

An Introduction to American English

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Language Politics in the United States: English and Other Languages

We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language: for we intend to see that the crucible turns people out as Americans, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding house.
President Theodore Roosevelt

10.1 Introduction

Although English is the dominant language, over three hundred other languages are currently also used in the United States. There are both Native American languages that were spoken before the arrival of the English-speaking colonists, and immigrant languages other than English. In this chapter I will give a survey of the language situation in the United States and describe some political and educational issues that have arisen from the linguistic diversity of the country. I will begin by discussing the collection of information in 10.2 and go on to discuss Native American languages in 10.3 and immigrant languages in 10.4. In 10.5 I will discuss the political issues, including English language laws and bilingual education.

10.2 Population Structure and Linguistic Diversity

As a background to the language situation in the United States it is useful to first consider the population structure of the country as it was presented at the end of chapter 2. The data come from the *census*, a population count that takes place every ten years. The main reason for conducting the census is not linguistic but the need to revise electoral districts and to calculate funding for federal benefits, but on the census form a number of questions are also asked regarding people's ethnic identity and their linguistic abilities and habits. Thus one of the questions concerns the language spoken at home and another concerns people's knowledge of English, whether they speak it "very well," "well," "not well," or "not at all."

The census form itself is a good example of the linguistic diversity of the country and of multilingualism as practiced. A census form is sent out to every household in the United States. The default language of these questionnaires is English, but it is possible to request forms in Spanish, Chinese, Tagalog (spoken in the Philippines), Vietnamese, or Korean. If that doesn't help there are booklets explaining the questionnaire in forty-nine different languages, including Amharic, Chamorro, Dari, Dinka, Farsi, Hmong, Ilocano, and Romani, to mention just a few of them.

Let us start with languages spoken by descendants of the inhabitants of North America when Europeans first started colonizing the continent, the Native Americans.

10.3 Native American Languages

There is enormous diversity among Native American languages: this is because they belong to a whole range of language families that are as different from each other as for instance Indo-European, Semitic, and Bantu languages. Currently there are about thirty-five different language families in North America, many of which comprise several languages. Most of these Native American languages are dying or endangered languages, and many have only a few speakers left, which means that they will have disappeared within another generation or two. (See Mithun 1999.)

Some of the most important Native American languages now surviving in the United States are listed in table 10.1. The table includes only languages spoken by 9,000 people or more in the United States and neighboring countries; there are many more languages that have fewer speakers. Many more

Table 10.1 Some important Native American language families and languages spoken in the United States (based on Finegan 1998: 486ff)

Family	Language	Number of speakers	Area
Eskimo-Aleut	Inuit	21,500	Alaska, Canada
	Yupic	16,000	Alaska, Siberia
	Cree	67,000	Montana, Canada
Algonquian	Ojibwa	>50,000	Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, Canada
	Blackfoot	9,000	Montana, Canada
Muskegean	Choctaw-Chickasaw	9,200	Oklahoma, Mississippi, Louisiana
	Navaho	150,000	Arizona, Utah, New Mexico
Athabaskan	Western Apache	11,000	Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Dakotas, Canada
	Dakota	19,000	Oldahoma, North Carolina
Iroquoian	Cherokee	22,500	Arizona, Mexico
Uto-Aztecan	Yaqui	17,000	

are extinct and survive only in place names. (See 4.7.1.) As appears from the table, the most robust of the Native American languages is Navaho, spoken in Arizona, with 150,000 speakers. Cree, spoken in Montana, comes second, with about 67,000 speakers. (See further Finegan 1998: 486ff.)

Hawaii should also be mentioned in this context, as Hawaiian was spoken there before the Americans arrived. The first Hawaiians were of Polynesian descent and spoke a Polynesian language whose typical phonological structure appears in place names such as *Honolulu*, *Mau*, *Kauai*, *Molokai*. There are now only a few hundred speakers left of the Hawaiian language. (Many people on the Hawaiian islands speak an English-based creole called *Dat Kine Talk*, literally 'that kind of talk,' which originated among immigrant workers from Japan and other East Asian countries.)

10.4 Immigrant Languages

English has now become the most successful and widespread of all the immigrant languages in North America, but it was not always obvious that that

would be the outcome. Beginning in the early seventeenth century, North America was colonized by Europeans not only from England but also from France, with the latter settling mostly in present-day Canada. There were also a substantial number of Spanish speakers; in fact there was a Spanish settlement as early as 1565 in St. Augustine, Florida, before any English colonists had settled in Roanoke, Jamestown and Plymouth. However, the core areas of what was to become the United States, the thirteen colonies along the Atlantic Seaboard, were definitely English-speaking, and they were administered in English by the English Crown. After the American Revolution, the Constitution was written in English and English remained the language of laws and administration.

However, as the United States expanded westward, large territories were incorporated where French and Spanish were spoken. The state of Louisiana still has speakers of French. They are called *Cajuns* (from *Acadians*), because they are descended from inhabitants of Acadia in north-eastern Canada, who either migrated or were deported to this area by the British during the Seven Years' War in the mid-eighteenth century. Spanish was spoken in what is now Texas, New Mexico and California, and in the surrounding areas. In the twentieth century, the position of Spanish has been enormously strengthened by immigration from Meso-America and South America.

Later groups of immigrants from Europe and the Near East spoke German, Polish, Yiddish, Hungarian, Italian, Greek, and Scandinavian languages, to mention only the languages spoken by the largest population groups (see table 10.2). German was an especially important language: in the early nineteenth century, the proportion of German-speaking Americans was larger than that of Spanish-speakers today. Between 1830 and 1890, five million Germans settled in the United States, and some public schools in the Midwest were run entirely in German during this period. There are still many German speakers, especially in Pennsylvania; their language is called *Pennsylvania Dutch* (Dutch being derived from *Deutsch*, 'German').

Most immigrant families have lost their native languages, however, usually in a span of three generations. There is a typical pattern: the first generation arrives speaking their native language and acquires broken English, and the next generation learns English at school but speaks the parents' language at home. They then often avoid speaking the language of the old country to their children in order to promote their Americanness, and the third generation thus loses the grandparents' language. (Many other factors are at work here too, such as intermarriage between persons from different language groups.) This is what has happened to a large number of immigrant languages. In fact, it has been said that "the United States is a veritable cemetery of foreign languages" (Portes and Hao 1998: 269). Yiddish has proved somewhat more resistant, but it too is now spoken by a decreasing number of

Table 10.2 The fifty languages (other than English) with the greatest number of speakers in the United States (based on speakers' own assessments in the 1990 census; census data from 2000 not available)

Language	Number of speakers	Language	Numbers of speakers
1 Spanish	17,339,172	26 Gujarathi	102,418
2 French	1,702,176	27 Ukrainian	96,568
3 German	1,547,099	28 Czech	92,485
4 Italian	1,308,648	29 Pennsylvania Dutch	183,525
5 Chinese	1,249,213	30 Miao (Hmong)	81,877
6 Tagalog	843,251	31 Norwegian	80,723
7 Polish	723,483	32 Slovak	80,388
8 Korean	626,478	33 Swedish	77,511
9 Vietnamese	507,069	34 Serbo-croatian	70,964
10 Portuguese	429,860	35 Kru	65,848
11 Japanese	427,657	36 Rumanian	65,265
12 Greek	388,260	37 Lithuanian	55,781
13 Arabic	355,150	38 Finnish	54,350
14 Hindi (Urdu)	331,484	39 Farsi	50,005
15 Russian	241,798	40 Formosan	46,044
16 Yiddish	213,064	41 Croatian	45,206
17 Thai (Laotian)	106,266	42 Turkish	41,876
18 Persian	201,865	43 Ilocano	41,131
19 French Creole	187,658	44 Bengali	38,101
20 Armenian	149,694	45 Danish	35,639
21 Navaho	148,530	46 Syriac	35,146
22 Hungarian	147,902	47 Samoan	34,914
23 Hebrew	144,292	48 Malayalam	33,949
24 Dutch	142,684	49 Cajun	33,670
25 Mon-Khmer (Cambodian)	127,441	50 Amharic	31,505
		TOTAL	31,884,979

people. The great exception is Chinese: Chinese-Americans have often lived in close-knit communities and there are still many Chinese-Americans whose families have been in the country for many generations but whose English is heavily accented. However, as the United States is still a country of immigrants, there is a constant influx of speakers of languages other than English. In 1990, the number of speakers of foreign languages was 31.8 million or about 13 percent of the total US population. California, Texas, New York, Florida, Illinois, and New Jersey have the highest concentration of language minority groups. Over 50 percent of the language minority speakers are

native-born, including the Native Americans, the Alaska Natives and the Hawaiians. Yet in fact close to 90 percent of the people now living in the United States speak only one language: English. Today, over one-half of the minority speakers use Spanish. A surprisingly large ethnic minority speaks French, over 5 percent, followed by German (5 percent), Chinese (4 percent), and Italian (4 percent). Most of these people are bilingual, however. Today's immigrants are largely Hispanic and Asian. Although the Hispanics are still the largest group, the most rapidly growing immigrant groups are Asian.

10.5 Language Politics in the United States

With so many different peoples and languages there are bound to be linguistic as well as other problems and conflicts. I will begin with a few historical facts, starting with education. (See further Baron 1990, Crawford 1995, Crystal 1997, Jiménez 1992, and McKay 1997.)

10.5.1 Language and education: A historical survey

At the beginning of the twentieth century, schools for Native Americans often saw it as their duty not just to teach English to Indian children but to eradicate their native tongues. Children were sent to English-speaking schools, often boarding schools, where they were severely punished for using their own languages. Obviously they suffered, and to protect their own children, many Native Americans purposely refrained from passing on their native language to the next generation.

German is another example: As mentioned above, German was used for teaching in schools during the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth. However, at the beginning of the twentieth century there was an Americanization campaign, and during World War I anti-German feelings ran high. Many states forbade teaching in or of German or even its use on the telephone or in church, and German books were burned in public. By the early 1920s, more than twenty states had declared English their official language and had forbidden teaching in languages other than English, but in 1923, the Supreme Court struck down such laws. The Supreme Court declared that the "protection of the constitution extends to all, to those who speak other languages as well as to those born with English on the tongue."

An interesting case concerns the Chinese population in California. The Chinese had come to California as poor railway builders in the mid-nineteenth

century. They were treated as outcasts and were first denied any education at all until 1885, and then they were taught (in English) in segregated schools with only Chinese students. This was declared illegal in 1929, but the schools remained segregated in practice, as the students tended to live in areas that were populated exclusively by Chinese, like Chinatown in San Francisco. The result was that although the Chinese-American students were taught in English and had English-language textbooks, they failed to learn English well enough to take up qualified jobs that required a good command of the language.

In general students having mother tongues other than English were given no extra attention in English-only classrooms – the principle was “sink or swim” – until the 1960s. At that time, growing concern about the high dropout rates among Mexican-American students in the Southwest prompted a survey by the National Education Association. This resulted in a federal law, the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, which created a federal grant program to fund teacher training and research on effective teaching methods as well as various educational projects. Most of the money goes to schools where the students' native language is used.

In 1970 the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare issued guidelines for how bilingual education should be carried out. They were based on the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin. Earlier the practice had often been to put students with limited English proficiency, so called IEP students, in classes for the mentally retarded, or to exclude them from college preparatory classes. This was no longer allowed, and schools were explicitly ordered to teach English to IEP students as quickly as possible.

Even this did not help everywhere. In San Francisco the parents of Chinese-American students did not consider that their children were getting a proper education. They sued the San Francisco public schools for failing to provide equal educational opportunity, and the case was fought all the way up to the Supreme Court. In 1974 the Court made its landmark decision in the case *Lau v. Nichols* (Kinney Lau was the name of one of the Chinese-American students). It stated that children have a right to education in their native language if they do not know English, and that the San Francisco school district had violated the children's civil rights. The Court declared clearly: “[T]here is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education.”

On the basis of other court cases a test was set up to evaluate bilingual education as regarded the underlying theory, programs, their implementation,

and their results. Other lawsuits have followed, but the concept of bilingual education is still not uniformly and clearly defined. Many models are possible, with the two extremes being *transitional programs* and *bilingual maintenance programs*. Transitional programs are designed to teach English as a second language as quickly as possible so that it can be used to teach all subjects. Bilingual maintenance programs are designed to promote stable bilingualism, and students are taught the various subjects in both English and the language spoken in their homes. Bilingual education of the maintenance program type has now been made illegal in several states, however (see 10.5.6 below).

An interesting problem arose in the mid-nineties in Oakland, California. If African American Vernacular English (AAVE) was not a dialect of English but a separate language derived from African languages as some people contended, then obviously African Americans would qualify for bilingual education grants, which could improve the poor performance of students. This reasoning was at the basis of the big “Bbonics controversy,” which started when the Oakland school board issued a resolution in December 1996. Its wording could be interpreted to mean that AAVE or Bbonics was a separate language, not a dialect of English. Logically, then, black children would be eligible for federal bilingual grants and be instructed both in their primary language and in English.

This resolution and the policy statement that accompanied it caused an enormous stir not just locally but nationwide, lasting for several months. Speakers of other languages such as Chinese, Japanese, Russian, etc. feared that the money would be taken from their bilingual programs. Many blacks were also skeptical. Non-linguists, who thought that AAVE was just an inferior variety spoken by lazy people who couldn't be bothered to speak “proper English,” reacted with horror at the thought that AAVE should actually be used in schools. There were floods of newspaper articles and letters to the editor, most of them full of misunderstandings and misconceptions. Linguists were consulted as well, and they made it clear that AAVE is not a language separate from English. Consequently, its speakers could not qualify for bilingual education grants.¹

For most Native Americans bilingual education is not an issue, as their tribal languages have been lost, but there is now a law promoting language maintenance and revival, the Native American Languages Act, signed by President Bush in 1990. It is a grant program designed “to ensure the survival and continuing vitality of Native American languages.” However, in many cases, this means that the languages are taught as second or foreign languages, and that they are being artificially revived.

10.5.2 For "Official English"

Although English has long been the dominant language in the United States, it has never legally been declared its official language. Neither the Declaration of Independence nor the Constitution makes any mention of it; they were both written in English as a matter of course. However, in 1981, Senator S. I. Hayakawa from California, a Japanese-American language scholar, proposed a constitutional amendment to make English the official language of the United States. This *English Language Amendment (ELA)* failed to be accepted by the Senate, but it sparked a debate that is still going on.

After Hayakawa's ELA had failed to pass, he went on in 1983 to co-found an organization called US English, which has 1.4 million members nationwide today. This organization continues to lobby for an amendment to the US Constitution, but it also coordinates and supports efforts to make English the official language at state level. According to the US English homepage, their goal is as follows: "Official government business at all levels must be conducted solely in English. This includes all public documents, records, legislation and regulations, as well as hearings, official ceremonies and public meetings."

Exceptions from Official English legislation could be made concerning public health and safety services, judicial proceedings (although actual trials would be conducted in English), foreign language instruction, and the promotion of tourism. US English calls its policy "Official English," and its supporters clearly favor the idea that individuals of varying backgrounds should be fused into a nation with a single culture and a single language. They maintain that the assimilation into the United States "has always included the adoption of English as the common means of communication" (US English website).

In 1986, another organization called *English First* was founded. This organization now counts 140,000 members. English First pursues the same policies as US English but also explicitly opposes bilingual ballots and bilingual education. Members of these groups are often conservative politicians or businesspeople, and they also get support from organizations whose goal it is to restrict immigration, such as the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), Americans for Border Control and Californians for Population Stabilization.

10.5.3 Against "English Only"

Many people fear that "Official English" will mean "English Only" if it is introduced, and they too have founded organizations to represent their views and interests. These organizations support the acquisition and use of English by all

American residents and citizens, but they also insist on the importance of second-language training and proficiency for speakers of other languages. They therefore strive to further the development of bilingual education of immigrant and other linguistic minority children in US schools and the extension of social services available in languages other than English. They also encourage literacy programs for adult immigrants and the teaching of English as a second language.

One such group is *English Plus*, founded in 1987 and supported by the League of United Latin American Citizens. A sub-group within this organization has proposed a *Cultural Rights Amendment (CRA)* to the Constitution to ensure that bilingualism would be supported in the United States. The CRA constitutes a direct counterproposal to Hayakawa's ELA. English Plus considers bilingualism a national resource and consequently makes efforts to preserve it.

Numerous other organizations also oppose the ELA. Among these are the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the federally funded Center for Applied Linguistics, the National Association for Bilingual Education, the National Council of La Raza and the National Education Association (NEA).

Many opponents of the ELA worry that, if passed, it would breed a climate of intolerance. They also fear that US English and English First are intentionally using the "Official English" policy as a smoke screen for a more radical goal, that of suppressing the culture of ethnic minorities and making English the only language encouraged in the United States.

10.5.4 Arguments in the debate

This section summarizes some of the arguments most often heard in the debate concerning English language laws. They concern the pros and cons of a multilingual society, i.e. a society where many languages (and therefore cultures) are allowed to co-exist, as compared with a monolingual society, i.e. one where a single language (in this case English) prevails.

One language is necessary for national unity

The supporters of the English Language Amendment feel that one language, i.e. English, is necessary to preserve national unity. The US English web-site claims that "a common language is necessary to preserve the basic internal unity required for political stability and national cohesion."

The opponents of the ELA argue that national unity depends on factors other than linguistic ones, that national conflicts originate in social and economic

problems, and that bilingualism simply constitutes a convenient scapegoat for popular simplifications of a complex situation.

Multilingualism is a threat to the American language and culture

According to the US English movement, the growing number of immigrants poses a threat to general English proficiency and constitutes a disrupting influence on American culture.

Opponents of US English argue that there is no threat to general English proficiency as most immigrants really want to learn English. Their difficulties in learning English stem more from a lack of opportunity than any lack of willingness to learn. The demand for English classes is often higher than the English-teaching capacities.

Furthermore, even if immigrants themselves do not learn English, the next generation tends to automatically shift to English. Seventy-five percent of all Hispanic immigrants speak English frequently each day. Thirty-three percent of Hispanic children in the Southwest and 20 percent in New York are English-speaking monolinguals. Less than 6 percent of the language minority population do not speak any English at all.

Multilingualism is a threat to education

Those who support the ELA often claim that bilingual education only confuses schoolchildren and that the government funds that are spent on bilingual education could be used for more worthwhile causes. They maintain that the brain can master only one language at a time, and that bilingualism causes cognitive problems.

However, there is linguistic research that has shown that children can learn a second language as competently as a native speaker. In fact proficiency in more than one language enhances the cognitive abilities of schoolchildren. According to this research, proficiency in one's mother tongue actually helps in the acquisition of English or any other second language.

Multilingualism is expensive

Those who support the ELA claim that the government incurs great costs by communicating with the various language groups in their own languages.

However, when the opponents of the ELA sampled 400,000 federal documents they found that less than 0.1 percent were in a language other than English. And, after all, some documents must reach the entire population, such as communications concerning health care and social benefits.

10.5.5 English language laws

Every year, Republicans propose several bills to make English the official language of the whole of the United States, but so far, they have all failed. At the state level, however, such laws have been much more successful.

By June 1999, twenty-three states had made English their official language, but in some cases there were appeals, so that the laws were not enacted. Thus in Alabama and Alaska English language laws have been blocked, and in Arizona the law was overturned by the state Supreme Court in April 1998.

The states in which English language laws are in force at the time of writing are the ones listed below, with the years of enactment in parentheses. In addition, official English bills or anti-bilingual education initiatives were considered in the year 2000 in Arizona, Colorado, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, and Utah.²

Alabama (1990)	Montana (1995)
Arkansas (1987)	Nebraska (1923)
California (1986)	New Hampshire (1995)
Colorado (1988)	North Carolina (1987)
Florida (1988)	North Dakota (1987)
Georgia (1996)	South Carolina (1987)
Illinois (1969)	South Dakota (1995)
Indiana (1984)	Tennessee (1984)
Kentucky (1984)	Virginia (1981)
Mississippi (1987)	Wyoming (1996)
Missouri (1998)	

A couple of states are officially bilingual. New Mexico has always had a large Spanish-speaking population and has been officially bilingual since 1912. All its government documents are printed in both Spanish and English. Hawaii became a bilingual state in 1978, and has both English and Hawaiian as its official state languages even though Hawaiian is spoken on a daily basis by only a few hundred people. In these two states the use of both languages for government, business and private affairs is protected and even encouraged.

English language laws differ from state to state, and so do their interpretations. Thus for instance, although California has declared that English is to be its official language, there are still multilingual ballots, and much of the informational literature provided to parents by schools is issued in a wide variety of languages.

On the other hand, after California made English its official state language several cities enacted ordinances limiting the amount of foreign language material that was allowed to appear on private business signs. Some companies in California now demand that their employees speak only English in the workplace. In one California hospital, employees were forbidden to speak anything but English during their lunch breaks. In Miami, Florida, a supermarket cashier was suspended after speaking Spanish on the job. In Monterey Park, California, Asian language books were removed from libraries and laws prohibiting bilingual signs have repeatedly been proposed. The legal situation is not clear, however, and many such regulations are being contested in the courts.

10.5.6 Bilingual education: The case of California

Although bilingual education receives federal support through the Bilingual Education Act, much of the money used for bilingual education is contributed by the individual states. As we saw above, the value of bilingual education has been debated for a long time, on financial grounds as well as on the basis of results. In particular, many parents and students have felt that bilingual education did not provide sufficient proficiency in English.

California is an interesting case in this context, as it has the largest population of non-English speakers of all the states (around 8.6 million, which is more than twice as many as Texas, which comes second). California also has 10 percent of all the public school children in the United States. Its bilingual education laws were of the maintenance type, and mathematics, social studies and science were taught in the students' native languages. In 1998, there was a ballot initiative, Proposition 227, to abolish bilingual education. The proposition was the result of an initiative by the computer industry entrepreneur Ron Unz, who considered bilingual education to be a waste of public money, and who funded the campaign against it. A large number of educators and many linguists fought against Proposition 227, but it won by a large majority when it was submitted to a referendum. Students now first have to take part in an "English immersion program" for up to one year and then take all subjects in English. Those who wish to be taught some of their subjects in their native languages now have to apply for waivers (exceptions) from the new law, and they are a minority. Two years after the referendum, newspapers report that the abolition of bilingual education has been a success as far as English proficiency is concerned: areas where no waivers have been issued report increases in English proficiency among their students.¹

However, the claim that English language proficiency automatically brings economic prosperity is not always correct. Thus, although the English of Puerto

Ricans living in New York has improved over the years, their economic situation continually deteriorated in the 1970s and 1980s, when studies were made. Social and cultural factors are obviously also important factors for success or failure.

10.6 American English in the United States and in the World

As we have seen in this chapter, American English has a battle to fight on its home ground. As long as the United States remains a country committed to receiving immigrants from other countries, there will be a steady influx of speakers of other languages. Whether their descendants will be able to retain their mother tongues while acquiring sufficient English to function well in the United States is an open question. It is possible that foreign languages with a large number of speakers such as Spanish will dominate in large parts of metropolitan areas such as New York, Miami, and Los Angeles. How the influx of new languages into the United States will affect standard American English is also a much-debated question, but as we saw in chapter 5, foreign languages have had little impact on the English of the United States so far.

However, there is no doubt that American English is conquering the world and is becoming a model for teaching in an increasing number of non-English-speaking countries. As is always the case with languages that become successful and dominant (as for instance with Latin, Chinese, or Russian in the past) this happens not because these languages are inherently easier to learn or in any way superior to other languages, but for economic, political and cultural reasons. American dominance in the world of finance, science, computers, and movies has led to linguistic dominance as well. It is my hope that this book will help both learners and teachers of American English to better understand its background, structure and current use.

Notes

- 1 Unfortunately some very good ideas in the Oakland school board resolution got lost in the turmoil, e.g. that children should be taught by instructors who knew the system of AAVE, which would facilitate the acquisition of Standard English. See Rickford (1999: 329ff).
- 2 The information is taken, with permission, from James Crawford's website <http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/IWR.CRAWFORD>.

- 3 Jacques Steinberg, "Big surprise after ending bilingual ed." *The New York Times and The San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle*, August 20, 2000.

Recommended Reading

- Crawford, James (ed.) (1992) *Language Loyalties*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. This book contains a wealth of articles on various aspects of bilingual education and other matters of language policy.
- Hinton, Leanne (1994) *Flutes of Fire*. Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books. A beautifully written account of the situation of California Native Americans and their languages.
- Rickford, John (1999) *African American Vernacular English*. Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell. Part III of this book gives excellent information concerning the Ebonics controversy and the underlying issues.

Websites

Pro-multilingualism:

- ACLU website: <http://www.aclu.org/congress/chen.html>. American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California: On implications of Official English legislation for civil liberties.
- James Crawford: <http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/WCRAWFORD/A>. Very detailed website put together by the independent lecturer and writer James Crawford. This site provides a list of links to other websites, both pro and contra multilingualism, and gives access to a variety of online resources.
- ERIC Digests: http://www.ed.gov/databases/ERIC_Digests/ed407881.html. Educational Resources Information Center: Myths about language diversity and literacy in the United States.
- ERIC Digests: http://www.ed.gov/databases/ERIC_Digests/ed406849.html. Educational Resources Information Center: Official English and English Plus: an update.

Anti-multilingualism:

- English First: <http://www.englishfirst.org>. Official homepage: this page lists a series of links to related websites, both pro and contra multilingualism.
- US English: <http://www.us-english.org>. Official homepage: this page provides access to a variety of anti-multilingualism material such as US English campaign material, online media resources, etc.

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