

# Global Synopsis: morphological and syntactic variation in English

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## 1. Introduction

Compared with the regional synopses, it is in this chapter that we shall adopt a truly bird's-eye, or even satellite, view at morphosyntactic variation across the non-standard varieties in the English-speaking world. Relevant questions that will be addressed include the following: Which are the least and, more interestingly, most frequent morphosyntactic features in non-standard varieties of Englishes worldwide, and thus true candidates for what Chambers (2001, 2003, 2004) has called *vernacular universals* (section 4)? What in this respect can be said and which distinctive patterns and correlations can be identified for the seven world regions investigated in this Handbook (section 5), for first (L1) and second (L2) language varieties and Pidgins/Creoles within and across the seven world regions (section 6), and for individual areas of morphosyntax (section 7)? It will turn out that the patterns identified in section 6 are a crucial key to understanding the patterns in sections 5 and 7.

The primary source for the answers to these and other questions addressed in this global synopsis is a catalogue of 76 morphosyntactic features from 11 domains of grammar which was sent to the authors of the morphosyntax chapters of this Handbook (see section 2). For each of these 76 features the authors were asked to specify into which of the following three categories the relevant feature in the relevant variety (or set of closely related varieties) falls:

A pervasive (possibly obligatory) or at least very frequent

B exists but a (possibly receding) feature used only rarely, at least not frequently

C does not exist or (especially for Pidgins and Creoles) does not apply

This feature catalogue and the classifications going with it are also the basis for the interactive world maps on the CD-ROM showing the regional distribution of individual (groups of) morphosyntactic features in non-standard varieties of English. In the first place, the feature catalogue is a method necessary for determining whether a feature not mentioned in a given Handbook chapter really does not exist in the relevant variety or set of varieties, or was simply not deemed salient enough by the author(s) to be worth mentioning (for example, because it is a typical feature of non-standard varieties in general). The 'A' vs. 'B' classification was introduced in order to provide us with more information than simply on the presence or

absence of a given feature; this distinction, coarse as it is, gives us at least an idea of how salient, or entrenched, a given feature is in the relevant variety.

It is, of course, necessary to stress right from the beginning the inevitable problems and potential drawbacks of such an approach. None of these must be forgotten throughout the reading of the regional synopses and, especially, this global synopsis. Such reductionist judgments as the Handbook contributors were asked to make on the basis of this catalogue and classifications (A-B-C) must be taken with a grain of salt, in the case of the many L2 varieties, Pidgins and Creoles (accounting, after all, for more than half of the non-standard varieties in this investigation) even with a generous pinch of salt. A bird's-eye view approach necessarily abstracts from many details and (partly necessary) qualifications in individual varieties (e.g. contextual, lexical, stylistic, age-group restrictions on the [frequency of] use of individual features), as indeed several authors added to their judgments. For individual features and varieties, some authors felt happier to give in-between judgments like 'A/B' or 'B/C'. It is also obvious that where authors were responsible for a group of closely related non-standard varieties (e.g. the dialects of northern England) they indicated where classifications diverge among the individual varieties.

For L2 varieties and, especially, Pidgins and Creoles the problems involved in such a feature catalogue and classification are even larger. To start with, the feature catalogue is not designed to cater specifically for the description of the morphosyntax of L2 varieties and Pidgins and Creoles. Rather, the focus of interest is (a) on supraregional L2 and Pidgin/Creole properties, and (b) on the extent to which English L2 varieties and English-based Pidgins and Creoles exhibit properties of non-standard L1 varieties of English, thus highlighting properties to be seen independently from the relevant L1 and substrate languages. This is why creolists, on the one hand, found many features in the catalogue absent from or simply inapplicable to their varieties (both resulting in a 'C' classification) and, on the other hand, would have liked to add features which help to bring out the distinctive properties of Pidgins and Creoles, in general, and the Pidgin(s) or Creole(s) they were responsible for, in particular. Then there is the notorious problem of the continuum of speakers from the basilectal to the acrolectal level. For our purposes most contributors chose, as in their Handbook chapters, the mesolect as their reference variety. In a few cases, however, the category 'A', for example, was given if a feature occurred in any segment of the Creole continuum of a given variety. This includes the possibility that features received an 'A' or 'B' marking even if different (often basilectal) morphemes are used in a Creole which may or may not be reflexes of the English items included in the original feature list (e.g. in Belizean Creole *we* instead of *what* as relative particle, or *unu* as special second person plural pronoun). The reader may rest assured that the authors of this global synopsis are aware of these and other problems and potential drawbacks of the method adopted here, and will present the results and their interpretations of

them with all due caution. For example, throughout most of our discussions more importance will be attributed to the presence or absence of a feature than to the classification as 'A' or 'B'.

On the positive side and, in our view, more importantly, the approach used as the basis for this global synopsis (and the interactive world maps on the CD-ROM) is a unique and first-ever attempt at helping to see the wood for the trees. To the best of our knowledge, it offers for the first time a comprehensive standard of comparison for determining the degree and nature of "non-standardness" of varieties of English. Distributional patterns and correlations can be identified on a much larger scale than has ever been possible within the individual research traditions in which the non-standard varieties covered here are traditionally studied (e.g. dialectology, sociolinguistics, contact linguistics, Pidgin and Creole studies, second language acquisition and the study of L2 varieties). There is a certain parallel between the approach used here for the mapping of intralinguistic (or microparametric) variation and the degree of abstraction we have come to get used to in the study of cross-linguistic (or macroparametric) variation by typologists. The present approach may, and in some respects possibly must, be refined and improved, but even as it stands it is a valuable tool which complements and helps putting in perspective the available descriptions of morphosyntactic variation in English in this Handbook and in the literature. In the following sections, we can confine ourselves only to the most important tendencies and observations at a rather general level. Detailed discussions of individual (groups of) features or varieties will be possible only exceptionally. For relevant information and discussions the reader is referred to the regional synopses.

This global synopsis and the interactive maps on the CD-ROM on morphosyntactic variation are based on the feature classifications of 40 Handbook authors for 46 non-standard varieties of English, i.e. more than 85 % of all non-standard varieties covered in the morphosyntax chapters of this Handbook. For the individual world regions coverage varies between 62.5 % (Caribbean) and 100 % (America, Pacific). These and other details are given in Table 1. Note that in this chapter *America* is used as a shorthand for North America, *Caribbean* as a shorthand for the Caribbean, Central and South America, and *Asia* as a shorthand for South and Southeast Asia.

Table 1. Distribution of 46 non-standard varieties across world regions

World region	Varieties for which feature classifications are available	Proportion of varieties of this world region in Handbook	Total L1	Total L2	Total P/C
British Isles	Orkney and Shetland, ScE, IrE, WeE, North, East Anglia, Southwest, Southeast	89 % (missing: BrC)	8	0	0
America	NfldE, CollAmE, AppE, OzE, SEAmE, Urban AAVE, Earlier AAVE, Gullah, ChcE	100 %	7	1	1
Caribbean	BahE, JamC, Tob/TrnC, SurCs, BelC	62.5 % (missing: Baj, GuyC, Eastern CarC)	0	0	5
Australia	CollAusE, AusVE (Tasmania), AusCs, AbE	100 %	2	0	2
Pacific	Bislama, TP, SolP, Fiji E, Norfolk, regional NZE; HawC	100 %	2	1	4
Asia	ButlE, PakE, SgE, MalE	80 % (missing: IndE)	0	4	0
Africa	NigP, GhE, GhP, CamE, CamP, EAfE, WhSAfE, InSAfE, BlSAfE	69.2 % (missing: NigE, LibSE, CFE, StHE)	1	5	3

The present authors would like to issue a sincere invitation to all specialists for individual non-standard varieties to provide information on those varieties not covered here and, for the varieties included, to check on the classifications which the features in the catalogue have received. Consider sections 2 and 3 for what kind of information would need to be provided in order to be included in this survey.

## 2. The feature catalogue

The features in the catalogue are numbered from 1 to 76 (for easy reference in later parts of the chapter) and provided with the short definitions and illustrations given as input to the Handbook contributors serving as informants. They include all usual suspects known from survey articles on grammatical properties of (individual groups of) non-standard varieties of English, with a slight bias towards features observed in L1 varieties. The 76 features fall into 11 groups corresponding to the following broad areas of morphosyntax: pronouns, noun phrase, tense and aspect, modal verbs, verb morphology, adverbs, negation, agreement, relativization, complementation, discourse organization and word order.

### Pronouns, pronoun exchange, pronominal gender

1. *them* instead of demonstrative *those* (e.g. *in them days, one of them things*)
2. *me* instead of possessive *my* (e.g. *He's me brother, I've lost me bike*)
3. special forms or phrases for the second person plural pronoun (e.g. *youse, y'all, aay', yufela, you ... together, all of you, you ones/uns, you guys, you people*)
4. regularized reflexives-paradigm (e.g. *hissself, theirselves/theirsself*)
5. object pronoun forms serving as base for reflexives (e.g. *meself*)
6. lack of number distinction in reflexives (e.g. plural *-self*)
7. *she/her* used for inanimate referents (e.g. *She was burning good* [about a house])
8. generic *he/his* for all genders (e.g. *My car, he's broken*)
9. *myself/meself* in a non-reflexive function (e.g. *my/me husband and myself*)
10. *me* instead of *I* in coordinate subjects (e.g. *Me and my brother/My brother and me were late for school*)
11. non-standard use of *us* (e.g. *Us George was a nice one, We like us town, Show us 'me' them boots, Us kids used to pinch the sweets like hell, Us'll do it*)
12. non-coordinated subject pronoun forms in object function (e.g. *You did get he out of bed in the middle of the night*)
13. non-coordinated object pronoun forms in subject function (e.g. *Us say 'er's dry*)

### Noun phrase

14. absence of plural marking after measure nouns (e.g. *four pound, five year*)
15. group plurals (e.g. *That President has two Secretary of States*)
16. group genitives (e.g. *The man I met's girlfriend is a real beauty*)
17. irregular use of articles (e.g. *Take them to market, I had nice garden, about a three fields, I had the toothache*)
18. postnominal *for*-phrases to express possession (e.g. *The house for me*)
19. double comparatives and superlatives (e.g. *That is so much more easier to follow*)
20. regularized comparison strategies (e.g. in *He is the regulariest kind a guy I know, in one of the most pretty sunsets*)

### Verb phrase: Tense & aspect

21. wider range of uses of the Progressive (e.g. *I'm liking this, What are you wanting?*)
22. habitual *be* (e.g. *He be sick*)
23. habitual *do* (e.g. *He does catch fish pretty*)
24. non-standard habitual markers other than *be* and *do*
25. levelling of difference between Present Perfect and Simple Past (e.g. *Were you ever in London?, Some of us have been to New York years ago*)
26. *be* as perfect auxiliary (e.g. *They're not left school yet*)
27. *do* as a tense and aspect marker (e.g. *This man what do own this*)
28. completive/perfect *done* (e.g. *He done go fishing, You don ate what I has sent you?*)
29. past tense/anterior marker *been* (e.g. *I been cut the bread*)
30. loosening of sequence of tense rule (e.g. *I noticed the van I came in*)
31. *would* in *if*-clauses (e.g. *If I'd be you, ...*)
32. *was sat/stood* with progressive meaning (e.g. *when you're stood 'are standing' there you can see the flames*)
33. *after*-Perfect (e.g. *She's after selling the boat*)

**Verb phrase: Modal verbs**

- 34. double modals (e.g. *I tell you what we might should do*)
- 35. epistemic *mustn't* ('can't, it is concluded that... not'; e.g. *This mustn't be true*)

**Verb phrase: Verb morphology**

- 36. levelling of preterite and past participle verb forms: regularization of irregular verb paradigms (e.g. *catch-catched-catched*)
- 37. levelling of preterite and past participle verb forms: unmarked forms (frequent with e.g. *give* and *run*)
- 38. levelling of preterite and past participle verb forms: past form replacing the participle (e.g. *He had went*)
- 39. levelling of preterite and past participle verb forms: participle replacing the past form (e.g. *He gone to Mary*)
- 40. zero past tense forms of regular verbs (e.g. *I walk* for *I walked*)
- 41. a-prefixing on *ing*-forms (e.g. *They wasn't a-doin' nothin' wrong*)

**Adverbs**

- 42. adverbs (other than degree modifiers) have same form as adjectives (e.g. *Come quick!*)
- 43. degree modifier adverbs lack *-ly* (e.g. *That's real good*)

**Negation**

- 44. multiple negation / negative concord (e.g. *He won't do no harm*)
- 45. *ain't* as the negated form of *be* (e.g. *They're all in there, ain't they?*)
- 46. *ain't* as the negated form of *have* (e.g. *I ain't had a look at them yet*)
- 47. *ain't* as generic negator before a main verb (e.g. *Something I ain't know about*)
- 48. invariant *don't* for all persons in the present tense (e.g. *He don't like me*)
- 49. *never* as preverbal past tense negator (e.g. *He never came* (= he didn't come) )
- 50. *no* as preverbal negator (e.g. *me no iit brekfus*)
- 51. *was-weren't* split (e.g. *The boys was interested, but Mary weren't*)
- 52. invariant non-concord tags, (e.g. *innit/in't it/isn't* in *They had them in their hair, innit?*)

**Agreement**

- 53. invariant present tense forms due to zero marking for the third person singular (e.g. *So he show up and say, What's up?*)
- 54. invariant present tense forms due to generalization of third person *-s* to all persons (e.g. *I sees the house*)
- 55. existential/presentational *there's, there is, there was* with plural subjects (e.g. *There's two men waiting in the hall*)
- 56. variant forms of dummy subjects in existential clauses (e.g. *they, it, or zero for there*)
- 57. deletion of *be* (e.g. *She \_\_\_ smart*)
- 58. deletion of auxiliary *have* (e.g. *I \_\_\_ eaten my lunch*)
- 59. *was/were* generalization (e.g. *You were hungry but he were thirsty, or: You was hungry but he was thirsty*)
- 60. Northern Subject Rule (e.g. *I sing* [vs. *\*I sings*], *Birds sings, I sing and dances*)

## Relativization

61. relative particle *what* (e.g. *This is the man what painted my house*)
62. relative particle *that* or *what* in non-restrictive contexts (e.g. *My daughter, that/what lives in London, ...*)
63. relative particle *as* (e.g. *He was a chap as got a living anyhow*)
64. relative particle *at* (e.g. *This is the man at painted my house*)
65. use of analytic *that his/thats, what his/whats, at's, as'* instead of *whose* (e.g. *The man what's wife has died*)
66. gapping or zero-relativization in subject position (e.g. *The man \_\_\_ lives there is a nice chap*)
67. resumptive / shadow pronouns (e.g. *This is the house which I painted it yesterday*)

## Complementation

68. *say*-based complementizers
69. inverted word order in indirect questions (e.g. *I'm wondering what are you gonna do*)
70. unsplit *for to* in infinitival purpose clauses (e.g. *We always had gutters in the winter time for to drain the water away*)
71. *as what / than what* in comparative clauses (e.g. *It's harder than what you think it is*)
72. serial verbs (e.g. *give* meaning 'to, for', as in *Karibuk giv mi*, 'Give the book to me')

## Discourse organization and word order

73. lack of inversion / lack of auxiliaries in *wh*-questions (e.g. *What you doing?*)
74. lack of inversion in main clause *yes/no* questions (e.g. *You get the point?*)
75. *like* as a focussing device (e.g. *How did you get away with that like? Like for one round five quid, that was like three quid, like two-fifty each*)
76. *like* as a quotative particle (e.g. *And she was like "What do you mean?"*)

### 3. Feature statistics: Some basic technicalities

There will be many tables and rudimentary statistics in this chapter, but all of them are kept simple and used only because they will tell the reader at a glance more than (or at least as much as) the accompanying text could possibly do, which is why we shall adopt the policy of economizing on the latter. Only five technical terms need to be explained in advance: *feature value*, *feature score*, *feature ratio*, *variety score*, and *variety ratio*.

The basic idea of the **feature value** is to translate the 'A-B-C' classification into a numerical value: we simply opted for 'A=1', 'B=0.5', and 'C=0'. The feature values allow us to do two things. On the one hand, we can sum up and calculate for each of the 76 features how strongly it is represented among the 46 non-standard varieties of English forming the basis for this synopsis: for example, if a given feature has received 20 As, 10 Bs and 16 Cs its **feature score** runs up to 25 (20 times 1, 10 times 0.5, 16 times 0). The feature score thus opens the possibility of



an immediate numerical comparison among the 76 features, allowing us to rank them in the order of their distribution across and salience/entrenchment within the varieties investigated here. This numerical comparison and ranking order we can alternatively arrive at by calculating the **feature ratio (FR)**, namely by dividing the feature score of a given feature by the maximally possible feature score within a given set of varieties. If we take the complete 46-varieties set, then the maximally possible feature score is 46. This would be a feature which received an ‘A’ classification for every single variety in the sample. Thus, returning to our example above, the feature with the feature score 25 has the feature ratio of 0.54 (25 divided by 46). If indeed some feature had received 46 ‘A’ classifications, which none has then its feature ratio would have been 1.0.

The major advantage of the feature ratio is that it is a normalized value which allows us to make comparisons between and within subsets of the complete 46-varieties set, for example for the British Isles varieties compared with each other or with North American varieties, or for all L2 varieties in the 46-varieties set. Let’s take the British Isles scenario: we have information on eight varieties, in other words the highest possible feature score is 8 (8 times 1 for a feature receiving 8 ‘A’ classifications). In the British Isles varieties, the feature discussed as an example in the preceding paragraph (which, remember, achieved a score of 25 worldwide) may only receive 3 As, 2 Bs, and 3 Cs. This adds up to a feature score of 4 (3 times 1, 2 times 0.5, 3 times 0) and translates in turn into a feature ratio of 0.5 (4 divided by 8). The basic point is that, judged against different subsets of varieties, the same feature score may translate into different feature ratios. For the four Asian varieties, for example, a feature with the feature score 4 has the highest possible feature ratio, namely 1.0.

Once the basic idea of the feature score and feature ratio has sunk in, it is easy to understand the rationale underlying the concepts that we refer to as “variety score” and “variety ratio”. These measures (which may also refer to a group of varieties) gives an impression of “how non-standard” a given variety is, in the sense of how many of the 76 features in the catalogue it exhibits and to what extent it does so. If a variety receives an ‘A’ classification for all 76 features (which in our sample none has received), its **variety score** is 76 (76 times 1) and its **variety ratio (VR)** is 1.0. If another variety has received 30 As, 30 Bs, and 16 Cs its variety score is 45 (30 times 1, 30 times 0.5, 16 times 0), and its variety ratio 0.59 (45 divided by 76). The advantages these two values offer are analogous to those outlined for the feature score and feature ratio above.

None of the scores and ratios introduced above may mean a lot to those readers who doubt the appropriateness and reliability of the ‘A’ vs. ‘B’ classification. (They, in particular, are invited to check on these classifications for those varieties they are most interested or specialized in, and to inform the authors about divergent judgements. For this purpose, the master table underlying this global synopsis and all relevant interactive maps is provided on the CD-ROM.) The good news for



these readers is that essentially the same kind of information, in terms of ranking orders, can be gleaned from simply contrasting ‘C’ classifications with ‘non-C’ classifications (i.e. ‘A’ or ‘B’), since there is a high degree of correlation between feature/variety ratios and the ‘C vs. non-C’ totals. This is why in the following sections the latter classification, i.e. the totals for all varieties exhibiting a given feature or for all features a given variety possesses, will be made the basis for all ranking orders and comparisons within and across the 76-features set and the 46-varieties set (and subsets thereof). Only occasionally will the feature or variety ratios be addressed. Both types of information are given for all varieties and features in the master table on the CD-ROM.

Wherever in the following sections ranking orders will be given in terms of, for example, most or least frequent morphosyntactic features worldwide (section 4), in the seven world regions (section 5), in the L1 varieties, L2 varieties and Pidgins/Creoles (section 6), or for the 11 areas of non-standard grammar (section 7), the following policy will be adopted: the major threshold will be the 75 % margin. “Most frequent” is to be interpreted as “found in approximately 75 % or more of the varieties in the set under consideration”, correspondingly “least frequent” as “found in no more than 25 %”. Since the 75 % threshold is of course just an arbitrary choice, information will also be given on those features bordering on this margin (down to roughly 65 %). These “runners-up” are the prime candidates for making it to the top groups of most/least frequent features if more varieties are added to the current 46 varieties-set.

#### **4. Most and least frequent morphosyntactic features worldwide**

The recent calls for two independent research endeavours in the study of varieties of English triggered our interest in identifying those morphosyntactic features with the widest distribution among non-standard varieties of English around the globe. There is, first of all, the concept of *vernacular universals* which Jack Chambers has variously discussed over the last few years (e.g. 2001, 2003, 2004), i.e. “a small number of phonological and grammatical processes [which] recur in vernaculars wherever they are spoken” (2004: 128). Secondly, there is the notion of *angloversals*, by which Christian Mair (2003: 84) understands joint tendencies observable in the course of the standardization of postcolonial varieties of English which cannot be explained historically or genetically. The findings in section 4.2 (for Chambers’ *vernacular universals*) and in section 6.4 (for Mair’s *angloversals*) are bound to make a substantial contribution to evaluating and giving more substance to both of these notions if only on a necessarily superficial level. But let us first have a look at the results, beginning with the least frequent morphosyntactic features worldwide.

## 4.1 The least frequent morphosyntactic features

Table 2 lists those 18 features with the lowest distribution across the non-standard varieties of English. They occur in no more than 12 (26 %) and no fewer than three varieties (6.5 %) out of the 46 varieties investigated. The features are ordered according to the number of varieties in which they occur (with the lowest number at the top and the highest at the bottom) and, if a feature occurs in an equal number of varieties, according to their feature ratio (FR):

Table 2. Worldwide Bottom 18 (based on 46 varieties)

<i>feature</i>	<i>no. of varieties where feature is attested</i>	<i>varieties</i>
33 <i>after-Perfect</i>	3	IrE, NfldE, CamE
64 relative particle <i>at</i>	4	Orkney and Shetland, North of England, SEAmE, AppE
12 non-coordinated subject pronoun forms in object function	5	North of England, Southwest of England, NfldE, BelC, Tob/TrnC
63 relative particle <i>as</i>	6	North of England, Southeast of England, Southwest of England, AppE, NZE, CamE
47 <i>ain't</i> as generic negator before a main verb	7	ChcE, Gullah, Urban AAVE, Earlier AAVE, Tob/TrnC, CamE
60 Northern Subject Rule	8	IrE, North of England, SEAmE, AppE, Earlier AAVE, BahE, CamE, ButIE
13 non-coordinated object pronoun forms in subject function	8	North of England, Southwest of England, NfldE, BelC, JamC, FijE, HawC, GhP
51 <i>was-weren't</i> split	9	North of England, East Anglia, Southeast of England, SEAmE, Earlier AAVE, NZE, CollAusE, AbE, CamE
32 <i>was sat/stood</i> with progressive meaning	9	IrE, North of England, WeIE, ChcE, NfldE, NZE, CollAusE, NigP, CamE
27 <i>do</i> as a tense and aspect marker	9	IrE, WeIE, Southwest of England, Earlier AAVE, Tob/TrnC, JamC, GhP, CamE, CamP
41 <i>a-</i> prefixing on <i>ing-</i> forms	10	East Anglia, WeIE, Southeast of England, Southwest of England, SEAmE, OzE, AppE, Earlier AAVE, NfldE, CamE

Table 2. (continued) Worldwide Bottom 18 (based on 46 varieties)

<i>feature</i>	<i>no. of varieties where feature is attested</i>	<i>varieties</i>
31 <i>would</i> in <i>if</i> -clauses	11	ScE, Southeast of England, SEAmE, ChcE, Urban AAVE, NfldE, BelC, HawC, FijE, CamE, EAfE
65 use of analytic <i>that his/that's, what his/what's, at's, as'</i> instead of <i>whose</i>	11	ScE, IrE, North of England, East Anglia, Southwest of England, SEAmE, Urban AAVE, BelC, BahE, AusVE, CamE
58 deletion of auxiliary <i>have</i>	11	SEAmE, AppE, Urban AAVE, BelE, JamC, SolP, NZE, AbE, CamE, SgE, MalE
68 <i>say</i> -based complementizers	11	ChcE, Gullah, Urban AAVE, SurCs, Tob/TrnC, JamC, Bislama, TP, GhP, NigP, BISAfE
22 habitual <i>be</i>	12	IrE, Gullah, Urban AAVE, Earlier AAVE, NfldE, BahE, AbE, AusCs, CamE, Camp, InSAfE, ButIE
34 double modals	12	ScE, North of England, CollAmE, SEAmE, OzE, AppE, Gullah, Urban AAVE, Earlier AAVE, JamC, HawC, NigP
23 habitual <i>do</i>	12	IrE, WeLE, Southwest of England, Gullah, Earlier AAVE, NfldE, Tob/TrnC, AbE, GhP, CamE, Camp, PakE

To start with, Table 2 confirms what was said in the General Introduction (this volume) about the rarity of morphosyntactic features restricted to one variety or only very few varieties: even the rarest morphosyntactic feature on a global scale (the *after*-perfect) is found in three varieties (IrE, NfldE, CamE), the three next rarest ones have been reported in four to six varieties: the use of a non-coordinated subject pronoun in object function is found in the North and Southwest of England, in NfldE, BelC and Tob/TrnC; the relative particle *at* in Orkney and Shetland, the North of England, SEAmE and AppE; the relative particle *as* in the North, Southwest and Southeast of England, AppE, regional NZE, and CamE.

Not surprisingly, several traditional L1 (i.e. regional dialect) features are part of this list: the relative articles *as* and *at*, *a*-prefixing (especially) on present participles (e.g. East Anglia, OzE, AppE), or the so-called Northern Subject Rule (North of England, OzE). Equally unsurprising is the rarity of a feature like the

*after-Perfect*, which as one of the few safe instances of a Celtic substrate is restricted to Irish English and a transplanted variety thereof (NfldE), although its occurrence in Cameroon English came somewhat unexpected and clearly points to Irish English influence. Most surprising seems, however, that feature [31] (*would* in *if*-clauses), a feature often commented on in spontaneous spoken English and ESL as well as EFL, is so rare. Here it will be interesting to see whether separate analyses for the L1 varieties, L2 varieties and Pidgins and Creoles can shed light on the unexpected rarity of this feature (see below and section 6.3). The largest coherent feature group in Table 2 is the Tense and Aspect group, represented by features [22] and [23] (*be* and *do* as habitual markers, as in AAVE and Irish English respectively), [27] *do* as a tense and aspect marker, as in the Southwest of England, [31] *would* in *if*-clauses, [32] Progressive *was sat/stood* as in the North of England, and [33] *after-perfect*.

Below all Bottom features will be listed which are attested in more than 12, but no more than 23 varieties (i.e. maximally half of the 46-varieties sample):

Attested in 13 to 15 varieties (and thus the immediate runners-up of the Worldwide Bottom 18 set) are completive/perfective *done* [28], *be* as perfect auxiliary [26], and unsplit *for to* in infinitival purpose clauses [70].

Attested in 16 to 19 varieties are the non-standard use of *us* [11], *no* as preverbal negator [50], invariant present tense forms due to the generalization of 3rd person *-s* to all persons [54], epistemic *mustn't* [35], postnominal *for*-phrases to express possession [18], *ain't* as the negated form of *have* [46], other non-standard habitual markers than *do* and *be* [24], *ain't* as the negated form of *be* [45], generic *he/his* for all genders [8], and object pronoun forms serving as base for reflexives [5].

Attested in 20 to 23 varieties are group genitives [16], *me* instead of possessive *my* [2], variant forms of dummy subjects in existential clauses [56], *she/her* used for inanimate referents [7], past tense/anterior marker *been* [29], serial verbs [72], relative particle *that* or *what* in non-restrictive contexts [62], group plurals [15], relative particle *what* [61], and invariant non-concord tags [52].

#### 4.2 The most frequent morphosyntactic features

Table 3 lists all those features which are found in at least 34 varieties (74 % of 46). The total of relevant features runs up to 11:

Table 3. Worldwide Top 11 (based on 46 varieties)

	<i>feature</i>	<i>no. of varieties where feature is attested</i>
74	lack of inversion in main clause <i>yes/no</i> questions	41
10	<i>me</i> instead of <i>I</i> in coordinate subjects	40
49	<i>never</i> as preverbal past tense negator	40
42	adverbs same form as adjectives	39
14	absence of plural marking after measure nouns	37
73	lack of inversion / lack of auxiliaries in <i>wh</i> -questions	36
44	multiple negation / negative concord	35
43	degree modifier adverbs lack <i>-ly</i>	35
3	special forms or phrases for the second person plural pronoun	34
25	levelling of difference between Present Perfect and Simple Past	34
19	double comparatives and superlatives	34

Of these Top 11, the lack of inversion or lack of auxiliaries in *wh*-questions and main clause *yes/no* questions [73, 74] will not come as a surprise; they are typical of spontaneous spoken English, in general. Also to be expected among the top scorers were multiple negation [44], the levelling of the difference between the Present Perfect and the Simple Past [25], the frequency of double comparatives and superlatives [19], and adverbs and degree modifier adverbs having the same form as adjectives [42, 43]. Most surprising to us is that multiple negation is not even near-categorical (after all, 11 out of 46 varieties do not exhibit this feature at all), and that so many non-standard varieties (34 in all) make use of a special form or phrase for the second person plural pronoun [3].

If we add to these Top 11 the four runners-up in terms of degree of distribution, found in at least 65 % of all varieties in the sample, then features relating to (pro)nouns and in the widest sense NP structure [3, 6, 9, 10, 14, 17, 19] account for almost half of these 15 most widely found morphosyntactic features in non-standard grammars. The runners-up are the following four:

Table 3a. Worldwide Top 12–15 (based on 46 varieties)

	<i>feature</i>	<i>no. of varieties where feature is attested</i>
17	irregular use of articles	33
36	levelling of preterite/past participle verb forms: regularization of irregular verb paradigm	32
9	<i>myself/meself</i> in a non-reflexive function	30
6	lack of number distinction in reflexives	30

Having identified these 15 Top features worldwide, let us briefly put to test those morphosyntactic features which Jack Chambers (most recently in 2004) considers as top candidates for universals of English vernaculars (“Vernacular universals arise in the context of sociolinguistic dialectology as generalizations about intralinguistic variation (so far mainly from English dialects)...”; 2004: 130). Chambers lists the following four: (a) conjugation regularization, or levelling of irregular verb forms: *John seen the eclipse, Mary heard the good news* [36–39]; (b) default singulars, or subject-verb nonconcord: *They was the last ones* [55, 59, 60; marginally 53 und 54]; (c) multiple negation, or negative concord [44]; and (d) copula absence, or copula deletion: *She smart, We going as soon as possible* [57; possibly 58, 73]. In square brackets we have indicated which of the features in our 76-features catalogue correspond most closely to the four morphosyntactic processes named by Chambers. If he is right we should find all, or at least a large number, of these features among the Worldwide Top 11 or at least Top 15.

A quick comparison shows that only multiple negation [44] and the inversion or lack of auxiliaries in *wh*-questions [73] are among the Top features according to our survey, whereas morphosyntactic features with an equally wide or even wider global distribution among non-standard varieties of English are not mentioned by Chambers. To some extent this is due to a certain North American and Pidgin/Creole bias in the studies within sociolinguistic dialectology which Chambers bases his claims on. As will be seen in sections 5.2 and 5.3, for example, multiple negation is a pervasive feature in all American and Caribbean varieties in this survey: there is not a single variety that does not have it. Similarly for America and the so-called default singulars (e.g. *was–were* generalization [59]) or the regularization of irregular verb forms [36; but cf. also 37–39]. These and other features (e.g. deletion of copula *be*) are far more prominent in the American (and in many cases Caribbean) varieties than in the other world regions (cf. also the synopsis by Schneider, this volume).

This test of Chambers’ vernacular universals demonstrates that, for English alone already, not all of his candidates can claim universal status and that, at the

same time, additional candidates can be identified. Thus even more caution should be exercised with regard to Chambers' hypothesis that the morphosyntactic universals in English vernaculars are bound to have counterparts in the vernaculars of other languages:

I have listed the vernacular universals with their English names and illustrated them with English examples. This is misleading, in so far as these processes arise naturally in pidgins, child language, vernaculars, and elsewhere, they are primitive features, not learned. As such, they belong to the language faculty, the innate set of rules and representations that are the natural inheritance of every human being. They cannot be merely English. They must have counterparts in the other languages of the world that are demonstrably the outgrowths of the same rules and representations in the bioprogram. (2004: 129)

Certainly not all "vernacular angloversals", as we may call the Worldwide Top 11/15 features (deliberately deviating from Mair's [2003] usage; see below section 6.2), will be found to have counterparts in the vernaculars of many or even all other languages. Of the four candidates Chambers gives, multiple negation is the only convincing one on a truly universal scale. The others we may find in vernaculars of languages that, like English, have little inflectional morphology and are in the process of getting rid of what little remains, or of ridding themselves at least of syntactic constructions still making use of inflectional morphology, such as (subject-verb) agreement. But what is happening in non-standard varieties of English and, possibly, languages belonging to the same morphological type as English, almost certainly does not apply to vernaculars of inflectional or agglutinating languages (e.g. Italian, Spanish, Turkish). It is not only loss of agreement or loss of redundancy that we can observe in vernaculars; individual vernaculars have, and can indeed be shown to currently develop, a more elaborate inflectional morphology or, for example, agreement system than the standard variety has (cf. several studies in Barbiers/Cornips/van der Kleij 2002 and Kortmann 2004). Nevertheless Chambers' notion of vernacular universals has to be given credit, not only because it was a major source of inspiration for this global survey. It also adds a crucial new, social dimension to research in cross-linguistic variation and language universals, in that "vernacular universals are identified partly in terms of their social patterning, in so far as there are regularities in the way in which they are socially embedded" (2004: 130). They may thus have crucial implications for the further development of language typology (in the direction of what Chambers calls a *variationist typology*) and syntactic theory, given the significance he attributes to vernacular universals for hypotheses on universal grammar.

Below the Worldwide Top 15 features will briefly be put in perspective against the top features of (a) the individual world regions (Table 4) and (b) the L1 varieties, L2 varieties, and Pidgins and Creoles in the 46-varieties sample investigated here (Table 5). The perspective taken in these two tables will be the following: which of the Worldwide Top 15 are also among the relevant top lists of the various sets of varieties? In sections 5 and 6 we will, among other things, adopt the



complementary perspective, i.e. indicate, for example, which of the top features of all British Isles varieties or all L2 varieties are among the Worldwide Top 15.

Table 4. Worldwide Top 15 found in top features of the seven world regions

		no. of varieties where feature is present	<i>British Isles</i>	<i>America</i>	<i>Caribbean</i>	<i>Pacific</i>	<i>Australia</i>	<i>Africa</i>	<i>Asia</i>
74	lack of inversion in main clause <i>yes/no</i> questions	41		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
10	<i>me</i> instead of <i>I</i> in coordinate sub- jects	40	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
49	<i>never</i> as preverbal past tense nega- tor	40	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
42	adverbs same form as adjectives	39	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
14	absence of plural marking after measure nouns	37	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
73	lack of inversion / lack of auxilia- ries in <i>wh</i> -questions	36		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
44	multiple negation / negative con- cord	35	✓	✓	✓		✓		
43	degree modifier adverbs lack <i>-ly</i>	35	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
3	special forms or phrases for the second person plural pronoun	34		✓	✓	✓	✓		
25	levelling of difference between Present Perfect and Simple Past	34		✓			✓	✓	✓
19	double comparatives and superla- tives	34	✓	✓			✓		✓
17	irregular use of articles	33	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓
36	levelling of preterite/past parti- ciple verb forms: regularization of irregular verb paradigm	32	✓	✓			✓	✓	
9	<i>myself/meself</i> in a non-reflexive function	30		✓					✓
6	lack of number distinction in re- flexives	30		✓	✓		✓	✓	

Feature [49] (*never* as preverbal past tense negator) is the only feature which is a top feature in all world regions, followed by features [10, 14, 42] and [74], which occur in the top lists of six out of the seven world regions.

America and Australia are the only world regions whose top lists include the complete Worldwide Top 11 set, with the Caribbean as the “runner-up” (only [19] and [25] are not among the Top Caribbean features). For all other world regions at least seven out of the Top 11 features (and nine out of the Top 15 features) are among the respective top lists.

Since we commented earlier on multiple negation [44] as exhibiting a lower degree of pervasiveness than expected, Table 5 gives a first idea which varieties this is particularly due to: multiple negation is not among the top lists of the Asian and Pacific varieties. Since all Asian varieties are L2 varieties, the comparatively low degree of multiple negation may specifically be due to these. Indeed, Table 5 confirms that, across all world regions, multiple negation is not among the Top list for the 11 L2 varieties in the sample:

Table 5. Worldwide Top 15 found in top features of L1s, L2s and Pidgins/Creoles

		no. of varieties where feature is present	L1 varieties	L2 varieties	P&C varieties
74	lack of inversion in main clause <i>yes/no</i> questions	41	✓	✓	✓
10	<i>me</i> instead of <i>I</i> in coordinate subjects	40	✓	✓	✓
49	<i>never</i> as preverbal past tense negator	40	✓	✓	✓
42	adverbs same form as adjectives	39	✓	✓	✓
14	absence of plural marking after measure nouns	37	✓		✓
73	lack of inversion / lack of auxiliaries in <i>wh</i> -questions	36		✓	✓
44	multiple negation / negative concord	35	✓		✓
43	degree modifier adverbs lack <i>-ly</i>	35	✓	✓	
3	special forms or phrases for the second person plural pronoun	34	✓		✓
25	levelling of difference between Present Perfect and Simple Past	34	✓	✓	
19	double comparatives and superlatives	34	✓	✓	
17	irregular use of articles	33		✓	

Table 5. (continued) Worldwide Top 15 found in top features of L1s, L2s and Pidgins/Creoles

		no. of varieties where feature is present	L1 varieties	L2 varieties	P&C varieties
36	levelling of preterite/past participle verb forms: regularization of irregular verb paradigm	32	✓	✓	
9	<i>myself/meself</i> in a non-reflexive function	30	✓	✓	
6	lack of number distinction in reflexives	30		✓	✓

Otherwise, Table 5 does not reveal any significant differences between L1 varieties, L2 varieties and Pidgins/Creoles. The only points worth noting are the following. Ten out of the Top 11 are also among the top features of the L1 varieties (the only exception is the lack of inversion/auxiliaries in *wh*-questions [73]) as opposed to no more than eight for the top L2 and Pidgin/Creole features. However, if we consider the Top 15 set, then L1 and L2 varieties are even (12 features), leaving Pidgins and Creoles clearly behind. This is primarily due to the fact that all four “runners-up” to the Worldwide Top 11 set, i.e. [17, 36, 9, 6], are top L2 features.

Finally, Table 6 reveals the Top 13 non-standard varieties worldwide in terms of total number and degree to which they make use of the 76 features used for this survey. The varieties are ordered according to their variety ratios (VR). This table is provided even though it does not reveal any particular pattern. Conservative L1 dialects are found here just as much as L2 varieties and Creoles. Interesting is the patterning and degree of entrenchment of features in the individual (types of) varieties, not so much the total number of features they exhibit. Doubts with regard to the reliability of the classifications for CamE are in place; as will be seen in section 5.7, CamE has received classifications which make this variety behave very different from all other African and L2 varieties in the sample investigated here. Noteworthy, however, is that seven out of these 13 varieties are spoken in North America, another sign of America standing out among the seven world regions as that one exhibiting the highest degree of non-standardness.

Table 6. Top 13 varieties worldwide according to VR  
(based on 46 varieties and 76 features)

<i>variety</i>	<i>VR</i>	<i>no. of features attested</i>
Newfoundland English	0.68	57
Cameroon English	0.64	67
SEAmE enclave dialects	0.63	57
Urban AAVE	0.63	57
Irish English	0.57	48
Jamaican Creole	0.57	43
Gullah	0.55	46
Belizean Creole	0.55	47
Tobago & Trin. Creole	0.55	44
North of England	0.53	49
Ozarks English	0.52	42
Chicano English	0.45	53
Earlier AAVE	0.43	53

## 5. The world regions

Table 4 in section 4 indicated which of the features in the Top Worldwide list are also part of Top lists of the seven world regions. The survey in Table 4 will be complemented in this section by, among other things, surveys providing information on the regional top (and bottom) lists and most striking regional patterns.

By way of introduction, the reader needs to be alerted again to a crucial point which will take centre stage in section 6, but is important to keep at the back of your mind when interpreting the regional distributions and patterns presented in this section. Among the seven world regions we have a major divide between world regions with exclusively or predominantly L1 varieties (British Isles, America) and exclusively or predominantly L2 varieties and/or Pidgins/Creoles (Caribbean, Pacific, Africa, Asia). The British Isles varieties represented in the present survey are exclusively L1 (no information on the 76-features catalogue having been available on British Creole). America is predominantly L1 (7 out of 9 varieties), but includes one L2 variety (Chicano English) and one Creole (Gullah). By contrast, we have the Caribbean (exclusively Creoles), Asia (exclusively L2 varieties), Africa (8 out of 10 varieties are L2 or Pidgins) and the Pacific (5 out of 7 varieties are L2 or Pidgins/Creoles). In the present survey, Australia exhibits equal proportions of L1 varieties and Creoles (two of each), but only because non-standard AusE and Australian Vernacular English (AusVE) are discussed as

two separate L1 varieties since the primary basis for the AusVE classification is a particular regional variety (Tasmanian Vernacular English).

Before we turn to the individual world regions, Table 7 gives a first taste of which general tendencies the reader can expect. As the variety ratios per world region indicate, it is the non-standard varieties of America which, with regard to the 76-features catalogue in section 2, exhibit by far the highest degree of non-standardness, differing sharply for example from the non-standard varieties of Africa, the Pacific and, especially, Asia. The variety ratios for America (0.53) and Asia (0.26) deviate significantly from the variety ratio World (0.38). The variety ratios per world region have been arrived at by aggregating up the variety ratios for the relevant sets of varieties.

Table 7. Variety ratios for the 7 world regions in descending order

<i>World region</i>	<i>VR</i>	
America	0.53	
Caribbean	0.46	
Australia	0.39	
British Isles	0.38	Variety ratio World: 0.38
Africa	0.32	
Pacific	0.32	
Asia	0.26	

In sections 5.1–5.7 we will highlight the distinctive morphosyntactic properties of the individual world regions in a fairly parallel fashion, namely by identifying those features which are (a) completely absent from the relevant world region, (b) least frequently found, (c) most frequently found (i.e. the top features, distinguished for relevant proportions of ‘A’ and ‘B’ features). For easier reference, the features of categories (a) and (b) will be mentioned explicitly in the text, while those of category (c) will mostly be identified by their respective numbers only, which can easily be found in the corresponding table. For the top features of a given world region, we will also provide an overview showing which of them are also among (a) the World Top 15 and (b) the top features of the other world regions. Further, of course, noticeable region-specific properties and patterns will be pointed out. In section 6 the regional Bottom and, above all, Top features will then be compared to the relevant sets for L1 varieties (important especially for the British Isles and America), L2 varieties (important especially for Asia and Africa), and Pidgins and Creoles (important especially for the Caribbean).

## 5.1 British Isles

With the exception of British Creole, all eight varieties or regional groups of varieties spoken in the British Isles covered in the Handbook are part of the present survey. These are the so-called Celtic Englishes (ScE, IrE, WeE) as well as the non-standard varieties spoken in the Orkney and Shetland Isles, in East Anglia, in the North, Southwest, and Southeast of England.

**The least frequent morphosyntactic features** in these varieties will be presented in three groups. The following ten morphosyntactic features are **not attested, at all**, in the British Isles (the relevant feature number is given in square brackets): postnominal *for*-phrases to express possession [18], completive/perfect *done* [28], past tense/anterior marker *been* [29], zero past tense forms of regular verbs [40], *ain't* as a generic negator before a main verb [47], *no* as a preverbal negator [50], deletion of *be* [57], deletion of auxiliary *have* [58], *say*-based complementizers [68], and serial verbs [72]. Note that some of these features would be documented in the British Isles if it had been possible to include British Creole, the only British non-L1 variety in the present survey.

In at most **one variety** do we find the following four features: generic *he/his* for all genders [8] in the Southwest; habitual *be* [22] in (especially Northern) IrE; *after*-Perfect [33] in IrE; invariant present tense forms due to zero marking for the third person singular [53] in East Anglia.

Attested in only **two varieties** are the following eight features: non-coordinated subject pronoun forms in object function [12] and, vice versa, non-coordinated object pronoun forms in subject function [13] in the North and Southwest; non-standard habitual markers other than *do* and *be* [24] in IrE (especially *do be V-ing* in southern IrE) and WeE (*be V-ing* especially in northern Wales); *would* in *if*-clauses [31] in ScE and the Southeast; double modals [34] in ScE and the North; variant forms of dummy subjects in existential clauses [56] in East Anglia, and Orkney and Shetland; the Northern Subject Rule [60] in northern IrE and the North; and the relative particle *at* [64] in the North as well as Orkney and Shetland.

**The most widespread features in the British Isles**, attested in at least 75 % of the eight varieties, are given in Table 8, including information on which of these features are also among (a) the Worldwide Top 15 in Tables 3 and 3a above and (b) the top features for the other six world regions:

Table 8. Top 20 British Isles (i.e. features attested in at least 6 of the 8 relevant varieties)

		no. of varieties where feature is attested	<i>worldwide</i>	<i>America</i>	<i>Caribbean</i>	<i>Pacific</i>	<i>Australia</i>	<i>Africa</i>	<i>Asia</i>
55	existential / presentational <i>there's</i> , <i>there is</i> , <i>there was</i> with plural subjects	8		✓					
10	<i>me</i> instead of <i>I</i> in coordinate sub- jects	8	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
42	adverbs same form as adjectives	8	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
14	absence of plural marking after measure nouns	8	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
1	<i>them</i> instead of demonstrative <i>those</i>	7		✓			✓		
37	levelling of preterite/ppt verb forms: unmarked forms	7		✓			✓		
38	levelling of preterite/ppt verb forms: past replacing the participle	7		✓			✓		
43	degree modifier adverbs lack <i>-ly</i>	7	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
44	multiple negation / negative con- cord	7	✓	✓	✓		✓		
49	<i>never</i> as preverbal past tense nega- tor	7	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
71	<i>as what / than what</i> in comparative clauses	7		✓					✓
75	<i>like</i> as a focussing device	7					✓		
17	irregular use of articles	7	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓
19	double comparatives and superla- tives	7		✓			✓		✓
70	unsplit <i>for to</i> in infinitival purpose clauses	7		✓					
2	<i>me</i> instead of possessive <i>my</i>	6			✓		✓		
4	regularized reflexives-paradigm	6		✓	✓		✓		
59	<i>was/were</i> generalization	6		✓	✓				



Table 8. (continued) Top 20 British Isles (i.e. features attested in at least 6 of the 8 relevant varieties)

		no. of varieties where feature is attested	<i>worldwide</i>	<i>America</i>	<i>Caribbean</i>	<i>Pacific</i>	<i>Australia</i>	<i>Africa</i>	<i>Asia</i>
36	levelling of preterite/ppt verb forms: regularization of irregular verb paradigms	6	✓	✓			✓	✓	
20	regularized comparison strategies	6		✓	✓				

From a regional perspective, Table 8 shows that none of the Top 20 is uniquely top only in the British Isles. Not surprisingly, the greatest number of parallels we find with the non-standard varieties of America (17 top features shared) and Australia (15 top features shared). For top British Isles features shared by only one other world region, for example, this world region is either Australia (for *like* as a focussing device [75]) or America (for existential/presentational *there's* with plural subjects [55] and *as what* or *than what* in comparative clauses [71]). Similarly, at least one of these two world regions (e.g. for features [2] and [20]), often both (e.g. for [1], [37], [38]), are involved when a top British Isles feature is among the top lists of no more than two world regions. The lowest degree of overlap of the British Top 20 with the top lists of other world regions can be observed for Asia (only six top features shared), Africa (only five top features shared), and the Pacific (only four top features shared).

Of the British Top 20 in Table 8 those are **most prominent in the British Isles** which are top in one [55, 70, 75] or at most two other world regions [1, 2, 20, 37, 38, 59, 71]. Another way of determining highly widespread and entrenched features distinctive of a given region is to consider the proportions of 'A' and 'B' classifications they have received. From that point of view, existential/presentational *there's*, *there is*, *there was* with plural subjects [55] assumes a unique position since it is the only morphosyntactic feature which has received an 'A' classification for all eight British Isles varieties investigated. Nearly as high rank the following features all of which have received six or seven 'A's: [1, 2, 10, 42]. Little wonder that four of these features are among the Top 5 of the British Isles in Table 8.

It is also interesting to see which features are overwhelmingly or exclusively 'B' features in a given world region. For the British Isles the situation for features

attested in more than two varieties is this. Exclusively ‘B’ are the lack of number distinction in reflexives, *she/her* used for inanimate referents, relative particle *that* or *what* in non-restrictive contexts, relative particle *as*; overwhelmingly ‘B’ are group plurals, group genitives, regularized comparison strategies, *ain’t* as the negated form of *be* and *have*, invariant concord tags, the use of analytic *that’s/what’s* etc. instead of *whose*, and unsplit *for to* in infinitival purpose clauses.

Finally, Table 9 ranks the eight British Isles varieties according to their variety ratios (VR) and the number of non-standard morphosyntactic features they exhibit. The figures speak for themselves: Irish English (which includes northern and southern IrE features) and the dialects of the North of England are at the top end, Orkney and Shetland is at the bottom end, and the other varieties cover the middle ground. It is also the Orkney and Shetland variety which is responsible for many of the gaps in the British Isles Top 20 in Table 8.

Table 9. British Isles varieties according to VR

<i>variety</i>	<i>VR</i>	<i>no. of features attested</i>
Irish English	0.57	48
North of England	0.53	49
East Anglia	0.38	33
Scottish English	0.36	39
Welsh English	0.36	35
Southwest	0.32	43
Southeast	0.28	39
Orkney and Shetland	0.21	17

## 5.2 America

America is the second major L1 region of the anglophone world, with L1 varieties ranging from traditional dialects (e.g. AppE, OZE, NfldE) to younger ethnic varieties which developed under contact conditions (Earlier and Urban AAVE). Moreover this world region includes one L2 variety (ChcE) and one Creole (Gullah). America thus has the broadest range of non-standard varieties of all world regions, which is also the reason why (a) 75 out of the 76 morphosyntactic features in this survey are found in at least one American non-standard variety, and (b) America has the by far highest variety ratio (0.53) of all world regions (compared with 0.38, which is at the same time the World ratio and the variety ratio of the British Isles as the second major L1 world region; see Table 7 above). For the present survey, all nine varieties covered in the Handbook are included. Beyond those mentioned above, these are Colloquial AmE and Southeastern AmE enclave dialects (SEAmE).

**The least frequent morphosyntactic features** in these varieties will be presented in three groups. Indeed, there is only one morphosyntactic feature which is **not attested, at all**, in America (not even in Gullah), namely *no* as a preverbal negator [50].

In at most **one variety** do we find the following seven features: non-coordinated subject pronoun forms in object function [12] (NfldE), non-coordinated object pronoun forms in subject function [13] (NfldE), non-standard habitual markers other than *do* and *be* [24] (ChcE), *do* as a tense and aspect marker [27] (Earlier AAVE), relative particle *as* [63] (AppE), *after-Perfect* [33] (NfldE), and invariant non-concord tags [52] (Gullah).

**Two varieties** possess the following four features: *was sat/stood* with progressive meaning [32] (ChcE, NfldE), *was-weren't* split [51] (SEAmE, Earlier AAVE), relative particle *at* [64] (SEAmE, AppE), and the use of analytic *that his/that's*, *what his/what's* etc. instead of *whose* [65] (SEAmE, Urban AAVE).

**The most widespread features in America**, attested in at least seven out of the nine varieties, will be given in two steps since there are so many of them (39 features out of 76). Table 10 lists only those features attested in every single of the nine varieties considered here and includes information on which of these features are also among (a) the Worldwide Top 15 in Table 4 above and (b) the top features for the other six world regions. Those features which are attested in eight or at least seven varieties will be given in the running text following Table 10.

Table 10. Top 20 America (features attested in all 9 varieties)

	no. of varieties where feature is attested	worldwide	British Isles	Caribbean	Pacific	Australia	Africa	Asia
10	<i>me</i> instead of <i>I</i> in coordinate subjects	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
1	<i>them</i> instead of demonstrative <i>those</i>		✓			✓		
3	special forms or phrases for the second person plural pronoun			✓	✓	✓		
43	degree modifier adverbs lack <i>-ly</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
44	multiple negation / negative concord	✓	✓	✓		✓		

Table 10. (continued) Top 20 America (features attested in all 9 varieties)

		no. of varieties where feature is attested	worldwide	British Isles	Caribbean	Pacific	Australia	Africa	Asia
48	invariant <i>don't</i> for all persons in the present tense	9			✓		✓		✓
59	<i>was/were</i> generalization	9		✓	✓				
73	lack of inversion / lack of auxiliaries in <i>wh</i> -questions	9	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓
9	<i>myself/meself</i> in a non-reflexive function	9	✓						✓
42	adverbs same form as adjectives	9	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
45	<i>ain't</i> as the negated form of <i>be</i>	9							
46	<i>ain't</i> as the negated form of <i>have</i>	9							
74	lack of inversion in main clause yes/no questions	9	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
39	levelling of preterite/ppt verb forms: part. replacing the past form	9			✓				
69	inverted word order in indirect questions	9					✓		✓
4	regularized reflexives-paradigm	9		✓	✓		✓		
38	levelling of preterite/ppt verb forms: past replacing the part.	9		✓			✓		
49	<i>never</i> as preverbal past tense negator	9	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
36	levelling of preterite/ppt verb forms: regularization of irreg. verb paradigm	9	✓	✓			✓	✓	
37	levelling of preterite/ppt verb forms: unmarked forms	9		✓			✓		

Especially noteworthy about Table 10 is that, of all world regions, America is the only one with *ain't* as the negated form of *be* [45] and *have* [46] as top, indeed pervasive, features in the American vernaculars. By contrast, within the US *ain't* as a

generic negator is found only in Gullah (there categorically), in Urban and Earlier AAVE as well as in ChCE. Also the greatest number of parallels can be observed for Australia (15 top features shared), the Caribbean (12 top features shared) and the British Isles (11 top features shared) whereas the features in Table 10 have little in common with the top lists for Africa, Asia and the Pacific (between five and seven shared top features).

The following nine features are attested in eight varieties:

- 
- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| 55. | existential / presentational <i>there's, there is, there was</i> with plural subjects |
| 56. | variant forms of dummy subjects in existential clauses                                |
| 19. | double comparatives and superlatives  |
| 14. | absence of plural marking after measure nouns   |
| 20. | regularized comparison strategies   |
| 21. | wider range of uses of the Progressive  |
| 71. | <i>as what / than what</i> in comparative clauses                                     |
| 7.  | <i>she/her</i> used for inanimate referents   |
| 25. | levelling of difference between Present Perfect and Simple Past                       |
- 

Ten features are attested in seven varieties:

- 
- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| 53. | invariant present tense forms due to zero marking for the third person singular     |
| 76. | <i>like</i> as a quotative particle   |
| 16. | group genitives   |
| 34. | double modals   |
| 66. | gapping or zero-relativization in subject position                                  |
| 61. | relative particle <i>what</i>   |
| 54. | invariant present tense forms due to generalization of 3rd person -s to all persons |
| 70. | unsplit <i>for to</i> in infinitival purpose clauses                                |
| 40. | zero past tense forms of regular verbs  |
| 6.  | lack of number distinction in reflexives  |
- 

In sum, 39 of the 76 features surveyed here are attested in at least seven out of the nine American varieties. In no other world region do varieties of English exhibit such a high degree of non-standardness.

One way of identifying **the most prominent, i.e. markedly American, morphosyntactic features** in the non-standard varieties of America is to look for all features in Table 10 which are not among the top features of any other world region, at all, or part of the top lists of no more than two other world regions. According to this criterion, we arrive at the following features. Top only in America is *ain't* as the negated form of *be* and *have* [45, 46]; top only in one other world region is the

levelling of preterite and past participle verb forms by the participle replacing the past form [39]; top features in two other world regions are [1, 9, 37, 38, 59, 69].

Additionally, we may consider the degree to which the individual features have received consistently 'A'-ratings in the nine American varieties. Among the American Top 20 there is not a single morphosyntactic feature which has received an 'A' classification for every single variety, but the following 11 are 'A' features in seven or eight varieties: [1, 3, 10, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 59, 73, 74]. The same goes for [55] and [56] from the runners-up group (i.e. in all eight varieties exhibiting this feature it is pervasive).

As for features which have overwhelmingly or exclusively been rated 'B' in America: exclusively 'B' are [18], [63], [64] and [65], overwhelmingly 'B' are [6, 17, 23, 31, 47, 72].

Finally, Table 11 ranks the nine American varieties according to their variety ratios (VR) and the number of non-standard morphosyntactic features they exhibit. In general, the variety ratios are all very high, which is why seven out of these nine varieties also figured among the Top 13 varieties in the world in Table 6. One major reason why NfldE ranks highest is that it combines features from two sub-varieties, i.e. of those speakers with an IrE background, on the one hand, and Southwest England background, on the other hand.

Table 11. American varieties according to VR

<i>variety</i>	<i>VR</i>	<i>no. of features attested</i>
Newfoundland English	0.68	57
SEAmE enclave dialects	0.63	57
Urban AAVE	0.63	57
Gullah	0.55	46
Ozarks English	0.52	42
Appalachian English	0.46	46
Colloquial AmE	0.46	38
Chicano English	0.45	53
Earlier AAVE	0.43	53

### 5.3 Caribbean

Whereas in the two previous sections those two world regions were discussed which are exclusively (British Isles) or predominantly (America) L1, it is in sections 5.3 to 5.7 that we will turn to world regions where the situation is different (Australia), or for the most part very different (Pacific, Africa, Asia, Caribbean). The Caribbean varieties, for example, are exclusively Creoles. The five (sets of)

Creoles considered for the present survey are BahE, JamC, Tob/TrnC, the SurCs, and BelC. Again it needs to be stressed that the 76-features catalogue was not designed to capture specifically, let alone all, morphosyntactic features distinctive of Pidgins and Creoles, which is especially problematic for radical Creoles as the Surinamese Creoles. This is also why a number of features simply do not apply to Creoles.

**The least frequent morphosyntactic features** in the Caribbean Creoles varieties will be presented in two steps. The following features, for the most part characteristic of (conservative) L1 varieties, are **not attested at all**: *was sat/stood* with progressive meaning [32]; *after-Perfect* [33]; epistemic *mustn't* [35]; *a-*prefixing on *ing-*forms [41]; *was-weren't* split [51]; relative particle *as* [63]; relative particle *at* [64]; and unsplit *for to* in infinitival purpose clauses [70].

14 features are found in only **one variety**, in most cases either in BahE (seven features) or BelC (four features): *she/her* used for inanimate referents [7] (BahE); wider range of uses of the Progressive [21] (BahE); *be* as perfect auxiliary [26] (BahE); *would* in *if*-clauses [31] (BelC); invariant present tense forms due to generalization of 3rd person *-s* to all persons [54] (BahE); Northern Subject Rule [60] (BahE); inverted word order in indirect questions [69] (BelC); generic *he/his* for all genders [8] (BelC); non-standard use of *us* [11] (BelC); habitual *be* [22] (BahE); habitual *do* [23] (Tob/TrnC); levelling of preterite/ppt verb forms: regularization of irregular verb paradigms [36] (BahE); double modals [34] and *as what / than what* in comparative clauses [71] (both in JamC).

**The most widespread features in the Caribbean Creoles** are listed in Table 12. The first nine are found throughout the Caribbean, the 16 features following in four varieties. The relatively large number of features in this list should remind us of Table 7, which showed that the Caribbean varieties have the second-highest variety ratio of all seven world regions (0.46, next to America with a VR of 0.53).

Not surprisingly, of all world regions it is America which shares the greatest number of top features with the Caribbean Creoles (18 out of 25), followed by Australia (15 out of 25) and the Pacific (13 out of 25). Concerning their top features, the Caribbean Creoles differ most markedly from the non-standard varieties of Asia (9 out of 25) and Africa (6 out of 25 features).

Table 12 also shows that only one of these 25 features is a top feature exclusively in the Caribbean, namely completive/perfective *done* [28]. The other **most prominent Caribbean features** are those which are top in only one other world region [29, 39, 50, 61] or at most two other world regions [2, 20, 53, 57, 59, 72]. Applying our alternative measure of prominence to the Caribbean Creoles, it turns out that the following 14 features are most strongly entrenched, since they received 'A'-ratings for every single Creole in which they are attested: [3, 10, 14, 44, 73, 74] have been rated 'A' features in all five Creoles, [28, 29, 39, 40, 50, 57, 61, 72] in four Creoles. By contrast, although regularized comparison strategies [20] belong to the Top 25 Caribbean features, this feature is a 'B' feature in three of the four Creoles in which it is attested.



Table 12. Top 25 Caribbean (i.e. features attested in at least 4 of 5 relevant varieties)

		no. of varieties where feature is attested	<i>worldwide</i>	<i>British Isles</i>	<i>America</i>	<i>Pacific</i>	<i>Australia</i>	<i>Africa</i>	<i>Asia</i>
3	special forms or phrases for the second person plural pronoun	5			✓	✓	✓		
10	<i>me</i> instead of <i>I</i> in coordinate subjects	5	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
14	absence of plural marking after measure nouns	5	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
44	multiple negation / negative concord	5	✓	✓	✓		✓		
73	lack of inversion / lack of auxiliaries in <i>wh</i> -questions	5	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓
74	lack of inversion in main clause yes/no questions	5	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
6	lack of number distinction in reflexives	5	✓		✓		✓	✓	
29	past tense/anterior marker <i>been</i>	5				✓			
50	<i>no</i> as preverbal negator	5				✓			
28	completive/perfect <i>done</i>	4							
39	levelling of preterite/ppt verb forms: part. replacing the past form	4			✓				
40	zero past tense forms of regular verbs	4			✓	✓			✓
57	deletion of <i>be</i>	4				✓			✓
61	relative particle <i>what</i>	4			✓				
72	serial verbs	4				✓	✓		
2	<i>me</i> instead of possessive <i>my</i>	4		✓			✓		
4	regularized reflexives-paradigm	4		✓	✓		✓		
17	irregular use of articles	4		✓			✓	✓	✓
42	adverbs same form as adjectives	4	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
43	degree modifier adverbs lack <i>-ly</i>	4	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		

*Table 12. (continued) Top 25 Caribbean (i.e. features attested in at least 4 of 5 relevant varieties)*

		no. of varieties where feature is attested	<i>worldwide</i>	<i>British Isles</i>	<i>America</i>	<i>Pacific</i>	<i>Australia</i>	<i>Africa</i>	<i>Asia</i>
49	<i>never</i> as preverbal past tense negator	4	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
53	invariant present tense forms due to zero marking for the third person singular	4			✓	✓			
59	<i>was/were</i> generalization	4		✓	✓				
48	invariant <i>don't</i> for all persons in the present tense	4			✓		✓		✓
20	regularized comparison strategies	4		✓	✓				

Table 13 reflects the high number and pervasiveness of non-standard features in most of the Caribbean Creoles, especially in JamC, BelC and Tob/TrnC, all three of which also ranked among the Top 13 varieties in the world in Table 6 above. The bottom position of the Surinamese Creoles and their large structural distance from the other four Creoles reflect that the Surinamese Creoles belong to the most radical Creoles in the Caribbean (Winford/Migge, this volume).

*Table 13. Caribbean varieties according to VR*

<i>variety</i>	<i>VR</i>	<i>no. of features attested</i>
Jamaican Creole	0.57	43
Belizean Creole	0.55	47
Tobago & Trin Creole	0.55	44
Bahamian English	0.45	45
Surinamese Creoles	0.20	16

## 5.4 Australia

Two L1 varieties and two Creoles constitute the four non-standard Australian varieties included in the present survey. The L1 varieties are CollAusE and AusVE (dominantly Tasmanian Vernacular English), the Creoles are AbE and the AusCs.

In these four varieties, **none of the following features occur**: non-coordinated subject pronoun forms in object function [12]; non-coordinated object pronoun forms in subject function [13]; *do* as a tense and aspect marker [27]; completive/perfect *done* [28]; *would* in *if*-clauses [31]; *after*-Perfect [33]; double modals [34]; *a*-prefixing on *ing*-forms [41]; *ain't* as generic negator before a main verb [47]; Northern Subject Rule [60]; relative particle *as* [63]; relative particle *at* [64]; *say*-based complementizers [68]; and unsplit *for to* in infinitival purpose clauses [70].

The following features are attested in only **one variety**, mostly in one of the L1 varieties: *be* as perfect auxiliary [26] (AusVE); loosening of sequence of tense rule [30] (CollAusE); *was sat/stood* with progressive meaning [32] (CollAusE); *ain't* as the negated form of *be* [45] (AusVE); *ain't* as the negated form of *have* [46] (AusVE); invariant present tense forms due to generalization of 3rd person *-s* to all persons [54] (CollAusE); use of analytic *that his/that's*, *what his/what's*, *at's*, *as'* instead of *whose* [65] (AusVE), and resumptive/shadow pronouns [67] (AusVE). Only in AbE occur habitual *do* [23] and deletion of auxiliary *have* [58]; attested exclusively in the AusCs is *no* as preverbal negator [50].

**The most widespread features in the Australian varieties** are listed in Table 14. The first 14 are found in all four varieties, the second 14 in three varieties:

Table 14. Top Australia (i.e. features attested in at least 3 of 4 relevant varieties)

		no. of varieties where feature is attested	<i>worldwide</i>	<i>British Isles</i>	<i>America</i>	<i>Caribbean</i>	<i>Pacific</i>	<i>Africa</i>	<i>Asia</i>
3	special forms or phrases for the second person plural pronoun	4			✓	✓	✓		
73	lack of inversion / lack of auxiliaries in <i>wh</i> -questions	4	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓
74	lack of inversion in main clause <i>yes/no</i> questions	4	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
1	<i>them</i> instead of demonstrative <i>those</i>	4		✓	✓				

Table 14. (continued) Top Australia (i.e. features attested in at least 3 of 4 relevant varieties)

		no. of varieties where feature is attested	<i>worldwide</i>	<i>British Isles</i>	<i>America</i>	<i>Caribbean</i>	<i>Pacific</i>	<i>Africa</i>	<i>Asia</i>
5	object pronoun forms serving as base for reflexives	4							
10	<i>me</i> instead of <i>I</i> in coordinate subjects	4	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
14	absence of plural marking after measure nouns	4	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
49	<i>never</i> as preverbal past tense negator	4	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4	regularized reflexives-paradigm	4		✓	✓	✓			
36	levelling of preterite/ppt verb forms: reg. of irregular verb paradigms	4	✓	✓	✓			✓	
37	levelling of preterite/ppt verb forms: unmarked forms	4		✓	✓				
44	multiple negation / negative concord	4	✓	✓	✓	✓			
48	invariant <i>don't</i> for all persons in the present tense	4			✓	✓			✓
66	gapping or zero-relativization in subject position	4			✓		✓		
72	serial verbs	3				✓	✓		
17	irregular use of articles	3	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓
25	levelling of difference between Present Perfect and Simple Past	3			✓			✓	✓
42	adverbs same form as adjectives	3	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
43	degree modifier adverbs lack <i>-ly</i>	3	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
69	inverted word order in indirect questions	3			✓				✓
2	<i>me</i> instead of possessive <i>my</i>	3		✓		✓			

Table 14. (continued) Top Australia (i.e. features attested in at least 3 of 4 relevant varieties)

		no. of varieties where feature is attested	<i>worldwide</i>	<i>British Isles</i>	<i>America</i>	<i>Caribbean</i>	<i>Pacific</i>	<i>Africa</i>	<i>Asia</i>
6	lack of number distinction in reflexives	3	✓		✓	✓		✓	
11	non-standard use of <i>us</i>	3							
19	double comparatives and superlatives	3		✓	✓				✓
38	levelling of preterite/ppt verb forms: past replacing the part.	3		✓	✓				
62	relative particle <i>that</i> or <i>what</i> in non-restrictive contexts	3							
75	<i>like</i> as a focussing device	3		✓					
76	<i>like</i> as a quotative particle	3			✓				

As was to be expected from the respective tables in the previous sections, Australia shares the greatest number of its 28 top features with America (21 features), the British Isles and the Caribbean (both 15). Considerably fewer of its top features does it share with Asia (10), Africa (8) and, surprisingly, the Pacific (9).

As for the **most salient features in Australia**: Only two are top features exclusively in this (and no other) world region: object pronoun forms serving as base for reflexives [5] and *that/what* as relativizers in non-restrictive contexts [62]. Top in only one other world region is *like* as focussing device [75] and quotative particle [76]; top in at most two other world regions are [1, 2, 37, 38, 66, 72, 69]. In only one of these cases, serial verbs [72], does Australia share a top feature with the Pacific. In most cases, the relevant top features are also among the top lists of the British Isles and/or America.

Of the top features in Table 14, the most pervasive features are the following: [3, 73, 74] received 'A'-ratings in all four varieties, [1, 5, 10, 14, 49, 72] received 'A'-ratings in three of the varieties. By contrast, the top features [66] and [76] have been given 'B'-ratings in at least three of the four varieties.

The ranking of the Australian varieties according to their variety ratio in Table 15 concludes this section.

Table 15. Australian varieties according to VR

<i>variety</i>	<i>VR</i>	<i>no. of features attested</i>
Aboriginal English	0.48	45
Australian Vernacular English	0.39	36
Australian Creoles	0.38	32
Colloquial Australian English	0.32	42

### 5.5 Pacific

The Pacific varieties included in this survey are three Pidgins (Bislama, Tok Pisin, SolP), one Creole (HawC), one L2 variety (FijE) and two L1 varieties: regional NZE as a conservative L1 variety and Norfolk as an L1 variety sharing many properties with Creoles. In particular, it will be interesting to see to what extent parallels and differences between the Pacific varieties and those in Australia, on the one hand, and in the Caribbean, on the other hand, will emerge from the following survey.

But first let us consider **the least frequent morphosyntactic features** in this world region. **Not attested** at all in the Pacific varieties are the following features: regularized reflexives-paradigm [2]; non-coordinated subject pronoun forms in object function [12]; habitual *be* [22]; habitual *do* [23]; *be* as perfect auxiliary [26]; *do* as a tense and aspect marker [27]; *after*-Perfect [33]; *a*-prefixing on *ing*-forms [41]; *ain t* as the negated form of *be* [45]; *ain t* as generic negator before a main verb [47]; Northern Subject Rule [60]; relative particle *at* [64]; use of analytic *that his/that's*, *what his/what's*, *at's*, *as'* instead of whose [65]; and unsplit *for to* in infinitival purpose clauses [70].

The following 11 features are attested in **only one variety**. Only in regional NZE are found *was sat/stood* with progressive meaning [32], levelling of preterite/past participle verb forms: past participles replacing the past form [39], *ain t* as the negated form of *have* [46], *was-weren t* split [51], and the relative particles *what* [61] and *as* [63]. The other relevant features are: double modals [34] (HawC), invariant *don't* for all persons in the present tense [48] (FijE), completive/perfect *done* [28] (Norfolk), object pronoun forms serving as base for reflexives [5] (SolP), and invariant present tense forms due to generalization of 3rd person *-s* to all persons [54] (again SolP).

**The most widespread features in the Pacific** are given in Table 16. The prominence of Pidgins and Creoles (and varieties exhibiting many creole features, like Norfolk) in the Pacific shows, for example, in the fact that, of all world regions,

the Pacific varieties share the greatest number of top features (13 out of 16) with the Caribbean.

Table 16. Top Pacific (i.e. features attested in at least 5 of 7 relevant varieties)

		no. of varieties where feature is attested	<i>worldwide</i>	<i>British Isles</i>	<i>America</i>	<i>Caribbean</i>	<i>Australia</i>	<i>Africa</i>	<i>Asia</i>
3	special forms or phrases for the second person plural pronoun	7			✓	✓	✓		
74	lack of inversion in main clause <i>yes/no</i> questions	7	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
73	lack of inversion / lack of auxiliaries in <i>wh</i> -questions	6	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓
14	absence of plural marking after measure nouns	6	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
40	zero past tense forms of regular verbs	6			✓	✓			✓
53	invariant present tense forms due to zero marking for the third person singular	6			✓	✓			
57	deletion of <i>be</i>	6				✓			✓
66	gapping or zero-relativization in subject position	6			✓		✓		
67	resumptive / shadow pronouns	6						✓	✓
50	<i>no</i> as preverbal negator	6				✓			
29	past tense/anterior marker <i>been</i>	6				✓			
42	adverbs same form as adjectives	5	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
49	<i>never</i> as preverbal past tense negator	5	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
24	non-standard habitual markers other than <i>do</i>	5							
43	degree modifier adverbs lack <i>-ly</i>	5	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
72	serial verbs	5				✓	✓		



The following turn out to be the **most prominent features in the Pacific**: (a) no other world region has among its top features the use of non-standard habitual markers other than *be* and *do* [24]; (b) among the top features of only one other world region (not surprisingly, the Caribbean) are *no* as preverbal negator [50] and *been* as past tense or anterior marker [29]; (c) top in only two other world regions are [53, 57, 66, 67, 72], again with the Caribbean as one of them in three cases [53, 57, 72].

Of the top features in Table 16, the most pervasive features are the following: ‘A’-ratings in all seven varieties received [3] and [74]; in six varieties [73]; and in five varieties [14, 40, 42, 49, 53, 57, 66, 67].

The most interesting things that can be said about Table 17 below are (a) that the Pidgins have lower variety ratios than the other varieties, and (b) that, for the vast majority of the 76 morpho-syntactic features investigated here, Norfolk patterns with the Pacific Pidgins and not with regional NZE. This should remind us of the fuzziness problem concerning the distinction between L1 varieties, L2 varieties and Pidgins/Creoles.

*Table 17.* Pacific varieties according to VR

<i>variety</i>	<i>VR</i>	<i>no. of features attested</i>
New Zealand English	0.43	40
Fiji English	0.41	44
Hawai’i Creole	0.38	34
Solomon Islands Pijin	0.32	24
Bislama	0.25	19
Norfolk	0.24	21
Tok Pisin	0.20	15

## 5.6 Asia

Of the five varieties from South and Southeast Asia included in this Handbook, authors have provided information on ButIE, PakE, SgE, and MalE. Looking first, as has been standard practice in this synopsis, at **the least frequent morphosyntactic features** of this world region, we should remember that all of the Asian varieties of English are L2 varieties. This may be the crucial key to understanding the large number of features which are not attested or attested in only one of these four varieties and will be further explored in section 6. We should remember, too, that Asia is the world region with the by far lowest variety ratio (0.26, next to Africa and the Pacific with a variety ratio of 0.32; see Table 7 above).

**Not attested** in Asia are the following features: *me* instead of possessive *my* [2]; special forms or phrases for the second person plural pronoun [3]; non-standard use of *us* [11]; non-coordinated subject pronoun forms in object function [12];

non-coordinated object pronoun forms in subject function [13]; group plurals [15]; group genitives [16]; *do* as a tense and aspect marker [27]; completive/perfect *done* [28]; *would* in *if*-clauses [31]; *was sat/stood* with progressive meaning [32]; *after*-Perfect [33]; double modals [34]; epistemic *mustn't* [35]; *a*-prefixing on *ing*-forms [41]; *ain't* as the negated form of *be* [45]; *ain't* as the negated form of *have* [46]; *ain't* as generic negator before a main verb [47]; *was*–*weren't* split [51]; existential / presentational *there's*, *there is*, *there was* with plural subjects [55]; relative particle *what* [61]; relative particle *as* [63]; relative particle *at* [64]; use of analytic *that his/that's*, *what his/what's*, *at's*, *as'* instead of *whose* [65]; gapping or zero-relativization in subject position [66]; *say*-based complementizers [68]; and unsplit *for to* in infinitival purpose clauses [70].

The following features are attested in no more than **one variety**: *them* instead of demonstrative *those* [1] (ButLE); object pronoun forms serving as base for reflexives [5] (ButLE); lack of number distinction in reflexives [6] (SgE); *she/her* used for inanimate referents [7] (PakE); postnominal *for*-phrases to express possession [18] (PakE); habitual *be* [22] (ButLE); habitual *do* [23] (PakE); other non-standard habitual markers than *do* [24] (SgE); *be* as perfect auxiliary [26] (ButLE); past tense/anterior marker *been* [29] (ButLE); levelling of preterite/past participle verb forms: unmarked forms [37] (SgE); levelling of preterite/ past participle verb forms: participle replacing the past form [39] (PakE); adverbs having the same form as adjectives [42] (SgE); multiple negation / negative concord [44] (ButLE); *no* as preverbal negator [50] (ButLE); invariant present tense forms due to generalization of 3rd person *-s* to all persons [54] (ButLE); variant forms of dummy subjects in existential clauses [56] (SgE); *was/were* generalization [59] (ButLE); Northern Subject Rule [60] (ButLE); and relative particle *that* or *what* in non-restrictive contexts [62] (PakE). Especially ButLE turns out to have a unique mix of conservative L1-features and typical creole features like, for example, *no* as preverbal negator.

Table 18. Top Asia (i.e. features attested in at least 3 of 4 relevant varieties)

	no. of varieties where feature is attested	<i>worldwide</i>	<i>British Isles</i>	<i>America</i>	<i>Caribbean</i>	<i>Pacific</i>	<i>Australia</i>	<i>Africa</i>
17	irregular use of articles	4	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
69	inverted word order in indirect questions	4		✓			✓	

Table 18. (continued) Top Asia (i.e. features attested in at least 3 of 4 relevant varieties)

	no. of varieties where feature is attested	worldwide	British Isles	America	Caribbean	Pacific	Australia	Africa
73	lack of inversion / lack of auxiliaries in <i>wh</i> -questions	4	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
74	lack of inversion in main clause <i>yes/no</i> questions	4	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
10	<i>me</i> instead of <i>I</i> in coordinate subjects	4	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
19	double comparatives and superlatives	4		✓			✓	
40	zero past tense forms of regular verbs	4		✓	✓	✓		
25	levelling of difference between Present Perfect and Simple Past	4		✓			✓	✓
21	wider range of uses of the Progressive	3		✓				✓
52	invariant non-concord tags	3						✓
57	deletion of <i>be</i>	3			✓	✓		
49	<i>never</i> as preverbal past tense negator	3	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
71	<i>as what / than what</i> in comparative clauses	3		✓	✓			
14	absence of plural marking after measure nouns	3	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
30	loosening of sequence of tense rule	3						✓
48	invariant <i>don't</i> for all persons in the present tense	3		✓	✓		✓	
67	resumptive / shadow pronouns	3				✓		✓
9	<i>myself/meself</i> in a non-reflexive function	3	✓	✓				

None of the top features in Table 18 is uniquely top in the Asian varieties. Top in one other world region are invariant concord tags [52], the loosening of the sequence of tenses rule [30], and *myself/meself* in a non-reflexive function; top in

two other world regions are the inverted word order in indirect questions [69], a wider range of uses of the Progressive [21], deletion of copula *be* [57], *as what/ than what* in comparative clauses [71], and resumptive/shadow pronouns in relative clauses [67]. Given that Africa is the only other world region with a large number of L2 varieties in this survey (five out of nine varieties), it is not totally unexpected that Africa figures more prominently among these eight Asian features, and the top Asian features in Table 18 in general, than in any of the corresponding tables for the other world regions.

Out of the top features, the following have received ‘A’-classifications throughout or in three of the four varieties. Pervasive in all Asian varieties are the irregular use of articles [17], inverted word order in indirect questions [69], the lack of inversion in *wh*-questions [73] and *yes/no* questions [74]. Pervasive in three varieties are invariant non-concord tags [52] and the deletion of *be* [57]. On the other hand, top feature *myself/meself* in non-reflexive function [9] has been rated ‘B’ in all three varieties in which it is attested (ButlE, SgE, PakE).

Table (19) once again shows the consistently low number of non-standard features and their low degree of entrenchment which the Asian varieties exhibit compared with all other world regions.

Table 19. Asian varieties according to VR

<i>variety</i>	<i>VR</i>	<i>no. of features attested</i>
Butler English	0.30	32
Singaporean English	0.27	29
Pakistani English	0.23	23
Malaysian English	0.23	20

## 5.7 Africa

Only nine of the African varieties of English covered in the Handbook are part of this survey: five L2 varieties (GhE, CamE, EAfE, InSAfE, BISAfE), three Pidgins (GhP, CamP, NigP), and one L1 variety (WhSAfE).

In Africa, the following features are **not attested**: *them* instead of demonstrative *those* [1]; non-standard use of *us* [11]; non-coordinated subject pronoun forms in object function [12]; and relative particle *at* [64]. As for features attested in only **one variety**, note that in vast majority of cases it is CamE which is the only African variety where the relevant feature occurs. Indeed, it is CamE for which our informant has attested a most astonishing array of non-standard features, making CamE the by far most non-standard African and L2 variety of the entire set of varieties investigated here. Attested exclusively in CamE only are: *me* instead of possessive *my* [2], object pronoun forms serving as base for reflexives [5], the

after-Perfect [33] (!), *a*-prefixing on *ing*-forms [41], *ain't* as the negated form of *be* [45] and *have* [46] and as generic negator before a main verb [47], *was*–*weren't* split [51], invariant present tense forms due to generalization of 3rd person *-s* to all persons [54], variant forms of dummy subjects in existential clauses [56], deletion of auxiliary *have* [58], the Northern Subject Rule [60], relative particle *as* [63], the use of analytic *that his/that's*, *what his/what's*, *at's*, *as'* instead of *whose* [65], and unsplit *for to* in infinitival purpose clauses [70]. Elsewhere only the following two features are uniquely attested in Africa: non-coordinated object pronoun forms in subject function [13] in GhP, and double modals [34] in NigP.

The following nine features are attested in no more than **two varieties**. For all nine CamE is one of the two varieties: *she/her* used for inanimate referents [7] (WhSAfE, CamE), *would* in *if*-clauses [31] (EAfE, CamE), *was sat/stood* with progressive meaning [32] (NigP, CamE), levelling of preterite/past participle verb forms: past replacing the participle [38] (CamP, CamE), *was/were* generalization [59] (InSAfE, CamE), relative particle *that* or *what* in non-restrictive contexts [62] (WhSAfE, CamE), gapping or zero-relativization in subject position [66] (NigP, CamE), *like* as a focussing device [75] (NigP, CamE) and as a quotative particle [76] (WhSAfE, CamE).

The most widespread features in Africa are listed in Table 20.

Table 20. Top Africa (i.e. features attested in at least 7 of 9 relevant varieties)

		no. of varieties where feature is attested	<i>worldwide</i>	<i>British Isles</i>	<i>America</i>	<i>Caribbean</i>	<i>Pacific</i>	<i>Australia</i>	<i>Asia</i>
42	adverbs same form as adjectives	9	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
21	wider range of uses of the Progressive	8			✓				✓
49	<i>never</i> as preverbal past tense negator	8	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
67	resumptive / shadow pronouns	8					✓		✓
74	lack of inversion in main clause <i>yes/no</i> questions	8	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
10	<i>me</i> instead of <i>I</i> in coordinate subjects	7	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓

Table 20. (continued) Top Africa (i.e. features attested in at least 7 of 9 relevant varieties)

	no. of varieties where feature is attested	<i>worldwide</i>	<i>British Isles</i>	<i>America</i>	<i>Caribbean</i>	<i>Pacific</i>	<i>Australia</i>	<i>Asia</i>
17	irregular use of articles	7	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
25	levelling of difference between Present Perfect and Simple Past	7		✓			✓	✓
30	loosening of sequence of tense rule	7						✓
6	lack of number distinction in reflexives	7	✓	✓	✓		✓	
52	invariant non-concord tags	7						✓
36	levelling of preterite/ppt verb forms: regularization of irregular verb paradigms	7	✓	✓	✓		✓	

None of African top features is uniquely top in this world region. The most distinctive top features in Africa, i.e. those found in the top lists of **at most two other world regions**, are all shared with Asia: exclusively shared with Asia are the loosening of the sequence of tense rule [30] and the use of invariant non-concord tags [52], additionally shared with America is the wider use of the Progressive [21] and with the Pacific varieties the use of resumptive/shadow pronouns in relative clauses [67]. On the whole, Africa shares nine of its 12 top features with Asia, and eight top features both with America and the Pacific.

As for particularly **prominent features in Africa**: only [42], adverbs having the same form as adjectives, has been rated 'A' in all nine African varieties. Pervasive in eight varieties are a wider use of the Progressive [21] (only exception CamP) and *never* as a preverbal past tense negator [49] (only exception EAfE). 'A'-ratings in seven varieties have received *me* instead of *I* in coordinate subjects [10], resumptive/shadow pronouns [67], and lack of inversion in main clause *yes/no* questions [74].

Table 21, in conclusion, shows once again the exceptional status of CamE among the African varieties, which on a global scale otherwise largely exhibit medium-range to low variety ratios.

Table 21. African varieties according to VR

<i>variety</i>	<i>VR</i>	<i>no. of features attested</i>
Cameroon English	0.64	67
Nigerian Pidgin English	0.45	38
Indian South African English	0.36	28
Cameroon Pidgin English	0.33	25
Black South African English	0.32	27
Ghanaian Pidgin English	0.30	24
White South African English	0.19	18
East African English	0.19	15
Standard Ghanaian English	0.12	16

## 6. L1 varieties vs. L2 varieties and Pidgins/Creoles

As has repeatedly been pointed out above, an appropriate interpretation of the distributional patterns across and, especially, within the seven world regions is only possible when taking into consideration the proportion of L1 varieties, L2 varieties and Pidgins/Creoles in the individual regions. This will be one of the major tasks of the current section. Again, however, we have to open a section with a cautionary remark: the very classification of a given variety as L1, L2 or P/C may be considered an arguable enterprise given that there are no sharp dividing lines between these three categories. It is even more difficult for individual of the varieties under discussion here since they do not represent prototypes of the three categories in question. As Mesthrie (this volume) makes clear both in this introductory chapter and his synopsis for Africa and Asia, the fuzziness of this trichotomy shows, for example, in L2 varieties currently on their way to L1 varieties (“language shift Englishes”, as he calls them), or in L2 and even L1 varieties which are being influenced by Pidgins/Creoles (e.g. Norfolk). Nevertheless, we have taken the risk of classifying the varieties investigated here in terms of these three categories. Of the 46 non-standard varieties for which feature classifications are available, 20 have been classified as L1 varieties, 11 as L2 varieties, and 15 as Pidgins or Creoles:

L1 varieties: Orkney and Shetland, ScE, IrE, WelE, East Anglia, North, Southwest and Southeast of England (British Isles); CollAmE, SEAmE, AppE, OzE, NfldE, Urban AAVE, Earlier AAVE (America); CollAusE, AusVE (Australia); Norfolk, regional NZE (Pacific); WhSAfE (Africa).

L2 varieties: ChcE (America); FijE (Pacific); StGhE, CamE, EAfE, InSAfE, BISAfE (Africa); ButLE, PakE, SgE, MalE (Asia).

Pidgins and Creoles: Gullah (America); SurCs, BelC, Tob/TrnC, BahE, JamC (Caribbean); Bislama, SolP, TP, HawC (Pacific); AbE, AusCs (Australia); GhP, NigP, CamP (Africa).

This translates into the totals and percentages in Table 22:

Table 22. Basis for global synopsis: 46 non-standard varieties (= 100 %)

	L1	L2	P/C
	20 (43.5 %)	11 (23.9 %)	15 (32.6 %)
British Isles	8	0	0
America	7	1	1
Caribbean	0	0	5
Australia	2	0	2
Pacific	2	1	4
Africa	1	5	3
Asia	0	4	0

For the classifications of the 76 features in the feature catalogue (and for the Handbook chapters at large), these figures clearly show that we have a major divide between world regions with exclusively or predominantly L1 varieties (British Isles, America) and exclusively or predominantly L2 varieties and/or Pidgins and Creoles (Caribbean, Pacific, Africa, Asia), with Australia exhibiting equal proportions of L1 varieties and Creoles. It will thus be the major task of this and the next section to see which (bundles) of the 76 features characterize these three types of varieties, and to what extent it is primarily the (region-independent) properties of these three types of varieties (and not, for example, specific regional developments possibly due to L1 or substrate influence on L2 varieties and Pidgins/Creoles) which have influenced the global distributions and patterns found for the individual world regions in section 5.

### 6.1 L1 varieties

In the **L1 varieties**, all the features included in the feature catalogue occur at least once. The following features occur **exactly once**: *no* as preverbal negator [50] in Norfolk, and *say*-based complementizers [68] in Urban AAVE.

Each of the following features is attested in only **two L1 varieties**: *ain't* as generic negator before a main verb [47] in Urban and Earlier AAVE; other non-stan-



dard habitual markers than *be* and *do* [24] in IrE and WeE; and the *after-Perfect* [33] in IrE and NfldE.

These two features are attested in **three L1 varieties** (the North of England, the Southwest of England, and in NfldE): non-coordinated subject pronoun forms in object function [12]; and non-coordinated object pronoun forms in subject function [13].

Seven features occur in **four L1 varieties**: past tense/anterior marker *been* [29]; generic *he/his* for all genders [8]; habitual *be* [22]; relative particle *at* [64]; serial verbs [72]; *do* as a tense and aspect marker [27]; and deletion of auxiliary *have* [58].

Finally, the following six features occur in exactly **five L1 varieties**: relative particle *as* [63]; postnominal *for*-phrases to express possession [18]; *would* in *if*-clauses [31]; habitual *do* [23]; deletion of *be* [57]; and Northern Subject Rule [60].

**The top L1 features** are listed in Table 23:

Table 23. Top 21 L1 (i.e. features attested in at least 15 of 20 relevant varieties)

	no. of varieties where feature is attested	<i>worldwide</i>	<i>L2 varieties</i>	<i>P&amp;C varieties</i>	<i>British Isles</i>	<i>America</i>
55	existential / presentational <i>there's</i> , <i>there is</i> , <i>there was</i> with plural subjects	19			✓	✓
10	<i>me</i> instead of <i>I</i> in coordinate subjects	19	✓	✓	✓	✓
42	adverbs same form as adjectives	19	✓	✓	✓	✓
49	<i>never</i> as preverbal past tense negator	19	✓	✓	✓	✓
1	<i>them</i> instead of demonstrative <i>those</i>	18			✓	✓
44	multiple negation / negative concord	17	✓	✓	✓	✓
38	levelling of preterite/ppt verb forms: past replacing the part.	17			✓	✓
43	degree modifier adverbs lack <i>-ly</i>	17	✓	✓	✓	✓
71	<i>as what / than what</i> in comparative clauses	17			✓	✓
37	levelling of preterite/ppt verb forms: unmarked forms	17			✓	✓
14	absence of plural marking after measure nouns	17	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 23. (continued) Top 21 L1 (i.e. features attested in at least 15 of 20 relevant varieties)

		no. of varieties where feature is attested	worldwide	L2 varieties	P&C varieties	British Isles	America
19	double comparatives and superlatives	17		✓		✓	✓
25	levelling of difference between Present Perfect and Simple Past	17		✓			✓
9	<i>myself/meself</i> in a non-reflexive function	16	✓	✓			✓
69	inverted word order in indirect questions	16		✓			✓
36	levelling of preterite/ppt verb forms: reg. of irregular verb paradigms	16	✓	✓		✓	✓
4	regularized reflexives-paradigm	16				✓	✓
20	regularized comparison strategies	16				✓	✓
3	special forms or phrases for the second person plural pronoun	15			✓		✓
74	lack of inversion in main clause <i>yes/no</i> questions	15	✓	✓	✓		✓
21	wider range of uses of the Progressive	15		✓			✓

Only a third of these features is also among the Worldwide Top 15 features. Four of these are top in L1 varieties, L2 varieties, and Pidgins/Creoles alike and thus, of course, the four most widely attested morphosyntactic features in non-standard varieties of English around the world (cf. Tables 3 and 5 above): [10, 42, 49, 74].

From a regional point of view (consider the two rightmost columns in Table 23), it emerges that all (!) of these Top 21 L1 features are also among the top features of America, and 15 out of these 21 are among the top British Isles features. This correlation was to be expected.

More importantly, Table 23 reveals the most distinctive L1 features since they are neither among the top features of L2 varieties nor of Pidgins and Creoles. These are (in the order of their pervasiveness across all L1 varieties, i.e. from top to bottom in Table 23): [55, 1, 38, 71, 37, 4, 20].

None of the Top 21 L1 features has been rated 'A' in every single one of the 20 L1 varieties. However, the following three have been judged as **pervasive features** in at least 15 varieties: [1, 10, 55]. On the other hand, the lack of number

distinction in reflexives [6] has received exclusively ‘B’-ratings in those ten L1 varieties where it is attested.

## 6.2 L2 varieties

The following three features are **not attested** in L2 varieties: non-coordinated subject pronoun forms in object function [12]; double modals [34]; and the relative particle *at* [64].

The following features occur in no more than **one L2 variety**. In all of the following cases the relevant variety is CamE, which is, as mentioned earlier, the odd one out among the L2 and African varieties investigated (possibly due to an over-enthusiastic informant): *me* instead of possessive *my* [2], *do* as a tense and aspect marker [27], completive/perfect *done* [28], *after*-Perfect [33], *a*-prefixing on *ing*-forms [41], *was*–*weren*’t split [51], relative particle *as* [63], and the use of analytic *that his/that’s*, *what his/what’s*, *at’s*, *as’* instead of *whose* [65]. Exclusively in FijE the following two features are attested: the non-standard use of *us* [11] and non-coordinated object pronoun forms in subject function [13].

Attested in **two L2 varieties** are the following features: *them* instead of demonstrative *those* [1] in ChcE and ButLE; habitual *do* [23] in CamE and PakE; *was sat/stood* with progressive meaning [32] in ChcE and CamE; *ain*’t as the negated form of *be* [45] in ChcE and CamE; *ain*’t as the negated form of *have* [46] in ChcE and CamE; *ain*’t as generic negator before a main verb [47] in ChcE and CamE; *no* as preverbal negator [50] in FijE and ButLE; variant forms of dummy subjects in existential clauses [56] in CamE and SgE; Northern Subject Rule [60] in CamE and ButLE; *say*-based complementizers [68] in ChcE and BISAfE; and unsplit *for to* in infinitival purpose clauses [70] in ChcE and CamE.

In **three L2 varieties** we find each of the following features: object pronoun forms serving as base for reflexives [5] in ChcE, CamE, and ButLE; group genitives [16] in ChcE, CamE, and FijE; habitual *be* [22] in CamE, ButLE, and InSAfE; *be* as perfect auxiliary [26] in CamE, ButLE, and BISAfE; past tense/anterior marker *been* [29] in CamE, ButLE, and FijE; epistemic *mustn*’t [35] in ChcE, CamE, and FijE; invariant present tense forms due to generalization of 3rd person *-s* to all persons [54] in ChcE, CamE, and ButLE; deletion of auxiliary *have* [58] in CamE, SgE and MalE; relative particle *what* [61] in CamE, InSAfE and BISAfE; and gapping or zero-relativization in subject position [66] in ChcE, CamE, and FijE.

Table 24 includes all **top L2 features**:

Table 24. Top 19 L2 (i.e. features attested in at least 8 of 11 relevant varieties)

		no. of varieties where feature is attested	worldwide	L1 varieties	P&C varieties	Asia	Africa
74	lack of inversion in main clause yes/no questions	11	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
17	irregular use of articles	11	✓			✓	✓
25	levelling of difference between Present Perfect and Simple Past	11		✓		✓	✓
21	wider range of uses of the Progressive	10		✓		✓	✓
69	inverted word order in indirect questions	10		✓		✓	
67	resumptive / shadow pronouns	10				✓	✓
30	loosening of sequence of tense rule	10				✓	✓
40	zero past tense forms of regular verbs	10			✓	✓	
49	<i>never</i> as preverbal past tense negator	9	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
10	<i>me</i> instead of <i>I</i> in coordinate subjects	9	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
52	invariant non-concord tags, e.g. <i>innit/in't it/ isn't</i> in <i>They had them in their hair, innit?</i>	9				✓	✓
19	double comparatives and superlatives	9		✓		✓	
36	levelling of preterite/ppt verb forms: reg. of irregular verb parad.	9	✓	✓			✓
73	lack of inversion / lack of auxiliaries in <i>wh</i> -questions	8	✓		✓	✓	
42	adverbs same form as adjectives	8	✓	✓	✓		✓
43	degree modifier adverbs lack <i>-ly</i>	8	✓	✓			
48	invariant <i>don't</i> for all persons in the present tense	8				✓	
6	lack of number distinction in reflexives	8	✓		✓		✓
9	<i>myself/meself</i> in a non-reflexive function	8	✓	✓		✓	

Ten of these features are also among the Worldwide Top 15 features, which shows that the Top Worldwide list in Table 5 above does not (or not too heavily, at least) suffer from an L1 bias.

From a regional point of view, we see the high degree of correlation between these Top L2 features and the top lists for Asia (15 out of 19 top features shared) and Africa (12 out of 19 top features shared).

Table 24 also shows the most distinctive L2 features: neither are they among the top features of L1 varieties nor among those of Pidgins/Creoles. In the order of their pervasiveness across all L2 varieties, i.e. from top to bottom in Table 24, these are: [67, 40, 52, 48].

As for **the most pervasive L2 features** in Table 24, i.e. those having received exclusively or overwhelmingly 'A'-ratings by the informants: feature [74] is pervasive in ten out of the eleven L2 varieties, feature [17] in nine L2 varieties, and features [21, 49, 69, 73] in eight L2 varieties. The following are exclusively or overwhelmingly 'B' features in those L2 varieties in which they are attested. Prominent among them are levelling processes of the preterite/past participle distinction: the regularization of irregular verb paradigms [36] has been rated 'B' in eight out of the nine L2 varieties in which it is attested; the past participle replacing the past form [38] and the past form replacing the past participle [39] have exclusively received 'B'-ratings in all five L2 varieties in which each (or both) of them are documented.

### 6.3 Pidgins and Creoles

The following five features are **not attested** in Pidgin and Creole varieties at all: *after-Perfect* [33]; *a-prefixing on ing-forms* [41]; relative particle *as* [63]; relative particle *at* [64]; and unsplit *for to* in infinitival purpose clauses [70].

Each of the following three features is attested **only once**: *was sat/stood* with progressive meaning [32] in NigP; *was-weren t* split [51] in AbE; and the so-called Northern Subject Rule [60] in BahE.

The features that are attested in **two Pidgins and Creoles** each are: non-coordinated subject pronoun forms in object function [12] in BelC and Tob/TrnC; epistemic *mustn t* [35] in Gullah and NigP; use of analytic *that his/that's, what his/what's, at's, as'* instead of *whose* [65] in BelC and BahE; *be* as perfect auxiliary [26] in CamP and BahE; invariant present tense forms due to generalization of 3rd person *-s* to all persons [54] in BahE and SolP; and *would* in *if*-clauses [31] in BelC and HawC.

Features occurring in **three of these varieties** include: *ain t* as the negated form of *be* [45] in Gullah, BahE, Tob/TrnC; *ain t* as the negated form of *have* [46] in Gullah, BahE, Tob/TrnC; non-standard use of *us* [11] in BelC, HawC, and AbE; group genitives [16] in BahE, JamC, NigP; wider range of uses of the Progressive [21] in BahE, GhP, NigP; *ain t* as generic negator before a main verb [47] in Gullah, BahE, Tob/TrnC; *she/her* used for inanimate referents [7] in BahE, HawC, SolP; inverted word order in indirect questions [69] in Gullah, BelC, AbE; and *as what / than what* in comparative clauses [71] in Gullah, JamC, and HawC.

Finally, the following are features attested in **four Pidgins and Creoles**: existential/presentational *there's*, *there is*, *there was* with plural subjects [55]; *do* as a tense and aspect marker [27]; deletion of auxiliary *have* [58]; non-coordinated object pronoun forms in subject function [13]; group plurals [15]; relative particle *that* or *what* in non-restrictive contexts [62]; and double modals [34].

Consider Table 25 for **the top Pidgin and Creole features** in our sample:

Table 25. Top 15 P&C (i.e. features attested in at least 11 of 15 relevant varieties)

		no. of varieties where feature is attested	<i>worldwide</i>	<i>L1 varieties</i>	<i>L2 varieties</i>	<i>Caribbean</i>	<i>Africa</i>	<i>Pacific</i>
73	lack of inversion / lack of auxiliaries in <i>wh</i> -questions	15	✓		✓	✓		✓
74	lack of inversion in main clause yes/no questions	15	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3	special forms or phrases for the second person plural pronoun	14		✓		✓		✓
57	deletion of <i>be</i>	14				✓		✓
53	invariant present tense forms due to zero marking for the third person singular	14				✓		✓
29	past tense/anterior marker <i>been</i>	14				✓		✓
14	absence of plural marking after measure nouns	13	✓	✓		✓		✓
40	zero past tense forms of regular verbs	13			✓	✓		✓
72	serial verbs	13				✓		✓
50	<i>no</i> as preverbal negator	13				✓		✓
10	<i>me</i> instead of <i>I</i> in coordinate subjects	12	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
42	adverbs same form as adjectives	12	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
6	lack of number distinction in reflexives	12	✓		✓	✓	✓	
49	<i>never</i> as preverbal past tense negator	12	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
44	multiple negation / negative concord	11	✓	✓		✓		

Eight out of these 15 features are also among the Worldwide Top 15 features. An equal number of top features, namely seven, do the Pidgins and Creoles in our 46-varieties sample share with L1 varieties, on the one hand, and L2 varieties, on the other hand. From a regional point of view, Table 25 is not particularly revealing. It reflects no more than the decreasing proportion of Pidgins and Creoles in the Caribbean (exclusively Creoles), the Pacific (four Pidgins and Creoles out of seven non-standard varieties) and Africa (three Pidgins out of nine non-standard varieties). When focussing only on the Pidgins and Creoles in these three world regions, no regional differences (especially not between the African Pidgins and the Pidgins and Creoles in the Caribbean and the Pacific) can be identified with regard to the top features in Table 25.

The **most distinctive P/C top features** according to Table 25 are the following four: [50, 53, 57, 72]. These are neither among the top list for L1 varieties nor for L2 varieties. The first two features in Table 25, i.e. [73] and [74], are indeed pervasive, i.e. ‘A’ features, in all 15 Pidgins and Creoles included in the present survey. Of the other top features in Table 25, [3] and [57] are pervasive in 14 Pidgins and Creoles, [72, 14, 40] in 13 P/C varieties, and [10, 29, 50, 53] in 12 P/C varieties.

#### 6.4 Universals of New Englishes

In light of the findings presented in sections 6.2 and 6.3, it is now possible to give more substance to the notion of *angloversals*, by which Mair (2003:84) understands joint tendencies observable in the course of the standardization of postcolonial varieties of English which cannot be explained historically or genetically. Mair explicitly states that some of these angloversals may be the result of learning strategies of non-native speakers, in other words properties typical of L2 varieties. On the basis of Tables 24 and 25, the top candidates for such universals of New Englishes can be identified. Consider especially the features in the first three of altogether seven groups. In Figure 1, these groups are represented with the help of three intersecting sets of all top features in L1 varieties, L2 varieties and Pidgin and Creoles. Groups I to III are shaded dark grey since they include the top candidates for universals of New Englishes. (Group VII in Figure 1 includes those features which are top exclusively among L1 varieties and will be thus of no further concern in this section.)

In Group 1, the core group, we find all those top features in Tables 24 and 25 which are exclusively shared by L2 varieties, Pidgins and Creoles: the lack of inversion/auxiliaries in *wh*-questions [73], zero past tense forms of regular verbs [40], and the lack of number distinction in reflexives [6].

Included in the next two groups are all those features which are top either exclusively in L2 varieties (Group II) or in Pidgins and Creoles (Group III). Top exclusively in L2 varieties are the use of resumptive pronouns in relative clauses

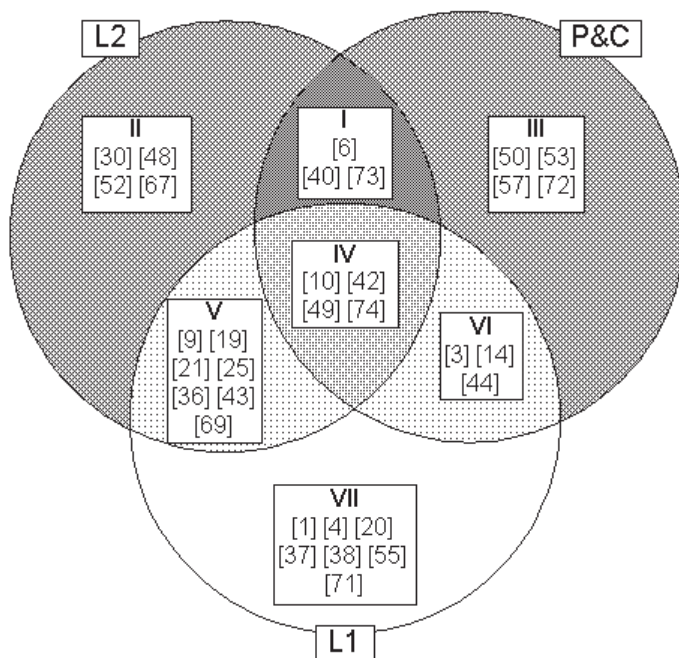


Figure 1. Top features in L1, L2, Pidgins and Creoles

[67], the loosening of the sequence of tenses rule [30], invariant non-concord tags [52], and invariant *don't* for all persons in the present tense [48]. Exclusively top among Pidgins and Creoles are the following: the deletion of *be* [57], invariant present tense forms due to zero marking for the third person singular [53], serial verbs [72], and *no* as a preverbal negator [50].

Groups IV to VI are all much less distinctive of non-L1 varieties since all the features in these groups are also top features among L1 varieties.

Group IV includes those four features which are top worldwide, i.e. across all L1, L2, Pidgin and Creole varieties: the lack of inversion in main clause *yes/no*-questions [74], *me* instead of *I* in coordinate subjects [10], adverbs having the same form as adjectives [42] and *never* as a preverbal past tense negator [49]. These four features are the true vernacular universals among the non-standard varieties of English.

Group V consists of those top features which L2 varieties share exclusively with L1 varieties: levelling of the difference between Present Perfect and the Simple Past [25], wider range of uses of the Progressive [21], inverted word order in indirect questions [69], double comparatives and superlatives [19], levelling of preterite/past participle verb forms by regularizing irregular verb paradigms [36], degree modifier adverbs lacking *-ly* [43], *myself/meself* in a non-reflexive function [9]. Group VI, finally, includes only those top features which Pidgins and Creoles



share exclusively with L1 varieties: special forms or phrases for the second person plural pronoun [3], the absence of plural marking after measure nouns [14], and multiple negation [44].

These six groups, especially Groups I to III, can be no more than a starting point for further explorations of universals of New Englishes. As pointed out in section 1 of this global synopsis, the feature catalogue investigated here does not include all features which are pervasively or frequently found in Pidgins and Creoles. A comparative analysis solely of Pidgins and Creoles would require a different catalogue, and the same is certainly true for a corresponding comprehensive comparative analysis of L2 varieties.

## 7. Individual areas of morphosyntax

The two previous sections were variety-centred. By way of rounding off this global synopsis, it is in this section that we shall take a brief look at the eleven groups of morphosyntactic features constituting the 76-features catalogue. We shall focus on some major patterns across and within the individual feature groups. For details concerning the distribution and ('A'/'B') ratings of individual features across the 46 non-standard varieties investigated, the reader is referred to the master table and the interactive maps on the CD-ROM.

Table 26 displays the average ratios per feature group and world region:

Table 26. Feature group ratios according to **world region** (for all 46 varieties)

<i>feature group</i>	<i>British Isles (8 varieties)</i>	<i>America (9 varieties)</i>	<i>Caribbean (5 varieties)</i>	<i>Pacific (7 varieties)</i>	<i>Australia (4 varieties)</i>	<i>Africa (9 varieties)</i>	<i>Asia (4 varieties)</i>	<i>average feature group ratio</i>
<b>pronouns</b>	0.43	0.55	0.54	0.35	0.55	0.27	0.17	<b>0.41</b>
<b>noun phrase</b>	0.46	0.59	0.54	0.36	0.46	0.43	0.39	<b>0.46</b>
<b>verb phrase</b>	0.24	0.32	0.35	0.20	0.19	0.37	0.20	<b>0.27</b>
<b>modal verbs</b>	0.31	0.53	0.10	0.14	0.13	0.17	0.00	<b>0.20</b>
<b>verb morphology</b>	0.48	0.68	0.48	0.27	0.46	0.31	0.27	<b>0.42</b>
<b>adverbs</b>	0.78	0.92	0.70	0.68	0.63	0.69	0.19	<b>0.65</b>
<b>negation</b>	0.33	0.56	0.51	0.29	0.40	0.34	0.26	<b>0.38</b>
<b>agreement</b>	0.33	0.62	0.45	0.36	0.33	0.21	0.28	<b>0.37</b>

Table 26. (continued) Feature group ratios according to **world region** (for all 46 varieties)

<i>feature group</i>	<i>British Isles (8 varieties)</i>	<i>America (9 varieties)</i>	<i>Caribbean (5 varieties)</i>	<i>Pacific (7 varieties)</i>	<i>Australia (4 varieties)</i>	<i>Africa (9 varieties)</i>	<i>Asia (4 varieties)</i>	<i>average feature group ratio</i>
<b>relativization</b>	0.34	0.35	0.39	0.28	0.23	0.25	0.09	<b>0.27</b>
<b>complementation</b>	0.33	0.53	0.34	0.29	0.38	0.30	0.40	<b>0.37</b>
<b>discourse organization</b>	0.48	0.75	0.68	0.63	0.72	0.42	0.69	<b>0.62</b>

Among other things, Table 26 shows that the two feature groups “adverbs” (i.e. adverbs and degree modifiers having the same form as adjectives; [42, 43]) and “discourse organization/word order” exhibit the by far highest group ratios. For the latter group, this is largely due to the lack of inversion/auxiliaries in *wh*-questions [73] and the lack of inversion in main clause *yes/no* questions [74]. Both are characteristic of spontaneous spoken English in most parts of the world, similar to [42] and [43].

From a regional perspective, Table 26 reflects the **differences between the world regions** as regards their relative degrees of non-standardness, as displayed in Table 7 in section 5. The American varieties have the highest feature group ratios throughout, closely followed by the Caribbean Creoles. The feature group ratios of the British Isles and Australia more or less correspond to the averages in the rightmost column, whereas the feature group ratios of the Pacific and African varieties are rather average or below average, and those of the Asian varieties below, partly far below, the average ratios for most feature groups. The only two feature groups for which the four Asian (remember: exclusively L2) varieties have higher-than-average feature ratios are “complementation” and “discourse organization/word order”. For the former group, this is due to *as what/than what* in comparative clauses [71] and, above all, to the inverted word order in indirect questions [69], which is categorical in ButlE, PakE, SgE and MalE. For the latter group, this is due to features [73] and [74], which are likewise pervasive in all four Asian varieties.

In Tables 27–29 the relevant feature group ratios are given for the L1 varieties, L2 varieties, and Pidgins and Creoles in the 46-varieties sample, in general, and in each of those world regions in which the relevant variety type is attested. The feature group ratios of the L1 varieties (Table 27) correspond to the average ratios across all 46 varieties in Table 26. Only the two modals features (double modals

[34] and epistemic *mustn't* [35]) exhibit clearly above-average ratios. These two features are largely restricted to L1 varieties. A brief comparison of the three tables will be given after Table 29.

Table 27. Feature group ratios according to world region for **L1 varieties only** (total: 20 varieties)

<i>feature group</i>	<i>British Isles (8 varieties)</i>	<i>America (7 varieties)</i>	<i>Pacific (2 varieties)</i>	<i>Australia (2 varieties)</i>	<i>Africa (1 variety)</i>	<i>average feature group ratio</i>
<b>pronouns</b>	0.43	0.55	0.33	0.54	0.23	<b>0.42</b>
<b>noun phrase</b>	0.46	0.62	0.36	0.46	0.36	<b>0.45</b>
<b>verb phrase</b>	0.24	0.32	0.19	0.15	0.23	<b>0.23</b>
<b>modal verbs</b>	0.31	0.54	0.25	0.25	0.25	<b>0.32</b>
<b>verb morphology</b>	0.48	0.73	0.38	0.38	0.00	<b>0.39</b>
<b>adverbs</b>	0.78	0.89	1.00	0.25	0.25	<b>0.63</b>
<b>negation</b>	0.33	0.55	0.36	0.33	0.11	<b>0.34</b>
<b>agreement</b>	0.33	0.66	0.28	0.13	0.13	<b>0.30</b>
<b>relativization</b>	0.34	0.36	0.36	0.29	0.14	<b>0.30</b>
<b>complementation</b>	0.33	0.51	0.25	0.45	0.30	<b>0.37</b>
<b>discourse organization</b>	0.48	0.75	0.63	0.81	0.13	<b>0.56</b>

Table 28. Feature group ratios according to world region for **L2 varieties only** (total: 11 varieties)

<i>feature group</i>	<i>America (1 variety)</i>	<i>Pacific (1 variety)</i>	<i>Africa (5 varieties)</i>	<i>Asia (4 varieties)</i>	<i>average feature group ratio</i>
<b>pronouns</b>	0.42	0.46	0.25	0.17	<b>0.33</b>
<b>noun phrase</b>	0.57	0.64	0.46	0.39	<b>0.52</b>
<b>verb phrase</b>	0.27	0.27	0.37	0.20	<b>0.28</b>
<b>modal verbs</b>	0.25	0.25	0.10	0.00	<b>0.15</b>

Table 28. (continued) Feature group ratios according to world region for **L2 varieties only** (total: 11 varieties)

<i>feature group</i>	<i>America (1 variety)</i>	<i>Pacific (1 variety)</i>	<i>Africa (5 varieties)</i>	<i>Asia (4 varieties)</i>	<i>average feature group ratio</i>
<b>verb morphology</b>	0.42	0.33	0.28	0.27	<b>0.33</b>
<b>adverbs</b>	1.00	0.75	0.80	0.19	<b>0.68</b>
<b>negation</b>	0.44	0.39	0.37	0.26	<b>0.37</b>
<b>agreement</b>	0.44	0.31	0.19	0.28	<b>0.30</b>
<b>relativization</b>	0.21	0.36	0.29	0.09	<b>0.24</b>
<b>complementation</b>	0.60	0.20	0.32	0.40	<b>0.38</b>
<b>discourse organization</b>	1.00	1.00	0.40	0.69	<b>0.77</b>

Table 29. Feature group ratios according to world region for **Pidgins and Creoles only** (total: 15 varieties)

<i>feature group</i>	<i>America (1 variety)</i>	<i>Caribbean (5 varieties)</i>	<i>Pacific (4 varieties)</i>	<i>Australia (2 varieties)</i>	<i>Africa (3 varieties)</i>	<i>average feature group ratio</i>
<b>pronouns</b>	0.69	0.54	0.34	0.56	0.32	<b>0.49</b>
<b>noun phrase</b>	0.36	0.54	0.29	0.46	0.40	<b>0.41</b>
<b>verb phrase</b>	0.38	0.35	0.18	0.23	0.41	<b>0.31</b>
<b>modal verbs</b>	0.75	0.10	0.06	0.00	0.25	<b>0.23</b>
<b>verb morphology</b>	0.58	0.48	0.21	0.54	0.44	<b>0.45</b>
<b>adverbs</b>	1.00	0.70	0.50	1.00	0.67	<b>0.77</b>
<b>negation</b>	0.72	0.51	0.22	0.47	0.37	<b>0.46</b>
<b>agreement</b>	0.50	0.45	0.41	0.53	0.27	<b>0.43</b>
<b>relativization</b>	0.43	0.39	0.21	0.18	0.21	<b>0.28</b>
<b>complementation</b>	0.60	0.34	0.33	0.30	0.27	<b>0.37</b>
<b>discourse organization</b>	0.50	0.68	0.53	0.63	0.54	<b>0.57</b>

Comparing the feature group ratios for L1 varieties in Table 27 with the corresponding ratios for L2 varieties and Pidgins/Creoles in Tables 28 and 29, the following emerges. **L1 varieties** clearly score much lower than the other two types of varieties for the tense and aspect group [21–33]. For the **L2 varieties**, the noun phrase features (notably due to double comparatives or superlatives [19] and, above all, the pervasively irregular use of articles [17]) and the feature group “discourse organization/word order”, for reasons spelt out above in connection with the Asian varieties [73, 74], are more prominent than in the other two variety groups. At the same time, the modals group and the relativization group score much lower. For example, not a single L2 variety has double modals; in only three of them is epistemic *mustn't* attested (ChcE, CamE, FijE). The most prominent feature groups for **Pidgins and Creoles** are “pronouns” (notably due to features [1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10]), “verb morphology” (especially due to zero past tense forms of regular verbs [40]), “negation” (due to *never* and *no* as preverbal negators, in particular), and “agreement” (notably due to variant forms of dummy subjects [56], *was/were* generalization [59], and above all due to the categorical deletion of *be* [57] and use of invariant present tense forms due to zero marking of 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular [54]).

Independently of the different sets of varieties, the following observations can be made for individual of the 11 feature groups, with a focus on worldwide prominence and group-internal correlations among features, in some cases even implicational hierarchies. For **pronouns** [1–13], the three by far most widely found features are *them* instead of demonstrative *those* [1], *me* instead of *I* in coordinate subjects [10] and, most astonishingly, special forms or phrases of 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural pronouns [3]. Two features stand out as being considerably more frequently found in L1 varieties than in L2 varieties or Pidgins and Creoles, namely *she/her* for inanimate referents [7] and the non-standard use of *us* [11]. The lack of number distinction in reflexives [6] and generic *he/his* for all genders [8] are most salient in Pidgins and Creoles. Among non-pronominal features relating in the widest sense to the **noun phrase** [14–20], the following three are most widely and pervasively attested: the absence of plural marking after measure nouns [14], which is near-categorical in the Pidgins and Creoles, the irregular use of articles [17], and double comparatives and superlatives [19]. Group plurals [15] and group genitives [16] are clearly more prominent in L1 than in non-L1 varieties.

The most prominent **tense and aspect** features [21–33] are, expectedly, the levelling of the difference between Present Perfect and Simple Past [25], a wider range of uses of the Progressive [21] and, some way behind, the loosening of the sequence of tenses rule [30]. More than half of the varieties (including all Pidgins and Creoles except for NigP and the SurCs) have at least one habitual marker [22–24]. As for the markers of past/perfect/completive or anterior, *be* as a perfect marker [26] is alive especially in L1 varieties, and completive *done* is a pervasive feature of America and the Caribbean. As mentioned earlier, the two

**modals** features in our catalogue are pretty rare: double modals [34] are restricted to the British Isles and America; something similar is true for epistemic *mustn't* [35], which however is found in three varieties outside these two world regions, namely JamC, NigP. and (marginally) Haw C. With the exception of the conservative feature *a*-prefixing on *ing*-forms, the **verb morphology** features [36–41] are found equally often across the world's non-standard varieties of English, all hovering around a feature ratio level of 0.5. In more than half of the 46 varieties in our sample, we find attested a levelling of the distinction between preterite and past participle forms in one or more ways: the strategy of regularizing irregular verb paradigms [36] or using unmarked forms [37] are attested slightly more frequently than the strategies of past tense forms or past participles replacing each other [38, 39]. Indeed, [36] is the sole levelling strategy in seven varieties and one of several strategies in 26 out of the 30 varieties which make use of any of these four levelling strategies.

The two **adverbs** features [42–43] are among the Worldwide Top 11. The first of these two, adverbs having the same form as adjectives, is attested in all L1 varieties and in the vast majority of the non-L1 varieties. Indeed, in 34 varieties both normal adverbs and degree modifier adverbs are identical in form to adjectives. The only noteworthy exception is AusVE, especially since it is an L1 variety, where neither feature is attested.

The **negation** group [44–52] includes several of the top features worldwide, with multiple negation [44], however, only as runner-up of *never* as preverbal past tense negator [49]. Of the three uses to which *ain't* is put in non-standard varieties of English, *ain't* as a generic negator before a main verb [47] is clearly least frequent; typically, *ain't* is used as the negated form of *be* and/or *have* [46]. Indeed, based on 18 out of the relevant 19 varieties it is possible to formulate the implicational hierarchy  $45 < 46 < 47$ . This reads: a variety that has the rightmost uses of *ain't* (i.e. those lower on the hierarchy) will also have the uses to the left of it (i.e. higher on the hierarchy), but not vice versa. In fact, we can even extend this hierarchy by including multiple negation, since all varieties which exhibit any use of *ain't* also make use of multiple negation, thus yielding the hierarchy:  $44 < 45 < 46 < 47$ . Another fairly widespread negation feature, invariant *don't* for all persons in the present tense [48], is found in L1 and L2 varieties much more than in Pidgins and Creoles.

Among the **agreement** features [53–60], the four most widely attested ones are existential/presentational *there's* etc. [55], invariant present tense forms due to 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular zero marking [53] (frequent in all world regions apart from the British Isles), *be*-deletion [57] and *was/were* generalization [59]. [55] is categorical in all L1 varieties (except for Norfolk); [59] is also a typical L1 feature (attested in 14 out of the 20 L1 varieties in the sample) and only rarely found in L2 varieties. *Be*-deletion [57], on the other hand, is categorical in Pidgins and Creoles, found in six of the eleven L2 varieties, but only in five L1 varieties. Interestingly, the so-called Northern Subject Rule is attested in eight varieties (six L1, two L2)

from five world regions: IrE, North of England; SEAmE, AppE, Earlier AAVE, BahE, CamE, and ButLE.

The use of resumptive pronouns [67] and zero-relativization in subject position [66] are the two most prominent features in the **relativization** group [61–67], followed by the relative particle *what* [61] and the use of *what* or *that* in non-restrictive contexts [62]. The use of resumptive pronouns in relative clauses is by far most prominent in L2 varieties (only PakE does not seem to make use of them); it is also that relativization feature with the highest feature ratio in Pidgins and Creoles. Zero-relativization, on the other hand, is very rare among L2 varieties, more frequent in Pidgins and Creoles and most frequently attested for L1 varieties.

Of the five **complementation** features [68–72] the two top features are the inverted word order in indirect questions [69] followed by *as what/than what* in comparative clauses [71]. Both features are widely attested in L1 and L2 varieties, but only exceptionally for Pidgins and Creoles (Gullah, for example, is the only creole in the sample with both of these features). A typical L1 feature is *unsplit for to* in infinitival purpose clauses [70] (attested in only two L2 varieties and not in a single Pidgin or Creole), whereas *say*-based complementizers [68] and, especially, serial verbs [72] are characteristic of Pidgins and Creoles.

The last feature group in our catalogue, **discourse organization and word order** [73–76], includes two of the Worldwide Top 11, namely the lack of inversion/auxiliaries in *wh*-questions [73] and the lack of inversion in main clause *yes/no* questions [74]. These two are categorical in Pidgins and Creoles (i.e. ‘A’-ratings for every single Pidgin or Creole variety in the sample); similarly [74] is categorical and [73] near-categorical in L2 varieties. Least widely attested are these two features in L1 varieties. To some extent, we find the reverse situation for *like* as a focussing device [75] and as a quotative particle [76]: these two features are only rarely found in Pidgins and Creoles, in half of the L2 varieties and in 75 % of the L1 varieties ([75] most pervasively in the British Isles, [76] most pervasively in America). Out of the 24 varieties in which these two features are attested, 18 varieties make use of *like* in both these functions.

## 8. Conclusion

In this synopsis we have tried to throw into relief the morphosyntactic features of non-standard varieties of English from a global, regional and variety-specific perspective (L1, L2, Pidgins and Creoles). The approach adopted here has allowed us to identify, among other things, the top candidates for vernacular universals (section 4.2) and universals of New Englishes (section 6.4). Some of the vernacular universals on a global scale as well some of those morphosyntactic features which are among the top lists in only one or two world regions stand a good chance of becoming part of Spoken Standard English around the globe, or at least of the

spoken standard of the relevant world region (cf. also Kortmann, to appear). In general, the authors hope that this synopsis and the more detailed information given in the master table and the interactive world maps on the CD-ROM provide a useful tool and standard of comparison against which the (naturally, far more detailed) findings for individual features, feature groups and (sets of) varieties can be judged, giving the relevant findings by specialists their appropriate place in the general picture. A similar approach would seem worthwhile adopting for mapping the range and extent of morphosyntactic variation in other languages (e.g. Spanish, French, German).

Finally then, as befits a *Handbook of Varieties of English*, Table 30 will conclude this synopsis, showing where on a scale of morphosyntactic non-standardness the 46 varieties included in the present survey rank:

Table 30. Variety ratios (VRs) for L1 varieties, L2 varieties and Pidgins/Creoles

	<b>L 1</b>	<b>L2</b>	<b>Pidgins and Creoles</b>
VR	Ø 0.42	Ø 0.32	Ø 0.40
TOP	≥ 0.6	NfldE, SEAmE, Urban AAVE CamE	—
	≥ 0.5	IrE, North England, OzE	— JamC, BelC, Gullah, Tob/TrnC
MIDDLE	≥ 0.4	CollAmE, AppE, NZE, Earlier AAVE	ChcE, FijE AbE, NigP, BahE
	≥ 0.3	AusVE, East Anglia, WelE, ScE, CollAusE, Southwest England	InSAfE, BISAfE, ButIE AusCs, HawC, Camp, SolP, GhP
BOTTOM	≥ 0.2	Southeast England, Norfolk, Orkney & Shetland	SgE, MalE, Pake Bislama, SurCs, TP
	≥ 0.1	WhSAfE	StGhE, EAfE —

### Note

Bernd Kortmann is responsible for the design of the feature catalogue and the present survey in general, and has authored the present chapter. Benedikt Szmrecsanyi processed all the input from the informants, prepared the tables forming the basis for all statistical evaluations, and checked the classifications against the available information in the relevant handbook chapters. Both authors would like to thank all informants again for their smooth cooperation, and to repeat the invitation issued to the readers at the end of section 1: please, do join in and send us your comments and information on varieties not yet covered in the present survey!



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