between AppE and ScIrE grammatical patterns to have been made. In recent years, Bliss (1972), Guifoyle (1983), and Harris (1986) have contended that the habitual use of finite *be* (as in *He be so quiet*), prevalent in IrE today, was also common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when most 'Irish' who left for America were from the northern counties. (A closely related habitual structure in IrE, *does + be*, as in *He does be late for*

dinner sometimes, has received more attention from Irish scholars than has habitual *be* and is more prevalent outside Ulster, although Harris (1984:133, p.c.) says that it occurs there as well.⁸) Hill (1975), C.-J.N. Bailey (1982), and especially Rickford (1986a) have suggested that one of both habitual structures may have influenced, and quite possibly have been a source for, 'invariant *be*' in American Vernacular Black English (VBE). Rickford examines six alternative hypotheses for the development of the VBE form, including the possibility of a two-pronged diffusion, with VBE invariant *be* influenced by contact with NIrE, while forms like *doz* and *duh* in Caribbean Anglophone Creoles and in Gullah perhaps derive from IrE *does + be*, through contact between Irish immigrants and African blacks beginning in the seventeenth century. (Although Rickford decides to reject this view on linguistic rather than demographic grounds, this line of argument suggests different sources for VBE and Caribbean Creole English/Gullah habitual forms.)

If we recall that most early immigrants from Ireland to America were of Scottish background and that in the eighteenth century these people moved to the backcountry, many eventually settling in Appalachia, the validity of Rickford's diffusion hypothesis seems to rest in part on finding habitual *be* in present-day or earlier AppE. Thus, to support this provocative suggestion, the language of Scotch-Irish settlers, especially from the colonial period, would need to provide a 'missing link' between forms from IrE and invariant *be* in modern-day American VBE. There is no evidence yet for invariant *be* or other finite use of the verb in twentieth-century AppE (e.g. in Wolfram and Christian's 1976 study in West Virginia and Montgomery's 1979 study in East Tennessee); older, old-fashioned speakers from remote parts of the Appalachian mountains have no trace of it. In some ways we might expect to find this form in AppE. Finite *be* is attested in earlier ScE (but mainly in conditional clauses; cf. Craigie (1973 I:207) and section 6.2 below). More crucially, present-day whites in Mississippi and Louisiana from communities with little historical contact with blacks use the form (Bailey and Bassett 1986).

A possible answer to the puzzle comes from historians (e.g., Leyburn 1962, Mercer 1984), who have claimed that the Scotch-Irish settlers largely lost their distinctive cultural traits and their ethnicity, during their first hundred years in America. Leyburn (1962:vi), the standard work in the field, says that even by the time of the Revolution, "the Scotch-Irish were no longer a separate national stock" (a view disputed on several counts by

Evans 1969). In any case, it is now reasonable to assume that linguistic evidence can be brought to bear in addressing this question and that progress can now be made in exploring the relation between ScIrE and AppE, given the availability of a range of reference works, recent quantitative work on AppE, and the framework developed in this paper.

4. Methodological consideration

Most of the methodological challenges in comparing grammatical features of ScIrE and AppE are quite familiar to historical linguists. These can be described as four general types:

- 1) Undertaking internal reconstruction first, to ensure comparable data for the varieties of English under study (section 4.1);
- 2) Coping with the special problems involved in research on comparative grammar (section 4.2);
- 3) Interpreting the results of comparison (section 4.3); and
- 4) Extrapolating the results of linguistic comparison to the appropriate cultural context (section 9).

4.1. Internal reconstruction

Internal reconstruction is required first, to achieve comparable descriptions for the varieties of English under study. This means, ideally, detailing the paradigmatic distribution and syntagmatic constraints on features of grammar, as well as determining, on a quantitative basis if possible, the relative strength of noncategorical constraints on them. At present, detail about the grammar of ScIrE and AppE is lacking, particularly their earlier stages, except for a handful of features. The trans-Atlantic comparison of the kind outlined here assumes not only identifiable linguistic varieties but also relative homogeneity for each variety. Continuing descriptive work must support these assumptions. Complicating the effort to establish the typical patterns, the norm for both ScIrE and AppE, are gaps in our knowledge about their speakers before the twentieth century. We know little about social disparities between speakers, their degree of literacy, or how these factors may have influenced the language in the written documents we must rely on to reconstruct earlier stages of these varieties. In addition, speakers on both sides of the Atlantic maintained a degree of mobility and participated in either language-contact or dialect-contact type

situations. For ScIrE, we must determine if (and if so, how many) speakers also spoke Scottish Gaelic natively and what influences came from contact with Irish.

The language of Scotch-Irish immigrants had at least four, and perhaps five, components which ultimately need to be taken into account in this effort:

- 1) the possible influence from Scottish Gaelic, still spoken in at least some areas of Galloway in the seventeenth century;
- 2) traditional patterns of ScE, a linguistic sister of EModE and a common descendant from OE that was standardized in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. ScE differed systematically from English English (EngE), although ScE would certainly not have been homogeneous;
- 3) elements from contact with EngE, especially beginning in the sixteenth century through the influence of the printing press and the Bible (although many Scots in the rural Southwest probably left for Ireland before their speech was significantly affected, the influence is evident in documents such as town records from the late sixteenth century in the quite standard grammar of such documents);
- 4) elements of EngE through contact with British settlers participating in the Ulster Plantation, especially from West Midland areas who settled in Armagh (Braidwood 1964);
- 5) elements reflecting contact with speakers of Irish in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

These components suggest that ScIrE was not entirely homogeneous and that it was in a state of transition, having contact with both more 'metropolitan' varieties of English and with Celtic languages.

On the North American side, as scholars have long pointed out, the colonial American linguistic context was a complicated one, meaning that no variety of seventeenth-century BrE came to American shores without change and no variety of AmE escaped contact with others. A new social order, as well as new varieties of language, was created. The heterogeneity of most colonial speech communities, especially along the Atlantic coast, fostered by the variable social dynamics of each locality and by contact of the many languages with regional varieties of English brought by immigrant groups, led to what has recently been referred to as an American "koiné" (Dillard 1975, Trudgill 1986). This situation has limited the ability of linguists to establish affinities of varieties of AmE with BrE when competing forms are found in a given area, and in some ways it might seem to have

reduced the significance of doing so. Trudgill emphasizes the diverse processes involved in dialect contact and in the forming of a koiné — dynamic changes such as simplification, mixing, and levelling as well as the more static, direct carryover of linguistic patterns. These processes may not have been as active in the backcountry areas such as Appalachia (Dillard 1975:63) as they were in cities, but however isolated AppE may have been, it was hardly static, and these ideas raise questions about which features were preserved and which underwent leveling, reanalysis, relexification, or other dynamic processes in the speech of Scotch-Irish immigrants during their first several generations in this country and how it is possible to draw a historical connection between a reanalyzed feature and its antecedents. An example of the latter will be presented in section 8 below.

Appalachia, while not an enclave, is a region more isolated than most others in the U.S., differing from Northern areas in having little contact with non-English-speaking groups and from Deep South communities in having almost no contact with Africans in the early period (although common features in AppE and VBE — such as perfective *done* and multiple modals — raise important questions deserving study). In sum, much description and internal reconstruction of both varieties of English is needed to support a connection between ScIrE and AppE.

4.2. Considerations for comparing grammatical data

A second set of challenges arises in the comparison of grammatical data. For such data, we can identify four preliminary considerations different from those involved in comparing lexical and phonological data:

- 1) Adequately specifying the context of grammatical features under study. Because many grammatical forms (auxiliary *do* mentioned below is a good example) have several distinct functions as well as variation in surface shape, the exact semantic and syntactic dimensions of forms and the contexts in which they occur must be specified before comparison; they cannot be compared out of context (Lavandera 1977, Romaine 1983, L. Milroy 1987). This is to ensure the semantic equivalence of the grammatical forms compared as well as possible. To achieve comparability of grammatical features, four analytical principles, based on Rickford (1986b:39-40), are involved: a) attending carefully to the form and meaning of the feature; b) specifying the linguistic environment in which the feature occurs; c) tabulating the frequency with which the feature occurs, in terms of an obligatory

context if possible; d) considering the interrelation of the feature with other features in the grammar. We refer to these henceforth as "principles of accountability".

2) Finding sufficient quantities of valid data. The quantitative comparison of grammatical features presupposes often large amounts of written data that accurately reflect the patterns of the spoken language; such quantitative evidence is necessary to show how productive forms are in their various contexts.

3) Characterizing the style and the sociolinguistic features of the data compared as well as possible.

4) Dealing with the possibility that grammatical forms of interest may be salient or stigmatized and thus screened out or avoided in the written documents available.

It is obviously much easier to describe these special requirements for preparing grammatical data for comparison than to ensure their fulfillment. On the other hand, comparing grammatical data culled from older written documents has advantages in that such data are less likely to be influenced by spelling than pronunciation is and are probably no more likely to be consciously affected than vocabulary. Moreover, grammatical forms are often parts of subsystems within a language such as paradigms; recent elegant work by Bailey and Maynor (e.g., 1985) has demonstrated that paradigms can be quantitatively compared across varieties, given sufficient data, to reveal the development of constraints that represent key evidence of ongoing linguistic change. Paradigms tend to maintain their integrity over time better than individual items in a language.

4.3. *Interpreting the results of comparison*

At what point in the course of comparing varieties of English such as ScIrE and AppE can we claim that a resemblance between them represents diffusion? The common existence of a form of similar or identical meaning will not suffice, as pointed out by Crozier (1984:310-1), because that form may derive from another variety of BrE. Alternatively, the form may have been retained in AppE from colonial AmE or in AppE and other types of AmE from earlier BrE, the latter representing what Marckwardt calls "colonial lag" (1958:58-80). In this regard, Crozier notes that "almost all of Ulster's dialect words (except those borrowed from Irish Gaelic) are found in various patterns of distribution in Scotland and England" (311). Difficulties

in determining the genealogy of linguistic features are clearly magnified insofar as the features being compared differ in sense or form.

If, from a scientific point of view, it is important to rule out all possible immediate causes (sources of influence in this case, from other varieties of AmE) before considering an ultimate one (from a variety of BrE), we might think it next to impossible to make trans-Atlantic connections. How can we possibly eliminate all immediate sources of influence? In this matter, a less stringent test must be considered. While a healthy skepticism is indispensable, we must supersede the view that, since detailed baseline data from all varieties of AmE and BrE have not been collected and collated, we cannot determine that a certain linguistic pattern in AmE did *not* derive from an apparently similar one in some variety of BrE. This view says that, if we cannot show that a feature, such as the unmarked verb *be* in VBE, could not have derived from an analogous form in a variety such as IrE or SW BrE, we cannot claim it to be distinctive to VBE and thus a product of creolization rather than diffusion from BrE. We do not need, in the present writer's thinking, to eliminate all other possible sources of a particular feature before reasonably presuming a specific source. Cultural geographers can provide cues here, since they do not demand such a strict test as an exclusive connection — that is, that one and only one specific older pattern is responsible for a newer one — but rather rely on general tendencies and relative influences.

This leads us to basic questions of what type and amount of quantitative evidence are appropriate to posit a trans-Atlantic linguistic connection. Can we say that ScIrE and AppE are related if they have similar distributions of variants for grammatical features? Or if they display the same range and ordering of grammatical constraints, as for subject-verb concord? Should some variants, particularly those different from standard, mainstream, or metropolitan English, occur at a particular threshold level before we accept their status in the grammar of that variety? These are important questions indeed, questions which we will address below, especially for subject-verb concord.

4.4. *Standards for comparison*

With these caveats and considerations in mind, it is crucial to outline at this point one more set of methodological prerequisites, what we call "standards for comparison", which should be met to justify the trans-Atlantic

comparison of specific grammatical features and to ensure that valid correspondences that are more than surface-level are sought. There are three of these prerequisites or standards:

- 1) that full, explicit descriptions of the grammatical feature within each variety are made, on a quantitative basis if possible and according to the principles of accountability discussed in 4.2. This is necessary not only to ensure comparable data but also because we cannot necessarily assume the underlying identity of varieties of English for grammatical categories; cf. the 'Panlectal Identity Hypothesis', as discussed by Harris (1984a).
- 2) that the existence of the grammatical features in question should be as closely limited to the varieties concerned as possible; this standard is the most difficult to meet, since important reference sources such as dictionaries do not provide conclusive negative evidence that features did not occur elsewhere (the more immediate the contact between varieties being compared, the less relevant this requirement is).
- 3) that demographic information from the documentary record demonstrates a historical connection between the groups speaking the varieties concerned.

Most previous trans-Atlantic comparisons have succeeded in adhering to one or two of these standards, but very rarely to all three. Linguistic atlas research has been successful in achieving standard 3), realized the difficulty of meeting standard 2) and envisioned ultimately being able to take it into account, but could not give attention to standard 1) because the categorical nature of atlas data prevents quantitative intraspeaker description. Other recent research, often concerned with more general statements of comparison, has concentrated on meeting standard 1) (Görlach 1987, Viereck 1988), to the extent that it moves beyond simple comparison of individual forms between varieties. Rickford (1986a) has perhaps come closest in recent years to satisfying all three standards in his comparison of the patterning of copula verbs in IrE and Gullah.

5. Features being investigated

5.0. A survey of grammatical descriptions of contemporary ScE (primarily Macafee 1980), IrE (chiefly Harris 1987), and AppE (selected items noted in McMillan and Montgomery 1989) suggests a number of prospective areas for comparison, among which are the eleven discussed below. Suggestions for their comparison do not imply the underlying identity of varieties (in

line with Harris' caveats against assuming the Panlectal Identity Hypothesis) nor that the descriptive work on any variety has been completed as yet. In the following discussion, a four-way comparison between ScE, IrE, colonial AmE, and AppE is generally attempted. A two-way view of IrE and AppE may well be unreliable due to the contact NirE had with Irish Gaelic and EModE (Harris 1984a). (To achieve the widest possible view, this list ignores some differences between varieties of ScE as well as between varieties of IrE; the author asks the indulgence of those who carefully distinguish them). It must be noted that the collapsing of time periods and the lack of chronological information in many discussions of ScE and IrE requires that their data be interpreted cautiously.

5.1. Positive anymore

The first candidate is the use of the adverb *anymore* as the equivalent of *nowadays* in affirmative declarative sentences as in *When I go to New York anymore, I stay in the same hotel* may well represent a ScIrE contribution to AmE. All varieties of AmE and BrE use *anymore* in negative and interrogative sentences, but several also employ what is called 'positive *anymore*'. Crozier (1984:318) cites positive *anymore* for both Scotland and Ireland and claims it has a Gaelic source. This construction in the British Isles is associated especially with NirE; since at least the 1940s scholars have associated its introduction in the U.S. with the Scotch-Irish (Dunlap 1945, Eitner 1949), with James Milroy (1981:3) calling it "perhaps the most striking connection between Ulster and the United States". Problematically, however, no American citation dates earlier than 1903 (Wentworth 1944:24), which gives it an uncertain history in colonial speech. In the U.S. it is widely documented in the twentieth century throughout the Midland speech area, roughly corresponding to the southward and westward migrations of the Scotch-Irish; the hundred-odd citations in Wentworth (1944:24-25) are nearly all from Midland-area states, and Dunlap's survey of 250 high school graduates from throughout the country reveals much the same pattern (1945:14-15). Labov (1973:66) observes that "positive *anymore* appears to be a Midland phenomenon and its incidence reported so far corresponds quite closely to the areas of Midland settlement and influence mapped by dialect geographers". However, the exact connection with ScIrE is not quite so easy to draw.

Crozier's sentences with positive *anymore* have future-tense verbs;

apparently all American citations use present-tense verbs. Moreover, in none of Crozier's sentences does *anymore* have the sense of 'nowadays', as is the case in the U.S. Crozier has three examples: *There's no herring in it the day, but there'll be herring any more*, a 1928 citation from the *Scottish National Dictionary* 1:66 (SND) and two similar ones from Northern Ireland, from Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* (EDD) and Traynor's volume (1953) on the English of Donegal. The ScE data are suspect and scanty, since the only two citations that can be found are in the SND and come from the Argyllshire peninsula,¹⁰ some distance from the Lowland Southwest area from which most Ulster Scots derived. Jack Aitken, longtime editor of the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (DOST), reports (p.c.) that the form has never been more than quite marginal in Scotland and suggests it resulted from contact with Gaelic, which was still spoken in Argyllshire as late as the seventeenth century. As for Northern Ireland, Milroy (1981:4) says that "although it must at one time have been quite widespread in the north of Ireland ... our researches have so far uncovered it only in the Irish-speaking area of Donegal, where it can be used with present or future meaning" (Milroy adds, p.c., that at least ninety percent of the examples he and his coworkers collected occurred with the future). Still, few, if any, grammatical forms in AmE conform to the Midland area of settlement and migration as well as positive *anymore*. The fact raises the possibility that some kind of reanalysis took place to redistribute the form with a different tense of verb and assign it a different temporal scope (in future-tense sentences it is equivalent to 'from now on', in present-tense ones equivalent to 'nowadays'), a process that may represent the missing link between ScIrE and AmE. However, the infrequency and possible stylistic qualities of positive *anymore* make it a difficult grammatical feature to study more closely. These considerations along with the facts that it is not restricted to AppE and that there has not been any study of it in AppE per se, rules it out for further study at this time.

5.2. A-Prefixing

Another possibility in the use of the *a-* prefix on present participles in adjectival and especially verb phrases, as in *He went a-huntin'*. In the U.S., the prefix is quite productive in AppE, discussed most thoroughly by Wolfram and Christian (1976:69-76), and has long been a stereotype of Appalachian literary dialect. Cassidy (1985:1) says it occurs "throughout

US, but esp freq in Midl, SW; less freq Sth, NEng." However, as with positive *anymore*, its status elsewhere is unclear. Aitken (p.c.) calls it atypical of ScE. Although DOST has four citations from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the *Concise Scots Dictionary* (CSD) reports it as occurring from the late fifteenth century onward (Robinson 1985:1), which probably indicates a borrowing from other varieties of English, the SND, which covers ScE from 1700 forward, omits it entirely. It is cited briefly in Murray's grammar of ScE (1873:211) but not in Grant and Dixon (1921). For IrE, its prevalence is also unsure. Taniguchi (1972:85) states that before literary representation of IrE "the particle 'a' occasionally stands before the ing-form, though not so frequently as in some other dialectal tongues", while other writers suggest that the verbal noun construction in Irish Gaelic (Majewicz 1984:47) and in Scottish Gaelic (Dietrich 1981) offers a plausible source for the form in IrE and ScE. Wide currency on the *a-* prefix in England has never been in doubt (Edwards and Weltens (1985:109) call it "a very common variation, especially in the Midlands and parts of S. England"), which suggests that EngE is a more likely source of the AppE form than ScIrE. Its much greater currency in regional varieties of AmE in earlier periods (Hunter 1930:33-34) indicates that, at least, more descriptive work is needed on participial forms in ScIrE before comparisons can be assayed. At present, it seems unlikely that the *a-* prefix can be connected with ScIrE.

5.3. Relative pronouns

Also of possible interest is the inventory and patterning of relative pronouns, with regard to three matters:

- 1) The near-categorical preference of *that* and the marginal status of the *wh-* forms *who* and *which* as relative pronouns. This is noted for ScE by Aitken (1979:105) and by Wilson (1915:91), the latter stating that *wh-* pronouns "are used only as interrogatives, not as relatives"; Henry (1958:130) and Harris (1987:13) cite the infrequency of *wh-* relative pronouns in IrE, and Montgomery and Lee (1987) note a strong tendency for the same in AppE;
- 2) the occurrence of *that's* as a possessive form (Grant and Dixon 1921:102, Macafee 1980:18, Harris 1987:15), as in *That's the man 'at's house was burnt*. The form is apparently rare in AmE, but the author has noted it on occasion in Tennessee;

3) the ellipsis of a relative pronoun functioning as the subject of the clause, as in *Who is this Ø was telling me ...* This is identified by many writers for both ScE (Murray 1873:197, Wilson 1915:91, Miller and Brown 1982:16-17) and IrE (Garvin 1977:111, Harris 1984b:131). The author has collected nearly 300 instances of this in AppE (Montgomery 1979). However, as with the *a*-prefix, at least the first and third characteristics of relative pronouns are widely attested in many varieties of both BrE (Edwards and Weltens 1986:116) and AmE; it seems therefore doubtful that a case could be made for the second standard of comparison put forward above (4.4).

6. Verb phrase features

6.0. The most fruitful area for comparative research appears to be verbal auxiliaries, especially with reference to the expression of tense, aspect, and modality in AppE and ScIrE. Eight features involving auxiliaries are candidates for detailed comparison, though for only two of them are sufficient data available from Scotland, Northern Ireland, Appalachia, and other sources to enable a valid, if preliminary, comparison. It is to an examination of these eight features that we now turn.

6.1. Auxiliary *do(es)*

As discussed in section 3 above, one prospect for comparison is the use of auxiliary *do* in affirmative declarative sentences, as in *I do think he's right* and especially with *be*, as in *He does be sick*, as to whether such forms express a) the semantic feature of habituality, b) a pragmatic quality such as emphasis or contrastiveness, or c) no semantic or pragmatic feature, as seems to be the case for SW BrE (Ihalainen 1976). Auxiliary *do* appears to have no semantic content in ScE (where its form is *dae*); at any rate it is neither cited in the grammars and dictionaries nor accepted by Aitken (p.c.) as characteristic. Harris (1986), Henry (1957:171, 1958:133), Barry (1983:109), Garvin (1977:111), Kallen (1985), Sullivan (1976:121-23) cite the form as expressing habituality in IrE outside Ulster; as stated earlier, Harris (1984b:133) indicates that the same *do(es)* + infinitive pattern occurs in the north as well. Thus, to the extent that it has been attested in NIrE, habitual *do(es)* probably represents a form borrowed by Ulster Scots from bilingual Irish-English speakers or from SW BrE (Harris 1986). No study has examined the distribution of *do(es)* in affirmative sentences in AmE (with the possible exception of studies of *duh* in Gullah, but this is

properly a creole), most likely because of the lack of evidence so far of its semantic content as well as its variability and the difficulty in determining pragmatic qualities from written data. The possible semantic dimension to the auxiliary verb in older varieties of AppE remains a provocative question to investigate, as described above (section 3), and impressionistic evidence (Donna Christian, p.c.) suggests that *do(es)* and *did* occur in affirmative statements more often in AppE than in other varieties of AmE.

6.2. Finite *be/bees*

Closely related to the patterning of auxiliary *do* is the use of finite *be* and *bees*, especially to express present tense habitual or durative aspect, as in *They be shooting and fishing out at the forestry lake*. Henry (1957:168-69), Taniguchi (1972:79-83), Guilfoyle (1983), and Harris (1984b:133) cite this in IrE. At present the only evidence of this feature in ScE is that *beis*, *beys*, and other spellings of the form occurred from the 14th century onward "chiefly in subordinate clauses after *gif*, *quhen*, *that*, etc." (Craigie 1973:1:207). As indicated in section 3, its use in NIrE probably represents an influence from Irish; there is also no evidence in the linguistic literature for this feature in AppE, yet its occurrence or nonoccurrence may be crucial to our making statements about sources of American VBE habitual *be*.

6.3. Past habitual marker used to

One auxiliary feature that clearly marks habitual aspect, but for the past tense, is *used to*. Although *used to* is doubtless found in all varieties of AmE and BrE, it may have a special status in ScIrE and a greater frequency and distribution in AppE than in other varieties of AmE, especially with regard to its cooccurrence with other auxiliaries. Murray (1973:220) accords it paradigmatic status in his "Full Conjugation of the Verb" and gives the following examples of 'Past Habitual': *hey usit tui gang* ('he used to go') and *dyd hey uis tui gang?* ('did he use to go?'). Miller and Brown (1982:12) cite the occurrence in Edinburgh speech of *used to* with both *would* (*He used to would drink black coffee late at night*) and *might* (*He used to might visit us on Sundays*). *Used to could*, *used to would* and *use to didn't* are all common in AppE; Wentworth (1944:679-80) cites the same three constructions from many locations, most in the Midland speech area. (The combination of *used to* with modal verbs is further discussed in section 8 ff. below).

Two other patterns involving *used to* that are of interest to consider are the *used* + infinitive pattern (without *to*), as in *He used be sick often*, cited for Ireland by Sullivan (1976:120-1) and Harris (1986:175) and the optional preposing of the habitual marker, as in *Used to it was so unheard of*. The latter has been recorded in AppE by many observers (e.g., Wentworth 1944:729, McDavid 1967:32) and is plentifully attested in the concordance to the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States (Pederson *et al.* 1986). However, there is as yet no evidence of preposed *used to* in ScIrE; neither Aitken (p.c.) in Scotland nor Braidwood (p.c.) in Northern Ireland acknowledges it as typical of the speech in those areas. There is clearly a need for more description of the patterning of *used to* for both ScIrE and AppE as well as how both varieties express habitual activities and events.

6.4. Tense-aspect system

The tense-aspect system offers several possibilities for comparison. One concerns the expression of perfectiveness. Harris' elegant work demonstrates that perfectiveness in NIrE (Harris 1984a) is normally encoded by a variety of constructions other than the *have* auxiliary used by EngE and that the *have* + past participle form is unstable in NIrE. J. Milroy claims (1981:15) that "some rural dialects of (NIrE) avoid the perfect tense form altogether". Comparable description in ScE and AppE has yet to be undertaken. Nonetheless, Feagin (1979) presents a preliminary account of the perfective in North Alabama English. She speculates that the "general weakness of *have*" (p. 121) that has created something of a gap in the aspect system, and bases her argument in part on the assumption that the perfective auxiliary *done* (as in *We done got the other shell made*) has in some ways replaced *have* (122 ff.). Feagin argues for a Scotch-Irish source of *done* (148-9).

Another area for study is the distribution of present perfect and simple past verb forms with certain temporal adverbs. Apparently the only research relating BrE and AmE with respect to this is found in very general statements (e.g., Trudgill and Hannah 1982:57, 64) that *finally*, *yet*, *still*, and similar adverbs tend to occur with present perfect verbs in EngE but simple past verbs in AmE, and in ScE as well, according to Trudgill and Hannah (1982:85). Further description must precede comparison here (Marshall 1979 is a good start for AmE), for without doubt there is as much variability in this area of grammar as any touched on in this paper. Yet

there is at least one interesting reason why a study of ScIrE and AppE may turn up similarities. In contrast to the general tendency just noted, both AppE and ScIrE employ the present perfect in contexts where other varieties of AmE and BrE normally use the past tense, such as in sentences with a phrase ending in *ago*, as in *That's been seven years ago* (fourteen instances of which occur in Montgomery 1979). This pattern occurs with some frequency in both Northern Ireland and Scotland (personal observation). Harris (1984a:315) notes this in passing and calls it a hypercorrection, an analysis that must be questioned for AppE given its frequency.

6.5. Progressive verbs

Often cited for both ScE and IrE is the relatively more frequent occurrence of progressive verbs (verbs expressing continuous action, experience, or reality and consisting of a form of *be* and the present participle, as in *is looking* and *am thinking*) and the variable use of progressive forms of stative verbs, particularly those of perception and mental activity, that do not occur in most varieties of English. Macafee (1980:26) states that "several verbs which are stative in other varieties of English are dynamic in Scottish speech, and therefore take progressive aspect: *think*, *want*, *forget*, *remember*, *hear*, *be*." Examples in the literature are *I was never knowing such a girl, so honest and beautiful* (Grant and Dixon 1921:114) and *I am hoping to be present* (Aitken 1979:105) in ScE, as well as *Who is this book belonging to?* (Edwards and Weltens 1985:113), *They're not believing it* and *That's what I was wanting* (Harris 1987:27) in IrE. While the distribution of progressive verb forms in AppE or other varieties of AmE has not been described, the author has collected a number of stative progressives in AppE and there is reason to believe that progressives are more common in that variety.

6.6. Auxiliary contraction

A final feature that this paper will propose for consideration without exploring in depth is the patterning of auxiliary verb contraction with the negative *not*, as to whether a) *not* contracts, b) an auxiliary verb contracts with the subject of the clause rather than *not* (*I'll not believe him*), or c) an auxiliary verb contracts with *not* (*I won't believe him*). Aitken (1984:106-7) mentions that "in negative constructions Scots often reduces the operator

[i.e., the auxiliary] rather than the negative, and prefers to do so with *will* and, especially, *be*". Peter Trudgill notes (p.c.) that the farther north one goes in Britain, the greater the proportion of contraction with the subject one finds. Nicholas (1977) has noted the same phenomenon in Western North Carolina. Much descriptive work remains to be done in this area of the language for all varieties, however.

While the evidence for the features discussed in 6.1-6.6 indicates that ScIrE and AppE may be related in the encoding of tense and aspect and in other patterns involving auxiliary verbs, these features are not the chief focus of this paper. The descriptive work, especially of a quantitative kind, that has been done on them is insufficient to meet our standards for comparison or our principles of accountability and thus to permit closer comparison as outlined in our first consideration for the comparison of grammatical data (section 4.2 above). Moreover, the other three considerations appear difficult to meet as well, given the infrequency of the features and the obvious semantic dimensions (e.g., habituality) involved in the linguistic contexts in which all of them other than auxiliary contraction occur. For these reasons, we turn our attention now to two areas of grammar for which much more descriptive information is available and which hold more promise for making a reliable trans-Atlantic connection between ScIrE and AppE: subject-verb concord and the combination of modals.

7. Subject-verb concord

The subject-verb concord system in both ScIrE and AppE differs from most other varieties of English, particularly with reference to third-person-plural present-tense inflections. An obvious advantage in comparing this part of the auxiliary system is that our four principles of accountability and our four considerations for comparing grammatical data can be met with relative ease. There is no apparent semantic content to the verbal suffix *-s* (although cf. note below) and we are dealing with a well-defined, unambiguous syntactic context that occurs with plentiful frequency (except in narratives, where past-tense verbs predominate). The four considerations are also manageable, at least for later AppE data, and with regard to the fourth consideration, there seems little reason to believe that, for the data we will survey, there has been stigma or salience connected with the *-s* marking of plural verbs; indeed, such marking has been the norm in ScE for centuries.

What about the three standards of comparison outlined in section 4.4 — can they be met for subject-verb concord? The first standard calls for detailed (quantitative, if possible) descriptions of the grammatical feature within each variety, based on four principles of accountability. The ScIrE descriptions are explicit and presented in terms of the general concord system, even though they fall short of the fuller detail and quantification we would prefer to have for our comparison. The AppE data presented below, however, fulfills this standard well, leading us to the tentative judgment that our data are described adequately enough to permit a comparison. The third standard, of a presumed historical connection between the groups speaking the varieties concerned, has been established earlier in this paper. However, the second standard, that the existence of the grammatical feature concerned should be as closely confined to the varieties in question as possible, presents a rather greater challenge to deal with. A variety of dictionaries and commentaries reveal that the *-s* marking of third-person-plural verbs has been widespread in both BrE and AmE. Meeting the second standard for comparison may come down to two more specific considerations: whether concord has been governed by the same distinct constraint(s) in ScIrE and AppE and whether the marking of verbs in these two varieties has occurred at a level significantly different from other varieties.

Recent studies in West Virginia and elsewhere indicate that in AppE in the present tense a plural noun often takes what we will call henceforth "plural verbal *-s*", as in *trees grows, has, or is*, while a plural personal pronoun takes a verb with no such marking, as in *they grow, have, or are* (Hakenberg 1973, Wolfram and Christian (1976:76-79), Feagin (1979:189ff.), and in the data for Montgomery 1979 (as reported in Montgomery 1981)). For NIrE, a study by Policansky (1982) has found (as reported in Harris 1984b:132) that "the morphological distinction between singular and plural subject-verb concord is neutralized in many types of northern Hiberno-English: the singular marker *-s* appears on verbs with either a singular or a plural subject (unless the latter is a personal pronoun)". Furthermore, ScE reveals overwhelming evidence, extending back many centuries, of the prevalence of the same fundamental constraint governing the marking of verbs according to their type of third-person-plural subject. It is important to note that we are dealing primarily with count nouns that are plural both grammatically (marked with an *-s*) and semantically (not collective, compound, or other nouns whose plurality might be open to question). Nor are we dealing with verbs always separated from their subjects by intervening

phrases or other cases that might be explained by any semantic or performance factors. We will now survey the literature closely for the relevant discussion of concord with third-person plural subjects, present newly analyzed data from an older sample of AppE for comparison, and examine the arguments for connecting ScIE and AppE in this matter.¹¹

7.1. Scottish evidence

In Table 1 is presented the paradigm for the present tense indicative for Older ScE (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries), as outlined by Jack Aitken (p.c.). We see that the *-is* inflection prevails throughout, except for two specific contexts — with a first-person-singular subject and with an adjacent personal pronoun. Of crucial note is that the occurrence of this suffix depends on a more specific constraint than whether the subject is a noun vs. a pronoun; rather, a verb with *any* subject other than an immediately preceding personal (i.e., not relative, indefinite, or interrogative) pronoun was normally marked in OScE, a pattern that we will call the "Subject-Type Constraint" and that we will see paralleled in descriptions of NIE and AppE. We see that the typical concord pattern in OScE differed from that found in South Midland and Southern varieties of Late ME of the same period:

Table 1: Indicative endings, 14th century

	Older ScE		South Midland	Southern
	Adjacent Personal Pronoun	Personal Pronoun Not Adjacent		
Singular 1st	∅	-is	-e	-e
2nd	-is	-is	-est	-est
3rd	-is	-is	-eth	-eth
Plural	∅	-is	-c(n)	-eth

This paradigm dates back even farther; Sweet (1891:378) states that it was prevalent "already in the OE period". Murray in his historical grammar of ScE (1873:212) says that "before the date of the earliest Northern writings of the 13th century, the form without the *-s* had been extended to all cases in which the verb was accompanied by its proper pronoun, whether before or after it, leaving the full form in *-s* to be used with other nomina-

tives only". We know (Moore and Marckwardt 1981:112) that the use of *-s* and *-es* on present-tense plural verbs ranged as far south as the North Midlands in Late ME, but not as far as *-s* and *es* with singular verbs, the latter inflection spreading to London English, and to BrE in general, by the end of the sixteenth century. Murray (1873:211-2) states that the *-s* suffix on plural verbs continued to be a feature of ScE down to his day and provided the following statements, which are consistent in all details with Aitken's paradigm in Table 1: "In the PRESENT TENSE, aa *leyke*, wey *leyke*, yee *leyke*, thay *leyke*, are used only when the verb is accompanied by its proper pronoun; when the subject is a noun, adjective, interrogative or relative pronoun, or when the verb and subject are separated by a clause, the verb takes the termination *-s* in all persons". Thus:

ScE	EngE equivalent
aa cum fyrst	I come first (adjacent personal pronoun)
yt's mey at cums fyrst	It's me that comes first (relative pronoun)
the burds cums an paecks them	The birds come and peck them (common noun)
sum thinks hey was reycht	Some think he was right (indefinite pronoun)

That this pattern continues in twentieth-century ScE is clear from many sources. Wilson (1915:118) has noted that plural verbal *-s* is "often used in all persons of the plural unless the verb follows immediately after a single pronoun", that "when the subject is any other word or word than the pronouns standing alone, the plural of the verb generally takes the sibilant that marks the third person singular" (119-20); and that with a compound pronominal verb (e.g., *me and him*) verbal *-s* is also used (120). Other twentieth-century commentators (Grant and Dixon (1921:112) and, most recently, Macafee (1980:25)) confirm the same pattern, indicating its stability in ScE over many centuries.

7.2. Irish evidence

Commentary on subject-verb concord from IrE is not as voluminous as that from ScE, but the important question is whether there is evidence that

the Subject-Type Constraint governs the marking of verbs as in ScE. Henry (1958:130-31) reports that "-s is the common ending of the present pl." in IrE and illustrates this with twenty-five citations. But from these sentences, it appears that our constraint does not operate, at least for IrE in general, in that ten of these have *they* as the subject (*they has, they turns, etc.*). Taniguchi's analysis of the literary representation of IrE is inconclusive, stating little more than that "*is* is sometimes found with the plural subject" (1972:110); presumably he would have noted the Subject-Type Constraint had it existed in his data. This constraint, on the other hand, is reported for NIrE: "Anyone who has heard Ulster speech will agree that *so they is* and *they's* [= *they + is*] cannot occur" (J. Milroy (1981:12), who states (13) that the pattern "in fact goes back to Middle Scots (and before) where it is found in the politer sort of literary texts"). Policansky's 1982 quantitative study (reported by L. Milroy 1987:152-53) of NIrE speech found the following: a) *they* was used as a subject 310 times, all but one with a plural verb (one exception: "He asked how many eggcups she had and what colour they was"); b) demonstrative pronoun *these* when used as a subject never took verb marked with -s; c) demonstrative pronoun *these* when used as a subject never took a singular verb; but demonstrative pronouns *them* and *themuns* did: "Them's the words he used to me." "Themuns is thieves."

Thus, our data suggest that IrE exhibits ScE influence in the northern counties of Ireland, where the Ulster Scots have been predominant for the better part of four centuries.

7.3. Modern British dialect and Early Modern English evidence

A fair amount of evidence may be found for plural verbal -s in BrE. A general view of the extent of this feature for the modern period is provided by Edwards and Weltens, who in reviewing literature on grammatical patterns of "nonstandard dialects of British English" say that "the extension of the third person singular 's to other persons — in most cases to all persons ... seems to be common in Scotland, parts of N. England, Hereford, parts of S. Wales and (particularly S.W.)" (1985:108) and that one tendency in for "*is* rather than *are* in some cases, especially when the subject is separated from the verb (N. Ireland, Scotland, N. England, Cockney)" (ibid.).

More crucial is the fact that plural verbal s was quite common in both literary and colloquial Southern BrE in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Barber 1972:241-45). Abbott (1870:235) finds it "extremely com-

mon" in Shakespeare's First Folio, and Wyld (1953:340) states that it was "by no means very rare in the second half of the sixteenth century among writers of all classes, and was evidently in good colloquial usage well into the eighteenth century". Although acknowledged as a Northern BrE and ScE form originally, plural verbal -s is most often thought to have developed in the South from the influence of Midland varieties of English, in the same manner as the -s marking of singular verbs (Visser 1970:72).

The most detailed analysis of third-person plural verbs in EModE is by Knecht (1911), based primarily on data from dramatic writing. Knecht points out its prevalence: "Die Form auf -s (-th) ist eine in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. und den ersten Jahrzehnten des 17. Jahrhunderts ganz gewöhnliche Form des Plurals. ... Es gibt nur wenige Stücke des Blütezeit des englischen Dramas, in denen sie nicht vorkommt" (142). In later statements, Knecht seems to give a clearer idea of its currency: "Es muss nochmals betont werden, dass die Form auf -s einen durchaus schriftsprachlichen Charakter hat, wenn sie auch dem endungslosen Plural an Häufigkeit nicht gleichsteht. Es haftet ihr Ende des 16. und Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts nicht das Geringste an, was vulgär genannt werden könnte" (143-44). In addition to this reservation about its commonness in popular speech, it is also questionable whether verbal -s occurred at a very high level. In the First Folio of thirty-six plays, for example, there are 124 cases of it in main clauses and thirty-six cases in subordinate clauses, less than five occurrences per play. Perhaps the more crucial question is whether Knecht found -s marking after personal pronouns; he comments "Beachtenswert ist, dass der Plural aus -s nach dem persönlichen Pronomen selten ist; doch kommt es bei Autoren, die die Form kultivieren, auch bei pronominalem Subjekt des öfteren vor (*they flatters* Tourneur Ausg. von Collins B. II 137)" (149). Thus it is doubtful that subject-verb concord patterned in Southern BrE in a fashion identical to that in ScIrE and therefore unlikely that it could have been a component of immigrant speech from that part of the island. Although more exact and more definitive support for this conclusion requires quantitative analysis that identifies more closely the level of occurrence and the hierarchy of constraints governing plural verbal -s, additional evidence that this feature was largely confined to ScIrE and Northern BrE comes from some uncertainty over its source in Southern BrE. Some historians of English like Wyld (1953:340) argue that plural -s in the South did not derive ultimately from the North but rather was an over-generalization of singular -s for some speakers in the sixteenth and seven-

teenth centuries. Matthews in his history of Cockney, the working-class speech of London, points out (1938:194) "the extension of the *-s* termination of the third person singular present indicative, to other persons, 'I goes', 'he bets', 'we doesn't', 'you gives', 'they says'" and provides many examples with both noun and pronoun subjects.

7.4. American English evidence

While verbal *-s* in AmE has been noted on a number of occasions, it is doubtful, as for the EModE data, that the Subject-Type Constraint determined the verb marking or that it was productive enough to represent a stable part of the concord system and thus resemble the patterns established by recent studies of AppE. Verbal *-s* almost certainly was a common feature of colonial AmE. Hunter (1925:49) cites such sentences as *Times is hard* and *Prices is hard* as common in "fiction and dialect sketches" of both Britain and the U.S. in the middle third of the nineteenth century. Further nineteenth-century data on plural *-s* comes from the writing of white overseers in the Piedmont area of North Carolina, from an area of Scotch-Irish settlement, as reported by Williams (1953:9): "The plural subject is followed by a singular verb almost as often as by a plural verb. ... No examples were found of plural pronoun subjects followed by singular present of *to be* — *we is, you is, or they is.*"

For twentieth-century AmE, we can cite two sources of evidence on plural *-s*, Charles Fries' finding in his *American English Grammar* and data collected by Linguistic atlas projects. Fries observes (1940:51-52) that for the lesser-educated individuals whose writing he examined "there are frequent instances in which a plural subject (plural both in form and in meaning) is followed immediately by a verb with singular form. Examples are 'my children is too small' (8037) ... 'and times is so hard' (8293)", etc. Beyond this, Fries notes neither any regional pattern to this usage nor how prevalent it was among better-educated writers.

Although limited because they indicate only the presence or absence of linguistic features, data from the Linguistic Atlas records from two regions — New England and the Middle and South Atlantic States — as compiled by Atwood (1953:29) provide some clues about the regional dimensions of subject-verb concord in AmE. They are also suggestive with regard to the Subject-Type Constraint, but not conclusive, because Atwood reports verbal *-s* with only one noun, *people* — a noun which is formally singular.

He comments, "In the [Middle Atlantic States] and the [South Atlantic States] the singular *thinks* [with the subject *people*] is the universal popular form, being used by nine tenths or more of both Type I and Type II [informants]. In the [Middle Atlantic States] this form has some currency in cultured speech (about one third use it); in the [South Atlantic States] as in [Northern New England], it is rare in this type of speech. ... In contrast to the predominant use of the singular in *people thinks*, the plural form *say /sez/* is almost universally used with *they* in the context specifies. There are only 14 occurrences of *says /sez/*, scattered very widely through the [South Atlantic States]." Significantly, Atwood's compilation suggests a relatively stronger patterning of verbal *-s* in the Midland area, the territory which the Scotch-Irish settled.

Thus, studies of AmE give us good reason to look closely at plural verbal *-s* in AppE. Fortunately, the grammar of AppE has been examined in several recent quantitative studies and the frequency of verbal *-s*, the strength of the Subject-Type Constraint and a hierarchy of constraints associated with it have been documented. We now turn to these studies.

7.5. Appalachian evidence

Over the past twenty years, a number of sociolinguistic studies focusing on the grammar of AppE have shown verbal *-s* to be a characteristic feature of AppE in West Virginia (Hackenberg 1973 and Wolfram and Christian 1975, 1976), Kentucky (Blanton 1974, McGreevy 1977), Tennessee (Montgomery 1981), and Alabama (Feagin 1979). In this paper, we will focus on the data from three sets of conversational interviews, two of them conducted in West Virginia in the early 1970s, one in the east central part of the state (Nicholas County, by Hackenberg) and the other at the extreme southern end (Mercer and Monroe Counties by Wolfram and Christian).

The third set of interviews was conducted in the late 1930s and early 1940s by Joseph S. Hall, who was commissioned by the National Park Service to record stories, songs, and reminiscences of remaining natives of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, an extensive, largely wilderness area straddling East Tennessee and Western North Carolina. Data from these interviews, collected on seventy-three phonographic recordings, were analyzed for the phonetics of this variety of speech in Hall (1942), but are analyzed for grammatical purposes for the first time in the present paper.¹² The speech of Hall's informants holds particular promise for revealing older

patterns of AppE, in that these people typically had resided all their lives in remote coves and isolated homesteads and had very little contact with either formal schooling or life in nearby towns more than a day's hike away. Most of them were born in the nineteenth century, some of them being children of the original settlers in the area. Tables 2-4 below summarize the findings from these three sets of interviews by displaying the percentage of plural verbal *-s* in the present tense, according to type of subject and type of verb (copula vs. non-copula). An attempt has been made to standardize the presentation of data, based on Wolfram and Christian's categories in Table 3, with the exception of the category 'Collective NP' (since it is not clear how Wolfram and Christian defined the term); this required the reanalysis of Hackenberg's data, which are presented in an appendix to his study. For the purposes of this comparison, 'Other NP' includes indefinite and relative pronouns as well as common nouns. Table 2 presents data from all thirty-nine speakers in his study, while Table 3 is based on data from

Table 2: Subject Verb-Concord in Nicholas County, West Virginia (Adapted from Hackenberg 1973)

Type of Verb	Type of Plural Subject							Total 3rd Per Plural
	We	You	They	Conjoined NP__	There__NP	Other NP__	Total NP	
Be Present								
Nonconcord	0	0	0	6	79	37	85	122
Concord	29	61	180	4	41	53	98	278
Total	29	61	180	10	120	90	183	400
% Nonconcord	0	0	0	60.0	65.8	41.1	46.4	30.5
Other Verbs								
Nonconcord	0	0	0	4	/	52	52	56
Concord	0	0	478	11	/	135	146	624
Total	0	0	478	15	/	187	198	680
% Nonconcord	0	0	0	26.7	/	27.8	26.3	8.8
All Verbs								
Nonconcord	0	0	0	10	79	89	137	178
Concord	0	0	558	15	41	188	244	902
Total	0	0	558	25	120	277	381	1080
% Nonconcord	0	0	0	40.0	65.8	33.3	36.0	16.5

(Note: "Nonconcord" = Having plural *-s* suffix)

Table 3: Plural Subject-Verb Concord in Southern West Virginia (Adapted from Wolfram and Christian 1975:113-14)

Type of Verb	Conjoined NP__	Type of Plural Subject			Total NP	Total 3rd Per Plural
		There__NP	Collective NP__	Other NP__		
Be Present						
Nonconcord	3	63	9	35	2	110
Concord	0	4	3	39	300	46
Total	3	67	12	74	302	156
% Nonconcord	100	94.0	75.0	47.3	0.7	70.5
Other Verbs						
Nonconcord	10	/	18	27	2	55
Concord	3	/	33	60	1252	96
Total	13	/	51	87	1254	151
% Nonconcord	76.9	/	35.2	31.0	0.2	364
All Verbs						
Nonconcord	13	63	27	62	4	165
Concord	3	4	36	99	1552	142
Total	16	67	63	161	1556	307
% Nonconcord	81.2	94.0	42.9	38.5	0.3	53.7

(Note: "Nonconcord" = Having plural *-s* suffix)

twenty of Wolfram and Christian's informants who "represent an even distribution by age and sex for the five different age groups distinguished in this study" (1975:110). The Smoky Mountain data are based on interviews with thirty elderly mountain residents, most of which were recorded by Hall around 1940 but several of which were recorded by National Park archivists in the 1950s. Because of the preponderance of stories in the Smoky Mountain interviews, which limited the number of present-tense environments, the data reported in Table 4 are considerably fewer than for the other two studies.

Although there is much interspeaker variation within each set of data along lines of degree of education, age, gender, and other factors, variation which is crucial to answering such questions as the direction(s) of change of verbal *-s* marking, this is ignored for the present study in order to focus on the linguistic aspects. These considerations would be less crucial for Hall's informants; because of the male dominance of mountain society and Hall's

desire to collect stories about moonshining and hunting bears, panthers, and other animals, his interviews contain relatively little speech of women.

Examples from Wolfram and Christian (1975:110-1), illustrating verbal *-s* with different types of subject:

Conjoined Noun Phrase: "Me and my sister *gets* in a fight sometimes."

Existential *there*: "There's different breeds of 'em."

Collective Noun Phrase: "Some people *makes* it from a fat off a pig."

Other Noun Phrase: "The cars *was* all tore up."

Table 4: Plural Subject-Verb Concord in Smoky Mountains (Based on data collected for Hall 1942 and other interviews)

Type of Verb	Type of Plural Subject				Total NP	Total 3rd Per Plural
	Conjoined NP	There NP	Collective NP	Other NP		
Be Present						
Nonconcord	0	25	20	4	45	49
Concord	1	2	5	33	8	41
Total	1	27	25	37	53	90
% Nonconcord	0.0	92.6	80.0	10.8	84.9	54.4
Other Verbs						
Nonconcord	1	/	28	3	29	32
Concord	2	/	19	118	21	139
Total	3	/	47	121	50	171
% Nonconcord	33.0	/	59.6	2.5	58.0	18.7
All Verbs						
Nonconcord	1	25	48	7	74	81
Concord	3	2	24	151	29	180
Total	4	27	72	158	103	261
% Nonconcord	25.0	92.6	66.7	4.4	71.8	31.0

(Note: "Nonconcord" = Having plural *-s* suffix)

The following are examples from the Smoky Mountain data of plural verbal *-s* with different types of subject:

Quantifier Subject: "I don't know how many's done that."

There ___: "Because there's lots of mountains."

Relative Pronoun Subject: "This comes from people who *teaches* biology."

Quantifier + Noun Subject: "Now lot of people *wants* to know if ..."

Proper Noun Subject: "[The] Smokies *is* said to have more different var-

ieties of trees."

Conjoined Subject: "Over there where Steve Whaley and them *lives*."

Common Noun Subject: "The rocks *is* still there yet."

Indefinite Quantifier + Personal Pronoun Subject: "And all of 'em *wants* to change their ages."

In general, verbal *-s* in the Smoky mountain data occurs more often than in West Virginia studies, as we would expect from older, more isolated speakers, and in some cases is not far from being categorical (e.g. 45/53 occurrences of *be* for NP subjects in the Smoky Mountain data). A closer examination of the strength of this feature in these three datasets discloses the following three fundamental similarities in the specific details of its patterning, similarities that argue for the relative homogeneity of AppE and possibly for the common source of these details as well:

1) The Subject-Type Constraint operates consistently and at a high level for all three sets of data. Verbal *-s* occurs at a very marginal level with the pronoun *they* as subject (11/2372 = 0.46%) but a majority of the time with other subjects (376/791 = 47.5%).

2) For each set of data, there is a hierarchy of subject types that correlates with verbal *-s*, the suffix occurring most often in existential sentences (the 'There ___NP' category), second most often when the subject is 'Other NP', and least when *they* is subject. In addition, data from Hackenberg and Wolfram and Christian suggest that the category 'Conjoined NP' is an intermediate category between 'There ___NP' and 'Other NP', but the Smoky Mountain data are too sparse to compare in this regard.

3) For the West Virginia sets of data and for the data as a whole, verbal *-s* occurs roughly twice as more often with the copula verb *be* (240/392 = 61.2%) than with other verbs (136/399 = 34.1%); the ratio for the Smoky Mountain data is about three to two in favor of the copula.

What do these similarities and the strength of verbal *-s* in AppE add up to? Acknowledging that 'proof' is elusive, we can at least argue that this feature was once a categorical or near-categorical part of the grammar of AppE and that it most likely was categorical for at least some speakers of colonial AmE. On the basis of our foregoing presentation, there is good deal of evidence that this patterning of verbal *-s* came from ScIrE.

8. Modal combinations

8.0. The combination of modal verbs such as *might could* and *may can* and of semi-modal verbs such as *used to could* also holds strong promise for rep-

representing a link between ScIrE and AppE. Although these combinations are rare even in those varieties in which they occur and it is at present unclear how to detail their semantics and pragmatics and how to characterize the syntactic environment in which they are likely to occur, the available literature seems to confine them to ScE and Northern BrE (Edwards and Weltens 1985:111), and to Southern AmE, at least in recent centuries. Thus, modal combinations fulfill our second standard of comparison, that the grammatical features in question should be as nearly limited to the varieties concerned as possible, to a high degree of satisfaction indeed. (They are also documented in VBE in Northern U.S. cities, as in Labov *et al.* (1968), but presumably these have been borrowed from Southern AmE). For ScE, modal combinations are attested by most dictionaries and grammatical commentaries (e.g., Aitken (1979:105) cites what he calls "double auxiliary" structures in *They'll can see to it* or *I'd could have done it*), and there are brief reports of them from NIrE, detailed below. Evidence for them in AppE comes from Coleman (1975), who shows their greater productivity in the mountain region of North Carolina than in the other two-thirds of the state, and from Feagin (1979:151-74), although Wolfram and Christian (1976:90) and Montgomery (1979) found very few instances of them.

8.1. *The Scottish English and English English evidence*

Modal combinations were common in ME, reflecting among other things the evolution of *will*, *can*, *could*, and other modals from main verb to auxiliary status (which means that it is something of a misnomer to refer to both verbs as modals when they appear together). There can be little doubt that their continued use in ScE and AppE reflects the somewhat peripheral status of these varieties, at least geographically, just as does the failure of the Great Vowel Shift to operate to completion in ScE. This, as well as the fact that the inventories of combinations in the British Isles are different from those in the U.S. (discussed below), raises provocative questions about the evolution of modal verbs for historians of the English language.

Visser (1970) provides the most complete historical view of modal combinations in BrE, citing *shall conne* (p. 1751), *shall may* and variants (1789), *muste kunne* and *mowe kunne* (2404) and observes that "constructions of this kind, with an auxiliary as middle verb, having been in frequent occurrence in Middle English, became obsolete by the beginning of the

Modern period, except in Scottish dialects where clusters with *can* in central positions survived" (2404). Indeed, the combinations cited in the grammars of Murray and of Grant and Dixon and in the SND involve *can* or *could* in second position in the verb phrase. Murray produces evidence (1873:216-17) that *can* and *could* have not developed full auxiliary status in Mod ScE, in that *can* occurs after *have* and as a progressive as well as following *will*. He cites the following uses of *can* in 'compound tenses': *they haena cuid geate eane* ('they have not been able to get one'); *If wey head cuid cum; ye'll can cum neist weik?*, *We' hym noa kannin' fynd them* ('through his being unable to find them'), *He'll no can haud doon his head to sneeze, for fear o' seeing his shoon*. Grant and Dixon (1921:117) cite "the use of 'will' with 'can' to form a future tense in Mid and Sth. dialects". Combinations attested in Mod ScE by the SND (Grant and Murison II:28, s.v. *can*), include *will can* (usually contracted, as in *We'll can agree fine*), *might could*, *would could*, *could can*, and *use tae could*.

Two more recent studies of Northern EngE and ScE can also be cited. MacDonald's dissertation (1978) on Tyneside English (Northumberland), based on data from informal observations and other sources and from sociolinguistic interviews, found the following combinations: *might could*, *must've could*, *mightn't can*, *would could*, *wouldn't could*, *'ll can*, *'ll not could*, *used to could*, and *haven't could*. Miller and Brown (1982:12), in a study of Edinburgh speech in the 1970s based on sociolinguistic interviews and casual conversations, note that the following combinations occurred: *might should*, *might can*, *might could*, *might would*, *used to would*, *used to might*, *have to can*, *need to can*, *bound to could*, and *will need to can*. Interestingly, many of the combinations in the latter study, particularly those with second-position *would* and *might*, are not attested for earlier stages of ScE by the SND.

8.2. *The Irish evidence*

Evidence of modal combinations in IrE is indirect, coming only from citations collected by John Braidwood for his *Ulster Dialect Dictionary*.¹³ Braidwood has documented the following: *might could*, *might should*, *should ought to*, *used to could*, *used to would*, and *used would*. The literature on SIrE has no mention of multiple modals.

8.3. *American evidence*

Because modal combinations occur so infrequently, they are collected for study either by extended observation or by giving direct elicitation. Most American studies have relied entirely or largely on the latter technique (Butters 1973, Coleman 1975, Boetien and Said 1980, Boertien 1986, Di Paolo 1986, etc.). Their uncommonness otherwise, and the consequent difficulty in making quantitative comparisons, raises apparent problems in meeting our four considerations for the comparison of grammatical data. We will mention these problems here, although the general position we will take is that the exclusiveness of modal combinations to ScIrE in the British Isles argues forcefully for a trans-Atlantic connection with this variety of English.

Specifying the context of grammatical forms under consideration consistently is obviously difficult for modal combinations since there is little, if any, evidence that they are equivalent in meaning to single modals. Modal combinations seem to occur much more often in certain types of personal interaction (e.g., negotiations) than others (e.g., sociolinguistic interviews), but our inability to specify the linguistic environment(s) in which they are likely to occur rules out our ability to meet our four principles of accountability at present. The remaining three considerations — finding adequate quantities of valid data, characterizing the style and sociolinguistic features of the data compared, and dealing with the possibility that grammatical forms of interest may be salient or stigmatized and thus screened out or avoided in writing — also raise fundamental challenges to linguists attempting to document the history of modal combinations, especially in colonial AmE.

To date, the earliest modal combination collected in AmE is apparently an 1859 example noted by Eliason (1956:245): *I know I might could & should enjoy myself*. Wentworth (1944) cites a number of combinations from the turn of the twentieth century: *might can* and *may can* (p. 92), *might could*, *may could*, and *ought to could* (135-6), *might would* (387), and *used to could* and *used to would* (679); he is the only AmE source for *will can* and *'ll can*, the latter occurring "always in combination *'ll not kin* or *'ll never kin*" (92). Except for *used to could* and *used to would*, Wentworth's data comes almost entirely from the Southeastern U.S. and more often from mountain areas than elsewhere in the region.

Early linguistic atlas fieldworkers also recorded some evidence of

modal combinations. With reference to atlas data collected in the 1930s and 1940s in the Atlantic states, Atwood (1953:35) states the *might could* is "a typical South and South Midland form" and that it is also "current in the German area of Pa.", but he mentions no further combinations of modals in this region (cf. data from the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States below). In Wolfram and Christian's large-scale sociolinguistic project in West Virginia (1975:131), only three combinations were found: *might could*, *used to could*, and *musta didn't*.

The most extensive investigation of multiple modals in AmE up to the present was done by William Coleman (1975), who tested the acceptability of the following modal combinations in different sentences in three geographical divisions of North Carolina: *may ought to*, *may should*, *may could*, *may would*, *may can*, *may might*, *may will*, *may shall*, *might ought to*, *might could*, *might should*, *might would*, *might may* and *might can*. Coleman found evidence of a distinctive regional patterning for the number of acceptable combinations in the divisions of the state: that more combinations were acceptable, and at a greater rate, in the Piedmont region than in the Coastal Plain, and higher in the mountains — the Appalachian area — than in the other two regions. If true, this indicates a possible connection with ScIrE and raises the potential that data permitting a closer look study of the geographical dimensions of modal combinations might reveal a greater concentration of forms in AppE. Until recently, it was questionable that a database large enough to explore such a question would ever exist, but in 1986 the Concordance to the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States (Pederson *et al.* 1986) was published, a massive databank to which we now turn.

8.4. *Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States evidence*

Entries in the LAGS Concordance are keyed to LAGS Protocols (equivalent to field notebooks for earlier atlas projects) and are based on more than 5,500 hours of tape-recorded speech from over 1,000 interviews conducted by LAGS fieldworkers. Especially for grammatical and lexical items, LAGS material is far richer and more voluminous than for other American linguistic atlases in that it was transcribed from tape-recorded interviews which normally included significant amounts of free conversation rather than forms transcribed at the moment they were spoken during the interview. For modal combinations, LAGS data reveal an extraordinary

richness and a wider range of forms than does any other study. (Even so, informal and smallscale studies are likely to turn up other hitherto undocumented combinations; Skipper (1982) found a form such as *would could* not recorded in LAGS or elsewhere).

The following table presents the range and frequency of modal combinations in the LAGS data, arranged by initial element and with the frequency of each combination noted in parentheses.

Table 5: Range and Frequency of Modal Combinations in LAGS

Initial element	Combinations with this element (n=frequency)
can	+ might (1)
could	+ might (1), + used to (1)
may	+ can (9), + not can (1), + not ought to (1), + would (1)
might	+ better (3), + can (54), + cannot (1), + can't (1), + could (219), + couldn't (2), + could've (1), + have could have (3), + have could carried (1), + have used to (3), + have would have (2), + just could (1), + not can (1), + not could (1), + ought to (6), + should (1), + used to (1), + will (2), + would (41), + wouldn't (3)
ought to	+ could (1)
shouldn't	+ have ought to (3), + ought to (6), + oughtn't (to) (1)
used to	+ could (71), + (preposed) (53), used (to) could (3), + couldn't (10), + would (19), + wouldn't (11), used (to) wouldn't (1)
would	+ might (1), + use to (1)

One remarkable point about this listing is the number of different combinations (39) and different initial elements (8). There are twenty different combinations beginning with *might* alone. These suggest an open-ended system for expressing certain types and degrees of modality in Southern AmE, the semantic details of which cannot be explored at this point. What is important is to try to identify the similarities and crucial differences between the AmE and ScE forms of modal combinations and to discern any regional patterns of these combinations in AmE.

It is immediately striking, as discovered by American studies of modal combinations, especially by LAGS, that there is a significantly different inventory of forms than in ScE and BrE. The most common form in ScE, *will can*, is documented in AmE only by Wentworth, not by any other study, including LAGS. This discrepancy suggests either 1) that the range of possible combinations is open for both ScE and AmE and that only a fraction of them have been recorded (as suggested by Brown and Miller's recent research in Edinburgh), or 2) that a significant reanalysis of the aux-

iliary has taken place to permit a greater variety of combinations in earlier AmE. Supporting either of these possibilities requires further research.

A question also arises regarding the regional distribution of these combinations — do the LAGS data parallel Coleman's findings? Though they are not yet published, LAGS data are available to answer this question.¹⁴ LAGS data are being edited to reveal social, generational and ethnic patterns as well as geographical ones, thanks to a set of microcomputer programs devised for their analysis. One of these, the LAGS Codemap program, creates maps that display a tabular breakdown of data by race (W = White, B = Black), social class (L = Lower, M = Middle, U = Upper) and generation (according to age ranges 13-30, 31-60, and 61-99) for the number of speakers in each of eighteen subgroups who provide a given form out of the number in that group who were interviewed. A LAGS Codemap also codes the forms for each subgroup according to letters and numerals, and plots these letters and numerals across a map showing a shadow of the eight-state LAGS territory in order to observe subregional patterns in geographical distribution. Below are LAGS Codemaps for *might could* and *might can*, two of the most frequent modal combinations. Figure 1 reveals, if anything, a greater concentration of *might could* in the Lower South, particularly stretching from East Central Georgia westward to Northern Louisiana; in the LAGS data *might could* occurs relatively infrequently in Tennessee (along the top righthand corner of the map) and in North Georgia. The map for *might can* shows largely the same pattern. Thus, from data for two modal combinations there is only preliminary evidence of a regional patterning in the LAGS data and no evidence at all for a prevalence of modal combinations in the Appalachian areas; however, these maps exemplify the exciting way in which some Linguistic Atlas data, that from LAGS, may be brought to bear on questions of grammatical patterning.

9. Extrapolating results to a cultural context

This paper has outlined and illustrated a principled approach to the trans-Atlantic comparison of varieties of English, particularly the comparison of grammatical features of ScIrE in Scotland and Northern Ireland and AppE in the Southern mountains of the U.S. In so doing, it has articulated a number of methodological considerations, principles, and standards which mark progress in the effort of comparison and point the way for

Code 1: Race/Class/Age

1 = W/L/13-30	2/5	A = B/L/13-30	3/13
2 = W/M/13-30	16/67	B = B/M/13-30	1/13
3 = W/U/13-30	1/10	C = B/U/13-30	0/0
4 = W/L/31-60	13/25	D = B/L/31-60	8/19
5 = W/M/31-60	35/117	E = B/M/31-60	5/25
6 = W/U/31-60	6/33	F = B/U/31-60	2/5
7 = W/L/61-99	40/149	G = B/L/61-99	22/84
8 = W/M/61-99	54/257	H = B/M/61-99	5/35
9 = W/U/61-99	6/54	J = B/U/61-99	0/3

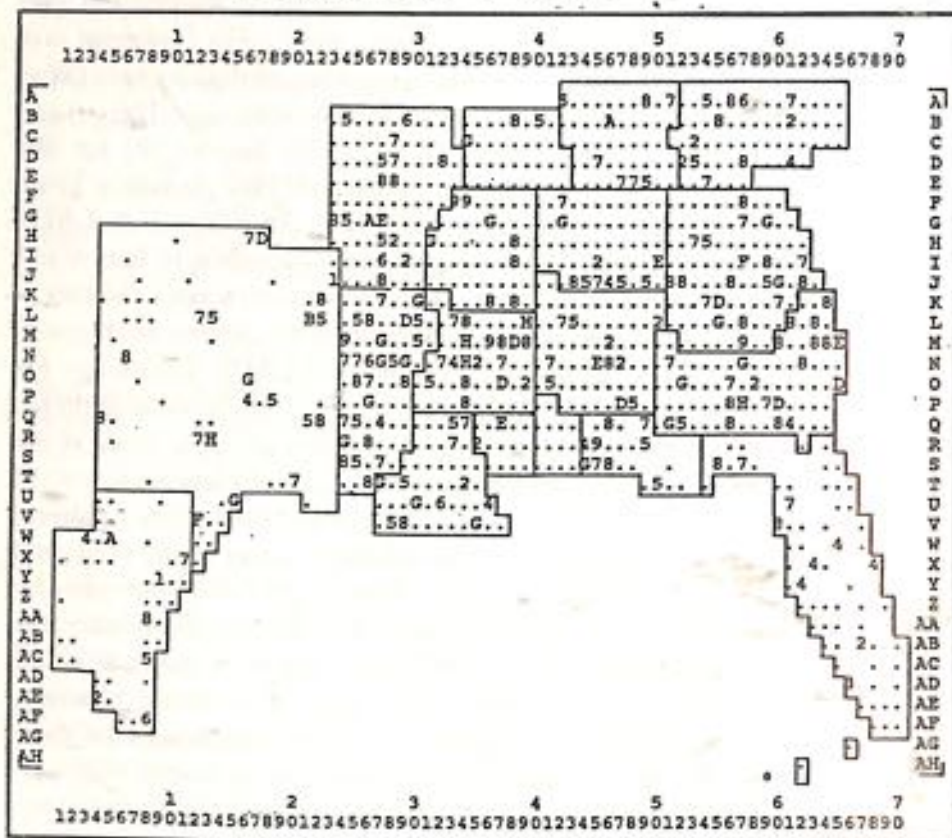


Figure 1: Patterning of might could in LAGS Territory (n = 219)

Code 1: Race/Class/Age

1 = W/L/13-30	1/5	A = B/L/13-30	2/13
2 = W/M/13-30	2/67	B = B/M/13-30	0/13
3 = W/U/13-30	0/10	C = B/U/13-30	0/0
4 = W/L/31-60	4/25	D = B/L/31-60	2/19
5 = W/M/31-60	4/117	E = B/M/31-60	2/25
6 = W/U/31-60	0/33	F = B/U/31-60	0/5
7 = W/L/61-99	8/149	G = B/L/61-99	6/84
8 = W/M/61-99	18/257	H = B/M/61-99	3/35
9 = W/U/61-99	1/54	J = B/U/61-99	0/3

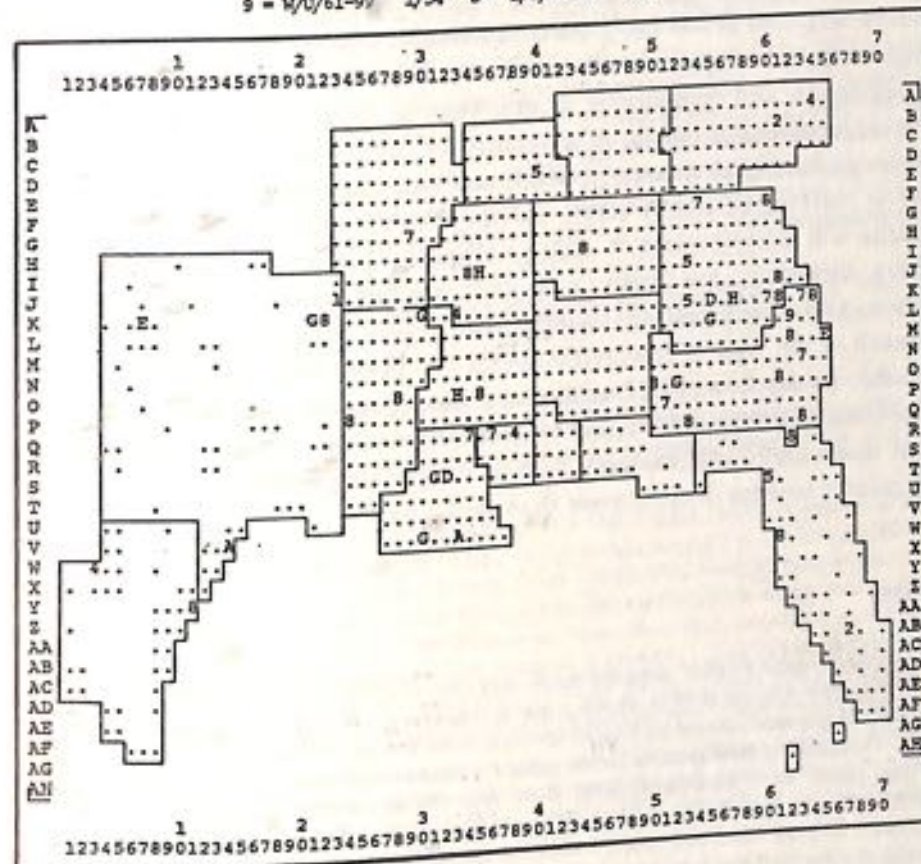


Figure 2: Patterning of might can in LAGS Territory (n = 53)

further analysts to gauge cross-dialectal influences in the development of colonial Englishes.

As discussed in this paper, the endeavours to establish trans-Atlantic connections in grammatical patterns, even at a relatively shallow time depth of less than three hundred years, are quite challenging. However, previous attempts to connect the archaism of AppE, especially in its vocabulary and morphology, to ScIrE have been smallscale, unsystematic, and tentative. Assuming the relative homogeneity of ScIrE and AppE and the valid specification and comparison of grammatical forms in context, and given the achievement of our three standards for comparison, we can posit a link in the grammatical systems of ScIrE and AppE, particularly with regard to the *-s* marking of plural verbs and the combining of modal verbs. These results will be relevant not only to linguists, but also to cultural geographers, historians, folklorists, and other scholars concerned with the diffusion of Old World patterns into the New World. It may just be possible, as a result of the type of research outlined and begun here, that we will finally be able to say how 'Elizabethan' and how 'Scotch-Irish' AppE in fact is. The results of this initial effort to draw a trans-Atlantic connection suggest that much additional research may profitably be pursued and the promise of greater success of such work than in the past.

Notes

1) 'Scotch-Irish English' does not necessarily refer to a variety of English that was formerly or is presently spoken. Rather, in this paper it refers to a collection of linguistic features, particularly of grammar, shared by English speakers in the northern counties of Ireland and in Scotland. The author is most grateful for the generous assistance of many scholars in the preparation of this paper, most particularly John Kirk, Jack Aitken, Jeffrey Kallen, John Braidwood, Michael Barry, Robert Gregg, Jack Weaver, John Harris, Jim and Leslie Milroy, Carolyn Macafee, Iseabail MacLeod, Mairi Robinson, Jim Miller and Suzanne Romaine. The author would also like to thank John MacQueen and the staff of the School of Scottish Studies in Edinburgh for their help and the use of their facilities. The travel and collection of material on which this paper is based was supported by the Research and Productive Scholarship Program and the Institute for Southern Studies at the University of South Carolina and by the Southern Regional Education Board. The faults and shortcomings of the paper remain entirely those of the author, however.

2) 'Scotch-Irish' is little used in the British Isles, where 'Ulster Scots' is generally preferred, but is adopted in this study for convenience and because it is the usual term in the U.S.

3) The Linguistic Atlas staff never lost sight of this goal, but it became an increasingly distant prospect after it became clear that collecting and editing the basic materials would be long and arduous. Exuberance over the progress of the Linguistic Atlas of New England, the

fieldwork for which was conducted between 1931-33 and the results from which were published in six volumes in 1939, soon gave way to the more sober realities of much wider territory to cover and shrinking funding to survey other regions. At present, there seems little chance that fieldwork for the entire country will be completed; Atlas fieldwork for the states east of the Mississippi was finished only in the early 1980s with the completion of interviewing for the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States.

Still, linguistic geographers, particularly Raven I. McDavid, Jr., have occasionally weighed into debates surrounding the source of certain features of AmE with statements about trans-Atlantic connections between certain linguistic forms. In arguments about the source of grammatical and lexical forms of 'Black English' such as 'invariant *be*', McDavid (e.g., 1973) has frequently pointed to analogues in one or another variety of BrE or AmE (such as the speech of New England, cf. McDavid, Davis, and O'Cain 1974), in order to support arguments for the non-creole or non-African origin of such forms. Such statements, offered in the highly charged atmosphere of research on black speech and how it was related to white speech in the U.S. that prevailed in the 1960s and 1970s (for a review, see the introduction to Montgomery and Bailey 1986), represented an approach to research that the creolist J.L. Dillard (1970) derided as superficial, highly selective, and governed by what he called the "cafeteria principle."

4) Although the English spoken in Ireland nowadays is most often referred to as 'Hiberno-English', the label 'Irish English' is used in this paper for the transparency of its abbreviation — IrE.

5) Theoretical work on substratal influences has progressed greatly in recent years, particularly as represented by several essays in Muysken and Smith (1986) and by Boretzky (1988). At the same time, an increasing awareness of the complexity of superstrate influence, as shown in Harris (1986) and Bailey and Ross (1988), has developed.

6) Next to identifying *hit* as a form unchanged since Old English times, popular commentators on AppE have most often pointed to the second-person pronoun *ye* as evidence for the archaism of mountain speech. The dubiousness of the comparisons made by such writers, and the inability of linguistic researchers to use them, is revealed by the way in which these writers ignored the grammatical properties of the latter form. More often than not, the citations have the pronoun used as an objective rather than a nominative pronoun ("You can git ye one more gittin' o' wood up thar", Kephart 1913:357) contrary to its use in ME and EModE, and they often have *ye* in a singular context as well ("I dar ye — I ain't afeared", Kephart 1913:362).

7) Of the forms Crozier discusses, most are quite recessive. For instance, *bonny clabber* and *diamond* do not occur in the massive concordance to the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States (Pederson *et al.* 1986). Nor does *dornick*, 'a round stone or chunk of rock', a term from Scots Gaelic (Crozier, 321).

8) Kallen (1986), who reviews the literature and has the most thorough analysis of *does* + *be*, suggests that the form's development "involves the reinterpretation of periphrastic *do* into a grammatical marker which functions not as a lexical verb, but as a marker of the aspectual feature +durative" (139). The dating of the development of *does* + *be* has not reached a consensus.

9) Possible evidence to the contrary from literary dialect is provided by Dorothy Edwards, who in 1935 compiled dialect features from novels portraying North Carolina mountaineers. She noted (p. 123) the finite *be* in sentences such as *Yes, I be* occurred in the writing of seven novelists.

10) The files of citation slips of the *Scottish National Dictionary* were consulted in the Scottish National Library by this investigator in an attempt to find additional examples of positive any-

more, modal combinations, and other grammatical features discussed in this paper. No further citations of positive *anymore* were found. Special thanks are due to Iseabail MacLeod for giving the writer access to the SND files.

11) It is assumed at present that the *-s* marking of third-person plural verbs has no semantic or discourse-pragmatic content and that it is strictly a grammatical marker. This is unlikely to completely be the case. Aitken (1984:105), Murray (1873:220), and Macafee (1980:25) state that the suffix carries a habitual sense in Scots, and of course the suffix is used in many varieties of English, certainly in AppE, as a narrative marker, the so-called 'historical present'. There is no hint at this time that verbal *-s* in non-third-person-singular contexts in AppE carries habitual sense, especially since it does not occur except on third-person plural verbs (unlike *-s* in ScE). However, there is the possibility that in AppE as well as NIrE, the semantic content of the suffix conspired with the grammatical rule marking third-person plural verbs to preserve the suffix in this one environment, even though it is difficult to understand how the cleavage noun vs. pronoun constraint could have allowed this to happen. Still, it is crucial to explore this question of the semantics of *-s* in a quantitative manner in order to throw light on possible relationships between earlier varieties of English (Poplack and Tagliamonte, *fc.*)

12) Grateful acknowledgment is made to Joseph S. Hall for permitting access to these recordings and their transcripts, and to the staff of the Sugarlands Visitors' Center of the Great Smoky Mountains National park in Gatlinburg, Tennessee, for making them available.

13) Braidwood's death in August 1988 left *The Ulster Dialect Dictionary*, his life's work, still on the drawing board. The disposition of Braidwood's material and any plans to publish it are unclear. The information cited here was provided to this writer during a personal visit to Braidwood three months before the latter's untimely passing.

14) Special thanks go to Lee Pederson, Editor-in-Chief of the Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States, for his generosity in making the mapping program available to the author. The data were taken from Pederson *et al.* (1988).

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WORD-FORMATION AND THE ENL: ESL: EFL DISTINCTION¹

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1. The problem

1.1. The classification of speech communities as ENL, ESL, EFL (and ESD, EBL) according to what use they make of English has been widely accepted. The distinction is certainly uncontroversial where the range of functions in a specific speech community is concerned, even if there are, of course, border-line cases in a synchronic analysis (say Israel, Egypt, Iraq, or Pakistan) and also individual developments from one category to another — a well-known dynamism which has been discussed quite frequently (cf. Moag 1982 and, most recently, Görlach 1988a, 1988b).

However, language-in-society categories do not always have unambiguous equivalents in sociolinguistic ones (for a short, but eminently readable differentiation between the two approaches cf. Trudgill 1978). It is quite a different matter to determine whether we can correlate the ENL: ESL: EFL classification with an unambiguous set of distinctive features — which would make it possible, ideally, to identify texts as coming from ENL as against ESL or EFL sources, disregarding questions of the individual speaker's/writer's fluency, competence or (in)security, but relating the text to a *norm*² instead.

Such linguistic features are to be expected, if they do indeed exist, on all levels of linguistic analysis:

1. phonetics, phonology and intonation;
2. morphology and syntax;
3. lexis and semantics;
4. pragmatics.

However, since these fields have been investigated with varying degrees of thoroughness, and since these levels relate to the *norm* problem and its