

A DIALECT SURVEY OF GRAND BANK, NEWFOUNDLAND

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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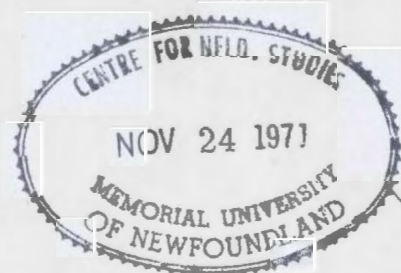
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A DIALECT SURVEY
OF
GRAND BANK, NEWFOUNDLAND

by



Ronald G. Noseworthy

A THESIS
submitted to the Faculty of the Department
of Linguistics
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of
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ABSTRACT

In order to adequately sample the regional speech of the people of Grand Bank, twenty-one informants from the three main age-groups were selected, with at least one informant in each group having attained a relatively high level of education. These people were involved with a variety of occupations although most of them were, or had been, connected with the fishery.

In Chapter I, a brief history of the town is presented, showing its French origins, its later settling by people from the British Isles -- particularly Southwest England, and its development into one of the most important fishing towns in Newfoundland.

Chapter 2 is mainly a phonemic treatment of the sound system of the Grand Bank informants, with each phoneme and its allophones listed and then briefly discussed. Although there was a fairly high degree of variation in the idiolects of the informants, there are certain features which are characteristic of their speech. These are the prevalence of the glottal stop [ʔ] which occurs instead of a variety of voiced and unvoiced consonants, the initial and intervocalic addition of /h/ and also its initial dropping, and the unexpected off-glides, /w/ and /y/, which frequently occur in vowel sequences. Also many vowels are lengthened, or modified by fronting, retraction, raising, and lowering, and [a] and [ɒ] occur where most

other speakers of English use [ɔ]. There is also much assimilation and dropping of consonants which is probably caused by the relatively rapid speech of most of the informants.

Selected features of the informants' grammar are discussed in Chapter 3, according to the main parts of speech. The most frequent of those features were several forms of the verb "be", especially the form "bees", non-standard forms of the past tense and past participle for many verbs, and several interesting forms of pronouns. Also interesting is the prevalence of the adjective qualifiers "some" and "right", and the various forms of "either" and "neither" when used as noun-determiners.

In Chapter 4, selected vocabulary items are dealt with. The number of informants using each term is listed and their explanations of those terms are discussed. Reference is also made to the English Dialect Dictionary if any of the above terms are found there. The vocabulary of the informants was particularly rich in terms connected with the fishery, and the oldest age-group, those who were seventy years of age or older, used the greatest variety of terms.

Chapter 5 summarizes the survey, and factors which probably influenced the idiolects of the informants are discussed. Education was especially important and so was age, but to a lesser degree. The differences in sex, and cultural change, -- the decline of the Bank fishery, especially influenced the vocabulary of the informants. The dialect of the people of Grand Bank is closely related to that of Southwest England.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"No man is an island." This proverb closely applies to dialectology because, without informants and, indeed, the assistance of skilled and experienced persons, there is little of value that can be achieved. In writing this thesis I have found this to be the case, and there is, therefore, a large number of people to whom I am deeply indebted.

First of all, I must thank my twenty-one informants in Grand Bank for volunteering their time and co-operation and, in many cases, their enthusiasm, while the fieldwork was being done. The questionnaires were extensive, the hours long, but they came through with flying colors. Gratitude is also expressed to my father, Mr. Ronald Noseworthy, for his deep interest in my work and his help in collecting tapes of the informant's speech, from which I could make supplementary word lists to reinforce my questionnaire material.

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INTRODUCTION

The town of Grand Bank, with a population of approximately four thousand, is located in Fortune Bay on the Burin Peninsula, on Newfoundland's South Coast. The nearest town is Fortune, about four miles by road in a westerly direction and, to the northeast, the nearest large town is Marystown, about forty miles away by road. Grand Bank lies in a southwesterly direction from St. John's which, by road, is two hundred thirty miles away.

The major portion of the town lies to the west of the estuary of Grand Bank Brook on pleasantly undulating land rising about sixty feet above sea level. On the eastern side of the brook, most people live either along its bank or along Marine Drive, which parallels the shoreline for a distance of about a mile. Even though there is ample room for expansion, most of the town is crowded together, with many narrow streets and lanes. The total inhabited area is approximately one hundred seventy-five acres.

To the northwest of the town lies Grand Bank Cape with a deep, sheltered cove, Admiral's Cove, beside it. From Grand Bank Cape to Point Enragée, a distance of about twenty-four miles east northeast, the coast embraces a circular bay in which the shore is low with several sandy beaches, behind which are brackish water ponds, or "barrisways,"

good only for small boats. Fortune Bay is ice-free in the winter.

The climate is the mildest in Newfoundland and, probably, in Eastern Canada, with the exception of the southern tip of Nova Scotia, around Yarmouth. The average snowfall, compared with the rest of Newfoundland, is small, with the average January temperature being 28^o F. The summers are somewhat cool, with an average July temperature of about 60^o F., caused by occasional fog and the cool breezes from the sea.

Grand Bank is an old town with a rich seafaring tradition. In this survey I will attempt to describe the varied and interesting regional speech of its people, many of whose ancestors have lived in the town since the earlier half of the eighteenth century. Because of the large amount of information collected, only the more interesting or unusual dialectal features will be described. Initials only of each informant's name will be given.

I. A BRIEF HISTORY OF GRAND BANK

The origin of the town of Grand Bank will probably never be clearly known because of the absence of any known records concerning the first settlers in the area. Though my background research has been very extensive, the first mention of Grand Bank that could be found was a report on the French census of 1687¹ for the south and west coasts of the island of Newfoundland, from Placentia west, then held by the French. This census gave Grand Bank a population of forty-five persons, the great majority of whom were servants. There were three homes and also a church. The large number of servants for just two families suggests the possibility that the first settlers of Grand Bank were French "planters" or owners of fishing plantations. A plantation of this type was a certain area along the coast granted to a person where he could fish and also a portion of land where he could grow crops to supply his own needs.

The presence of forty-five persons living on two plantations, in 1687, shows that Grand Bank was probably settled earlier, perhaps sometime around 1650 or 1670. The census returns of 1691, however, show a sharp drop in population from forty-five to seven. The main change is in the number of servants so this could possibly indicate the failure of the plantations, with the servants being sent elsewhere. In fact, most of the early settle-

¹Censuses of Canada, 1665-1871, Volume IV; Census of 1687, Newfoundland, (Ottawa: I. B. Taylor, 29, 31, & 33 Rideau Street, 1876), p. 20.

ment attempts in Newfoundland centered around plantations but they all failed, usually due to the cool climate and poor soil.

It appears from the censuses covering the period from 1693 to 1700 that only one family and a few servants lived in Grand Bank, as the census returns for 1693 and 1694 list the names of Jean Bourney and Marie Commer along with their children and servants. Perhaps they continued their farming on a smaller scale or turned to the inshore fishery because of the shelter for small boats provided by the estuary of Grand Bank Brook and the proximity to the Lamaline fishing grounds, off the southern tip of the Burin Peninsula.

The name "Grand Bank" is French in origin, as the French census returns all give the name as "Gran Banc." The French held the south coast of Newfoundland until 1713 and many French place-names, although often modified, remain. There are several hypotheses concerning the origin of the name, but the two most likely are that Grand Bank was named for its proximity to the Grand Banks of Newfoundland, or that it derived its name from the long bank that ran along the western side of the estuary of the brook from its beginning, about one-quarter of a mile upstream, to its end near the shore. The latter explanation seems more reasonable because the early settlers, both French and English, were involved with either agriculture or the inshore fishery and many other towns on the southeast coast are much closer to the Grand Banks. The long, high bank on the western side of

the harbour is now built up, and part of it is now a concrete wall, but it is still known locally as "the Bank," and was probably an imposing landmark in earlier days.

The last French census of Newfoundland, in 1711, listed the population of Grand Bank as thirteen, and after this time there is little information concerning Grand Bank until the British censuses of the Island of Newfoundland in 1763 and 1764. The population of Grand Bank shows a sharp increase from sixty-one English settlers in 1763 to three hundred twelve the following year. Britain, by the Treaty of Utrecht, had gained all of Newfoundland and also the French islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, just off the Burin Peninsula. However, settlement in Newfoundland and adjacent islands had been restricted by Acts 10 and 11, passed by the British Parliament during the reign of King William III, in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The few English planters and fishermen in the Grand Bank area were, no doubt, hampered by those laws and this helped to hold the population down.

The sharp increase in population which occurred in 1764 was the result of the 1763 Treaty of Paris, which ceded St. Pierre and Miquelon back to France. The English settlers on these islands were given the option of remaining there to become French subjects or to move to the mainland of Newfoundland. The majority of the people made the latter choice, and, consequently, there was an influx of settlers along the South

Coast, especially Fortune Bay. Many of them moved to Grand Bank to take up residence, and among them were a family of Snooks who were the first recorded group of English settlers to arrive at Grand Bank.² Many other families were also moved to the area by the British soldiers, who allotted special areas to the planters and fishermen and marked the boundaries by means of trenches. Many of the people who came to Grand Bank in this manner later moved away to other parts of the Island, and the population again declined during the next seventy years.

Several of the Grand Bank settlers around the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth were planters and merchants. The majority, however, were fishermen, including summer arrivals, who fished along the coast with hook and line, also using small decked boats with a cruising range of about one hundred miles. Most of those fishermen, for a long time, were supplied by the firm of Newman and Co.³, which was located at Harbour Breton, Fortune Bay, thirty miles north of Grand Bank. The settlers lived on the shore in summer and in fall they moved into winter homes in the "Big Wood" at the foot of Bennett's Hill, a 375 foot hill standing alone behind the town.

²Photographic file No. CO 194 3 15.99 at the Center for Newfoundland Studies, History Department, Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland.

³This firm had its headquarters at Dartmouth, Devon, England.

The early French settlers in Grand Bank may have had a small church for their spiritual benefit, but the English settlers who replaced them had neither church nor clergyman. Although some of them maintained their Christian faith and practice, most of those settlers brought with them their drinking habits, which were almost universal in those days. September and Christmas of each year were times of the heaviest drinking, because in the fall the fishing season would end and the men would be paid, and Christmas was a time of celebration. The excess drinking and spiritual destitution of the early Grand Bankers was brought to the attention of the Methodist Church, which had formerly confined its activities to St. John's and Conception and Trinity Bays. It was decided to send a missionary to Fortune Bay with his headquarters to be established at Grand Bank, the most populous town in the region.

In 1816, the first Methodist missionary, Reverend Richard Knight, arrived at Grand Bank. The first services of worship were held in the residence of the local magistrate and merchant, but the first church, the "little Chapel", was soon built and most of the town became members of the congregation. The early ministers were responsible for areas on the north side of Fortune Bay as well as the south side but, as the number of churches and the population of the area increased, the region was divided several times until the minister stationed in Grand Bank served only the immediate area. However, for

many years these servants of God performed their spiritual duties in all types of weather in communities, large and small, throughout Fortune Bay.

The first schools were opened in Grand Bank in the first half of the nineteenth century. At first, classes were held in the homes of women who were active in the Church and later in the first church, itself. Afterward, a small school was built. A regular teacher was then found for the children and formal education began in Grand Bank. This school, and all subsequent schools in the town, were supported by the Methodist Church.

St. Pierre may have been the earliest gateway for settlers to Grand Bank, but, in the early half of the nineteenth century, a great many people came to Grand Bank from communities in Fortune Bay, particularly from Harbour Breton. Close ties already existed between those two towns because of the commercial activities of Newman and Co. and many immigrants, mainly from England, settled first at Harbour Breton and later at Grand Bank. By 1836, the population of Grand Bank had dropped to two hundred thirty-eight but then began to increase steadily because of this new wave of settlers. Many of those came from Southwest England but the records are not usually clear as to exact point of origin. Several others came from the Channel Islands, particularly Jersey, as fishermen from this area frequently came to the Grand Banks. Among those Jersey men were

the Nicholles and Thibeaults, the latter changing their name to Tibbo.⁴ This family later became actively engaged in the Bank fishery. Several men from Wales also settled in Grand Bank at this time, the principal name here being that of Evans. This family produced many merchants, a magistrate, and a member of the House of Assembly for Burin District.

Many other settlers of those times were native Newfoundlanders who moved to Grand Bank from other settlements. Most people came from other parts of the Burin Peninsula and from Fortune Bay. The Buffett family, one of the leading merchant families for several generations, are believed to have come to Grand Bank from McCallum, or nearby Mosquito, in Fortune Bay. The Pardys, Osmonds, Osbornes, Rogers, and Thornhills, all came originally from Fortune Bay, while the Hardings, Emberleys, Handrigans and Keatings came from the eastern side of the Burin Peninsula, around ~~Burin~~ and Mortier Bay. Several other families came from Conception and Trinity Bays, while others, among them the Foxes, came from Nova Scotia. The Woodens (originally de Wolfe) probably moved to Grand Bank from Quebec. Altogether, those new inhabitants helped to boost the population of the town to eight hundred sixty-four by the year 1874. However, because of Grand Bank's close ties with Canada and the U. S. A., many of the families, especially the younger people, moved there in search of "greener pastures."

⁴Information concerning the origins of the people mentioned here was obtained from conversations and family records.

A new religious denomination, the Salvation Army, came to Grand Bank in 1887. There was much general discontent in the Wesleyan Church because the name of its founder, John Wesley, had been dropped. Evidently, the Salvation Army planned to take advantage of this situation in Grand Bank and establish a firm foundation there by attracting those disaffected Christians of the Wesleyan faith. The first Salvation Army officer, Lieutenant A. Baldwin, stepped ashore from a vessel in Grand Bank harbour in November, 1877, with a few comrades, and marched through the narrow streets of the town. The first indoor services were conducted in a tin shop owned by Edward Evans, but the followers of this new denomination later moved to the home of one of their comrades. The early following was small, but soon the popularity of the Salvation Army grew and a small Citadel was built. Meanwhile, the Wesleyan Church had also grown in numbers and a new church had been built in 1876, but many members were lost because of the dispute over the change of the Church's name to the Methodist Church.⁵

About this time, Grand Bank came into its own as a fishing centre. Up to 1860, most of the fishing done from the town was either inshore or coastal. The inshore fishermen used hook and line from small or medium sized boats near the shore but the coastal fishermen fished from small schooners along the South Coast and often in the Straits of Belle Isle or off Labrador. As in the past, most of the fishermen bought their supplies from Newman and Co. in Harbour Breton. Grand Bank never became deeply involved in the herring fishery to the same extent as did Harbour Breton and

⁵Information concerning the Salvation Army was obtained from conversations with several of the informants.

other Fortune Bay communities. Some herring and squid fishing was done, and the bait collected was sold directly to the American fishing ships or taken to St. Pierre and sold to the French merchants there, who sold it to the various fishing fleets then using that port. The merchants and vessel owners in Grand Bank made great profits indirectly because of St. Pierre's prosperity in those days. This French port not only supplied bait to foreign fishing fleets but other fishing supplies as well, since many ships went there for refitting. Consequently, St. Pierre needed immense quantities of merchandise from Canada and the U. S. A. to meet this demand, and Grand Bank schooners were used as freighters to supply French merchants with the goods they needed.

In 1860 a lobster-tinning company in Nova Scotia sent several men to start a lobster factory at Grand Bank. In those days, lobsters were extremely plentiful, often being thrown up on the beaches in thousands after a storm. The first lobster factory was a great success, and the Grand Bank businessmen, with their usual enterprise, started lobster factories of their own, not only in Grand Bank, but also in Fortune Bay, Placentia Bay, Lark Harbour, on the Northwest Coast, and Exploits, on the Northeast Coast. However, because of lower prices caused by increased production and the development of modern refrigeration methods for preserving fresh and live lobsters, the industry declined until, by the 1930's, only one factory was left in production.

Grand Bank had become quite prosperous because of trade with St. Pierre, and the coastal and lobster fisheries, and thus there was a large amount of capital available when the Bank fishery from the port began. There were a

few spasmodic attempts at "Banking" from Grand Bank in the 1860's and '70's but the business got its real start in 1881 when Samuel Harris, who captained his own vessel, the "George C. Harris," brought home a full load of fish from the Grand Banks. This first year of the Bank fishery was a distinct success and Harris later founded his own fish-producing company. About seventeen other businessmen and vessel owners took up this new type of fishing during the 1880's and methods of curing, grading, and exporting salt fish which had been used by the coastal and inshore fisheries were improved or changed. In the late 1880's, prices dropped and many owners were forced out of business. But the industry had gained a firm foothold in Grand Bank and the "Banking" tradition, with its rich store of stories, songs, and vocabulary, and its distinctive way of life, began to develop.

The average Banking schooner was eighty to one hundred twenty feet in length and carried ten dories and twenty-four men, mostly from Grand Bank, although some were from communities in Fortune Bay. The first trip would be to the "Western Shore," off Rose Blanche on the Southwest Coast, and the catch, as always, was split and salted on board the vessel, and was washed in the harbour upon arrival in Grand Bank. When the weather was favourable the fish was taken by cart to the "beaches," which were really level fields along the shore covered with small round rocks taken from rocky beaches. There the women, wearing their distinctive "sunbonnets," would dry the fish on the rocks during the day and then place it in "piles" during the night. It was, indeed, a memorable sight to see the "beaches" on a hot summer's day, with the sun glaring down upon the beach-rocks, the split, salted fish spread out to dry, with other fish in round, high "piles," and the women and young girls in their white "sunbonnets," spreading and turning

over the fish while talking in their rich, colorful, regional speech.

The fishermen would then make two three-week trips to the Banks before unloading their catch, in order to give the women time to have the fish "made," or prepared, before going to work on the "newer" fish. Then several weeks would be spent along the South Coast or on the Grand Banks fishing for bait or buying it from merchants in various settlements. Finally, a month-long trip to the Labrador coast would be made and the fish obtained would be sold as "salt bulk" -- undried, salted fish -- to Nova Scotia fishing companies. By mid October, the crews would have obtained their wages and purchased winter provisions for their families. Five hundred dollars was considered a good year's earnings in the early part of the twentieth century. At the peak of the Bank fishery, around 1911, there were twenty-six "Banking" vessels sailing out of Grand Bank with a total fishing crew of over five hundred men.

The fishermen of Grand Bank had always built their own boats and, during the first decade of the Bank fishery when it was flourishing, they undertook to build large "Banking" schooners. In this decade, about a dozen were built locally, and in the spring of 1886 seven large schooners were launched about the same time. However, the fluctuation in the profits from the Bank fishery caused most fish merchants in Grand Bank to purchase their vessels from New England or Nova Scotian ship-building firms. Many of the larger fishing firms in Grand Bank also exported their fish directly to Europe, especially Spain and Portugal, and often to Brazil and the West Indies. At first, this job was handled by St. John's and Halifax exporting companies, but later, the Grand Bank fish merchants produced and marketed their own fish, and many local schooners made profitable trips to Lisbon, Oporto, and

Madrid, or the West Indies.

Grand Bank has the distinction of having the first artificial harbour in Newfoundland. The estuary of Grand Bank Brook was fairly wide, but was shallow with a sand-bar across its mouth. At first, wooden breakwaters helped shelter the ships from storms, but after the middle of the nineteenth century, the first recorded improvements were made, when a small pier was built. The first dredging operations in Grand Bank began in 1898 and, through the years, the harbour has been deepened and extended, with new breakwaters and concrete wharves being constructed.

Grand Bank had been closely connected with St. Pierre from the very beginning of its settlement, and this relationship continued through the nineteenth century. At one time, around the 1870's, the St. Pierre francs were "tied" to Newfoundland or Canadian dollars, twenty-seven and fifty-four franc notes being equivalent to five and ten dollar notes respectively. Though this currency arrangement was later ended, the close ties with the French island remained, often in the form of smuggling. Often bait was smuggled to St. Pierre after the passage of the "Bait Act," in 1887, and liquor obtained illegally in return. Later, the liquor was bought in St. Pierre and sold at a profit at home.

The people of Grand Bank, over the centuries, have developed a spirit of initiative and independence. They have had an intimate relationship with the sea and they respect its many moods. But they have paid dearly for their heritage and traditions, for the restless waves have extracted their toll. From 1862, when the first Grand Bank vessel is recorded as lost, to 1936, a total of one hundred eighty vessels were lost, taking with them one hundred ninety-seven lives. But many more men were lost

individually, being washed overboard or disappearing in their dories on the foggy Banks. Often a "Banking" vessel would enter the port with its flag flying at half mast, and every one in the anxious crowd which would gather on the wharf would wonder who had now been claimed by the sea. The Bank fishery, after many ups and downs, finally declined in the late 1940's when the fresh fish processing industry became predominant, and a modern fish plant was built at Grand Bank. But the sea disasters continued and, in 1959 and in 1966, the side trawlers "Blue Wave" and "Blue Mist II," respectively, sank in severe winter storms with a total loss of thirty men. Grand Bank, the "Widow's Town," was saddened once more.

Today, the town's population, which fluctuated during the rise and decline of the Bank fishery, is now rising quickly, as an average of twenty-five new homes are built and occupied each year. The Bonavista Cold Storage Company's fish processing plant is the town's largest industry, with a modern fleet of eight stern trawlers. Grand Bank is now a distribution center for much of the Burin Peninsula and Fortune Bay, and many Provincial and Federal government departments have offices in the town which serves a wide area. The town, itself, has changed greatly in appearance; with paved streets which are constantly being widened, new subdivisions to accommodate the increasing population which now stands at about four thousand, and new schools, four churches, a large supermarket, and several new business firms. In 1972 Grand Bank will be joined by means of a modern paved highway to the other towns on the Burin Peninsula and also to the Trans-Canada Highway. The present gravel road will be a thing of the past.

145 But even though Grand Bank, today, is a modern, prosperous town, its inhabitants do not forget the past. They remember with pride the achievements of their ancestors and their independent spirit. The regional speech of the people still retains its distinctive flavour, which is readily discernable to any outsider, although an educated, "standard" form of English is developing among the younger generation. The erection of a Fishermen's Museum on Marine Drive will ensure that the lives and achievements of the "Grand Bankers" of the past will not be forgotten and the heritage they have passed on to their descendants will never be lost. The past is a part of the present in Grand Bank, and this is clearly shown by "Eternity Rock," a large boulder about two miles west of the town. For generations, since the 1880's, inscriptions have been painted on this rock emphasizing the eternity through which time forever rolls. Over three centuries have passed, generations have come and gone, and the town, like the rock, remains.

2. THE SOUND SYSTEM

2.1. Phonetics

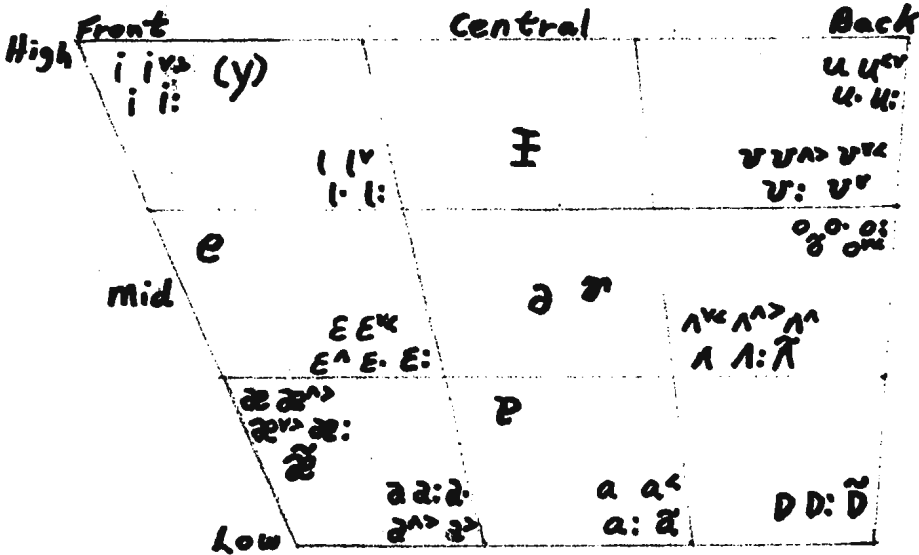
2.1.1 General Comments

The system of phonetic transcription used follows closely that of the Linguistic Atlas of New England.¹ A somewhat broad transcription was employed but, even so, much interesting phonetic variation was recorded. Because of the high incidence of strong, or missing, aspiration, syllabification, lengthening, nasalization, and modification due to fronting, retraction, raising, and lowering, a total of around one hundred five phones occurred in the speech of the twenty-one informants interviewed. Forty-two of these phones are classed as consonants, while the remainder are classed as vowels, with seven of them occurring only in diphthongs. All of the phones are recorded on the charts on page 18 according to their general articulatory positions. The consonant phones fall into twenty six of those positions and the vowel phones into sixteen, as shown by the charts. The diphthongs resulting from the combination of various vowel phones are twenty-seven in number. All phones listed on page 18 will later be classed as allophones of the phonemes occurring in the idiolects of the informants.

¹Hans Kurath and others, Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England (Providence: Brown University, 1939).

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
VI. Stops	P Pʰ Pʳ			t tʰ tʳ		k kʰ kʳ	q	ʔ
VI. Fricatives		f	θ	s		ʃ		h
VI. Approximants					tʃ dʒ			
VI. Nasals	m m̃			n ñ		ŋ ŋ̃		
VI. Laterals				l l̃				
VI. Semivowels	w			r r̃	j			

Consonant Phones Occurring in the Dialect
 Vowel Phones Occurring in the Dialect



Diphthongs			
əu	əu:	əʊ	əʊ
ɛʊ		ɛʊ	
ɛi	ɛi:	ɛʳi	ɛʳi
ai	ai:	ai	
ai	ai:	oi	
ai	ai		
oi	ei:	ei	
ai	ai:		
Ei	Ei		

2.1.2 Points of Interest and Problems Encountered

In the course of the interviewing, and in the later analysis of the sound system, several interesting points and puzzling problems were encountered. Clarification of those matters will be attempted in the following brief discussion.

In the speech of several informants an unusual type of stop, occurring far back in the mouth, was noticed. The auxiliary tape recordings gave supplementary evidence of the occurrence of this phone and, as it appeared to be articulated behind the velar position, it has been listed as a voiceless uvular stop [q]. There are only a small number of words in which this phone occurs, and, in each instance, it replaces the voiceless velar stop [k]. Because of this, [q] is here classed as an allophone of /k/.

In the speech of one informant, what appeared to be a rounding of the high front vowel [i] was noticed. Only two words containing this phone were listed, both from the tape recording, and it was transcribed as [y]. It is provisionally classed as an allophone of /iy/.

The glottal stop [ʔ] posed a problem during the analysis of the sound system. Although [t] was usually replaced by the glottal stop, this phone also replaced [p] and [k], and, in some informants, also [d], [ʒ], and [n]. As the meaning of the words in which [ʔ] replaces another phone is unchanged, it cannot be classed as a phoneme. Furthermore, because of the variety of phones which [ʔ] replaces, it cannot be classed as an allophone of any of them. In the following description of the phonemes, to simplify matters, it will simply be stated, where applicable, that the glottal stop [ʔ] replaces a particular allophone, and can be regarded as an overlapping allophone.

Further study of more examples is necessary before this problem can be resolved.

The low back vowel [ɒ] and its related phones [ɒ:] and [ɒ̃] occurred in the speech of nineteen of the twenty-one informants. Those phones showed free variation with the low central vowel phones [ɑ], [ɑ:], [ɑ̃] and [ɑ̃]. Phones having the same qualities, such as nasalization or lengthening, occurred in free variation with each other. For example, [ɒ̃] occurs in free variation with [ɑ̃], and [ɒ:] with [ɑ:]. Both [ɒ] and [ɑ] occur where speakers of other types of English have [ɔ], as in "caught." Because of this overlapping, and for the sake of clarification, both groups of phones have been classed as one phoneme with the symbol /A/.

2.2 Phonemics

2.2.1 Method of Description

In this description of the phonemes occurring in the speech of the twenty-one Grand Bank informants, only unusual or interesting points will be dealt with. In this way, much time and space will be saved and a clear view of the dialectal features of Grand Bank speech can be obtained. After each phoneme, the allophones will be listed and brief comments made on their distribution. Then, where applicable, descriptions will be given concerning interesting features of the distribution of that phoneme, such as assimilation, epenthesis, or substitution. The

phonemic system follows closely that of Trager and Smith.²

The consonant phonemes will be described first according to sound types, from stops to semivowels, then followed by the vowel phonemes. The simple vowels, those not followed by a semivowel, will be dealt with first, and then the complex vowels, each consisting of a vowel and semivowel, will be described.

2.2.2 Segmental Phonemes

The segmental phonemes (vowels and consonants) in the speech of the informants are thirty-three in number. There are twenty-four consonants and nine simple vowels. Five of those vowels combine with the semivowels³ /y/ and /w/ to form six complex vowels.

Consonants

/p/

Allophones: [p] , [pʰ] , and [pʰ].⁴

1. [p] -- usual distribution.⁵
2. [pʰ] -- final position.
3. [pʰ] -- free variation with [pʰ] in final position; in a few cases

²George L. Trager and Henry Lee Smith, Jr., An Outline of English Structure (Washington: American Council of Learned Societies, 1957; first printing, 1951), pp. 11-52.

³In this analysis, the semivowels are classed with the consonants.

⁴The symbol [pʰ] stands for strong aspiration as opposed to normal aspiration.

⁵In this analysis, only interesting or unusual features of distribution will be discussed. For a general discussion, see W. Nelson Francis, The Structure of American English (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958), pp. 129-142.

at the end of stressed syllables followed by a vowel, as in [veip'ɔ]; and, in the word [traup'pɔ^hɪ] (B. G. F.), it precedes [p] which has normal aspiration.

Assimilation

Occurs only in the word combination /eɪmp bɪn/ "ain't been," where /p/ precedes the bilabial /b/ instead of the usual alveolar /t/.

Epenthesis

Occurs only in the word /səmpθɪŋ/ where /p/ has been introduced between /m/ and /θ/. This occurs in the idiolect of E. M. K.

Dropping

/p/ is dropped in the word /lʌmfɪʃ/ "lumpfish," (C. F. P.)

Allophones:

/b/

Allophones: [b] and [bb].⁶

1. [b] -- normal distribution.
2. [bb] -- occurs only in the word [klæp**bb**ɔrd] "clapboard" where the voiced bilabial stop [b] is preceded by another [b] instead of the usual voiceless bilabial stop [p], causing the allophone [bb]. A few infor-

⁶In this analysis, a doubling of two consonant symbols signifies lengthening. For example [bb].

mants had [b] in this word, which resulted in [ˈklæboʷrd] instead of [ˈklæbboʷrd], used by B. J. L.

Assimilation

The influence of bilabial sounds, especially, leads to a large amount of assimilation in the idiolects of the informants. /b/ commonly occurs through assimilation, as can be seen by the following patterns:

1. /b/ instead of /d/ before bilabial nasal /m/.
2. /b/ instead of /d/ before bilabial stop /p/.
3. /b/ instead of /p/ before bilabial nasal /m/.
4. /b/ instead of /p/ before bilabial stop /b/.

Examples of each pattern of assimilation are:

1. /gùb márnĭn/ "good morning"--(B. J. L.)
2. /blá b pùdĭn/ "blood pudding"--(B. J. L.)
3. /čábĭm/ "chopping"--(L. G. P.)
4. /klæ bbôwrđ/ "clapboard"--(B. J. L.)

Thus, in the speech of most of the informants, /b/, by assimilation, replaces⁷ /d/ or /p/ before bilabial phonemes.

Substitution

/b/ replaces /v/ frequently in /ǎlébĭm/ "eleven" and /sébĭm/ "seven," and rarely in /hâ bǎkǎf/ "have a calf" (B. G. F.)

⁷The word "replaces" is used when one sound occurs instead of another in relaxed speech.

/t/

Allophones: [t] , [tʰ] , [tʰ].

1. [t] -- usual distribution.
2. [tʰ] -- final position in free variation with [t] and [tʰ].
3. [tʰ] -- final position in syllables: (a) at the end of words in free variation with [t] and [tʰ], (b) within a word, as in [ˈpæntʰ,ri] , [ˈtʰɔtʰ,i] , and [ˈmɑdʰeɪtʰɪŋ].

Substitution

/t/ occurs instead of several other phonemes in the idiolects of the informants. This may happen only in certain words and may vary among informants. Often the degree of formality in an informant's response conditions his retention of the traditional form or his substituting it for /t/.

- (a) /t/ replaces /θ/ initially in the speech of several informants, as in /tɪŋz/ "things," (C. F. P.) and /tów pînz/ ("thole pins"--pegs for keeping dory oras steady for rowing.)
- (b) /t/ replaces /ð/ in /wâš tã díšz/ which occurs infrequently.
- (c) /t/, in the consonant cluster /st/, replaces /š/ in the word /strɔŋk/ "shrunk" which occurs frequently.
- (d) /t/ replaces /k/ in the word /kæst/ "cask, which occurs frequently.
- (e) /t/ replaces /tj/ initially in the idiolect of several informants, as in /tuwb/ "tube" and /túwzdì/ "Tuesday."

/d/

Allophone: [d].

1. [d] --usual distribution.

Substitution

/d/ replaces /t/ intervocalically in the idiolects of most of the informants. This substitution, though frequent, is not regular, and usually depends on rapidity of speech and relative relaxation of the informant. Examples are: /pə̀d̥t̥ á̃n/ "put it on," /rà̃yd̥á̃rd/ "right hard," and /á̃d̥d̥ik/ "attic." The vowels, which are always voiced, probably influence the replacing of the voiceless alveolar stop /t/ by the voiced alveolar stop /d/. This is clearly /d/ and not a variety of flap or lenis [t].

/d/ also replaces /θ/, in the idiolects of several of the informants, in /w̥id̥m̥ílk/ "with milk," /w̥id̥ə̃r/ "with her," and /w̥id̥á̃wt/ "without." The similar phonetic environments of /d/ and /θ/ probably influence this substitution.

Dropping

In a very few words, /d/ is dropped at the end of syllables by a few informants, as in /à̃y r̥á̃ð̥ə̃r/ "I'd rather" and /á̃rt̥á̃k/ "hardtack." /w̥in̥ə̃w/ "window" is used only by B. J. L.

/k/

Allophones: [k], [k̚], [k̚̚], [k̚̚̚], [q].

1. [k] -- usual distribution.

2. [k⁹] -- final position in free variation with [k] and [k⁷].
3. [k⁸] -- final position in syllables; (a) at the end of words in free variation with [k] and [k⁷], (b) within words after stressed syllables, as in [teɪŋk⁸i,tɪps̃] ("tanky-tips" -- a seesaw.) This occurrence of [k⁸] is quite rare.
4. [k²] -- initially before vowels in the words [k²ært] and [k²avərd], in the idiolect of B. J. L.
5. [q] -- initially in [qo^wv] "cove," and finally in [ra[^]q] "rock" and [klaq] "clock." Only three informants, S. J. H., W. J. P., and B. J. L. had this allophone of /k/ in their speech. It occurs with low or back vowels. (See comments on page 19.)

Assimilation

In the sentence /əynák gòwně gów/ "I'm not going to go.", /t/ assimilates to /k/ before /g/. In this case, the voiceless alveolar stop changes to a voiceless velar before a voiced velar.

Substitution

/k/ occurs in place of /t/ in the word /kæ skréytǎd/ "castrated." G. M., only, had this substitution.

/g/

Allophone: [g].

1. [g] -- usual distribution

There are no unique dialectal usages.

/f/

Allophone: [f].

1. [f] -- usual distribution.

Dropping

/f/ is dropped in the phrase /hæpæt sévɪn/ "half past seven." This occurs in the speech of many of the informants.

/v/

Allophone: [v].

1. [v] -- usual distribution.

Voicing

Initial /f/ is voiced in the idiolects of two of the informants, E. R. and B. J. L., resulting in pronunciations like /vowr/ "four," /vɪŋgər/ "finger," /váyər/ "fire," and /viyt/ "feet." This voicing is not regular and /v/ shows variation with /f/. For example: B. J. L. has /fowr/ and /vowr/ "four," and E. R. has /fag/ and /vag/ "fog." The only example recorded in context shows that the preceding word ends in a vowel.

This initial voicing of /f/, and also of /s/, is characteristic of the regional dialect of Southwestern England and "represents a Middle English change, which normally affected only native English words because it took place before the influx of French loan words into Middle English."⁸

⁸G. L. Brook, English Dialects (London: Andre Deutsch, 1963), p. 94.

Substitution

/v/ occurs instead of /ð/ in /sáyvstôwn/ "scythestone."

/θ/

Allophones: [θ]

1. [θ] -- usual distribution.

Dropping

/θ/ is dropped in /sâmiŋ/ "something" in the idiolect of B. J. L., though she also has /sâmeŋ/. S. J. H. also drops /θ/ in the phrase /wimilk/, "with milk." Possibly, rapid speech, as was found in nearly all the informants, influenced the dropping of /θ/ in the idiolect of those two women.

/ð/

Allophones: [ð]

1. [ð] -- usual distribution.

Substitution

/ð/ replaces /θ/ initially in /ðinjz/ "things" and /ðriy/ "three" in the idiolect of B. J. L. and S. J. H. respectively. /ð/ replaces /z/ in /sidoərz/ "scissors." This appears to be an example of dissimilation because, in the standard pronunciation /sízərz/, three alveolar fricatives, two voiced and one unvoiced, occur. The replacing of the intervocalic /z/ with the dental fricative /ð/ may have been for a possible ease of articulation. Nine informants used this pronunciation.

/ð/ also replaces /d/ in /blæðr̥z/. A. W. and G. E. B., only, had this pronunciation. This occurrence of /ð/ might be part of an age-old process in which intervocalic unvoiced stops became voiced, and then changed to fricatives. Examples of this type of sound change may be found in Old English, and it is possible that it may be working here, in this word, as well. However, this assumption is made with reservation.

/ð/ occurs instead of /t/ in the phrase /yúws ð̥ biy/ "used to be." The articulation of those two phonemes -- /t/ is alveolar and /ð/ is dental -- is very similar.

/s/

Allophones: [s̥] and [ss]

1. [s̥] -- usual distribution.

[ss] -- finally, signifying the plural form of a noun. This is found only rarely in the idiolects of the informants. It occurs in [f̥ss] "fists," as opposed to the singular form [f̥s̥], in the idiolect of S. M. N. and S. R. C. [ss] is used by W. C. C. in the plural form [p̥^wss] "posts." This allophone also occurs in the word [hars̥sl̥i dz], "horse slides," M. O. only, where the final [s̥] in [hars̥] and the initial [s̥] in [sl̥i dz] are not assimilated.

Substitution

/s/ occurs medially instead of /z/ in the words /r̥æsb̥ar̥iz/ "raspberries" (B. J. L.), and /t̥úwsdi/ "Tuesday" (C. F. P.). /s/ also replaces /z/ finally in the plurals /b̥aw̥is/ "boughs" and /kaws/ "cows." This occurs only in the idiolect of B. J. L.

/z/

Allophone: [z]

1. [z] -- usual distribution.

Substitution

/z/ replaces /s/ intervocalically in a few words in the idiolects of several informants, as in /píz^hbèdz/ ("pissabeds" -- dandelions) and /fÁz^hit/ "faucet." This substitution also occurs before consonants in several words, especially /prêzb^htériy^hin/ "Presbyterian." Many informants have this pronunciation for the above word. Vowels and voiced consonants may influence the voicing of /s/ in the above cases.

Initial voicing occurred occasionally in the idiolect of E. R., W. J. P., and B. J. L. In all three informants, only a few words have the initial voicing while most of them have the usual /s/. Some examples of this initial /z/ are: /zed/ "said," /zÁ^hz/ "songs," and /ziy/ "see." (See comments on page 27.) The only example recorded in context shows that the preceding word ends in a vowel.

/š/

Allophone: [ʃ]

1. [ʃ] -- usual distribution.

Substitution

/š/ replaces the consonant cluster /zh/ in /j^huws^hæ^h rp/

"jew's harp," used by a few informants, and the consonant cluster /sk/ in /t^šš^z/ "tusks," G. M. only.

/ʒ/

Allophone: [ʒ]

1. [ʒ] -- usual distribution.

In the questionnaires, supplementary word slips, and supplementary tape recordings, the phoneme /ʒ/ occurred only in the word /méʒ^r/ "measure," used by G. M.

/h/

Allophone: [h]

1. [h] -- usual distribution.

Adding

/h/ was added to a few words with initial vowels in the idiolects of a small number of the informants. It occurs before front and back simple vowels and the complex vowel /aw/ in the examples which were collected. Some of those examples are /howrz/ "oars," /hányⁿ/ "onion," /híndiy^š/ "India," /h^æft/ ("aft" -- the rear part of something), and /háwtáws/ "outhouse."

/h/ is also added intervocalically between the determiners "the" and "a" and a word with an initial vowel. Examples of this are /əh^æd^žk/ "an attic," /ə^šhówrnj^ž/ "the oranges," and /ə^šh^ækt/ "the act." This was not heard very often. Another different example was /Àh^ær^žbz/ "all Arabs," in the

idiolect of S. P. A possible explanation is that the glides or consonants which normally separate the vowels, for example /ɔ̃iyækt/ "the act" or /ə̃næt̃ik/ "an attic," have been replaced by /h/. However, not enough examples were collected to make any categorical statements accounting for the intervocalic addition of /h/. All that the evidence shows is a tendency for /h/ to occur here.

Dropping

/h/ was dropped initially before vowels by many informants, and this dropping occurred both in separate words, such as /ɔ̃wr fr̃as/ "hoar frost" and /ér̃iŋ/ "herring," and at the beginning of sentences, such as /êrzyʃ klówz/ "Here's your clothes." Also, /h/ was sometimes dropped at the beginning of a secondary or tertiary-stressed syllable in a compound noun when preceded by a consonant or semivowel. This was not found very often among the informants, but some examples are: /káv aw̃s/ "cow house," /wát̃ər ars/ ("water horse" --newly-washed fish), and /wúd ars/ "wood house." R

It is important to note that all informants, in most cases, retained /h/ in positions where it would normally occur. No pattern for the addition or loss of /h/ could be ascertained, because not enough examples were collected, and the retention of /h/ or its loss varied freely with each informant. In order to make an in-depth study of this phenomenon it would be necessary to collect a great many examples of connected transcriptions.

/ɕ/

Allophone: [ɕ]

1. [ɕ] -- usual distribution

Substitution

In the idiolect of a few informants, /ɕ/ occurs in place of the consonant cluster /ts/ in the word /rincɕz/ "rinses."

/j/

Allophone: [ɕ]

1. [ɕ] -- usual distribution.

There are no unique dialectal usages.

/m/

Allophones: [m], [mm], and [ṁ].

1. [m] -- usual distribution.
2. [mm] -- Intervocally in the word [græmmʌðə] "grandmother" where the bilabial nasal [m] is preceded by another [m] instead of the usual alveolar nasal [n], causing the allophone [mm]. S. M. N. only had this pronunciation. [mm] also occurs in the sentence [wɛnzi kamm'bæk] "When are you coming back?" Said by B. G. F. only.
3. [ṁ] -- (a) finally after bilabial stops replacing [ɤn] or [ɤŋ]. This occurs only in a few words but most of the informants used this pronunciation. Examples are [skopṁ] "sculpin" and [ɕabṁ] "chopping." (b) in the utterance

[æftə m̩] "after him." (E. M. K.). (c) in the sentence [nɔwətwaɪzmi] "No, it wasn't me." where the preceding [n] has fused with [m] creating [m̩].

Assimilation

Before the bilabial stops /p/ and /b/, and the bilabial semivowel /w/, /n/ at the end of a syllable assimilates to /m/. This occurs frequently in the idiolects of most of the informants. Some examples of this are /brʌwm bréd/ "brown bread," /græm béɪŋk/ "Grand Bank," /stɛmpɔwl/ ("stunpoll" -- a stupid person), and /stɔwm wɔl/ "stone wall."

/n/

Allophones: [n] and [n̩].

1. [n] -- usual distribution.
2. [n̩] -- (a) finally after strongly stressed syllables ending in alveolar stops and replacing [ɪn̩] and [ɛn̩]. This was found in only a few words, but those words were used by most of the informants. Some examples are [wɜdn̩] "wooden," [frɛɪtn̩] "frightened," [slɪdn̩] "sliding," and [splɪtn̩] "splitting." (b) finally in the utterance [sɪ sn̩] ("siss him" -- "chase him") and [æftə n̩] "after him." [æftə n̩] occurs frequently while [æftə m̩] is used only by E. M. K.
(c) Replacing "and" after alveolar fricatives in

[lɪvəz n ,lɛɪts] ("livers and lights" -- the viscera of a cow) and [dʌks n ,dreɪks] ("ducks and drakes" -- a children's game).

Substitution

/n/ replaces /m/ in /áyn fráyťánd/ "I'm frightened" in the idiolect of many of the informants.

/ŋ/

Allophones: [ŋ] and [ŋ̥] .

1. [ŋ] -- besides the usual distribution, [ŋ] also occurs before [n] in [meɪn̩bɛɪz] "mangny-berries;" B. J. L. only.
2. [ŋ̥] -- finally after strongly stressed syllables ending in velar stops and replacing [ɛn] and [ɛŋ]. This allophone occurred in a small number of words, but several of them were used by many of the informants. [pɛgŋ̥] "pegging" was the most common of those words, and other frequent examples are [tʃkŋ̥] "chicken," [pɪkŋ̥] "picking," and [bærgŋ̥] "bargain."

Assimilation

/m/ assimilates to /ŋ/ in the phrase /áyn̩ gówǎn/ "I'm going" and /n/ assimilates to /ŋ/ in the sentence /šǎ sóŋ̥ gówz dǎwn/ "the sun goes down." The first example occurs in the idiolect of most of the informants, while the second occurs only in the idiolect of G. M.'

Substitution

/n/ is replaced by /ŋ/ in the words /rætliŋ/ "ratline" and /tʃiːkiŋ yærd/ "chicken yard." The first pronunciation occurs only in the idiolect of G. M. and may be by analogy with words which normally end in /-iŋ/. H. R. W., only, uses the latter form.

/l/

Allophones: [l], [ɫ], and [l̥].

1. [l] -- usual distribution.
2. [ɫ] -- (a) finally after vowels in syllables or words. Often the vowel is [ə]. This allophone occurred frequently in the idiolects of all the informants. Examples are: [jæfəɫ] "yaffle," [wiːjəɫ] "wheel," [ɔːkwɪz] "always," [sæjəɫveɪʃən] "salvation." (b) medially after vowels and before consonants. This particular distribution was also frequent in the idiolects of all of the informants. Examples are: [mɪɫk] "milk," [wɛɫps] "whelps," and [ɔːsɛɫf] "herself." In the examples collected [ɫ] occurred before front and central vowels.
3. [l̥] -- finally after strongly stressed syllables. In the examples collected [l̥] occurred after stops and fricatives. Some examples are: [jæfl̥] "yaffle," [kɛtl̥] "kettle," [drɪzl̥] "drizzle," and [kaks'dɪdl̥] ("cocksdiddle"-- to do a somersault). [l̥] also occurs in the phrase [kwɔːtə dɪ'svɛnl̥]

"quarter to eleven."

[l̥] occurred in both cases in the idiolects of most of the informants.

No examples of [l̥] (clear l) were heard in the informants' speech.

Substitution

/l/ occurs instead of /n/ in the word /čimlì/ "chimney," used by most of the informants, and instead of /r/ in the word /émli stôwn/ "emery stone," used only by G. M., and in /pláwd flêš/ "proud flesh."

Dropping

/l/ is dropped after /A/ quite often in the idiolects of most of the informants. It is dropped only when it occurs in single words or in strongly stressed syllables. Some examples are: /Áwiz/ "always," /Ávəsédn/ "all of a sudden," /wA/ "wall," and /gAd/ "galled" -- rubbed (flesh). In the idiolect of B. J. L. /gAd/ "galled" is a homophone of /gAd/ "God."

/w/

Allophone: [w]

1. [w] -- although this allophone normally occurs both as an on-glide and an off-glide, it is interesting to look at some of the occurrences of the off-glide found in the idiolects of the Grand Bank informants. This off-glide [w] occurred frequently among all the informants, being often followed

by another vowel or diphthong, as in [wʊ^wɔɪ] "wool," [pʊ^wɔɪ] "pull," [kɔ^wət] "coat," [stɔ^wən] "stone," and [bʊ^wɔɪz] "buoys." In those cases, what was close to two syllables often resulted. Although this off-glide almost always occurred after back vowels and diphthongs ending in [u], S. J. H. used the word [baw] in which [w] followed the low front vowel [a].

Dropping

/w/ is frequently dropped before /u/ in /ud/ "would," /u^wɔɪ/ "wool," and /gri^wnɪd/ "greenwood." This was found only in the idiolects of S. M. N., E. R., and, especially, B. J. L.

/r/

Allophones: [r], [r:], and [r̥].

1. [r] -- usual distribution.
2. [r:] -- medially after [æ] and before consonants in the idiolects of six of the twenty-one informants. They are: E. R., S. J. H., M. O., G. E. B., B. J. L., and E. A. M. Apart from G. E. B., the rest were women. There was no regular pattern of occurrence, as [r̥] occurred after [ə] in some words and [r:] in others. Examples are: [bæ^rn] "barn," [gæ^r:dn] "garden," [jæ^r:d] "yard," and [kæ^rt] "cart." [r̥] also occurred after [a] in [wæ^r:f] "wharf," in the idiolect of E. A. M.
3. [r̥] -- syllabic [r̥], phonemically /ər/, has the usual distribution, occurring in such words as [hæ^r:ɪŋ] "herring," [bɜ^rtʃ] "birch,"

and [kwærdʒ] "quarter." [ɹ] also occurs occasionally as an off-glide in the idiolects of five informants.

Examples are: [kɔrk] "cork," [bæɹn] "barn," and [bjʊɹə] "bureau."

Addition

/r/, in rare occurrences, is added after /æ/ or /a/ in the idiolects of a few informants. W. J. P. has /særtərdi/ "Saturday," S. J. H. has /wɔɹʃ/ "wash," S. M. N. has /fæɹðər/ "father." However, every informant had /tʃikærgow/ "Chicago."

Metathesis

/r/, in the word /hændrɪd/ (G. M. and E. M. K.) which occurs before the vowel /ɪ/, is transposed in the idiolects of most of the informants. There it occurs after /ə/ in /hændərd/.

/y/

Allophone: [j]

1. [j] -- normally occurs as either an on-glide or an off-glide. In the idiolects of the informants the off-glides were numerous, and in some one-syllable words they were also followed by the vowels [ə] and [ɪ], thus coming close to creating two distinct syllables. Examples are: [tʃeɪə] "chair," [jiə] "year," [gɛjəz] "gales," and [biərt] "built." [j] also occurs as a glide between vowels at the beginning and ending of syllables, as in [wiɪntɛnd] "we intend"

and [pɪ^jæ vɛn ,dʌnɛt] "I haven't done it." [j] occurs after front vowels, or diphthongs ending in [i] or [ɪ].

Substitution

/y/ occurs instead of /h/ in the phrase /áyv yərd/ "I've heard" in the idiolects of most of the informants.

[ʔ]

The glottal stop, for reasons given on page 19, cannot be classed either as a phoneme or as an allophone of any phoneme. It occurs in the idiolects of ten of the twenty-one informants and, in the speech of those people, it is quite widespread. However, it replaces a variety of consonants and one consonant cluster as well as occurring intervocalically between words. For this reason, it was thought best to make a separate comment on the distribution of the glottal stop, here considered an overlapping allophone.

Intervocalically, the glottal stop replaces [p], [t], [k], [n], and [ð]. It occurs before a weakly stressed syllable which usually ends in [ə]. [t] is the consonant most commonly replaced intervocalically.

Following is a list of examples for each sound that is replaced.

- [t] -- [glɪʔə] -- "glitter," [wæʔə] -- "water" (S. M. N. only),
 [aʔə] -- ("alter" -- castrate), [gʌʔə] -- "gutter,"
 [jʊnɪʔɛd] -- "united," [maʔoʔz] -- "mottoes."
- [p] -- [raʔə] -- "wrapper" (In the idiolect of S. M. N. only.)
- [k] -- [tʌʔəmoʔz] -- ("tuckamores" -- low bushes on the barrens.)

(In the idiolect of B. J. L.)

[bæʔə ,gæn] -- "back again." (In the idiolect of
E. A. M.)

[ə]-- [ənʰʔə] -- "another." (In the idiolect of B. J. L. only.)

[n]-- [dʒɛʔt] -- "Janet." (In the idiolect of B. J. L. only.)

Both Kurath⁹ and Francis¹⁰ state that the only consonant replaced by [ʔ] is [t]. However, evidence of widespread use of the glottal stop in another dialect is shown by Sivertsen.¹¹

The glottal stop also occurs intervocalically between words. Most of the syllables before which it occurs have strong stress but a few have weaker stress. Some examples are: [dɪdʒəʔit] -- "Did you eat?", [sʌmɪŋ təʔɪt] -- "Something to it," [əʔædə] -- "an adder," [əʔoʊməʔn] -- "the old man," and [əʔoʊmeɪd] -- "the old maid." This use of the glottal stop is infrequent among most of the informants who use it. It may replace glides or consonants which normally separate vowels and thus prevent misunderstanding of certain words. For example, B. J. L. used the word [dæʔɪmi] "the army" in which no glide or glottal stop appeared, and its meaning had to be deduced from its position in a sentence.

⁹Hans Kurath, A Phonology and Prosody of Modern English (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1964), p. 51.

¹⁰Francis, op. cit., p. 75.

¹¹Eva Sivertsen, Cockney Phonology (Oslo: University Press; New York: Humanities Press, 1960), pp. 115 - 118.

The glottal stop also occurs medially with consonants. The phones replaced are [t], [d], and [k], and the consonant cluster [kt]. It occurs after both weakly and strongly stressed syllables, and, again, [t] is the consonant most commonly replaced. Following is a list of examples for each sound that is replaced.

[t] -- ['kʌn[?]rɪ] -- "country," [nɑ[?]gɒnə] -- "not going to."
 ['mæ r[?]ɪ] -- "mortal," [pæ r[?]rɪdʒ] -- "partridge,"
 ['trau[?] , pɒ[?]l] -- "trout pole," and [kæ n[?]əɪ] -- "quintal."

[d] -- [gʌ[?]mæ r[?]nɪŋ] -- "good morning." (In the idiolect of E. R. only.)

[k] -- [pɪ[?]ŋʌp] -- "picking up." (In the idiolect of B. J. L. only.)

[kt] -- [mæ r[?]'aʊt] -- "marked out." (In the idiolect of W. J. P. only.)

This use of the glottal stop occurs infrequently among most of the ten informants who had it in their idiolects.

Vowels

(Simple Vowels)

/i/

Allophones: [i], [i^ʷ], [iː], and [iː̯].

1. [i] -- usual distribution.
2. [i^ʷ] -- medially in strongly stressed syllables and single words, as in [hæ pæ^ʷ's(ʷvɪn)] "half past seven," [kwɪ^ʷlt] "quilt," [hɛ^ʷn ,haus] "hen house," and [k(ʷ)lɪk]

"killick." Twelve informants used [iʷ].

3. [i:] -- in the compound word [stɛi dʒ 'tɪ d] "stage head." Normally, ordinary compounds have the stress combination [ˈ ,], but in this phrase the stress pattern is reversed. This occurred in the idiolects of nine of the twenty-one informants.
4. [i:] -- In all positions in strongly stressed syllables. This allophone was infrequent in the idiolects of the informants and, when it did occur, there was no regular pattern of occurrence -- most words having [i] but a few having [i:]. Some examples are: [wɪ:p] "whip," [strɪ:m] "stream," [swɪ:ŋ] "swing," [rɪ:və] "river," and [stɛi dʒ 'tɪ d] "stage head" (G. E. B. only.)

Substitution

/i/ occurs instead of /e/ in the word /pɪpər/ in the idiolect of M. O.

/i/ occurs instead of /ə/ in syllables which have tertiary stress instead of the normal weak stress. Most informants have this occurrence of /i/ in /sʌsɪj/ "sausage," but E. R. had the pronunciations /fɪstɪz/ "fists" and /pɔwstɪz/ "posts," and L. G. P. used the word /lɔwdɪd/ "loaded."

/e/

Allophones: [ɛ], [ɛʷ], [ɛʰ], [ɛː], and [ɛ:].

1. [ɛʰ] -- besides the usual distribution, [ɛʰ] also occurs as an onglide in the word [hɛʰz] "here's," in the idiolect of F. M. only.

2. [ɛ̃] -- this allophone is between [ɛ] and [æ] phonetically but seems closer to the first phone. It occurs infrequently but without regularity in stressed syllables and single words in the idiolects of nine of the informants. Some examples are: [tʃɛ̃ˈɑr] "chair," [fɛ̃ˈkjɪt] "felt," [ˈbɛ̃ˌlɪ ,slɪd] ("belly slide" -- a slide on's stomach), [sɛ̃ˈvɛn] "seven," and [ˌstrɛ̃ˈtʃə] "stretcher."
3. [ɛ̂] -- Occurs infrequently without regularity in strongly stressed syllables and single words in the idiolects of most of the informants. Some examples are: [klɛ̂ˈɑd] "cleared," [kwɛ̂ˈɑ] "queer," [ˌsplɛ̂ˈtɪŋ] "splitting," and [ˈbɛ̂ˌdʃprɛd] "bedspread."
4. [ɛˈ] -- In strongly stressed syllables in the words [mɑˈdɛˈrɪ jɑ] ("Madeira" -- a grade of fish), in the idiolect of S. J. H., and [ˌkɑdz ˈɛˈd] "cod's head," in the idiolect of E. A. M. In the latter case the stress pattern appears to have been reversed.
5. [ɛː] -- occurs only in the words [tʃɛːr] "chair," in the idiolect of E. A. M., and [tɛːn] "ten" in the idiolect of C. F. P.

Substitution

/e/ occurs instead of /i/ in the word /rénčǎz/ "rinses," used by four of the informants, instead of /ay/ in the word /éyǎlǎt/ "oil hat," used by T. W., and instead of /ey/ in /peɪ/ "pail" and /pélǎŋ/ "pailing," used by L. G. P. and B. G. F. respectively.

/æ/

Allophones: [æ], [æ̃], [æ̂], [ǣ], and [æ̇].

1. [æ] -- usual distribution.
2. [æ̃] -- This allophone is between [ɛ] and [æ] phonetically but seems closer to the latter phone. It occurs frequently, but without regularity, in strongly stressed syllables and single words in the idiolects of most of the informants. Some examples are: [tæ̃p] "tap," [næ̃n] ("Nan" -- a term for "grandmother"), [ræ̃mpɪk] ("rampike" -- a large, dry, weather-beaten tree), and [bæ̃stɑ̃d] "bastard."
3. [æ̂] -- This allophone is between [a] and [æ] phonetically but seems closer to the latter phone. It occurs only in the word [fæ̂rt'nɛit] "fortnight," in the idiolects of L. G. P. and M. O.

4. [æ:] -- occurs frequently, but without regularity, in single words and strongly-stressed syllables in the idiolects of nine of the informants. Some examples are: [kæ:f] "calf," [kæ:md] "calmed," [ˈpæ:s,ʃə] "pasture," and [m əˈlæ:t] ("milat" -- a person with brown skin.)
5. [æ̃] -- medially before the nasal phones [n] and [ŋ] in strongly stressed syllables. It occurs in the words [kæ̃nˈl] "quintal" (S. M. N.), [kæ̃ntlɪz] "quintals" (B. J. L.), [mæ̃nt ɪˌpɪs] "mantel piece" (E. R.), and [hæ̃ŋkæt] ("hand cat" -- a type of sled) (G. M.).

Substitution

/æ/ occurs instead of the Grand Bank /ey/ in the word /plæŋk/ "plank," in the idiolect of E. A. M.

/a/

Allophones: [a], [a^h], [a^l], [a[·]], and [a:].

1. [a] -- occurs frequently in the idiolects of all the informants in such words as [ˈfagɪ] "foggy," [ræk] "rock," [læɡ] "log," and [ˈslæb aɪs] "slob ice."
2. [a^h] -- this allophone is between [a] and [ʌ] phonetically, but seems to be closer to the first phone. It rarely occurs, and without regularity, in the idiolects of five of the in-

formants. Some examples are: [b^ha^hkɪt]
 "bucket," and [s^ha^hpə] "supper."

3. [a^h] -- occurs only in the word [fra^hg] "frog!" in the idiolect of B. G. F.
4. [a^h] -- occurs only in the sentence [pʌdət 'a:n] "put it on," in the idiolect of B. G. F.
5. [a:] -- occurs frequently, but without regularity, in the idiolects of most of the informants. It is found in strongly stressed syllables and single words. Some examples are: [pa:t] "pot," [fa:g] "fog," [va:mɪt] "vomit," [pra:ŋ ,fæ rək] ("prong fork" -- a fish fork having two prongs), and [sɪn 'dʒa:nz] "St. John's." In the idiolect of E. R. it occurred in a weakly-stressed syllable in the word [b^hv^hɪ ,fræg] "bullfrog."

Substitution

/a/ occurs instead of /ow/ in the words /wátə^hr às/ ("water horse" -- newly washed fish) (M. O.), and /márnɪŋ/ "morning" (G. L. N.). /a/ also replaces /æ/ in /klápbô^hrdz/ "clapboards," used by G. L. N., and /áys kândəl^hz/ ("ice candles" -- icicles), used by W. C. C.

/i/

Allophone: [ɪ].

1. [ɪ] -- usual distribution.

Primary and Tertiary Stress

Francis¹² states that /ɪ/ is rare as a stressed vowel, but often occurs as the regular syllabic of words in several dialects. In the idiolects of most of the informants, /ɪ/ receives tertiary stress in phrases like /ây bân drówv/ "I have driven," and /ây bân ɔ́rd/ "I have heard." In the idiolect of seven informants, /ɪ/ occurs in the word /sáɰərz/ "scissors."

/ə/

Allophones: [ə], [ʌ], [ʌ^w], [ʌ^h], [ʌ], [ʌ], and [ə̃].

1. [ə] -- besides the usual distribution, this segment also occurs frequently, but without regularity, as an off-glide after all vowels and diphthongs in single words and strongly stressed syllables in the idiolects of all the informants. S. M. N., L. G. P., and M. O. had the most occurrences of [ə] as an off-glide. Some examples are: [rʌ^og] "rug," [tʃɛ^əʃ] "chair," [sə^əs] "sauce," [wʊ^ənd] "wound," [mæi^ə d] "maid," [hau^əs] "house," [lei^ən] "lane," [nə^əwɛs] "northwest," [kæ^əskɛt] "casket, and [hʌ^əsɛz] "horses."
2. [ʌ] -- usual distribution.
3. [ʌ^w] -- this allophone is between [a] and [ʌ] phonetically, but seems to be closer to the latter phone. It occurs frequently, but without regularity, in the idiolects of nine

¹²Francis, op. cit., p. 141.

of the informants. It usually occurs in single words and strongly-stressed syllables. Some examples are: [brʌʷʃ] "brush," [smʌʷt] "smut," [gʌʷdə] "gutter," [kʌʷmɛn] "coming," and [brədʌʷp] "brought up." [ʌʷ] also occurs with weaker stress in [pʌʷtʃt'a:n] "put it on." E. A. M. has the most extensive use of [ʌʷ].

4. [ʌʷ]-- This allophone is between [ʌ] and [o] phonetically, but seems to be closer to the former phone. It rarely occurs in the idiolects of three of the informants, being found in single words and medium-stressed syllables. The examples recorded are: [tʌʷdz] "toads" (F. M.), [drʌʷv] "drove" (E. A. M.), [wʌʷkʌp] "woke up" (W. J. P.), and [dʒi'jʌʷvɪz wɪtnəsɪz] "Jehovah's Witnesses" (W. J. P.)¹³
5. [ʌ:]-- This allophone occurs only in the word [gʌ:ʃɪs] "gushes" in the idiolect of S. J. H.
6. [ʌ̃]-- This allophone occurs only in the word [gʌ̃vɪl] ("Gunville" -- a small brook near Grand Bank) in the idiolect of B. J. L.
7. [ɚ]-- This phone is classed here as an allophone of /ə/. following Francis' classification.¹⁴ In the idiolects of the Grand Bank informants [ɚ] occurs principally as a syllabic nucleus of the diphthong [ɚi], but occurs alone in the word [bɚsɪ] ("bossy"-- a call to a cow), in the idiolect of F. M., and [flɚɪ] "flurry," in the idiolect of E. A. M.

¹³This parallels the New England "short o," studied by W. S. Avis, "The Mid-back Vowels in the English of the Eastern United States," unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1956.

¹⁴Francis, op. cit., p. 141.

Substitution

/ə/ occurs instead of /a/ in the word /bəmd/ "bombed," in the idiolect of T. W., and instead of /u/ in the word /stəd/ "stood," in the idiolect of G. M.

Metathesis

When /l/ is metathesized in the idiolects of a few of the informants, /ə/ occurs instead of /i/. This can be seen by showing pairs of words composed of those where metathesis occurred and the normal form used by most of the informants. Such pairs are: /péyǎln/ -- /péylǎŋ/ ("paling" -- thin strips of wood for fences), where metathesis occurs in the idiolects of a few informants, /kíndǎln/ -- /kínlǎnz/ "kindling," where metathesis is rare, and /kéypǎln/ -- /kéyplǎn/ "caplin," where metathesis occurs only in the idiolect of L. G. P.

/A/

Allophones: [a], [aʔ], [a:], [ã], [ɒ], [ɒʔ], [õ].

1. [a] -- occurs frequently in the idiolects of all the informants in such words as [fras] "frost," [faðr] "father," [sastæn] "saw-stand," and [kras ,roʷd] "crossroad."
2. [aʔ] -- occurs only in the word [dɔgz] "dogs" in the idiolect of F. M.
3. [a:] -- occurs frequently, but without regularity, in the idiolects of all the informants. It occurs in single words and in syllables having both strong and medium stress, as in [la:ft] "loft," [sa:s ,dʒɪz] "sausages," and [la: n 'ardɔ] "law and

order." In the idiolects of all the informants, except one, [a:] may occur instead of [a1] or [aɪ]. Fifteen of the informants have both forms, five have [a:] exclusively, and one, F. M., has only [a1] or [aɪ]. Some examples are: [a:vəs ^ dɪ] "all of a sudden," [hɑ:ɪn] "hauling," and [ræk,wɑ:] "rock wall."

4. [ã] -- occurs only in the word [swãmp] "swamp" in the idiolect of L. G. P.
5. [ɒ] -- occurs in free variation with [ɑ] in strongly-stressed syllables and single words, in the idiolects of nineteen of the informants. Some examples are: [dɒk] "dock," [fɒg] "fog," [kɒfɪn] "coffin," and [klɒθ] "cloth."
6. [ɔ:] -- occurs rarely, and without regularity, in the idiolects of seven informants, being found in single words and strongly-stressed syllables. Some examples are: [bɔ:t ,brɛd] ("bought bread" -- bread bought in a store), and [lɔ:f] "loft."
7. [õ] -- occurs before the nasals [n] and [ŋ] in the idiolects of four informants. It is rare and irregular in occurrence. The examples recorded are: [kõŋ,kəɪz] ("conkles" -- common periwinkles) (M. O.), [drõŋ] ("drong" -- a narrow lane) (W. J. P.), and [kõnɔ:z] ("conners" -- a type of scavenger fish) (G. E. B. and E. A. M.).

Substitution

/A/ occurs instead of /ə/ in the word /dʌʃ ʌvɪn/ ("dutch oven" -- an old-fashioned cooking-pan) in the idiolect of S. M. N.

/o/

Allophone: [o[◌]]

1. [o[◌]] -- Francis¹⁵ states that in most American dialects /o/ is rare or missing as a stressed syllabic. [o[◌]] is a somewhat shortened phone, between [o] and [ʌ] phonetically, but seems to be closer to the former phone. Because of this shortened quality, [o[◌]] has been classed as an allophone of /o/. It occurs only in the words [dro[◌]k] ("droke" -- a narrow valley) (G. M.), [sko[◌],piɪz] "sculpins" (W. J. P.), and [do[◌],nʌts] "doughnuts" (F. M.). In all examples, [o[◌]] occurs as a stressed syllabic.

/u/

Allophones: [ʊ], [ʊ[◌]], [ʊ[◌]], and [u].

1. [ʊ] -- besides the usual distribution, occurs also as a glide in the word [mu[◌]ʃɪ] ("moocher" -- one who stays away from school) in the idiolect of S. M. N.
2. [ʊ[◌]] -- this allophone is between [ʊ] and [u] phonetically, but seems closer to the former phone. [ʊ[◌]] occurs only in the words [brʊ[◌]k] "brook" (E. R.), [pʊ[◌]k] "pook" (M. O.) and [pʊ[◌]lɪn] "pull in" (G. E. B.).
3. [ʊ[◌]] -- This allophone is between [ʊ] and [ʌ] but seems to be closer to the former phone. It occurs rarely,

¹⁵Francis, op. cit., p. 142.

and without regularity, in the idiolects of four of the informants. Some examples are: [kʷp 'kʷp] ("coop coop" -- a call to hens) (F. M.), [tʷk] "took" (M. O.), [spʷn] "spoon" (E. A. M.), and [hʷps] "hoops" (S. J. H.).

4. [ʷ]--occurs only in the words [mʷ:t] "mooched," L. G. P., [sʷ:ts] "soots," C. F. P., and [wʷ:l] "wool," G. E. B.

Substitution

/u/ occurs instead of /ə/ in the word /kúbǎrd/ "cupboard" in the idiolect of E. R., and occurs occasionally instead of /uw/ in the idiolects of all the informants except E. M. K. Some examples are: /ruf/ "roof," /spun/ "spoon," /hufs/ "hoofs," /puks/ ("pooks" -- round heaps of hay), and /hups/ "hoops."

(Complex Vowels)

/iy/

Allophones: [i], [iʷ], [i·], [i:], and [y].

1. [i] -- besides the usual distribution,¹⁶ [i] occurs as an on-glide in the word [pj' u] ("pew" -- a fish fork with one prong) in the idiolect of G. M.
2. [iʷ] -- this allophone is between [i] and [i] phonetically, but seems closer to the former phone. It occurs only in the sentence [ðæ s 'hiʷ z] "that's his" in the idiolect of F. M.

¹⁶For a general disucssion on the standard and dialectal distribution of many allophones of complex vowel phonemes, see mainly under [i], [u], [o], [aʷ], [aɪ] and [eɪ] in Claude Merton Wise, Introduction to Phonetics, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958), pp. 90 - 110.

3. [i] -- occurs in strongly-stressed syllables in the idiolects of five of the informants. It is found only in the sentences [tɪz 'i.z] "It's his," [wi 'ji.t] "We ate," and [ɔvi 'ji.t] "Have you eaten?".
4. [i:] -- occurs in the idiolects of most of the informants in the sentence [tɪz 'i:z] "It's his," and in the idiolects of three of the informants in the words [ji:st] "yeast" and [bi:tʃ] "beach."
5. [y] -- occurs only in the words [wy] "we" and [jystə] "used to" in the idiolect of S. J. H.

Nothing phonemically of dialectal interest.

/ey/

Allophones: [ei] , [ei:] , [e^vi] , [e^hi] , [æi] , [æi:] , [æ^hi] , [ɛi] , [ɛ^hi] , and [e].

1. [ei] -- usual distribution; used by all informants.
2. [ei:] -- occurs rarely in the idiolects of seven informants, as in the words [nei:] "neigh," [ei:t] "eight," [kei:g] "keg," and [plei:ŋk] "plank."
3. [e^vi] -- occurs only in the words [e^vit] "eight," and [e^vi:tin] "eighteen" in the idiolect of W. J. P.
4. [e^hi] -- occurs only in the word [e^hi:tin] "eighteen" in the idiolect of A. W.
5. [æi] -- occurs frequently, but without regularity, in place of [ei] in the idiolects of eleven of the informants. It is especially common in S. M. N.'s idiolect and also quite

frequent in that of W. J. P. Some examples are: [b æ ig] "bag," [p æ i l i ŋ] "pailing," [tʃ æ in] "chain," [str æ in dʒ ə] "stranger," and [b æ ik ə z ,br ɛ d] ("bakers' bread" -- bread bought in stores).

6. [æi:] -- occurs rarely, and without regularity, in the idiolects of three informants. The recorded examples are: [dr æ i: gz] ("drags" -- heavy chains for slowing down a sled full of wood), used by T. W., and [b æ i: g] "bag," used by B. J. L. and H. R. W.
7. [æ^i] -- occurs only in the word [bæ^i] "bay" in the idiolect of W. J. P.
8. [ɛi] -- occurs in the idiolect of five informants, usually replacing [ei] or [æi], but this is irregular. The recorded examples are: [st ɛ ik] "stake" (S. J. H.), [dɛ i b ɛ d] "daybed" (E. R.), [g ɛ i j ə r z] "gales" (F. M.), [m ɛ i r k i] ¹⁷ "milky" (S. M. N.), and [t ɛ i r z] "tails" (H. R. W.).
9. [ɛ^i] -- occurs only in the word [nɛ^i r d] "nailed" in the idiolect of E. R.
10. [e] -- occurs in the idiolect of six informants, usually replacing [ei] or [æi], but this is irregular. Some examples are: [et] "eight," [p e l ə n] "pailing," [p e ə r] "pail," [hev] "heave," and [p e g ŋ] "pegging."

Substitution

/ey/ occurs instead of /iy/ in the word /heyv/ "heave" (S. J. H.).

¹⁷When the second element of a diphthong is raised it indicates weak pronunciation of that sound.

/ay/

Allophones: [ɛi], [ɛ̃i], [ɛi:], [ɛ̃i], [ai], [ãi],
[ai:], [ʌi], [ʌi:], [oi], [oi],
and [ai].

(The symbols /ay/ are chosen arbitrarily for the sake of convenience only.)

1. [ɛi] -- this is the most common allophone of /ay/ in the idiolects of the informants, being used by all except E. M. K. It varies with [ai] in the idiolects of thirteen informants, but this is irregular. The distribution of [ɛi] corresponds to that of the phoneme /ai/, as given in Kurath.¹⁸
2. [ɛ̃i] -- this allophone is between [ai] and [ɛi] phonetically, but seems closer to the latter phone. It occurs frequently, but without regularity, in place of [ɛi] in the idiolects of thirteen of the informants. Some examples are: [twɛ̃is] "twice," [spɛ̃iʃəd] "spoiled," [nɛ̃it] "night," [sʌnrɛ̃iz] "sunrise," and [dɛ̃ivd] "dived."
3. [ɛi:] -- occurs rarely, and without regularity, in the idiolects of nine of the informants. Some examples are: [slɛi:d] "slide," [stɛi:] ("sty" -- a pig pen), [grɛi: nstɔʷn] "grindstone," and [hɛ̃nɛi:n] ("handline"

¹⁸Kurath, op. cit., pp. 103 - 104.

- a fishing line with one hook).
4. [ɛ̃i] -- this occurs only in the phrase [ɛ̃i ʁrɛitɛ̃d] "I'm frightened" in the idiolect of B. G. F.
 5. [ai] -- varies frequently, but without regularity, with [ɛi] in the idiolects of thirteen informants and occurs instead of [ɛi] in the idiolect of E. M. K. Some examples are: [ais] "ice," [slaid] "slide," [junhaitɛ̃d] "united," and [spaidøz] "spiders."
 6. [a^ʷi] -- this allophone is between [ai] and [ɛi] phonetically, but seems closer to the former phone. It occurs occasionally, but irregularly, in place of [ai], [ɛi], or [ɛ^ʷi] in the idiolects of eleven of the informants. Some examples are: [fa^ʷiv] "five," [ka^ʷin] "kind," [a^ʷijət] "oil," and [laŋ^ʷla^ʷinə] ("long liner" -- a modern type of fishing boat.)
 7. [ai:] -- occurs somewhat rarely, and without regularity, in the idiolects of seven informants. It occurs mainly in one-syllable words, such as [fai:v] "five," [nai:t] "night," [wai:f] "wife," and [krai:] "cry." It occurs most often in the idiolect of E. A. M.
 8. [ʌi] -- occurs occasionally, usually in single words and strongly-stressed syllables, in the idio-

lects of five informants. Some examples are:
 [ʌijəɪ] "oil" (E. M. K.), [ʌiəɪn] "iron"
 (T. W.), [bʌijəɪ] "boil" (S. M. N.),
 [gʌid] "guide" (F. M.), and [bʌiləɪ]
 "boiler" (M. O.). F. M. has this allophone
 quite often.

9. [ʌi:] -- occurs only in the idiolects of two informants. The recorded examples are: [bʌi:z] "buoys" (F. M.), and [slʌi:dz] "slides" (M. O.).
10. [oi] -- occurs only in the word [boiləɪ] "boiler" in the idiolect of E. M. K.
11. [ɔi] -- occurs only in the word [dɔid] "died" in the idiolect of F. M.
12. [ai] -- occurs rarely, but without regularity, in the idiolects of ten of the informants. Some examples are: [ail] "oil," [paɪɪz] "piles," [faɪəɪd] "fired," and [spaiɪld] "spoiled."

Nothing phonemically of dialectal interest.

/aw/

Allophones: [au], [a^vu], [a[^]u], [a^ʔu], [au:], [ɛ^u],
 and [ɹu].

1. [au] -- usual distribution.
2. [a^vu] -- occurs only in the word [ʔautə^vuəs] "outhouse" in the idiolect of G. M.
3. [a[^]u] -- occurs only in the phrase [ˈgɔwɛn ,da[^]un] "gone down"

"going down" in the idiolect of E. A. M.

4. [a^ɔu] -- occurs only in the word [sa^ɔu] "sow" in the idiolect of F. M.
5. [au:] -- occurs only in the idiolects of G. M., in the word [plau:] "plow," and S. J. H., in the words [hau:s] "house" and [hau:sɪz] "houses."
6. [ɛ^ɪu] -- occurs only in the word [dɛ^ɪun] "down" in the idiolect of S. M. N.
7. [ɛu] -- occurs only in the word [hɛus] "house" in the idiolect of E. A. M.

Substitution

/aw/ occurs instead of /a/ in the words /páwǝrz/ "powers," in the idiolect of S. J. H., and /fláwǝrz/ "flowers," in the idiolect of G. M.

/ow/

Allophones: [o], [ọ], [o:], and [ɔ̃].

1. [o] -- usual distribution.
2. [ọ] -- occurs only in the word [pọ:s] "posts" in the idiolect of S. R. C.
3. [o:] -- occurs commonly in the idiolects of five informants in the word [wo:˥] ("whoa" -- a call to stop a horse), and occurs only in the words [jo:˥k] "yoke," in the idiolect

of E. A. M., and [sto:ˤv] "stove," in the idiolects of G. M. and G. E. B.

4. [õ] -- occurs in the idiolects of six of the informants in the utterance [ˈdõw a nago] "don't want to go." This nasalized allophone also occurs in the phrase [dõˤ ,nevøˤ] "don't never" in the idiolect of S. M. N.

Nothing phonemically of dialectal interest.

/uw/

Allophones: [u] , [uˤ] , [u˙] , and [u:].

1. [u] -- usual distribution.
2. [uˤ] -- this allophone is between [v] and [u] phonetically, but seems closer to the latter phone. It occurs occasionally, but without regularity, in the idiolects of eleven informants. Some examples are: [spuˤən] "spoon," [wuˤən] "wound," [tuˤ] "two," [ɥuˤz,dɪ] "Tuesday," and [h æ f leig ,buˤts] ("half-leg boots" -- short knee-length boots)
3. [u˙] -- occurs in the idiolects of four of the informants only in the word [nu ˈsu˙t] "new suit." In this only example the syllable is strongly stressed.
4. [u:] -- occurs occasionally, but without regularity, in single words and strongly-stressed syl-

ables in the idiolects of most of the informants. Some examples are: [t̥u:b] "tube," [hu:əfs] "hoofs," [wʊn] "wound," and [æftə'nu:n] "afternoon."

Nothing phonemically of dialectal interest.

2.2.3. Suprasegmental Phonemes

The suprasegmental phonemes of the twenty-one Grand Bank informants are:

- (a) Stresses: / / ^ \ v /
- (b) Internal juncture: / + /
- (c) Pitches: / 1 2 3 4 /
- (d) Terminal junctures: / | || # /

No independent analysis of the suprasegmental phonemes was made because, as the phonemic system was being studied, it was found that the above phonemes had, generally, the same distributional patterns as those listed in Trager and Smith.¹⁹ Their system adequately describes the phonemes which the writer could hear in free conversation. For the sake of simplification, only stresses were used in phonemic transcription.

2.3. Summary

It can be seen, from the previous review, that there are

FOURTEEN EIGHTY-NINE TWO SEVEN FIVE

¹⁹Trager and Smith, op. cit., pp. 35 - 52.

several distinctive features of pronunciation in the speech of the Grand Bank informants. One of the most frequent of those is the glottal stop which occurs instead of a variety of consonants, including both voiced and voiceless phones. The initial and intervocalic addition of /h/, as well as its loss, was also found quite often. Unexpected off-glides, especially /w/ and /y/, frequently occurred in vowel sequences and there was also a high degree of assimilation of consonants, particularly among bilabial phones. Many consonants in various words were dropped by most of the informants, perhaps because of their rapid speech. Other interesting points concerning the consonants are the initial voicing of /f/ and /s/ which occurred in the idiolects of E. R., W. J. P., and B. J. L., the metathesis of /r/ and /l/ in several words, and the lengthening of /s/, /m/, and /r/ in a few words in the idiolects of a small number of informants. It is interesting to note that no examples of the "clear l" [ɫ] were recorded. Among the vowels, modification due to fronting, retraction, raising, and lowering was frequent, and so was lengthening. The vowel phones [æ], [a], [ɒ], [ʌ], and [o] were also nasalized in a few words. Two phones [ã] and [ɔ̃] occurred where speakers of other types of English used [ɔ], and a form of "short o" [ʌ̃] was recorded in a few words in the idiolects of F. M., E. A. M., and W. J. P.

3. SOME ASPECTS OF GRAMMAR

3.1. Introduction

Only the main grammatical features which are of dialectal interest will be dealt with in this discussion. This is because of the wide variation in grammatical usage of the informants and the lack of sufficient material for a more complete study.

There will be no separate discussions of morphology and syntax because nearly all of the items dealt with here are of a syntactical nature. Instead, four main parts of speech, nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, with their subclasses, will be dealt with. The syntactical functions of each part of speech which are of dialectal interest will be described and brief discussions will follow. Any morphological items will be described at the beginning of each section. The grammatical classification and discussion is based mainly on that in Francis, Structure of American English.¹

¹Francis, op. cit., chapters 4 - 7.

3.2. Discussion3.2.1. Verbs

The verb "be"

The present, or common, tense of this verb has a variety of forms, seven altogether, in the idiolects of the twenty-one informants. The phrase used in the elicitation of these forms was "I'm going" (20.6 in the questionnaire), and often assimilation occurred, /m/ to /ŋ/, because of the presence of the velar stop /g/. The following is a list of pronouns plus the present tense of the verb "be," as elicited from the informants:

	Singular			Plural		
	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
1.	/ayŋ/	/yowr/	/hiyz/ /ʃiyz/	/wər/	/yowr/	/ðer/ -- E.M.K.
2.	/aym/	/yəɾ/	/hiyz/ /ʃiyz/	/wər/	/yəɾ/	/ðər/ -- W.C.C.
3.	/aym/	/yuwŋ/	/hiyz/ /ʃiyz/	/wer/	/yuwŋ/	/ðeym/ -- S.M.N.
4.	/ayŋ/	/yowr/	/hiyz/ /ʃiyz/	/wər/	/yowr/	/ðər/ -- A.W. & H. R. W.
5.	/ayŋ/	/yuwŋ/	/hiyz/ /ʃiyz/	/wer/	/yuwŋ/	/ðeyŋ/ -- E.R.
6.	/ayŋ/	/yuwŋ/	/hiyz/ /ʃiyz/	/wər ʌl/	/yəɾ ʌl/	/ðər/ -- F.M.
7.	/ayŋ/	/yuwŋ/	/hiyz/ /ʃiyz/	/wiŋŋ/	/yuwŋ/	/ðeyŋ/ -- 15 informants

The first person singular, "I am," has the dialectal form /ayŋ/, the second person singular "you are" has the dialectal

forms /yər/ and /yuwŋ/, the third person singular "he is" or "she is" has no dialectal forms, the first person plural "we are" has the dialectal forms /wər/ and /wiyŋ/, with the exception of F. M. who has the form /wər Àl/, the second person plural "you are" has the dialectal forms /yər/ and /yuwŋ/, again with the exception of F. M. who had /yər Àl/, and the third person plural "they are" has the dialectal forms /ðər/, /ðeym/, and /ðeyŋ/.

Five informants, S. M. N., A. W., E. M. K., W. C. C., and H. R. W., had the largest number of standard forms of the present tense of the verb "be." The education level reached by those informants ranges from Grade VI to Grade XI. The second person singular and plural was the same in all informants, except for F. M. who used /Al/ after both the first and second person plural to denote plurality.

Lack of concord, especially in the verb "be," is widespread in the idiolects of the informants. Francis² states that the third person singular of all English verbs, except the modal auxiliaries, consists of the base form + {-s}. He adds that certain forms of the verb "be" other than the third person singular also have the above structure, and nouns with the plural inflection {-es} take the plural verb form.

In the standard past tense form of the verb "be," only the first person and third person singular have the form /wəz/,

²Francis, op. cit., pp. 242 and 330.

the other form being /wər/. Eighteen of the Grand Bank informants used /wəz/ as the only form in the past tense, and only two, F. M., and E. M. K., used both forms in the standard manner.

In the standard present tense, the second person singular and plural both take the form /æ r/. However, eleven of the informants used the form /iz/ for the second and third person as well. Some sample sentences are: /wərzìy gówĩn/ "Where's ee goin?" and /hāwízìy/ "How is ee?".

Nouns with {-es} took the singular verb forms /iz/ or /wəz/ instead of the standard plural verb forms /æ r/ or /wər/ in the idiolects of seventeen informants. Some examples of this lack of concord are: /əpəlz ɪz piyəld/ "Apples is peeled" and /ðə bláynz wəz pũld/ "The blinds was pulled." Only W. C. C. and H. R. W. used the traditional plural forms.

One dialectal form of the verb "be" which was widespread among the informants was /biyz/ "bees." /biyz/ functions as a copulative verb in the following positions:

1. Before miscellaneous adverbs which have no formal markers to distinguish them in isolation. Examples are: /áy biyz ðər Áfĩn/ "I bees there often" -- A. W., /yúw biyz əwéy/ "You bees away" -- S. J. H., /áy biyz ówm Alə táym/ "I bees home all the time" -- S. J. H., and /ðéy biyz dawntáwn/ "They bees downtown" -- S. J. H.

"There" was the most common adverb which followed /biyz/ and occurred in most of the examples given by the informants.

2. Before adjectives. Only two examples were recorded, those being /áy nêvər biyz sîk/ "I never bees sick" -- E. A. M., and /ây biyz bîzi/ "I bees busy" -- G. M.

3. Before the past participle of verbs. This was found in only one example: /Álêvər biyz sêd/ "All ever bees said" -- T. W.

/biyz/ also occurs in an included clause used as a modifier with an adjective as head. This was found in only one example in the idiolects of five informants. The example was /hiyz (or /šiyz/) bîziyər ðîn ây biyz/ "He's (or she's) busier than I bees."

The negative form of /biyz/, in the idiolects of S. P., W. J. P., and L. G. P., is /nêvər biyz/ "never bees." As is often found in the speech of most of the informants, the adverb "never" is placed before the verb to form the negative in many cases.

The interrogative status of the verb "be" is marked by a simple inversion of the subject and the verb.³ However, in the sentence /dûw ày biy sîk Â ðə táym/ "Do I be sick all the

³Francis, op. cit., p. 337.

time?", used by A. W. and E. A. M., the auxiliary "do" precedes the subject, as is the case of the other verbs in the interrogative status which do not have an auxiliary in the affirmative status.

The idea of duration pervades the usage of this form of the verb "be," although this is merely an impression based on a small number of examples. This feeling of continuous action can be seen in such sentences as /*æftər ày bìyz ɔ́r*/ "After I bees there," which suggests that the speaker goes to a certain place continuously, and /*yúw bìyz ɔ́wéy*/, "You bees away," in which one of the informants informed the writer that he was away from Grand Bank quite often. Further reinforcement for this idea is the phrase "ever bees," used by C. F. P. and E. A. M., which stresses continuous action. However, a more intensive study will have to be made before any definite statements on semantics can be made.

Sixteen informants used "bees" in its various distribution.

One particularly puzzling usage of the verb "be" is the past participle /*bin*/ "been" occurring before another past participle. Many verbs in the idiolects of most of the informants have the past-tense and past-participle forms identical, although they are different in standard speech, but one can recognize the past participle by its position in the sentence. It occurs after certain auxiliaries and may occur before a direct object or adverb. Thus, the verb forms which

occur after /bɪn/ "been" in the idiolects of most of the informants can be classed as past participles.

There were six different occurrences of /bɪn/ + past participle, and the following is a list of those occurrences:

1. /áy éym bǐn dâñít/ "I ain't been done it."

(This was the most common form, though there were several minor phonetic variations.) It was used by twelve of the informants.

2. /áy bǐn kùk sèmiyǎlz/ "I been cooked some meals," used only by G. L. N. (Here the /t/ in the past participle /kukt/ appears to have been dropped.)

3. /áy bǐn kâ t môwr wûdǎñ yúw/ "I been cut more wood than you," used only by T. W.

4. /áy bǐn drôwv lâtsǎnéylz/ or /-- mêníyǎnéyl/ "I been drove lots of nails (or) many a nail." This occurred, with minor phonetic variations, in the idiolects of six informants.

5. /áy bǐn ârdít "I been heard it," used only by G. L. N.

6. /âviy bǐn íyt/ "Have ee been eat," meaning "Have you eaten?," used only by E. R. and S. J. H.

More examples need to be collected before any definite statement on this use of /bɪn/ can be made. An impression

gained from studying the above examples is that the occurrence of /bɪn/ + past participle suggests that the action ("cooked, cut, heard," etc.) took place farther back in the past than any action denoted by the occurrence of "have" + past participle.

In the idiolects of five of the informants, "have" was dropped from the phrase "have been" which occurred before present participles, past participles, and adverbs. Some of the examples obtained are /ây bɪn dráyvɪnèylz/ "I been driving nails," used by W. C. C., /wɛn ɔ̃ láyts bɪn láytd̃ ìn ɔ̃ šaps/ "When the lights been lighted in the shops," used by S. J. H., and /ây bɪn yər ɔ̃riy tãymz/ "I been here three times," used by T. W.

There are several interesting negative forms of the verb "be." The standard present tense forms are "am not," "is not," or "are not." However, in the idiolects of four informants, S. J. H., L. G. P., W. J. P., and T. W., the form /ídɪn/ "idden" occurs as the only form in the present tense. Most informants also had the interrogative form /ídɪnáy/ "Idden I?", the standard equivalent being "Am I not?". The negative past tense form /wúɪn/ "woulden" with standard equivalents "wasn't" or "weren't," also occurred in the idiolects of six informants, including the three above. This form has the homophones /wúɪn/ "wooden" and /wúɪn/ "wouldn't" but they can be distinguished by their position in a sentence. "Wooden" is an adjective which occurs before a noun, "wouldn't" is a modal auxiliary + "not" which occurs before the base form of a verb, and "woulden" is a copulative

verb + "not" which occurs before adjectives.

Another interesting negative form is the personal pronoun + "not." This occurred in the idiolects of most of the informants and resulted in the forms /áynàt/ "I not," /yúwnàt/ "you not," /híynàt/ "he not" (F. M. only), /wiynàt/ "we not," and /ðéynàt/ "they not." The most common examples recorded were /âynàt gówĩn/ "I not going," /yúwnàt gówĩn/ "you not going," /híynàt gówĩn/ "he not going," etc. It must be noted here that {not}, in the above sentences, may have the allomorphs /nat, na, and nak (by assimilation)/.

Other Verbs

The past-tense and ~~past~~ participle forms of many verbs in the idiolects of most of the informants were quite different from the standard past and participle forms of those verbs. The so-called "strong verbs," which have their past-tense formed by /θ/ + vowel change, have been regularized in many cases. For instance, "throw" has the dialectal form /θrowd/ "threwed" instead of the standard form /θruw/ "threw," "rise" has /rayzd/ "rised" instead of /rowz/ "rose," and "blow" has /blowd/ "blowed" instead of /bluw/ "blew." As the addition of {-ed₁} to the base form is the most common method of forming the past-tense of a verb, it appears that, by analogy, many of the informants apply this method to many irregular verbs.

Many past participles which are different in form from the past-tense of their respective verbs in standard speech have

identical forms in the idiolects of many Grand Bank informants. For example, "eat" has the past-tense /ayt/ "ate" and the past participle /iyt̃in/ "eaten," but most of the informants used only one form /iyt/ "eat." Also, "bite" has the forms /bit/ "bit" and /bit̃in/ "bitten" but most informants used one form /bit/ "bit," and "drive" has the forms /drowv/ "drove" and /dríṽin/ "driven" but most informants used only either /drowv/ "drove" or /dr̃ov/ "druv." Only six informants, W. C. C., E. M. K., E. A. M., S. R. C., C. F. P., and A. W. had any frequent occurrence of standard forms of the past-tense and past participle.

The verb-phrase /hæv/ + past participle has an interesting form in the idiolects of ten of the informants. This is (I) + /hæv/ + a + past participle, and is found in the following phrases:

1. /âyṽədr̃owv/ or /âyṽədr̃əv/ "I've-a-drove," instead of "I've driven, used by nine informants.
2. /âyṽəh̃ərd/ or /âyṽəỹərd/ "I've-a-heard/, instead of "I've heard," used by seven informants.
3. /âyṽəbr̃ət/ "I've-a-brought," instead of "I've brought," used only by M. O.
4. /âyṽə iyt/ "I've-a-eat," instead of "I've eaten," used only by F. M.
5. /âyṽəñeɪld/ "I've-a-nailed," instead of "I've nailed," used only by E. R.

The verb-phrase "after" + present participle occurred only in the sentence "The pond was after freezing over," in the idiolect of E. A. M.

Lack of concord is found in the verb "do" where the third-

singular person takes the common-person form "do" instead of the standard form "does." Only E. A. M. and E. M. K. have the standard form "he does." In the sentence "He does do it," where the auxiliary form "does" occurs with the base form "do," S. M. N. has /hiy dúw dúw ǎt/ "He do do it." All informants used {-s} on all ordinary verbs; for example, "we cuts," "they drives."

(Several dialectal nouns occur also as verbs in the idioms of nine informants.) Those verbs and the informants who used them are listed in the following manner:

1. /y^éfǎ1/ "To pick up a yaffle of fish," used only by G. E. B.
2. /lâg lówd/ "To fill up completely," used by L. G. P. and T. W. (Used mainly when speaking of dories.)
3. /t^ér^ŋkówt/ "To change one's church," used only by M. O. (W. J. P. also had the sentence /iy t^ér^ŋdiz kówt/ "He turned his coat.")
4. /rayn/ "To remove the outer covering," used only by F. M.
5. /lǎn/ "To abate or die out" (Used only when speaking of the wind.) Used by S. M. N., E. R., and W. J. P.
6. /šowr/ "To support or hold up." Used only by S. M. N.
7. /smət/ "To blacken with soot." Used only by E. R.

A more extensive study of verb usage in Grand Bank, especially of the verb "be," would be very interesting and rewarding.

3.2.2 Nouns

Formation of Plurals

Often, in the idiolects of most of the informants, the plural allomorphs /-s/ and /-z/ are dropped from nouns of quantity preceded by numerals. Examples involving four different nouns were recorded, those being /náyntì máyl/ "ninety miles," S. P., /áyt búšǎl/ "eight bushel," S. P., /téǵ kǎntǎľǎfiš/ "ten quintal of fish," used by eight informants, and /túw yówk/ "two yokes," used by seventeen informants. It is interesting to note that, for the third example, most informants used the standard plural form /kǎntǎľz/ "quintals," while, for the fourth example, only four people used the standard plural form /yowks/ "yokes."

The bait-fish, "herring," caplin," and "squid," have the zero allomorph /ø/ for the plural form, and only S. J. H. has the allomorph /-z/ in /skwidz/.

There were many varieties of plural forms for nouns ending in the consonant clusters /sk/ or /st/. Four nouns of this type, "post," "fist," "tusk" and "cask" occurred in the questionnaires, and the following is a list of their plural forms and the number of informants using each one.

- | | | | | | |
|----|-------|---------------------------|--|--|-----------------------|
| 1. | /-s/ | /powsts/
(E. M. K.) | | /tǎskz/
(H. R. W., S. R. C.)
W. C. C.) | /kǎstz/
(B. J. L.) |
| 2. | /-is/ | /pówstǐs/
(4 informs.) | /fǐstǐs/
(A. W., M. O.)
(G. E. B.) | /tǎskǐs/
(5 informs.) | |

3. /-iz/ /pówstǐz/ /fǐstǐz/ /tǎskǐz/ /kǎsǐz/
 (9 informs.) (4 informs.) (5 informs.) (B. G. F.)
4. /-iz/ /pówstǐz/ fǐstǐz/ /tǎskǐz/
 (G. M., E. R.) (L. G. P.) (W. J. P.)
 (L. G. P.) (W. J. P.)
5. /∅/ /pows/ /fis/ /tǎs/
 (4 informs.) (12 informs.) (S. J. H., G. E. B.)

The consonant clusters /-sts/ and -sks/ require careful articulation. Five informants, with an education range of Grades VI to XI, used the standard allomorph /-s/, but, in the rapid speech of most of the informants, either the final /ts/ and /ks/ were dropped or an allomorph composed of a vowel and consonant was added.

Pronouns

Francis⁴ classes the pronouns as a subclass of the nouns and lists eight, including "who" and its objective and possessive forms "whom" and "whose." Not enough information was gathered for a comprehensive chart of pronoun usage in the dialect to be drawn up, so, instead, the pronouns will be listed systematically, from "I" to "they," and comments will be made on their various forms and use by the informants.

1. "I": The objective form of this pronoun is normally /miy/ "me," but fourteen of the informants used /ay/ "I," instead, for the objective, and seven, who are relatively highly

⁴Francis, op. cit., p. 244.

educated, used the normal form. The sentence in which this occurred was /nôwăt^ˈwudínáy/ "No, it woulden I" (normally "No, it wasn't me."). Instead of the standard first possessive form /may/ "my," sixteen of the informants used /miy/ "me" in such utterances as /mìy^ˈózbĭn/ "me husband" and /mìy^ˈdíšĭz/ "me dishes." Only W. C. C. and E. M. K. used the standard form "my."

2. "You" -- singular: Instead of the normal subjective form /yuw/ "you," B. J. L. has /yiy/ "ye" in the sentence /yĭy^ˈšĭd^ˈnôw^ˈđăt/ "Ye should know that." In the interrogative status, when the subjective form occurs after the auxiliary, /you/ "you" does not change in standard usage. However, in the idiolects of eleven informants, the form /iy/ "ee" occurred instead of the standard pronoun "you." One example of this is the sentence /wénziy^ˈkâmĭn^ˈǒgĭn/ "When's ee comin' agin?". The compound pronoun /yôwrsélf/ "yourself" is formed with the first possessive form. In place of this, B. J. L. has the compound pronoun /đâysélf/ "thysel" which is formed with the first possessive form /đay/. It is found in the sentence, similar to that above, /yĭy^ˈšĭd^ˈnôw^ˈđăt^ˈđâysélf/ "Ye should know that thysel."

3. "He": The standard second possessive form of this pronoun is /hiz/ "his," but twenty of the informants used the form /hiyz/ "hees," as found in the sentence /đâs^ˈíyz/ "That's hees." Only E. M. K. used the standard form "his."

4. "It": The standard objective form /it/ "it" is used by most of the informants, but S. M. N. and E. R. used the form

/in/ "en" in the sentence /pûtin án/ "Put en on." Brook⁵ states that the Old English accusative form "hine" survives in Southern English dialects as "en" or "un" and it is used of things as well as persons. It appears that /in/ in the idiolects of those two informants above may be that form.

5. "We": In the negative-interrogative status, the subject occurs after the function word "not," with the first auxiliary at the beginning of the sentence.⁶ The subjective form of the pronoun "we" remains the same, either in its characteristic position at the beginning of a sentence or in its inverted position after "not." B. J. L. has the form /əs/ "us" under weak stress, instead of the standard subjective form /wiy/ "we." This occurs in the phrase /wádin əs/ "wouldn't us?".

6. "You" -- plural: There are many forms of this plural pronoun in the idiolects of most of the informants. These were obtained mainly by eliciting the sentence "When are you coming again?", or a close version, from each informant. Most of them had forms of the plural pronoun "you," while six used the word "everybody." The following is a list of the forms of "you" obtained and the speakers who used them.

1. /yə/ "you" -- used by five informants.

⁵Brook, op. cit., p. 104.

⁶Francis, op. cit., p. 338.

2. /iy/ "ee" -- used only by S. M. N. (A plural form)
3. /yuwz/ "youse" -- used only by E. R. (Also found in /yúwz kǎh gów/ "Youse can go.")
4. /iyÁ1/ "ye all" -- used only by A. W.
5. /iyÁ1/ "ee all" -- used by five informants.
6. /yA1/ "y'all" -- used only by G. M.
7. /Á1 yúwz/ "all youse" -- used only by F. M.

7. "They": When the standard subjective form "they" is inverted in the interrogative status it does not change its form. However, in the idiolects of B. J. L. and E. R., the inverted form is /əm/ "em," occurring in the sentences /izǎm gównǎ gítinìy/ "Is em going to get any?", used by the former informant, and /hǎ vǎmǎd/ "have they had?", used by the latter. Brook⁷ states: "In many dialects we find "'em" [əm] as a lightly stressed form of the objective case with [ðɛm] as the strongly stressed form. The form "'em" is not a weakened form of "them" but is descended from the O. E. dative plural form "heom," which was earlier "him." The Grand Bank form "em" has weak stress. This form is also found in Southwest England where the subjective forms of pronouns occur with strong stress and various non-standard forms with weak stress."⁸

Although few examples were recorded, most of the Grand Bank informants used the subjective forms of pronouns in stressed positions. Some examples are /gívítuway/ "Give it

⁷Brook, op. cit., p. 105.

⁸F. M. P., "Outlines of Dorset Grammar", Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset, 6 (1899), pp. 105 - 106.

to I" and /dówn hît híy/ "Don't hit he."

3.2.3 Adjectives

Formation of Adjectives

The morpheme {en₂} is added to nouns to form a small number of derived adjectives. Francis states that what few there are seem to be on their way out, as they are being replaced, usually, by the stem noun itself.⁹ Examples which he gives are "wood floors" and "oak chest." However, in the idiolects of four informants, {-en} is added to three nouns with which it never occurs in standard speech. Those are "board," "tin," and "glass," which often modify other nouns by occurring before them. In the idiolects of the above informants the following forms occur:

1. /bówrđin fênts/ "boarden fence" -- used only by B. J. L.
2. /glæ sin bábrz/ ("glassen bobbers" -- glass floats for trawls) -- used by B. G. F., and /glæ sîñ mág/ "glassen mug" -- used by S. P.
3. /tîñ sùwtkeys/ "tinnen suitcase" -- used only by W. J. P.

The morpheme suffix {-y} is added to several dialectal words by twelve of the informants to form adjectives. The most common of those derived adjectives was /lôndi/ ("lundy" -- sheltered) which occurred in the idiolects of eleven informants. Others were: /dánči/ ("dunchy" -- thick and soggy), A. W., /míski/

⁹Francis, op. cit., pp. 274 -275.

("miski" -- misty), B. J. L., G. M., and L. G. P., and /grízli/ ("grizzly" -- damp and foggy), used by G. M. Also, B. J. L. had the adjective /sênsâyni/ "sunshiny," which appeared in the utterance /sênsâyni déy/ "sunshiny day."

Other Points of Interest

Adjective qualifiers, according to Francis, ". . . appear immediately before an adjective in most cases and have the function of indicating the degree to which the meaning of the adjective is applicable."¹⁰ The adjective qualifiers, "some" and "right," according to Stageberg¹¹ are limited in distribution. However, both those qualifiers were widely used by all the informants and their patterns of distribution are shown below.

1. The adjective qualifier "some" occurs before:

- (a) Base adjectives. Some examples are /səm smært/ "some smart," used by twelve informants, /səm hærd/ "some hard," used only by W. C. C., and /səm gúd/ "some good," used by F. M. and A. W. "Some" occurred most commonly before base adjectives.
- (b) Derived adjectives composed of a noun or bound stem + {-y}. Some examples are: /səm pórki/

¹⁰Francis, op. cit., p. 278.

¹¹Norman C. Stageberg, An Introductory English Grammar (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966), p. 228.

"some perky," used by G. E. B. and L. G. P., /s^hm f^hgⁱ/ "some foggy," used only by B. J. L., and /s^hm h^hpⁱ/ "some happy," used only by S. M. N.

- (c) Other derived adjectives. Only two examples were recorded, those being /s^hm l^hayv^li/ "some lively," used by F. M. and S. J. H., and /s^hm ^hekt^{iv}/ "some active," used by L. G. P., H. R. W., and S. R. C.

2. The adjective qualifier "right" occurs before:

- (a) Base adjectives. Some examples are: /r^hayt fl^hat/ "right flat," used by G. M. and T. W., /r^hay swi^{yt}/ "right sweet," used only by S. M. N., and /r^hay w^{et}/ "right wet," used only by F. M.
- (b) Derived adjectives composed of a noun or bound stem + {-y}. Only two examples were recorded, those being /r^hayt m^oki/ "right mucky," used only by G. L. N., and /r^hay kl^hamⁱ/ "right clammy," used only by S. M. N.
- (c) Adverbs. Only two examples were recorded, those being /r^hayt f^ow^rard/ "right forward," used by A. W., and /r^hay ^orawn/ "right around," used only by G. E. B.

"Right" occurred most commonly before base adjectives.

The main difference in the distribution of "right" and "some" is that only "right" may occur before adverbs. As only two examples

where recorded it is not known if all groups of adverbs are included. It is the writer's impression that other derived adjectives, besides those composed of a noun or bound stem + {-y}, may follow "right" as well as "some."

The modifying words "either" and "neither" commonly occur as noun-determiners in the idiolects of all the informants, and, in this function, their meaning corresponds roughly to "any" or "no." Several forms of "either" and "neither" commonly occur as noun-determiners in the idiolects of all the informants:

1. /iyǎ̌r/ "either" -- /níyǎ̌r/ "neither," used by twelve informants.
2. /áyǎ̌r/ "either" -- /náyǎ̌r/ "neither," used by eight informants.
3. /ǎ̌r/ "ar" -- /nǎ̌r/ "nar," used by ten informants.
4. /ihr/ "e'er" -- /nihr/ "ne'er," used only by L. G. P.
5. /er/ "e'er" -- /ner/ "ne'er," used by five informants.

The forms /ǎ̌rn/ "any one" -- /nǎ̌rn/ "not one" also occurred in the idiolect of S. M. N.

Some examples of each form are: /gât iyǎ̌r béri/ "Got either berry?", E. A. M. and A. W., and /ðə̀rz níyǎ̌r fláy ðə̀r/ "There's neither fly there," E. A. M.; /siyáyǎ̌r wən/ "See either one?", W. J. P., and /náyǎ̌r wən ðə̀r/ "Neither one there," G. L. N.; /ǎ̌vígát ǎ̌r wən/ "Have ee got ar one?",

W. J. P. and T. W., and /tə̌r wə̌z nɛ̌r ɛ̌ zər tər/ "There was nar razor there," S. P.; /ɛ̌ vɪy gət iħr wən/ "Have ee got e'er one?", L. G. P., and /niħr wən yər/ "Ne'er one yer (here)", L. G. P.; /siyər wən/ "See e'er one?", G. E. B., and /nər wənər bəy/ "Ne'er one here, boy," A. W. S. M. N. also had /ɛ̌ rn dɛ̌ givɪs/ "Arn to give us?" (which can be read as "Do you have one to give me?") and /nɛ̌ rn yər/ "Narn yer (here)" (which can be read as "(There's) not one here.)) Many informants used several forms of "either" and "neither."

3.2.4 Adverbs

The adverb "never," besides occurring after the verb, may also occur directly before it, between auxiliary and verb, or between two auxiliaries.¹² However, "never" occurs before all auxiliaries in the verb phrase "never used to be," which was used by all the informants. Several sentences having this phrase were recorded, the most common one being /ʃiy nɛ̌vər yúwstə̌biy skɛ̌rd/ "She never used to be scared." This was used by nine informants. "Never" also occurs before the past tense "seen" in the sentence /wiynɛ̌vər siynə̌gən/ "We never seen a gun," used by T. W. "Never" is more frequent than the verb phrase "did not" in the speech of the Grand Bank informants.

When "never" occurs directly before a verb, the adverb "ever" sometimes follows it, emphasizing that a particular event did not happen over a long period of time. T. W. was

¹²

¹²Francis, op. cit., p. 315.

the only informant using this form of the negative status. It occurred in the sentences /wîy nèvǎrèvǎr siyn wən/ "We never ever seen one" and /wîy nèvǎrèvǎr sèdʒət/ "We never ever said that."

3.2.5 Prepositions

The preposition "for" occurs before the marked infinitive form of verbs in the idiolects of seventeen informants. S. M. N., W. C. C., S. R. C., and G. L. N. did not use this in their idiolects. Some examples are: /fər dəvámít/ "for to vomit," B. G. F., /fər də pikəpǎrák/ "for to pick up a rock," A. W., /fər dəláyt ǎ́ fáyǎr/ "for to light the fire," L. G. P., /fər də plǎnt səm siydz/ "for to plant some seeds," G. E. B., and /fər də spiýk tùwǐn/ "for to speak to him," T. W. The use of "for" + "to" implies purpose.

Some prepositions were combined into what could be classed as compound prepositions. Francis¹³ states that usually the first element functions as an adverb and the second is a simple preposition. Both recorded groups of prepositions /ʌn fǎr/ "on for" and /ǎp tǎwǎrd/ "up toward" occurred after the present participle form of verbs and the first element of each group appeared to modify those verbs. Thus, both "on" and "up" may have an adverbial function. The examples in which those compound prepositions occurred are: /gǎwǐnǎn fǎr tén/ "going

¹³Francis, op. cit., p. 307.

on for ten" (which can be read as "soon be ten o'clock"), used by S. M. N. and /blówĩnəp təwòwrdəbríyz/ "blowing up toward a breeze" (which can be read as "getting windy"), used by G. M.

3.2.6. Double Negatives

The discussion of the double negatives has been placed in a separate section because they include verbs, adverbs, and noun determiners. The double negatives are classed as follows:

1. Verb "be" + adverb

(a) "ain't never," used only by S. M. N.

2. Verb "do" + adverb

(a) "don't never," used only by S. M. N. /áy dównèvər dùw ðæt/ "I don't never do that."

(b) "don't hardly," used only by F. M.

3. Verb "do" + noun determiner

(a) "don't + "neither" /níyðər/, used by E. A. M. and S. J. H. Example: /áy dówníyðər wàn/ "I don't want neither one," S. J. H.

4. Verb "have" + noun determiner

(a) "haven't" + neither /níyðər/, used only by F. M. /áy əvĩn gât níyðər əks/ "I haven't got neither axe."

5. Adverb + noun determiner

- (a) "never" + "neither" /níyǎǎr/, used by M. O. and G. E. B. and found in /ây nèvǎr siyn níyǎǎr wǎn/ "I never seen neither one."
- (b) "never" + "neither" /náyǎǎr/, used by W. C. C., H. R. W., and G. L. N. Example: /ây nèvǎr æ d náyǎǎr wǎn/ "I never had neither one," W. C. C.
- (c) "never" + "ne'er," used only by E. R.
/ây nèvǎr ziyn nèr wǎn/ "I never seen ne'er one."
- (d) "never" + "nar", used by four informants. Example: /ây nèvǎr siyn æ r šíp/ "I never seen nar ship," S. P.
- (e) "never" + "no," used by L. G. P., G. E. B., and B. J. L. Example: /ây nèvǎr æ d nòw kâz tǎ sèy šæt/ "I never had no cause to say that," B. J. L.
- (f) "never no," used only by E. M. K.
/ðǎr wǎz nèvǎr nòw skæ r/ "There was never no scar."

Double negatives were used by seventeen informants. This is probably a form of redundancy to emphasize that a particular event did not occur.

3.3 Summary

The verb "be" has many interesting forms in the idiolects of the informants, particularly the form "bees," and also "been" + past participle. Also of interest are the various non-standard forms of the past tense and past participle of many verbs, and the forms of certain pronouns which occurred when the subjective form was inverted in the negative status. The prevalence of the adjective qualifiers "some" and "right," the many forms of double negatives, and the various forms of "either" and "neither" when used as noun-determiners are also intriguing and invite further study.

4. LOCAL WORDS AND MEANINGS

4.1 Introduction

This discussion is divided into five main sections which cover, generally, the lives and occupations of the people of Grand Bank and the world around them. These sections are:

1. The Fishery
2. The Home and Home Life
3. Subsistence Farming
4. The Landscape
5. Flora and Fauna

In this discussion, the section on the fishery is considered the most important from a dialectal point of view and, therefore, is the most extensive.

Most lexical responses of the informants varied widely and this variation is shown in the selected items dealt with here. Most of the interesting items recorded will be found in the glossary. The number of informants using each word will be discussed, as well as their educational background where it is applicable. If a word occurs in the English Dialect Dictionary¹, hereafter called the EDD, its distribution in the British

¹The English Dialect Dictionary, ed. Joseph Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1898-1903).

Isles will be noted, according to that dictionary, and any differences in meaning will be discussed.

For this discussion, the informants will be classed according to groups, as follows: Group 1 -- above the age of seventy, Group 2 -- forty to seventy years, and Group 3 -- below forty years of age. This is to show any changes in vocabulary according to age.

4.2 Selected Vocabulary Items

4.2.1 The Fishery

4.2.1.1 The Parts of a Cod

4.2.1.1.1 THE MAIN BONE OF A COD:

Two informants from Group 3, W. C. C. and S. R. C., used the word "backbone" but the rest of the informants used "soundbone," with the exception of G. L. N., also from Group 3, who gave no response. The word "sound," in the EDD, is reported from Scotland and Yorkshire and is glossed as "the swimming bladder of a fish." This bladder lies along the backbone of a cod, and, therefore, the common term "soundbone" resulted.

4.2.1.1.2 THE STOMACH SAC OF A COD

Thirteen informants gave responses. Eleven of them, seven from Group 1 and four from Group 2, used the word "puddick."

However, F. M., from Group 1, said that the "gut" is a small part of the internal organs of a cod but there is nothing attached to it. I infer that, when the informant refers to "gut," he is speaking of the stomach sac. The word "puddick" is not found in the EDD but "pudding," pronounced /púđín/ or /póđín/, which was reported from Northern England,² is glossed in the EDD as "the entrails or intestines." There appears to be some relation between "pudding" and "puddick" and, perhaps, the broader meaning of the former word had been narrowed down, in the idiolects of the Grand Bank informants, to only the stomach sac of a cod. H. R. W. stated that she was familiar with the term "puddick," but did not know what it meant.

4.2.1.1.3 THE INTERNAL ORGANS OF A COD (OR OTHER FISH)

Ten of the informants, seven from Group 1 and three from Group 2, used the word "gut," while "guts" was used by ten others. Five of those were from Group 1, two from Group 2, and three from Group 3. F. M. stated that the "puddick" was "the entire place where the fish holds food" and, as he had stated that the "puddick" was larger than the "gut" (see preceding item), I infer that, for him, "puddick" means the internal organs. It is interesting to note that all three informants in Group 3 used the word "guts" while most of those in Groups 1 and 2 used "gut." This word, as listed in the EDD, has various

²It must be noted here that, although the EDD reports most of the fishing terms from Northern England, most fishing terminology is widespread and the early Grand Bank settlers probably learned theirs from other fishermen.

dialectal uses in Scotland and England. It is glossed as "the entrails, bowels, intestines," and has the same meaning among the Grand Bank informants.

4.2.1.1.4 THE EGGS OF A COD

A wide variety of responses was obtained from nineteen informants. The following list shows the distribution of the responses among the informants:

Responses	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
1. fish's pea	6	A. W.	
2. fish pea	5		
3. fishy peas		2	W. C. C.
4. fish's peas	S. M. N.		
5. fishy pea		H. R. W.	
6. peas			S. R. C.
7. fish eggs	B. J. L.		

"Fishy peas" occurs only in Groups 2 and 3, "fishy pea" only in Group 2, and "peas" only in Group 3. B. J. L., though a member of Group 1, used a term "fish eggs," that was quite different from the other, more similar, forms.

4.2.1.1.5 SMALL PINK EDIBLE ORGAN IN A COD

Fourteen informants provided words to match the above gloss. The following is a list of those words and their distribution among the informants:

Responses	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
1. chitlins	3	2	
2. chidlins	G. M.		
3. britchers	C. F. P.	E. A. M.	
4. britchins	2		
5. britchits	G. E. B.		
6. fish's pea	B. J. L.		
7. fish pea			W. C. C.
8. fishy peas		H. R. W.	

The small pink edible organ is quite similar in shape to the roe, or eggs of a cod, resembling a pair of breeches. B. J. L. differentiated between the two by using "fish eggs" for the former, and "fish's pea" for the latter. W. C. C. and H. R. W. had quite similar names for those parts of a cod, H. R. W. using "fishy pea" for the eggs and "fishy peas" for the edible organ, and W. C. C. using "fishy peas" for the former and "fish pea" for the latter. In those two cases there appears to be confusion in the terminology for those two parts of a cod, and this inference is supported by the fact that one informant is a woman in her forties and the other is a high-school student. Neither have had a close connection with the fishery.

The word "breeches" is found in the EDD, being reported from Northumberland and Yorkshire. It is glossed as "the roe of a fish when unbroken or uncut," but the word could have been transferred to the small, similarly shaped organ by the Grand Bank informants.

4.2.1.2 The Parts of a Dory

4.2.1.2.1 THE FRONT PART OF A DORY

Responses were obtained from all informants. Five of them, three from Group 1, A. W. from Group 2, and S. R. C. from Group 3, used the word "bow." T. W., from Group 2, used "stem," and all the other informants said that the front part of a dory was the "head."

4.2.1.2.2. THE REAR PART OF A DORY

Again all informants responded, giving four different terms. Group 1 informants provided three of them, S. P. suggested "afterpart," B. J. L. suggested "starn," and "aft" was used by L. G. P. All the rest of the informants, including all those in Groups 2 and 3 -- those below the age of seventy, used the word "stern." The EDD lists both "stern" and "starn" and states that both words are spread generally throughout England. They are both glossed as "the hinder part of an object" and, undoubtedly, most Grand Bank informants have applied both terms to the rear part of a dory.

4.2.1.2.3 THE FRONT ROPE ON A DORY

Responses were elicited from all informants. B. J. L., in Group 1, and B. G. F., in Group 2, used the term "head-rope"³ and all other informants used "painter." It is interesting to note that the self-descriptive term "head-rope" is not used by those in Grand Bank who would not be expected to know the other word.

³Compound words which are hyphenated or joined together have their first element stressed.

those in Group 3 who might not be expected to know the other word.

4.2.1.2.4 THE BACK ROPE ON A DORY

Responses were elicited from sixteen informants. Two, from Group 1, used the term "stern-line," G. E. B., a fisherman for most of his life, used "stern-strap," and four informants, three from Group 1 and B. G. F. from Group 2, used the term "stern-rope." Most informants, however, used a fourth term, "stern-painter." There were nine of them, three from Group 2, S. R. C. from Group 3, and the remainder from Group 1. Six informants, three from Group 1, one from Group 2, and two from Group 3, did not know any terms for the back rope on a dory. All of those were women with the exception of F. M., who was a fisherman for fifty-one years. The latter may have temporarily forgotten the term, or terms, he once used. G. M., in Group 1, used both "stern-line" and "stern-painter." He had been a fisherman for several years.

"Strap," found in the EDD and recorded from Cornwall, is glossed as "a small cord." The back rope on a dory, a "stern-strap," is somewhat thinner than the front rope.

4.2.1.2.5 PEGS FOR HOLDING DORY OARS

Responses were elicited from twenty informants. The term "dory pins" was used by four of them, two each from Groups 1 and 2. Three other terms were somewhat similar.

They were "thow-pin," used by two informants in Group 1, "towl-pins," used only by W. C. C., a high-school student, and "tow-pins" which was used by the rest of the informants. G. L. N., who is a young housewife, stated that she did not know any terms for the pegs which held dory oars. A. W., in Group 2, stated that "rowlocks" are used to hold oars only in boats which have keels. The EDD lists the word "thole pin," states that it is used Scotland, and glosses it as "a wooden peg having various uses."

4.2.1.2.6 THE SIDES OF A DORY

Of the ten informants who gave responses, G. M., from Group 1, used the word "sides," and the other nine informants, three from Group 1, four from Group 2, and two from Group 3, used "gunnels" (standard spelling "gunwales"). Those were general terms for the sides of a dory. Five informants from Group 1 were more specific, stating that "gunnels" were the top boards on the sides of a dory. C. F. P. and S. P., both from Group 1 and fishermen for many years, also stated that the two lowest boards on the sides of a dory were called the "garbit." Those informants who were more explicit about the terms for the sides of a dory were either experienced fishermen or elderly women who had had a close connection with the fishery.

4.2.1.2.7 FRAMEWORK SUPPORTING THE SIDES OF A DORY

Two different terms were obtained from the thirteen in-

formants who provided responses. A. W., from Group 2, used "stanchions," while the other informants used "timbers." Three of those informants were from Group 2, S. R. C. from Group 3, and the rest from Group 1.

4.2.1.2.8 BOARDS GOING ACROSS THE TOP OF A DORY FROM SIDE
TO SIDE

Responses were elicited from all informants and the differences were mainly those of pronunciation. A Group 1 informant, M. O., used the term "dory-thawts" and a Group 2 informant, T. W., used "tawts." A spelling-pronunciation was obtained from W. C. C., an informant from Group 3. He used the word "thwarts" /θowrts/, like the normal spelling of this word, while the other informants used either /θAts/ or /tAts/. The majority of informants used the term /θAts/ "thawts." The above terms are general ones, but F. M. supplied more specific names. The "bow-thawt" is the one nearest the front where the sail is placed, the "midship-thawts" /mɪʃɪp θâwts/ are the two in the middle, and the "after-thawt," which is not very common, is in the back of the dory. There are usually three "thawts."

4.2.1.2.9 VERTICAL BOARDS UNDER THE THWARTS TO HOLD FISH

Only three informants made any response to this item and all three, from Group 1, used the word "bulkheads." All three men, G. M., S. P., and F. M., are experienced fishermen. F. M. stated further that the "after bulkheads" are in the back of a dory "for holding trawls and gear."

4.2.1.2.10 A HOLE IN THE BOTTOM OF A DORY

The purpose of this hole is to drain out the water in the bottom of the dory. Of the fifteen informants who gave names for this hole, S. J. H. and B. G. F., from Groups 1 and 2 respectively, used "bung-hole," and the remainder, including two from Group 3, used the term "plug-hole."

4.2.1.2.11 THE CENTRAL AREA OF A DORY

Only F. M. offered a response for this, and he used the term "middle-place."

4.2.1.3 Clothing Connected with the Fishery

4.2.1.3.1 WATERPROOF CLOTHES WORN BY FISHERMEN

Responses were elicited from nineteen informants. Fifteen of them, eight from Group 1, four from Group 2, and all three from Group 3, used the term "oil-clothes." Several informants used two terms. Besides using "oil-clothes," G. M. used "rubber-clothes," F. M. and C. F. P. used "oil-skins," and A. W. used "graveyard-clothes." This latter term was used, according to A. W., because of the close connection of fishermen's clothing with sea disasters. T. W. used the term "ell-skins" /é1 skinz/, which is probably a pronunciation of "oil-skins" /áyǎ1 skinz/.

4.2.1.3.2 HATS WORN BY FISHERMEN

Generally, these hats are of two kinds -- those which have the same size of rim all around and those which have a small rim in front and a large flap on the back to keep the water out. Only one term was obtained

for the former type of hat. The six informants who gave responses all used "dory-hat," four of those informants being from Group 1 and two from Group 2.

All informants gave names for the second kind of hat. Three of them, G. M., from Group 1, and A. W. and B. G. F. from Group 2, used "linkum" /lɪŋkəm/. L. G. P., from Group 1, and S. R. C., from Group 3, used the term "oil-hat," and a similar term "ell-hat," /éyəl æt/ was used by T. W., from Group 2. The word /éyəl/ "ell," as before stated, appears to be a pronunciation of "oil." Most informants used the word "sou'wester" and E. R., a Group 1 informant, said it had also a peak on the front. G. M. used both "linkum" and "sou'wester" when speaking of the hat with a flap on the back, but T. W. said that the word "linkum" could be used for either a hat with the same size rim all around or the latter type. "Sou'wester" is found in the EDD, being recorded from Norfolk, and is glossed as "a fisherman's waterpfoof cāp'."

4.2.1.3.3 A FISHERMAN'S APRON

Responses were elicited from sixteen informants. Nine of those used the word "barbel," and they were all from Group 1 except T. W. Two informants, one from Group 1, B. J. L., and one from Group 2, B. G. F., used "splitting-apron," and E. A. M., from Group 2, used "barvel." The rest of the informants, all from Group 1, used the following terms: "barber apron" -- L. G. P., "fisherman's apron" -- F. M., "barber" -- E. R., and "apron" -- B. J. L. Most of this variation in terms was among the women, suggesting that they were probably not familiar with the type of apron worn by fishermen. F. M. used both "fisherman's apron" and "barbel." The word "barvel"

is found in the EDD and is recorded from Kent and Cornwall. The form "barbel" is also recorded from Kent. One of the definitions given for "barvel" is "a short leather apron or petticoat worn by fishermen when hauling in their nets." The dictionary also records this word from Newfoundland⁴ and states that it is "a tanned sheepskin used by fishermen and splitters to keep the legs dry." Most of the Grand Bank informants said that the fishermen's apron was made of "duck" /dɒk/, or light sailcloth, and tied onto the waist with a rope. No informants from Group 3 were familiar with these aprons, and neither was E. M. K., the most highly educated informant in Group 1, or H. R. W., the youngest informant in Group 2.

4.2.1.3.4 KNITTED MATERIAL WORN ON THE HANDS WHEN HAULING UP FISHING LINES

Responses were elicited from nineteen informants, and four different terms were obtained. "Haulons" was used by three informants, two from Group 1 and A. W. from Group 2, and all three stated that "haulons" were woolen gloves with no fingers or thumb. Three informants, two in Group 1, and S. R. C. in Group 2, used the term "cotton gloves." Those gloves had either no fingers and thumb or the thumb and forefinger only. S. J. H., in Group 1, used the term "finger mitt" and said that it had one finger and a thumb. However, "nippers" was the most common term, being used by twelve informants. These "nippers" were described as being circular bands or knitted wool with heavier material sewn inside and folded over for thickness. They are worn across the palm of the hand. A different description

⁴The EDD gets its Newfoundland words from Patterson, 1895, which is included in the bibliography.

of "nippers" was obtained from M. O. and E. M. K., in Group 1, and T. W., in Group 2. Those informants stated that "nippers" were parts of gloves with padded palms, no fingers, and sometimes no thumbs. Though the terms were many, all stressed the idea of protection for the palms of the hands when fishing lines were being hauled in. The only Group 3 informant to be familiar with any of those terms was S. R. C., the oldest in that group.

4.2.1.3.5 GLOVES WORN BY FISHERMEN WHEN SPLITTING FISH

Responses were elicited from twenty informants, and six different terms were obtained. A. W. from Group 2 used "splitting-mitts" and stated that there were "no full fingers for gripping the fish, and a thumb and padded palm for holding the fish." Other informants, all from Group 1, used the following terms: "cotton mitts" -- have no fingers, (G. M. and S. P.), "cutting-gloves" -- ordinary gloves. (M. O.), "cuffs" -- made of flour bags or calico; some had no fingers, (B. J. L.), and "nippers" -- have tops of fingers cut out, (L. G. P.). Two informants from Group 2, E. A. M. and B. G. F. used the term "splitting-cuffs" and stated that those were made of flour bags or calico, had no fingers, but sometimes had a thumb. All other informants used "splitting-gloves," stating that they could be either a full glove or have the fingers cut out. Although there were many terms and descriptions, all stressed the idea of having the fingers free in order to grip the fish firmly as it was being split. W. C. C., the youngest informant, stated that he knew nothing about splitting fish.

4.2.1.3.6 HEADGEAR WORN BY WOMEN DRYING FISH ON THE BEACHES

In the Bank-fishing days of Grand Bank, the salt fish was dried on large cobblestone beaches along the seashore. This work was done by the women of the town who wore a type of headgear made of cotton which shaded the eyes from the sun and which had a large flap on the back to protect the neck as well. Responses were elicited from all informants, and nine used the term "sunbonnets." Seven of those were from Group 1, and E. A. M. and W. C. C. belonged to Groups 2 and 3 respectively. The rest of the informants used "sunshades," four each belonging to Groups 1 and 2, and two belonging to Group 3. The EDD lists the word "sunshade," records its occurrence in Scotland, and states that this word is the same as "sunkep," which is glossed as "a sun bonnet."

4.2.1.4 Fishermen's Utensils

4.2.1.4.1 TUBS FOR HOLDING BAIT

Twenty informants gave responses for the name of the above fishing utensil. Four of them, two each from Groups 1 and 3, used the term "bait-tubs," and S. R. C., from Group 3, stated that those tubs had no handles. The rest of the informants, eleven from Group 1 and five from Group 2, used the term "bait-jack." This was described as a one-quarter portion of a flour barrel which had been sawn off, and having two rope handles, or "straps," attached. No informants from Group 3 used the term "bait-jack," and W. C. C., the youngest informant, stated that he was unfamiliar with the type of fishing utensil in question.

4.2.1.4.2 ROPES USED TO HAUL UP NETS

Responses were obtained from fourteen informants who gave a variety of terms. Eight of them, six from Group 1, B. G. F. from Group 2, and S. R. C. from Group 3, used "moorins" /mówrinz/, and three others, E. R. and G. M. from Group 1, and T. W. from Group 2, used "net-moorins." "Mooring-rope" was used by A. W., from Group 2, and two informants from Group 1, C. F. P. and G. E. B., used the terms "haulups" and "pryor-line" respectively. Those lines are attached to floats on the surface of the water and this enables the fishermen to quickly pull in their nets. Seven informants, three women from Group 1, two women from Group 2, and W. C. C. and G. L. N. from Group 3, were not acquainted with the ropes used to haul up fishing nets.

4.2.1.4.3 A WOODEN ANCHOR FOR FISHING TRAWLS

Responses were elicited from all informants. Two of them, from Group 3, used the term "killick," while the rest of the informants used another pronunciation, "kellick." Of those informants, thirteen were from Group 1, all five from Group 2, and one, S. R. C., from Group 3. The term "granny" was also used by F. M., a Group 1 informant. It appears as if "killick" /kílik/, used by two Group 3 informants, is a spelling pronunciation because this word is nearly always spelled this way. Those informants could have been influenced by written materials. The anchors are made of two flat pieces of wood which intersect in the shape of a cross and they have a long stone for weight which is kept in by long sticks.

4.2.1.4.4 A FISHING LINE WITH A BAITED HOOK AT THE END

Of the nineteen informants who provided responses, two of them, S. J. H. from Group 1 and H. R. W. from Group 2, used the word "sudline," with the latter informant stating that it is an older word than "ginyin" /gínýĩn/, which she also used. L. G. P. used the term "trawl-line," but that type of line has many hooks attached all along its length. As this woman had no connection with the actual catching of the fish, such a mistake could be quite easily made. The rest of the informants, sixteen altogether, used the term "handline." Eleven of them were from Group 1, four were from Group 2, and one, S. R. C., was from Group 3. The other two Group 3 informants, W. C. C. and G. L. N., were not familiar with this type of fishing line.

4.2.1.4.5 THE TYPE OF WOOD OF WHICH "ROLLERS" ARE MADE

"Rollers" are small grooved wooden wheels attached to the side of a dory which aid in the hauling-in of trawls. The "rollers" are made of various kinds of wood. Responses concerning this were elicited from thirteen informants. One type of very hard wood was called "igneivity" /îgnǎváyti/ by eight informants, six from Group 1 and two from Group 2. Other related terms are "ignity" /îgnáyti/ and "ignevidy" /îgnǎváydi/, used by A. W., from Group 2, and W. J. P., from Group 1, respectively. S. R. C., the oldest informant in Group 3, used the word "hardwood." The "rollers" were made of other hardwoods. B. J. L. stated that they were made of "birch." "This is really an old word" she said. "Everything was handmade in those days." S. P., from Group 1, used the word "hemlock" which is a softwood of the pine family. Nine informants, including

five women from Group 1, two from Group 2, and W. C. C. and G. L. N. from Group 3, were not familiar with "rollers." It is possible that "igneivity" and its related words originally came from lignum-vitae, which is a very hard wood found in South America.

4.2.1.4.6 A STICK USED TO GUIDE THE HAULING OF TRAWLS

Responses were elicited from thirteen informants. Five of them, three from Group 1 and two from Group 2, used the term "tide-stick" and three used "guide-stick." Among the latter informants, two were from Group 1 and one, A. W., was from Group 2. Other Group 1 informants used the following words: "running-stick" -- G. M., "runner" -- C. F. P., and "traveller" -- S. P., who also used "guide-stick." All informants stated that those sticks were placed in the sides of dories so that, when the trawl was being hauled in, the line would run along it over the dory. In this way, the tide could not push the dory on top of the trawl and tangle the lines. Of the eight informants who were unfamiliar with this type of fishing utensil, all were women belonging to all three groups, except W. C. C., who is a seventeen year old young man.

4.2.1.4.7 A SMALL CONTAINER USED FOR BAILING OUT DORIES

All informants gave responses for the above fishing utensil. Two informants from Group 1 used "dory scoop," B. G. F., from Group 2, used "scout," and F. M., from Group 1, used the term "bailer." The latter informant also used the term "scoop," as did all the other informants. "Scoop" is listed in the EDD, being reported from South Donegal. It is glossed as "a wooden instrument for bailing water." A. W. said that it was used only for dories.

4.2.1.4.8 A LARGE CONTAINER MADE OF A TUB AND A STICK

Descriptions of two types of container were obtained from eighteen of the informants. Fifteen of them, ten from the first Group and five from the second Group, used the term "spudgel," which was described as a ten-pound tub with a long handle nailed on. Similar terms "spudgin" and "spudgy" were used by S. J. H. and L. G. P. respectively, both belonging to Group 1. Four informants, all belonging to Group 1, also described a second type of tub which they called a "piggin" /pígin/. This was described as a ten-pound tub with a short handle placed through a hole in the tub. G. E. B. described only a "piggin," but the other three informants, G. M., F. M., and S. P., described both the above term and "spudgel." "Spudgel" is reported in the EDD from Gloucester, the South Country, Isle of Wight, Wiltshire, and Dorset, and is glossed as "a wooden bowl with a long handle used for bailing." "Piggin," also in the EDD and reported in general use in Scotland, Ireland, and England, is glossed as "a small pail or tub, generally of wood." All informants said that "piggins" and "spudgels" were used mainly for bailing out boats which have keels.

4.2.2. The Home and Home-life

This section will deal first with the physical aspect of the home, the actual dwelling itself, and then with certain features of life in the home.

4.2.2.1 THE ROOM IN A HOUSE WHERE GUESTS ARE ENTERTAINED

Responses were elicited from all informants. Seven of them, five from Group 1, T. W. from Group 2, and S. R. C. from Group 3, used the word

"parlor" and nine, four each from Groups 1 and 2, and G. L. N. from Group 3, used "living room." The above terms were the most common but several others were also used. These were: "front room" -- G. M. from Group 1 and S. R. C., who also used "parlor;" "inside place" -- S. J. H. and H. R. W. from Groups 1 and 2 respectively (H. R. W. also used "parlor"); "dining room" -- B. J. L. and W. C. C. from Groups 1 and 3 respectively; and "guest room," used only by L. G. P. E. R. used both "living room" and "parlor." H. R. W. said that "inside place" was an older term than "living room," and "parlor" is an older term than "front room," according to S. R. C. Today, many people distinguish between "living room" and dining room," as the latter is usually the place where guests are served meals. However, none of the informants, including the youngest, W. C. C., made this distinction.

4.2.2.2 A SMALL ROOM ADDED TO THE BACK OF A HOUSE

Seven different terms were elicited from all informants. The following is a list of those terms and their occurrences among the informants:

Responses	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
1. back kitchen	6	2	--
2. linny	4	A. W.	--
3. back porch	3	--	--
4. porch	L. G. P.	--	2
5. pantry	E. M. K.	E. A. M.	--
6. back room	--	--	G. L. N.
7. back pantry	--	H. R. W.	--

Two informants used two terms. S. M. N., from Group 1, had both "back porch" and "back kitchen" and E. M. K., from the same Group, had both "back kitchen" and "pantry." The youngest informants, those from Group 3, used only "porch" or "pantry," while the other two Groups used a wider variety of terms.

The word "linhay," and its form "linney," is listed in the EDD and is recorded from Berkshire, Southwestern England, and Newfoundland. It is glossed as "a shed or open building; a farm building for cattle or storing provender. It has a lean-to roof and open front, generally." It is possible that this term could have been transferred to a small room built on to the back of a house.

4.2.2.3 AN OPEN FIREPLACE

Responses were elicited from all informants, most of which used two terms. "Hearth" /hæɪrθ/ was used by twelve informants, seven from Group 1, three from Group 2, and S. R. C. from Group 3. Eight informants, seven from Group 1 and H. R. W. from Group 2, used the term "grate," and "fireplace" was used by ten informants, five from Group 1, two from Group 2, and all three from Group 3. The latter term appears to be more familiar to the two younger Groups, 2 and 3, than the two previous terms, but Group 1 informants show more familiarity with those terms, "hearth" and "grate," than with "fireplace." S. M. N., from Group 1, used the terms "harth" /hæɪrθ/ and "hart" /hæɪrt/, and E. A. M. used "open fireplace" as well as "hearth." "Grate" is listed in the EDD as occurring from Yorkshire and is glossed as the hole on the hearth into which ashes are drawn. It appears as if this name for the hole on the hearth has been transferred to the hearth itself.

4.2.2.4 A PIPE FROM A STOVE TO THE CHIMNEY

Responses were elicited from all informants. Seventeen of them, nine from Group 1, all five from Group 2, and all three from Group 3, used the term "stovepipe." S. M. N., from Group 1, and H. R. W., from Group 2, used "stove-funnel" and W. J. P., from Group 1, used "flue." Three informants used the term "funnel," one of these, B. J. L., from Group 1, and two others from Group 2. H. R. W., who used both "stove-funnel" and "stovepipe," said that the former word was much older. T. W. said that "funnel" was an older word than "stovepipe," which he also used. The informants of Group 3 knew only the term "stovepipe" and the Group 2 informants, as well, were more familiar with that term than with the others.

4.2.2.5 A SMALL BUILDING USED AS A TOILET

A wide variety of responses was elicited from all informants. Five of them used two terms and S. M. N., from Group 1, used three. The following is a list of all terms used by the informants and their occurrence among them.

Responses	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
1. outhouse	6	3	3
2. privy	4	A. W.	--
3. closet	3	E. A. M.	--
4. outdoor toilet	L. G. P.	B. G. F.	--
5. water-closet	2	--	--
6. outdoor closet	S. M. N.	--	--
7. back-house	E. R.	--	--
8. toilet-house	B. J. L.	--	--

Four of the five informants who used two or more terms were from Group 1. Only A. W. was from Group 2. It is interesting to note that the only term used by the Group 3 informants was "outhouse." It was also used most by those from Group 2, as three out of five informants used it. The informants in Group 1 showed a wide variation in their use of terms. Whatever the terms used, all informants described the building in question to be a small shed, usually separate, but often attached to the house. It was about 3' x 4' to 4' x 6', depending on the size of the family, but was usually big enough for one person. It had a big bench or seat and a tub or pail underneath for catching waste which was dumped along the shore at different periods, usually about once every three weeks. However, S. M. N. stated that "outhouses" were often used for cooking, and the doors and windows, if any, were then left open.

4.2.2.6 A CLOTH FOR WIPING DISHES

Six different terms were elicited from all informants. Seven of them, three from Group 1, and two each from Groups 2 and 3, used the term "cup-towel" and seven others used "dish-towel." Of those latter informants, five were from Group 1, A. W. was from Group 2, and W. C. C. was from Group 3. "Towel" was used by five informants, three from Group 1 and two from Group 2. Other less common items were "dish-cloth," used by M. O. from Group 1 and also by A. W., "drying-towel," used only by F. M. from Group 1, and "rag," used by T. W. from Group 2, who also used "cup-towel." "Dish-towel" and "cup-towel" were the only terms used by the Group 3 informants, but all the terms were spread among Groups 1 and 2. It was expected that women might use different terms than men for this type of cloth but the number of men and

women using all terms was about equal, except for "towel," where four women used this term but only one man.

4.2.2.7 A STICK FOR STIRRING OR MIXING FOOD

Responses were elicited from all informants. Generally, this type of stick was for stirring soup, but, in some cases, it was used also to turn over fish which was being cooked in a pot. This latter use was assigned to the term "fish-turner" by G. M. and L. G. P. from Group 1. The term "slice" was used by five informants, three from Group 1 and B. G. F. and A. W. from Group 2. The latter said that a "slice" could also be used to stir paint. A. W. also used the term "spatula," as did S. M. N. from Group 1. The term "ladle" was used by two informants, C. F. P. from Group 1 and W. C. C. from Group 3. A related term, "wooden ladle," was elicited only from S. J. H., an informant from Group 1. F. M., from Group 1, used the term "soup-slice." All of the preceding terms were used when speaking of a long flat stick. However, a "wooden spoon," which was used by eight informants, has the end hollowed out in the shape of a shallow spoon. This was explicitly explained by B. J. L., from Group 1, who stated that a "slice" was always flat, but a "wooden spoon" was always hollowed out. Besides the above informant, two others were from Group 1, three were from Group 2, and two were from Group 3. An interesting point here is that only two informants from Group 2, B. G. F. and A. W., and none from Group 3, used any terms relating to a flat stick. However, five informants from those two groups used "wooden spoon," and only three from Group 1 did so. This suggests that the flat sticks were first used to stir or mix food and "wooden spoons" were used later.

The EDD lists the word "slice" and states that it occurs in Lancashire and Worcestershire, in Northern and Western England. The dictionary describes a "slice" as being "a stick for stirring porridge."

4.2.2.8 TERMS USED WHEN SPEAKING OF THE DEVIL

Nine different terms were elicited from all informants. The following is a list of those terms and their occurrence among the informants.

Responses	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
1. black-man	12	5	2
2. old feller	5	2	S. R. C.
3. devil	9	3	--
4. satan	4		W. C. C.
5. lucifer	2	--	--
6. boogey-man	--	T. W.	S. R. C.
7. mister devil	G. M.	--	--
8. old nick	E. R.	--	--
9. evil-doer	F. M.	--	--

Most of the informants used two or more terms. The oldest group of informants, Group 1, had many more terms for the Devil than did any of the other groups who had four each. "Boogey-man" appears to be a more recent term, as no one in Group 1 used it, but one each in Groups 2 and 3 did. S. R. C., from Group 3, stated that the "boogey-man" is used to scare children. "Black-man" was the most common term, being used widely among all three groups.

The EDD lists the word "bogie" and states that it is in general use

throughout England. This word is glossed as "an object of terror; any supernatural appearance." It appears that "bogie" and "bogy-man" are related terms. The EDD also lists "black-man," reports its occurrence in Scotland, Ireland, and Central and Southern England. According to this dictionary, a "black-man" is "a supposed 'bogy'; a nursery terror." Among the Grand Bank informants, "black-man" is used as a general term for the Devil. The EDD lists "old fellow," as well, and reports it from Scotland, Donegal, in Ireland, and Somerset, in England. "Old nick" is also listed, and is reported from Scotland, and Somerset, Suffolk, and Devon in England. Both terms, according to the dictionary, are names given to the Devil.

4.2.2.9 LIQUID FOUND IN AN INFECTED CUT OR SORE

Responses were elicited from all informants. Two only, S. M. N. and F. M., from Group 1 used the term "matter," and all other informants used "pus." The EDD lists the word "mattery" from Somerset and states that this means "to discharge pus." Both "matter" and "mattery" appear to be related terms. As it does not occur among the informants of Groups 2 and 3, it appears that "matter" is an older term than "pus."

4.2.2.10 A SWEET LIQUID Poured OVER A PUDDING

Responses were elicited from all informants. H. R. W., from Group 2, used the term "lassy," and undoubtedly, she was speaking about "molasses." Two informants, C. F. P. from Group 1, and S. R. C. from Group 2 used "syrup," and F. M., a Group 1 informant, used "coady." He stated that this was a homemade sauce made of butter, flour, water, and salt. All other informants, however, used the term "sauce." F. M. also said that "sauce"

was sometimes bought, but was usually made out of various kinds of berries. Possibly, he was speaking about the kind of "sauce" made many years ago.

4.2.3 Subsistence Farming

4.2.3.1 A SHELTER AND ENCLOSURE FOR PIGS

All informants provided responses, and most of them used the term "pigsty," including both the shelter and the enclosure. Seven informants, five from Group 1, A. W. from Group 2, and G. L. N. from Group 3, used "pig-pen" in the same manner as above. However, L. G. P. stated that a "pig-pen" was an "open, fenced area for pigs" and a "pig-stall" /píg stA/ was a "little house or shelter for pigs." G. M., also from Group 1, said that the word "pigsty" was used in the olden days but "pig-pen" is used today. B. J. L., from Group 1, and W. C. C., from Group 3, used the term "pigs-pen," and two informants from Group 2 used the term "sty." Those terms covered both the shelter and the enclosure.

4.2.3.2 SHOES FOR HORSES OR OXEN

Responses were elicited from all informants and all of them used the term "horseshoes" in speaking of the shoes for horses. G. M., from Group 1, also stated that many horses used to wear special shoes in the summertime. These were called "slippers" and were flat with no cogs. However, S. M. N., also from Group 1, said that "slippers" were the strips of horn which grows on the feet of young horses. As G. M. has worked at several different jobs during his life and S. M. N. has worked only in the home or on the beaches, it is possible that the latter may be mistaken in her use of the term "slippers."

F. M., an informant from Group 1, used the term "cues" in speaking of the shoes worn by oxen. This word is also listed in the EDD which gives its distribution in England as the North Country, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, and Southwest England. A "cue" is described as being "the shoe of an ox, used when travelling or ploughing," and this description is similar to the one given by F. M.

4.2.3.3 AN OPERATION TO PREVENT MALE ANIMALS FROM BREEDING

Nineteen informants provided terms relating to this operation. Sixteen of them, 11 from Group 1, three from Group 2, and two from Group 3, used the term "castrate," and G. M., from Group 1, said that male farm animals were often "caskrated." Three informants, all from Group 1, used the term "alter" and one of them, C. F. P., explained, for example, that "you change them from a bull to an-ox." "Spade" was used by G. E. B. from Group 1, and T. W., from Group 2. A Group 3 informant, G. L. N., was the only one to use the term "crush." As well as using several other terms, G. E. B., T. W., and C. F. P. also used the word "castrate." S. P. used "alter" as well as "castrate," and stated that the former was an older term. However, G. E. B. said that "castrate" is an older term than "spade." Its use among two of the Group 3 informants and three of the five in Group 2 indicated that "castrate" is still widely used. It is the writer's impression that "spade" may be a more genteel term to use than the former one. An interesting point here is that all informants in Group 3 were familiar with this type of operation on animals and provided terms for it, while two women informants in Group 2, the youngest and the oldest, could not provide any terms.

4.2.3.4 A PLACE WHERE COWS OR SHEEP GRAZE

Responses were elicited from all informants. Nine of them, six from Group 1, A. W. from Group 2, and two from Group 3, used the word "pasture," and a similar term was "pasture land," used by two informants in Group 1. "Meadow" was used by five informants, two each from Groups 1 and 2, and G. L. N. from Group 3. Three informants from Group 2 and B. J. L. from Group 1, a total of four, used the term "garden," and "field" was used by a Group 1 informant, W. J. P. and one from Group 2, E. A. M. The latter also used the term "meadow." B. G. F., from Group 2, also used the latter term as well as "garden." The informants in Group 3 used only the terms "pasture" and "meadow," but a wider variety of terms was used by the other two Groups.

4.2.3.5 ROWS IN WHICH POTATOES ARE SET

Nineteen informants provided responses and five of those used two or more terms. "Furrows" was used by five informants, three from Group 1, T. W., from Group 2, and S. R. C., from Group 3. F. M. and S. M. N., both from Group 1, used "gutters" and "rows" respectively. F. M. also used "potato trenches" /pătěytă trênciz/, as did L. G. P., also from Group 1. The rest of the informants used the term "trenches." Only two terms, "furrows" and "trenches," were used by Group 2 informants and S. R. C. was the only Group 3 informant to be familiar with the planting of potatoes.

4.2.3.6 A SECOND CUTTING OF GRASS

Responses were elicited from twenty informants, of which nineteen, twelve from Group 1, all five from Group 2, and two from Group 3, used the

term "aftergrass." Only two informants, B. J. L. and W. J. P. (who also used "aftergrass"), used "eegrass" /iýgræs/. Only W. C. C., the youngest informant, was not familiar with the cutting of grass. The EDD lists "after-grass" and reports it from Somerset. It is described as being "the grass which grows after the hay is gone. It is not a second crop to be mown, but to be fed."

4.2.4 The Landscape

4.2.4.1 LOW-LYING WET LAND

All informants provided responses and two types of land that is usually wet all the time were described. "Mish" was one such type and was described by sixteen informants, ten from Group 1, four from Group 2, and two from Group 3. According to them, a "mish" was a low-lying area, usually damp and wet, but which dries up often leaving only occasional pools of water. Berries, low trees and bushes, and a variety of other things are found there. It is sometimes full of rocks and stumps. It is larger than a "swamp," not as wet, and more bushes grow there. It is usually relatively easy to walk on. "Marsh" is a similar term, used by three informants, two from Group 1 and A. W., from Group 2. "Wet-land" and "marshland" were used by G. M., from Group 1, and W. C. C., from Group 3, respectively.

The other type of wet land was most commonly called a "swamp." This was the term used by fifteen informants, ten from Group 1, four from Group 2, and G. L. N., from Group 3. They described a "swamp" as being a low-lying area, sometimes found in a "mish," which is always wet with lots of

water and black mud. It usually has grass and weeds, and is quite soft, being hard to cross. It is grassier, wetter, and smaller than a 'mish.' Other related terms were 'bog,' used by four informants, S. P. and T. W. from Groups 1 and 2 respectively and two from Group 3, and 'bog-ground,' used also by T. W. E. A. M. stated that there was generally no difference in a 'bog,' 'swamp,' or 'mish,' but a 'swamp' was a bit wetter than a 'mish.'

The term 'mesh' is listed in the EDD and is recorded from Norfolk, Sussex, Hampshire, and Devonshire in England. It is glossed as "low-lying land liable to be flooded; grass lands near the sea or river, whether dry or swampy." 'Mish,' as described by the Grand Bank informants, is always inland, though it may be near a river, and is almost always wet.

4.2.4.2 A SMALL POND

Responses were obtained from only nine informants, and even some of those had no specific term to apply to a small pond. This can be seen by some of the terms used. G. M., a Group 1 informant, used only "a pool of water," M. O., also from Group 1, used the term "small pond" and then added "That's all it is," and H. R. W., from Group 2, used only the term "ponds." The only specific words recorded were "mudpond," used by F. M. and E. A. M. from Groups 1 and 2 respectively, and "mudhole," used by two informants from Group 1 and two from Group 2. C. F. P., from Group 1, described a "mudhole" as being "a small muddy pond." Most of the small ponds in the Grand Bank area have muddy sides and bottoms.

4.2.4.3 TYPES OF HILLS

All informants provided responses and three types of hills were described. The smallest type was a "knap," and this term was used by nine people, seven from Group 1 and two from Group 2. Those informants said that a "knap" was a small, round hill, not very high, off which water runs quickly. However, two Group 1 informants, G. E. B. and W. J. P., said that a "knap" was "a large hump in the ground." S. M. N., also from Group 1, stated that a "knob" was the same as a "knap." The next-highest type of hill was a "tolt." This term was used by five informants, three from Group 1 and two from Group 2, who said that a "tolt" was a hill standing alone in flat country. The term "hill" was reserved for the highest points of land and for high, rugged country. It was used by all the informants. E. A. M. stated that a "hill" was the highest, a "tolt" was the next-highest, and the smallest was a "knap." This was the general arrangement given by almost all of the informants.

"Knap" is recorded in the EDD and its distribution is given as Scotland, the North Country, Gloucestershire, Sussex, Southwestern England, and Newfoundland. It is described as "a small hill; a mound; hillock; the brow or top of a hill; rising ground; a steep ascent of the road." The first three descriptions coincide with the description of a "knap" given by the Grand Bank informants. "Knob" is also listed in the EDD, reported from Lancashire, and glossed as "a low, roundish hill." "Knob," as used by S. M. N., is the same as a "knap" which has been described as a small, round hill. The EDD also lists "tolt" and reports its occurrence in Surrey, Sussex, and Newfoundland. It is glossed as "a solitary hill, usually somewhat conical, rising by itself above the surrounding country."

This is similar to the description of "tolt" given by the Grand Bank informants.

4.2.4.4 TYPES OF VALLEYS

All informants provided responses and several terms were recorded. Ten informants, seven from Group 1, two from Group 2, and S. R. C., from Group 3, used the word "droke," but there was a variety of descriptions. Most of the informants said that a "droke" was a small, narrow, thickly-wooded valley with, or without, a stream running through it. However, several Group 1 informants used different descriptions. G. M. and G. E. B. said that a "droke" was a patch of woods, S. P. said that it was a path through a valley having no stream, M. O. said that it was a road between two gardens, and F. M. stated that a "droke" was a kind of valley with wood on one side and none on the other. Besides those informants, S. R. C., from Group 3, stated that a "droke" was "wider than a valley and had woods on both sides." The term "dry valley," used by F. M., is synonymous with "droke" and his particular description of it. A "gutter" is described by S. L. N. as being "a stream between two high hills." Besides "droke," the other term commonly used by the informants was "valley." This was used by all the informants who described a "valley" as a low-lying area between two steep hills, usually having a stream. S. M. N. stated that it ran for long distances between hills and added that this term was not used very often. However, the use of "valley" by all the informants suggests that, even if most of them did not use this term in their everyday speech, they were at least familiar with it. E. R., a Group 1 informant, also used the term "gap" which, she said, was the same as "valley."

The EDD lists "droke" and reports its occurrence in Cornwall. It is glossed as "a passage; groove." This is somewhat similar in meaning to "droke" as used by many of the Grand Bank informants. They, too, refer to a passage -- one between two hills.

4.2.5 Flora and Fauna

4.2.5.1 TYPES OF BERRIES

All informants provided responses and a wide variety of terms was obtained. The following is a list of those terms and their occurrence among the informants.

Responses	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
1. blueberries	11	5	3
2. herts	3	B. G. F.	--
3. doggaberries	4	2	--
4. dogwood berries	S. M. N.	A. W.	--
5. dogberries	--	--	G. L. N.
6. manate berries	--	E. A. M.	--
7. magga berries	--	A. W.	--
8. maggate berries	C. F. P.	--	--
9. mangate berries	W. J. P.	--	--
10. magnateek berries	E. R.	--	--
11. mangny berries	B. J. L.	--	--
12. manyate berries	S. M. N.	--	--
13. partridge berries	10	3	2
14. parcher berries	2	H. R. W.	--
15. marshberries	E. M. K.	--	--
16. mishberries	8	4	3

17. crackberries	--	2	--
18. cracker-berries	--	--	S. R. C.
19. crackers	--	H. R. W.	--
20. black currants	2	--	--
21. wild currants	C. F. P.	--	--
22. English blackberries	9	5	2
23. fox-berries	F. M.	--	--
24. bake-apples	8	2	W. C. C.
25. blackberries	8	4	W. C. C.
26. bear-berries	6	3	--
27. squashberries	4	2	--
28. gooseberries	7	2	--
29. dewberries	2	--	--
30. strawberries	6	3	S. R. C.
31. raspberries	6	3	S. R. C.
32. juniper berries	F. M.	--	--

Those thirty-two terms cover eighteen types of berries. No doubt, each informant forgot some of the terms for the berries he knew because, even for the commoner types, not all the informants provided terms. However, the above list is a good indication of the types of berries found in the Grand Bank area and the terms which the people there apply to them.

"Blueberries," or "herts," are the large, blue berries often harvested and sold commercially. "Partridge berries," or "parcher berries," are large red berries commonly found on barren ground. "Doggaberries," and related terms, refer to tangy red berries growing in bunches on trees, being

picked in the fall. "Manatea berries," and related terms, refer to small white berries which grow close to the ground. "Marshberries," or "mish-berries," are large reddish, or mottled-reddish, berries which grow in "mishes." Small red berries which grow in bunches on the ground are termed "crackberries," "cracker-berries," or "crackers." No information was provided by the informants concerning "black currants" or "wild currants," but it is the writer's impression that they may be similar to "English blackberries," which are large, juicy black berries which grow in clearings in the woods. "Fox-berries" are similar to "partridge berries" but are larger and softer. "Bakeapples" are juicy yellow berries which grow close to the ground in "mishes." "Blackberries" are small black berries which grow very close to the ground, usually in barren areas. S. M. N. stated that "they grow on heather." This informant also stated that "bear-berries" are large red berries, similar to cranberries, and F. M. stated that they are no good to eat unless lying under snow. "Squashberries" are small, very juicy berries which grow in bunches on low trees, being picked in the fall. "Gooseberries" are red or white berries which grow on bushes and are somewhat sweeter than "squashberries." "Strawberries" are large red juicy berries which are occasionally found in the Grand Bank area. "Raspberries" are common in the area and are round and juicy. "Dewberries" are similar to "raspberries" but, according to S. M. N., they are "more juicier." "Juniper berries" are small, hard blue berries which grow on juniper trees. All berries, except the latter, are edible.

4.2.5.2 INEDIBLE FUNGUS

Responses were elicited from sixteen informants and many terms were

obtained. The following is a list of those terms and their occurrence among the informants. Several of them used two forms.

Responses	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
1. old man's bread	5	4	2
2. fox-bread	L. G. P.	--	--
3. toad-stool	F. M.	--	--
4. indian pipes	M. O.	--	--
5. black-man's bread	C. F. P.	--	--
6. crow-food	--	T. W.	--
7. boogey-man's bread	--	--	W. C. C.
8. mushrooms	S. P.	2	--
9. harses' farts	S. P.	--	--

Only a small number of terms were used by the informants in Groups 2 and 3, with "old man's bread" being the most frequent. F. M. used the term "toad-stool." This appears to be taken from books because this informant, though only attending school for one week, considers himself self-taught to the equivalent of Grade V and is quite proud of his education. It is not known if "indian pipes" is similar to the other terms, which refer to types of mushrooms, but "harses' farts" are small puffballs which, when squeezed, burst open with a cloud of brown spores and a bad odour. Five informants, four from Group 1 and B. G. F., from Group 2, could not provide any terms for inedible fungus.

4.2.5.3 HANGING WHITE MOSS ON FIR TREES

Seventeen informants provided terms for the above type of moss. Nine

of them, seven from Group 1 and two from Group 2, used the term "moss" and four informants, all from Group 1, used "mall-down." F. M. said that "mall-down" was good for making "wisterd dye" (dye for woollen clothes) and three colors, yellow, brown, and green, could be obtained. The term "dry moss" was used by three informants, B. J. L., T. W., and S. R. C., from Groups 1, 2, and 3 respectively, and "white moss" was used only by B. G. F., from Group 2. Two informants from Group 2 used two other terms. A. W. used "lichen" /ličín/ and E. A. M. used "dead moss." Only one informant, S. R. C., from Group 3 knew any terms for this hanging white moss and two Group 1 informants, E. M. K. and S. M. N., both women, could not provide any terms.

4.2.5.4 SMALL TROUT OR SALMON

All informants provided responses. "Pricklepracks" /prikəl prəks/ was used by eleven informants, eight from Group 1, two from Group 2, and S. R. C., from Group 3. Those informants said that this term referred to very small trout, although S. M. N., from Group 1, stated that it referred to "small fish," meaning any type and not necessarily trout. G. E. B., from Group 1, who used "pricklepracks," used the term "prickles" as well. F. M., also from Group 1, said that a "pelsher" /pélšər/ was a "little small trout, about two or three inches long." He also used the term "pricklebacks" and stated that those were small pale-green fish having about two spines on the back. He further said that those fish were never used for bait. Thus, F. M.'s term for a very small trout is different from that used by the rest of the informants. The "pricklebacks" he spoke of are probably a species of stickleback. Eight informants, five from Group 1, T. W., from Group 2, and two from Group 3, used the term "salmon-peel" when referring to young salmon.

The EDD lists the word "prickleback" and reports its occurrence from Yorkshire, Northumberland, Derbyshire, and Somerset. It is described merely as "The stickleback, Gasterosteus trachurus." This term, therefore, is similar in usage to the one used by F. M., but it is not known if the same species of stickleback occurs in Newfoundland.

4.2.5.5 A LARGE FROG

Responses were elicited from all informants. Thirteen of them, nine from Group 1 and four from Group 2, used the term "bullfrog." F. M., from Group 1, said that a "bullfrog" is "all green, and the female has a white spot on the breast." However, B. G. F., a Group 2 informant, stated that a "bullfrog" is "big with brown spots." Those informants may be speaking of two different species or two varieties of the same species. The latter informant also stated that a "frog" was a "smaller green one." The other eight informants who used the same term said that "frog" was used both for large and small specimens of this type of amphibian.

4.3 Summary

From this somewhat lengthy discussion it can be seen that the Group 1 informants used the largest variety of terms, the Group 2 informants used the next largest variety, and those in Group 3 used even fewer. Though there were more informants in Group 1 than in the other groups, it is believed that the older people have a much greater variety of terms, generally, than do the younger people who were interviewed. The women, especially in dealing with the fishery, generally had a smaller variety of terms than the men. Several informants with a relatively high level of education,

men. Several informants with a relatively high level of education, especially E. M. K., in Group 1, and the three Group 3 informants, were unfamiliar with many terms.

5. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

5.1. Introduction

The idiolects spoken by the twenty-one informants were by no means uniform. Much variation was recorded in the sound system, the grammar, and, especially, in the vocabulary. A great deal of this variation was among the oldest group, those above seventy years of age. As most of the informants listed the place of origin of their ancestors simple as "England," "Ireland," or "Wales," no correlation could be made between the idiolects spoken by the informants and the specific areas in the British Isles from which their ancestors came. Although much of the variation must go unexplained, a large amount of it can be attributed to age and education differences, cultural change, and, to a small extent, travel to other areas. At this point, it will be helpful to take a general look at each of the three main aspects of the informants' speech, sound system, grammar, and vocabulary, to see what effect the above features had.

5.2. The Sound System

The degree of formality adopted by any informant was

usually reflected in his sound system and grammatical usage. Sometimes, informants would begin answering questions by paying careful attention to diction and syntax but, invariably they would relax and use their normal idiolect. One indication which sometimes showed this shift toward relaxation was the change from [ai] to [ɛi]. No doubt, the former was thought to be the "approved" pronunciation.

Often, when several allophones of a particular phoneme occurred interchangeably, it was believed that they occurred in free variations with each other but this could not be proven because there were not enough examples with similar pronunciation from each informant. For example: [tæp] and [tɛp]. The speech of most of the informants was somewhat rapid, and this, coupled with their general relaxation, led to much assimilation, particularly among the bilabial consonants. Frequently, consonants, particularly /t/ and /l/, were not pronounced and the syllabic-consonants [ɫ], [ŋ], [ɲ], and [ŋ], were quite common. The glottal stop, [ʔ], was found frequently, replacing a variety of phones, and /h/ was often dropped or found in positions where it did not normally occur. Centering off-glides were frequent in the idiolects of most of the informants, as was the nasalization, lengthening, and modification of vowels by fronting, retraction, raising, and lowering. The voicing of initial voiceless consonants occurred in the idiolects of B. J. L., E. R., and W. J. P.

Generally, the diction of those informants with an education

level of Grade VIII, or above, was clearer, with more standard pronunciations occurring. The allophones of /ay/ had an interesting distribution in that [ai], or similar phones, occurred mainly in the idiolects of the above informants but most of the others used [ɛi], or similar phones. E. M. K., with a Grade X education, was the most highly educated of the informants in the first age-group, and this woman had fewer non-standard forms in pronunciation than did the others in her group. E. A. M., who spent nearly two years in Toronto while a young woman, appeared to be influenced by her travels as she used many standard forms in pronunciation, but in education, only reached Grade II.

Most non-standard pronunciations, especially a high degree of assimilation, the prevalence of the glottal stop, the addition or loss of /h/, and the substitution of some consonants and vowels for others, were used by the informants in the first age-group. They also used a wider variety of diphthongs than did the other informants. The above features can be found, particularly, in the idiolects of S. M. N., E. R., S. J. H., W. J. P., and B. J. L. The informants in the second age-group, while possessing many interesting varieties of pronunciation, had, generally, fewer non-standard pronunciations than the above group. The third, and youngest, age-group was the most highly educated of the three and this was reflected in the relatively large number of standard pronunciations, the highest of all the groups. Education, then, appears to be the main

cause of the over-all difference in pronunciation among the informants.

5.3 The Grammar

Several interesting syntactic features occurred in the idiolects of the informants. Particularly interesting were several forms of the verb "be," especially the form "bees." This was widespread among the informants and appears to possess nuances of duration. Another interesting form was "been" + past participle, but examples were few and it could not be determined if this particular structure possessed some special meaning. A close study of the usage of those two forms would be both intriguing and rewarding. The past tense and past participle forms of many verbs were different from the standard forms; the past tense of some "strong verbs" having regular forms and the past tense and past participle forms being made the same, as in "drive, drove, drove."

Other interesting features were the various forms of "either" and "neither" when used as noun-determiners, the prevalence of the adjective qualifiers "some" and "right," and the use of "for" before the infinitive forms of verbs. These features occurred in the idiolects of all or most of the informants. The forms of certain pronouns which occurred when the subjective case was inverted in the negative status, namely

/iy/ "ee" -- "you," /əs/ "us" -- "we," and /əm/ "em" -- "they", are very interesting and invite further study.

Education here also played an important part in the idiolects of the informants. The three informants in the youngest age-group have an education level which ranges from Grade VIII to Grade XI, and used mainly standard grammatical forms, although G. L. N. did use "bees" and "been" + past participle. E. M. K., also, used few non-standard forms. An interesting point is that F. M., who received only one week of formal schooling but considers himself self-taught to the equivalent of Grade V, had many standard grammatical forms. This man appeared proud of his education and it seems that he made a conscious effort to use "correct" grammar. H. R. W., who obtained a Grade VIII education, also used few non-standard forms. Age was not relatively important, as many dialectal grammatical forms were used by all informants. However, B. J. L., aged eighty, used "thee" and "thysel" which appear to be very old forms. As in the sound system, most non-standard grammatical forms were used by informants in the first age-group, occurred to a slightly lesser extent in the second group, and mainly standard forms were used by the third, and youngest, group.

5.4 The Vocabulary

The dialectal vocabulary in this town of four thousand

has not become standardized. The informants' vocabulary was particularly rich in terms connected with the fishery. This is because of the former importance of the Bank fishery and the fact that the people of Grand Bank have always been intimately connected with the sea. Though many interesting terms belong to the other semantic categories, particularly flora and fauna, it is the fishery with which most informants were most familiar. It would be expected that, with a long tradition based mainly on one aspect of the fishery, the fishing vocabulary of the informants would be relatively homogeneous. However, this was not the case and a wide variety of terms were obtained. Most of this variety occurred among the oldest age-group.

Age and cultural change are intimately related in the variety of fishing terms obtained. Most of the people in the first two age-groups grew up when the Bank fishery was at its peak and almost all of the people in the town were connected with it. Thus, most of the men fished inshore or on the fishing Banks and most of the women dried the fish on the beaches. However, as the youngest age-group were growing up, the Bank fishery declined and was replaced by the more specialized fresh fish industry which, on the whole, employed more workers. Thus, most of the informants above forty years of age were familiar with most fishing terms, while those below forty knew only a few of the more common ones. The youngest informant of all,

knew almost no fishing terms, and provided some spelling pronunciations such as /kílĭk/ "killick" and /θwɔwrtʃ/ "thwarts."

Sex differences also played an important part in the vocabularies of the informants. Many women were unfamiliar with a substantial number of fishing terms but could talk readily about the home, subsistence farming, and flora and fauna. The men, who did the actual fishing, provided a wealth of information concerning the fishery.

Education did not appear to be as important here as in the sound system or grammar. The younger informants, those below forty years of age, knew most of the commoner fishing terms, as well as the commoner ones in the other selected semantic categories. Those informants used fewer terms than the informants in the other age-groups. E. M. K., though belonging to the first group, knew little about farming or the fishery because, after she obtained her Grade X, she worked in a store for most of her life. More standard terms, such as "stovepipe" and "fireplace" were used by the younger, more educated informants.

5.5 A General View of the Dialect

The ancestors of the informants interviewed came from all over the British Isles. The English Dialect Dictionary lists many of the vocabulary items used by the informants and records most of those as being used in Southwest England. Thus, it is

possible that most of the informants' ancestors came from that area. This is further substantiated by the occurrence of initial voicing of /f/ and /s/ in the idiolects of three of the informants. This voicing is common Southwestern English dialects. The earliest settlers in a town or region usually establish the dialect, and new arrivals and children learn it. This is probably the case in Grand Bank where, after the French were replaced, the first large group of settlers may have come from Southwest England, as old records seem to indicate, and subsequent settlers learned the dialect.

Education plays a very important role in the idiolects of the informants, especially in the grammar. The importance of education in influencing speech is stated by Francis¹ and, in the sound system and grammar, and, to a lesser extent, the vocabulary of the Grand Bank informants, this is clearly seen. Cultural change, especially in the vocabulary, is also an important factor in the choice of terms used. Though wide variation was recorded in all aspects of the informants' idiolects, it may be generally stated that the widest use of non-standard forms of pronunciation and grammar, and the largest number of vocabulary terms, occurred among the informants of the first age-group. Those in the second age-group generally used a smaller number of non-standard forms and fewer vocabulary terms, and the youngest age-group used mainly standard grammatical forms,

¹Francis, op. cit., p. 537.

fewer non-standard pronunciations than the above group, and not much variation in the vocabulary terms used.

All of the informants have lived nearly all their lives in Grand Bank and the families of most of them have lived in the town for three or four generations. All age-groups and levels of education were dealt with, as well as different religious backgrounds and location in various parts of the town. Thus, the idiolects of the twenty-one informants are representative of the dialect of Grand Bank.

APPENDIX A

Profiles of the Informants

This study was based on field records collected from twenty-one informants living in Grand Bank in the summer of 1970. Two work sheets were collected from each informant because it was found at the beginning of the interviews that the section on fishing in the Newfoundland Questionnaire¹ was inadequate for coping with the rich fishing tradition of the people of Grand Bank. Consequently, a Fishing Supplement to the main questionnaire was prepared, and this was keyed into the numbering system.

Three broad age-groups were selected, roughly corresponding with the three main generations. The oldest age-group, those seventy years old and over, numbered thirteen informants and ranged in ages, from seventy-one to ninety-two. The second age-group, those from forty years to seventy years of age, numbered five informants and ranged in ages from forty-three to sixty-eight. The third age-group, those below forty years of age, numbered three informants ranging in age from seventeen:

¹The Newfoundland Questionnaire is the principal work sheet on which the Linguistic Atlas of Newfoundland is to be based. This Questionnaire was developed by W. J. Kirwin and G. M. Story in 1963 and is keyed to the Short Work Sheets of the Linguistic Atlas of the U. S. A. and Canada.

to thirty-three years of age. Thus the total age range of the informants was from seventeen to ninety-two. The largest number of informants was selected for the first age-group because it was felt that those older people, with a lifetime of work in the community and little education, would use traditional forms now being forgotten by the younger people.

The interviews themselves lasted usually from one whole day to two, and, rarely, three days. Full co-operation was always received and the following are profiles of the lives and ancestry of the twenty-one informants.

Profiles of the Informants

S. M. N.

/Age 72

This woman was born in Grand Bank on May 13, 1898. She is an unmarried housekeeper and has lived in Grand Bank, on Riverside West ("Up the Brook"), all her life. She attended the United Church Academy in the town until she reached Grade VI, when she left to work on the beaches drying fish. Her religion was formerly Methodist, but she later joined the Salvation Army, while her parents remained members of the Methodist Church.

Her father was born in Grand Bank and lived there all his life, and his father was born there also. Her father's ancestors originally came from England, Her mother was born in Grand Bank, but her mother's father, a Noseworthy, was born in Ladbawn, Placentia Bay. Her mother's ancestors also came from England originally. There have been no changes in the last name of either family.

F. M.

/Age 84

This man was born in Jersey Harbour, Fortune Bay, in 1886, and moved to Grand Bank at the age of seventeen. He has lived on Main Street, near "Cownap", all his life. He was a fisher-

man for fifty-one years. He attended school in Jersey Harbour for one week only, but considers himself self-taught to the equivalent of Grade V. He often attempted to give the "correct" forms when answering questions concerning grammar. For two generations his family has belonged to the United Church.

His father, a ship's carpenter, was born in Sherborne, Dorset, England, and, at the age of twenty-one or twenty-two, moved to Jersey Harbour, where he lived for the rest of his life. His grandfather was probably born in Sherborne, as well. The informant's mother was born in Jersey Harbour and lived there all her life. Her mother's father, by the name of Walters, was born in Devonshire and emigrated to Newfoundland around 1850. There have been no changes in the last name of either family.

E. R.

/Age 78

This woman was born in Grand Bank in 1892 and has lived there all her life, her occupation being that of a housewife. At first she lived on Tim's Lane, "up the Brook", and later moved to Hickman Street, between "Cownap" and "the Harbour", where she now lives. She reached Grade VIII but then left school to work. She belongs to the United Church, as did her parents, and there have been no changes.

Her father was born in Grand Bank and lived there all his life, and his father was born there as well. Her father's ancestors, two brother named Farthing, ran away from England to escape war service, probably the Napoleonic Wars, came to New-

foundland and settled at Grand Bank. One brother changed his name to Cox and the other, E. R.'s father's direct ancestor, to Royle. The informant's mother was born in Muddy Hole, Hermitage Bay, as was her grandfather, whose last name was Sims. She does not know when or from where her mother's ancestors originally came to Newfoundland. There has been one name change, from Farthing to Royle, on her father's side of the family.

G. M.

/Age 72

This man was born in Grand Bank on May 5, 1898, and has lived there, on West Street ("Cownap") for most of his life, except for one year at Grand Beach, Fortune Bay, and two years at Cape Breton Island. He worked at trap fishing, Bank fishing, and trucking, and was also a casual labourer, fish store worker, and janitor. In education, he reached Grade II, taking that grade at the age of twenty. His religion is Salvation Army, the same as his parents, and there have been no changes.

His father was born at Grand Bank and lived there all his life, except for one year at Grand Beach. His grandfather lived at Grand Bank, and his ancestors probably came from England originally. The informant's mother was born at Bay L'Argent, Fortune Bay, and later moved to Grand Bank, and her father was also born at Bay L'Argent, his last name being Myles. The informant has no idea from where his mother's ancestors origin-

ally came. There have been no changes in the last names of either family.

A. W.

/Age 66

This man was born in Grand Bank in 1904 and has lived there for most of his life, except for one trip to Portugal, and six months in Sydney, Nova Scotia. He was born, on Warren's Lane, near "Point Bully" and "the Harbour", and lived there for twenty years, later moving to Charlotte Street, "Cownap", where he now lives. This informant has been connected with various aspects of the fishery all his life, especially as a fish grader, or "culler", and a seller of fishing material with a large local business firm. In education, he reached the Preliminary Grade, about the equivalent of Grade IX. He belongs to the Salvation Army, as do his parents, and there have been no changes. The informant was very talkative and interested.

His father was born in Grand Bank and lived there all his life. His grandfather came to Grand Bank from England, but he does not know when. His mother was born in St. Lawrence, Placentia Bay, and lived there until age twenty-three, when she moved to Grand Bank. Her father was born in St. Lawrence, and his last name was Lambert. The informant does not know when, or from where, his mother's ancestors originally came to New-

foundland. There have been no changes in the last name of either family.

S. J. H.

/Age 92

This woman was born in Grand Bank on September 27, 1878, and has lived there all her life. She was born at Warren's Lane, near "Point Bully" and "the Harbour", and lived there for several years, before moving to College Street, adjacent to Warren's Lane. She worked on the beaches at Grand Bank, drying salt codfish, for twenty years, and then became a midwife. In education, she reached Grade III, before leaving school. Her religion is Salvation Army. Her parents belonged originally to the United Church, but later changed to the Salvation Army, and she did also.

Her father was born in Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, England, and lived there until about 1860, when he emigrated to Newfoundland. Her grandfather was probably born in Yarmouth, as well. Her mother was born at Grand Bank and lived there all her life, and her mother's father also lived at Grand Bank. This side of the family probably lived previously in Harbour Mille, Fortune Bay, and originally, the ancestors came from England. There have been no changes in the last name of either family.

L. G. P.

/Age 77

This woman was born in Coombs' Cove, Fortune Bay, on October 15, 1893, and lived there until she was seventeen years of age, when she moved to Harbour Breton and lived there about seven years. Then she moved to Grand Bank, on the corner of Citadel Road and Charlotte Street near "Cownap", and has lived there for the rest of her life, a period of about fifty-two years. She was a housewife and also worked on the beaches, drying fish, for about twenty years. In education, she reached a level of about Grades V or VI. Her religion is United Church, but she was formerly of the Anglican faith, as were her parents.

Her father was born in Harbour Mille, Fortune Bay, but later moved to Coombs' Cove. Her grandfather also lived in Harbour Mille, but she has no idea of when, or from where, her father's ancestors originally came to Newfoundland. Her mother was born in Coombs' Cove and lived there all her life. Her mother's father also lived in that community, his last name being Bartlett. The informant's mother's first husband came originally from England, and her second husband was the informant's father. There have been no changes in the last name of either family.

M. O.

/Age 79

This woman was born at Musgrave Harbour, Notre Dame Bay,

on February 14, 1891, and lived there until she was seventeen years of age, when she moved to Grand Bank where she has spent the rest of her life. She has lived on Cemetery Road, "long Shore", since coming to Grand Bank. She was a housewife and also worked on the beaches, drying fish. She obtained a Grade I education, but then quit school to work. She belongs to the Salvation Army, as did her parents, and there have been no changes.

Her father was born in Musgrave Harbour and lived there all his life. She does not know where her grandfather lived, nor when, or from where, her father's ancestors originally came to Newfoundland. Her mother was born in Musgrave Harbour and, when her first husband died, she remarried and moved to Gander Bay. The informant does not know where her mother's father lived, nor when, or from where, her mother's ancestors originally came to Newfoundland. She does not know what her mother's father's last name was. There have been no changes in the last name of either family.

E. M. K.

/Age 72

This woman was born in Grand Bank on May 3, 1898, and has lived there, on Blackburn Road ("Point Bully"), all her life. She spent her working life as a clerk with G. & A. Buffett Ltd.,

in Grand Bank. In education, she reached Grade X, a high education in those days, before leaving school to work. She belongs to the United Church, as did her parents, and there have been no changes. She is unmarried.

Her father was born in Grand Bank and lived there all his life. Her grandfather also lived in Grand Bank, but was born in Burin. Placentia Bay. Her father's ancestors originally came to Newfoundland from England, but she does not know when. The informant's mother was born in Grand Bank and lived there all her life. Her mother's father also lived in Grand Bank, his last name being Welsh. Her mother's ancestors originally came to Newfoundland from Ireland, but she does not know when. There have been no changes in the last name of either family.

B. G. F.

/Age 49

This man was born in Grand Bank on March 11, 1921, and has lived in Grand Bank all his life, except for three years spent in Corner Brook, from 1953 to 1955. He has held several jobs; hauling fish and coal, working in one of the salt-fish stores in Grand Bank, then working in the Bonavista Cold Storage Fish Plant, and is, at present, a janitor in the Elementary School in the town. At first, the informant lived on Riverside West ("up the Brook"), but he later moved to Coronation Street, in the same area. In education, he reached Grade II, but then

left to work. His religion is Salvation Army, to which he changed from the United Church, while his parents remained in the latter denomination.

His father was probably born in Grand Bank, and he believes that his grandfather lived there as well. His father's ancestors originally came to Newfoundland from England, but he does not know when. His mother was born in Molliers, Fortune Bay, and later moved to Grand Bank. His mother's father was also born in Molliers, his last name being Bennett. The informant does not know when, or from where, his mother's ancestors originally came to Newfoundland. There have been no changes in the last name of either family.

C. F. P.

/Age 72

This man was born in Grand Bank on July 13, 1898, and has lived there all his life, with the exception of four years spent in Boston and New York. He now lives on Ralph Street ("Point Bully") and has always lived in this area. He has been connected with the sea all his life, being first a fisherman for two years, then serving in the Merchant Navy for two years, during World War I, and then becoming an inshore fisherman. He then worked as a cook for fifteen years, from 1939 to 1954, and, finally, became a fish plant worker for thirteen years until he retired. In education, he reached Primary Grade, around Grade VI, before leaving school to go fishing. His religion

is Salvation Army, to which he changed from the United Church, as did his parents.

The informant's father was born in Grand Bank and lived there all his life. His grandfather lived in Burry Port, Carmarthen, Wales, later moving to Grand Bank, but the informant does not know when. His mother was born in Grand Bank and lived there all her life. Her father probably lived in Grand Bank as well, his last name being Matthews. The informant does not know when, or from where, his mother's ancestors originally came to Newfoundland. There have been no changes in the last name of either family.

G. E. B.

/Age 76

This man was born in Grand Bank on October 1, 1894, and has lived there, on Church Street ("Point Bully") all his life. He has been fishing for most of his life, except for war service in World War I, and later sailing on schooners taking salt fish to the West Indies and Europe. In education, he reached Grade V, before he left to fish. He belongs to the United Church, as did his parents, and there have been no changes in religious denomination.

The informant's father was born in Harbour Mille, Fortune Bay, and lived there for about twenty-two years before moving to

Grand Bank. His grandfather was probably born in Harbour Mille, as well, His father's ancestors originally came to Newfoundland from England, but he does not know when. His mother's father also lived in Grand Bank, his last name being Thornhill. His mother's ancestors originally came to Newfoundland from England; he does not know when. There have been no changes in the last name of either family.

S. P.

/Age 71

This man was born in Grand Bank on October 28, 1899, and has lived there all his life. He now lives at the head of a small lane, off Citadel Road, near "Cownap", and grew up in the neighbouring area. He was connected with the fishery for most of his life, but later worked as a clerk for G. & A. Buffett for fifteen years. In education, he reached Grade IV before leaving to fish. He belongs to the United Church, as did his parents, and there have been no changes.

The informant's father was born in Grand Bank and lived there all his life. His grandfather also lived in Grand Bank. His father's ancestors originally came to Newfoundland from England, but he does not know when. His mother was born in Harbour Mille, Fortune Bay, and lived there until she was seventeen years of age, when she moved to Grand Bank. The informant's

mother's father lived in Ireland before moving to Newfoundland, his last name being Smith. The informant does not know when his mother's father emigrated to Newfoundland. On his father's side of the family, the surname Joy was changed to Pardy.

W. J. P.

/Age 84

This man was born in Grand Bank on July 12, 1886, and has travelled widely, living respectively in Glace Bay and Halifax, Nova Scotia, and in Detroit, Michigan, U. S. A. During wartime service, in World War I, he lived in England. Afterward, he returned to Grand Bank where he spent the rest of his life. During his early life he lived at Warren's Lane, near "Point Bully" and "the Harbour" but, now lives nearby, on the corner of Church Street and Main Street. The informant was at first, a cobbler, and later a seaman, sailing in schooners carrying salt fish to other ports. In education, he reached Grade IV before leaving to work. His religion is United Church, the same as his parents, and there have been no changes.

The informant's father was born in Grand Bank, and lived there all his life. His grandfather also lived in Grand Bank. His father's ancestors originally came to Newfoundland from Fleet, Devonshire, England, but he does not know when. His mother was born in English Harbour East, Fortune Bay, but later

moved to Grand Bank. His mother's father lived in South Wales before he emigrated to Newfoundland but the informant does not know when; neither does he know his last name. There have been no changes in the last name of either family.

B. J. L.

/Age 80

This woman was born in Grand Bank on November 5, 1890, and has lived there, on Marine Drive ("long Shore"), all her life. She worked on the "beaches" drying salt fish for most of her life. In education, she reached Grade VI before leaving to work on the "beaches". Her religion is Salvation Army, to which she changed from Methodist, as did her parents.

Her father was born in Grand Bank and lived there all his life. Her grandfather lived in Manchester, England, before coming to Newfoundland around 1850. He was serving on a Royal Navy warship which visited Grand Bank, and "jumped ship" near the town, where he later married the woman who sheltered him. The informant's mother was born in Grand Bank and lived there all her life. Her mother's father lived in Wales before coming to Newfoundland but she does not know when, nor does she know what his last name was. There have been no changes in the last name of either family.

T. W.

/Age 51

This man was born in Grand Bank on October 7, 1916, and has lived on Main Street, near "Cownap", all his life, except for the three years spent travelling to and from England in the Merchant Marine during World War II. He was at first a truck driver, served in the Merchant Marine, then became a house painter, and later a taxi driver. In education, he reached Grade VI before leaving to work. He belongs to the United Church, as did his parents, and there have been no changes.

The informant's father was born in Grand Bank and lived there all his life. His grandfather was a French-Canadian, named de Wolfe, who moved to Grand Bank and lived there for the rest of his life. His place of origin was probably Quebec. The informant does not know when his French-Canadian ancestor moved to Grand Bank. The informant's mother was born in Grand Bank and lived there all her life. His mother's father also lived in Grand Bank, his last name being Courtenay. T. W.'s mother's ancestors originally came to Newfoundland from England, but he does not know when. On his father's side of the family, the name de Wolfe was changed to Wooden.

E. A. M.

/Age 68

This woman was born in Grand Bank on May 3, 1902 and has

lived on Riverside East, ("Cross Brook") all her life, except for eighteen months spent in Toronto, Ontario. At first, she went nursing in private homes, then worked on the "beaches" drying fish for six or seven years, and later became a housewife. In education, she reached Grade III before leaving to work. Her religion is Salvation Army, the same as her parents, and there have been no changes.

Her father was born in Grand Bank and lived there all his life. Her grandfather lived in England before emigrating to Newfoundland, but she does not know when he arrived. Her mother was born in Grand Bank and lived there all her life. The informant does not know where her mother's father lived, nor what his last name was. She also does not know when, or from where, her mother's ancestors originally came to Newfoundland. There have been no changes in the last names of either family.

W. C. C.

/Age 17

This young man was born in Grand Bank on October 1, 1952, and has lived there all his life. He grew up on Ralph Street ("Point Bully") and moved to Hickman Street ("Cownap") three years ago. He is, at present, a Grade XI student at the John Burke Regional High School in Grand Bank. His religion is Salvation Army, the same as his parents, and there have been no changes.

His father was born in Little Bay East, Fortune Bay, and lived there for thirteen years before moving to Grand Bank. His grandfather also lived at Little Bay East. The informant's father's ancestors probably came from Wales when they originally moved to Newfoundland, but he does not know when. His mother was born in Grand Bank and has lived there all her life. Her father also lived in Grand Bank, his last name being Barnes (pronounced Berrents). The informant does not know when, or from where, his mother's ancestors originally came to Newfoundland. There have been no changes in the last name of either family.

H. R. W.

/Age 43

This woman was born in Grand Bank on September 11, 1927, and has lived there all her life. She spent her early life on Riverside East ("Cross Brook") and now lives on the corner of Hickman Street and Chilcott Place (near "the Harbour"). She worked on the "beaches" drying salt fish for several years, and then became a housewife. In education, she reached Grade VIII before leaving to work. Her religion is Salvation Army, the same as her parents, and there have been no changes.

The informant's father was born in Grand Bank and lived there all his life. Her grandfather also lived in Grand Bank

and was born on a ship coming from England, but she does not know when. Her mother was born in Grand Bank and lived there all her life. Her mother's father lived in Harbour Mille, Fortune Bay, his last name being Pardy, but he later moved to Grand Bank. The informant does not know when, or from where, her mother's ancestors originally came to Newfoundland.² There have been no changes in the last name of either family.

S. R. C.

/Age 33

This woman was born in Grand Bank on April 10, 1937, and has lived there all her life, except for two years spent in St. John's. She was raised on the corner of Hickman Street and Chilcott Place (near "the Harbour") and now lives on Marine Drive ("long Shore"). She has worked in a hotel, in the local fish plant, and as a housewife. In education, she obtained her Grade IX before leaving to work. Her religion is Salvation Army, the same as her parents, and there have been no changes.

The informant's father was born on Sagona Island, Fortune Bay, and lived there for twelve years before moving to Grand Bank. Her grandfather also lived on Sagona Island. Her father's

²H. R. W.'s mother's grandfather was named Hickman and lived to be over one hundred years of age, so this may have been the well-known Jonathan Hickman who was born on a ship coming to Newfoundland from England around 1747.

ancestors originally came to Newfoundland from England, but she does not know when. Her mother was born in Grand Bank and lived there all her life. The informant's mother's father also lived in Grand Bank, his last name being Rose. She does not know when, or from where her mother's ancestors originally came to Newfoundland. There have been no changes in the last name of either family.

G. L. N.

/Age 28

This woman was born in Grand Bank on September 12, 1942, and has lived there all her life. She was raised on Butt Street ("up the Brook") and lived there until she was married. She then moved to Evans Street, near the same area, then later moved to Hickman Street ("Cownap"), where she has lived for the past three years. At first she worked in the local fish plant, but then married and became a housewife. In education, she reached Grade VIII before leaving to work. Her religion is Salvation Army, the same as her parents, and there have been no changes.

Her father was born in Grand Bank and has lived there all his life. Her grandfather also lived in Grand Bank, but she does not know when, or from where, her father's ancestors originally came to Newfoundland. Her mother was born on Woody Island, Placentia Bay, and later moved to Grand Bank. Her

mother's father also lived in Grand Bank for most of his life after moving from Woody Island, his last name being Butt. The informant does not know when, or from where, her mother's ancestors originally came to Newfoundland. There have been no changes in the last name of either family.

APPENDIX B

Place Names in the Grand Bank Area

In the course of interviewing the informants many place names were obtained, and they have been divided into two sections -- those inside the town itself and those outside the town. The former section includes the area north of the new Burin Peninsula Highway which bypasses the town and the latter section includes the area within a radius of three miles from the town. Most of those place names are very old and many of them are used mainly by the two older age-groups. If a name which is listed is found on the map or if reference is made to other names, the directions "see map" will be used.

I. Inside the Town

A. Names for Lanes and Paths

1. Bulls Run -- a short path, no longer used, which joined Circular Place and George Street.
2. Tim's Lane -- formerly called "The Drong". (See map).
3. Warren's Lane -- a long, wide lane which intersects with College Street. (See map).
4. Butt's Lane -- now called "Butt Street". (See map).
5. Chilcott's /šilkàts/ or Chilkick's /šilkiks/ Lane -- now called "Chilcott Place". (See map).

6. Tommy Welsh's Lane -- a short lane, no longer used, which joined Riverside West and Water Street.
7. Bull Path -- now called "Cemetery Road". (See map).
8. Tingy Riggs' Lane -- a long path joining Edwin Street and Cemetery Road. Now called "Hillview Street". (See map).
9. Church Path -- now called "Church Street". (See map).
10. Crowley's Lane -- a small lane running north from Riverside West.
11. Matthews' Lane -- now called "Edwin Street". (See map).
12. Rocky Drong -- now called "Greenwood Avenue". (See map).
13. Old Road -- see map.
14. Christian's Road -- see map.

B. Names for Ponds and Brooks

1. Roger's Pond -- see map.
2. Cove Pond -- common name for "Admiral's Cove Pond". (See map).
3. Lobster Pond -- a small pond which used to be immediately behind the Eastern Breakwater. (See map).
4. Nigger Ralph's Pond -- common name for "Ralph's Pond". (See map).
5. Pond Gut -- a small pond on the seashore into which "Burnell's Brook" flows. (See map).
6. Burnell's Brook -- see map.
7. George's Brook -- a small brook flowing into "Admiral's Cove Pond".

8. Grand Bank Brook -- see map.

9. Cross Brook -- see map.

C. Other Names

1. Jan's Hill -- a low hill immediately behind the G. B. A. A. A. Soccer Field. (See map).
2. The Pinch -- a small hill on Riverside West which runs parallel to Grand Bank Brook.
3. Joe's Ground -- a large field, now occupied by homes, between Coronation Street and Hickman Street. (See map).
4. The Bank -- a high bank along the western side of Grand Bank Harbour, now supported by a concrete wall and lined with stores.

II. Outside the Town

Because of the large number of place names collected, only the most unusual ones within a radius of three miles of the town will be listed. The listing will be from east to west.

A. Names of Various Types of Hills

1. Lanse-au-Loup /lænsiluw/ Tolt -- a high, round hill approximately three miles south-east of Grand Bank.
2. Green Knob -- a small hill approximately three miles south-east of Grand Bank and approximately one-half mile from Gunville Brook, a small stream which crosses the Burin Peninsula Highway approximately two miles east of Grand Bank.

3. Beggar /béygär/ Hill -- a high hill approximately one and one-half miles southeast of Grand Bank.
 4. Maloney's Hill -- a low hill approximately one-half mile south of Grand Bank.
 5. Gravelly Knap -- a small, rocky hill approximately one-half mile south of Maloney's Hill.
 6. Sam's Knob -- a small hill approximately halfway between Maloney's Hill and Gravelly Knap.
 7. First Mish Hill -- a small hill on the western bank of Grand Bank Brook approximately one and one-half miles southwest of the town.
 8. Woody Head -- a high, heavily-wooded hill on the western side of Grand Bank Brook approximately three miles southwest of the town.
 9. Fortune Tolt -- a small, steep hill in barren country about two miles west southwest of Grand Bank.
- B. Names of Paths
1. Bragg's Path -- a long path from the old highway at Lanse-au-Loup Brook into the country to Lanse-au-Loup Cross Brook. Lanse-au-Loup Brook is approximately two and one-half miles east of Grand Bank.
 2. Long Path -- a path along the western side of Lanse-au-Loup Brook leading into the country to Lanse-au-Loup Tolt.
 3. Slashers' Droke -- a path running southeast from Country Pond (see map) to Beggar Hill.

4. Chalker's Slide Path -- a small path about one mile southwest of Grand Bank running from the western side of Grand Bank Brook along Chalker's Brook, a small stream, to Big Eastern Mish.
5. Cow Path -- a small path joining Farmer's Hill, a low hill one mile southwest of Grand Bank, with First Mish Hill.
6. Drunken Path -- a narrow path leading up the southwestern side of Bennett's Hill, a 375 foot hill overlooking Grand Bank.

C. Miscellaneous Names

1. Lanse-au-Loup Tee -- a large sandy beach across a large brackish-water pond, Lanse-au-Loup Barrisway, approximately two and one-half miles east of Grand Bank.
2. Muddy Hole -- a large, somewhat dangerous, muddy area at the eastern edge of Lanse-au-Loup Tee.
3. Jim Welsh's Brook -- a small brook crossing the Burin Peninsula Highway about one and one-half miles east of Grand Bank.
4. Gunville Runs -- a series of small hills, continually ascending, which created a long, steep grade on the Burin Peninsula Highway from one and one-half to two miles east of Grand Bank.
5. Swall /swA/ Point -- a small flat point on the coast about one mile east of Grand Bank.

6. Sally's Rock -- a large rock near the end of Old Road, about one and three-quarter miles east of Grand Bank.
7. High Mish -- a large mish on a high barren plateau approximately one-half mile southeast of Country Pond. (See map).
8. Thunderbolt Hole -- a deep hole on the top of a small ridge, immediately northwest of Country Pond. (See map). This hole was probably caused by a meteorite.
9. Big Eastern Mish -- a large "mish" running parallel to the eastern side of Grand Bank Brook approximately one and one-half miles from the town.
10. Kitt's Mish -- a large "mish" on the western side of Grand Bank Brook approximately four miles southwest of the town.
11. The Gushes -- an old name for Clawbonnie Brook, approximately three miles west of Grand Bank.
12. Lanse-au-Paul -- a small cove about one and one-half miles west of Grand Bank.
13. Vie's Place -- a small cove surrounded by high cliffs on the northern side of Grand Bank Cape, approximately one mile northwest of the town.

Old Country Path is a long path leading far into the country to the south of Grand Bank. One of the informants, E. R., des-

cribed the landmarks along this path in detail. She stated that the first landmark is the Teddy Cots /tédì kâts/, a small area which looked as if rows of potatoes had been planted there. Next are the Three Sisters, three large round stones evenly spaced beside the path, and then comes Shot Bag Pond where a man, many years ago, is said to have lost his bag of shot while hunting birds. The Singletree, a large tree standing alone in a "mish" for several miles, is the next landmark, and, finally comes Betty's Brook, a small meandering stream.

APPENDIX C

Traditional Sections of the Town

For several generations Grand Bank has been divided into several sections which conform, mainly, to natural features. It was hoped, at the beginning of this survey, that there would be some correlation between the idiolects of the informants and the sections of the town in which they lived. This was not the case, however, as there was as much variation in idiolect among informants in each section as there was among those in different sections of the town. The following is a list of those sections with their approximate boundaries. Please consult map for reference.

1. "'long Shore" -- this includes the section of the town from Cemetery Road to the eastern limits. Most of the people live along Marine Drive which runs parallel to the shoreline.
2. "Cross Brook" -- this section stretches from Grand Bank Bridge to Greenwood Avenue along the eastern side of Grand Bank Brook.
3. "The Brook" -- this section stretches along the western side of Grand Bank Brook, including mainly Riverside West and the small lanes and streets leading from it.

4. "Cownap" -- this name was earlier applied to the area around a low hill near Hawkins Street, Charlotte Street, and West Street, but now is applied generally to the area bounded by Main Street, Elizabeth Avenue, Hickman Street, and Citadel Road.
5. "Point Bully" -- this includes all that section of the town north of Blackburn Road.
6. "The Harbour" -- this is the area where most of the large stores and public buildings are situated, mainly along Church and Water Streets. However, the term is used generally for the area around the adjacent streets and lanes as well as the business section.
7. "The Cove" -- this is a small section of the town composed, mainly, of Elizabeth Avenue north of Main Street and the small lanes westward toward Admiral's Cove.

There is much overlapping among some of the sections, especially "The Brook" and "The Harbour" and, naturally, none of the boundaries are precisely defined. There are also many areas of the town which have no such names, so, whenever an informant in one of those unnamed areas was interviewed the name of the traditional section, or sections, nearest to where he lived was given; for example: "near Cownap" or "near the Harbour".

GLOSSARY

The purpose of this glossary is to give an indication of the richness and variety of the vocabulary of the Grand Bank informants. The glossary is quite extensive because only selected items could be discussed in the chapter on vocabulary and the writer has felt that a large selection of lexemes and their referents will prove both interesting and informative. From the large number of vocabulary items recorded, all non-standard forms or standard ones used in a non-standard manner were selected and most aspects of life in Grand Bank are included. The explanations are presented in the following manner: (a) definitions given by the informants themselves are placed in quotation marks followed by their respective initials, (b) definitions taken directly from the Newfoundland Questionnaire are underlined, (c) definitions constructed by the writer from information provided by the informants have neither quotation marks nor underlining. Compound words which are hyphenated or joined together have their first element stressed and those with their second element stressed have both elements separated. Those words which are explained in the glossary are underlined if they occur in any explanations of.

other words, and scientific names are also underlined. Also, short definitions which are similar are repeated throughout the glossary but the longer ones refer back to the first of the items to be explained. However, when two or more similar short definitions occur together, only the first will be given in full and those following will refer back to it.

The informants from the oldest age-group provided most of the glossary items, followed in turn by the next-oldest and youngest age-groups. Although a few words are Irish in origin, most of them appear to have originated in England. Although some words occur in various parts of England, according to the EDD, the closest affinity appears to be with the southwestern part of the country. Besides the EDD, Nance¹ and Hewett² list a large number of dialectal words from Cornwall and Devon respectively which also occurred in the idiolects of the Grand Bank informants.

¹R. Morton Nance, A Glossary of Cornish Sea Words (Marazion, Cornwall: Worden (Printers) Limited, 1963).

²Sarah Hewett, The Peasant Speech of Devon, and other matters connected therewith (London: Elliot Stock, 1892).

Glossary

1. a bom of a lie -- A bad lie.
("Old word" -- E. R.). (Probably a malapropism for "an abominable lie".)
2. aft (n.) -- The back part of a dory.
3. after bulkheads -- Curved vertical boards in the back of a dory for holding trawls and other gear.
4. aftergrass -- A second cutting of grass.
5. after part -- The back part of a dory.
6. after supper The time of day for a short period from supper until sunset.
(Used especially in the summertime).
7. after thawt -- The thawt in the back of a dory.
(Not found very often in dories.)
8. alter -- To remove the testicles from a male animal.
("Change them from bull to ox."
-C. F. P.)
9. angishore -- A weak miserable person.
10. _____ -- A man with a bad temper who can't be trusted.
11. arm chains -- Copper or brass chains worn on the wrists of fishermen to prevent saltwater sores.

12. asp -- A tree with leaves always shaking.
13. baby sleigh -- A small factory-made slide with metal runners and upright backs for carrying small children.
14. backhouse -- A small shed, usually separate but often attached to the house, about 3' x 4' to 4' x 6' depending on the size of the family, but usually big enough for one person. It had a bench or toilet seat and a tub or pail underneath for catching waste. This was dumped along the shore at different periods, usually once about every three weeks.
15. back kitchen -- Small room added to the back of a house.
16. back pantry -- Same as back kitchen.
17. back porch -- Same as back kitchen.
18. back room -- Same as back kitchen.
19. bailer -- A small container with a handle, used for bailing out dories or small, flat-bottomed boats. It can be made of any type of wood and may have tin on the edge.
20. bait -- A free gift presented to the first buyer.
21. bait-box -- A small box for holding bait. ("Biscuit boxes from Purity Factories-- Cream Soda biscuits." -B. G. F.)

22. bait-jack -- One quarter of a flour barrel with two straps, or rope handles, attached and used for storing bait. ("Handles made from a barrel also." -E. R.)
23. bait-tub -- Same as bait-jack. ("Smaller, no handles." -S. R. C.)
24. bake-pot -- Heavy iron vessel with large opening.
25. baker's bread -- Bread which is bought in a store.
26. baker's fog -- Bread which is bought in a store. Often soft. ("Cape Breton term -G. M.)
27. balk [bɔ:k] -- "Big posts -- 12" by 12". -A. W. "Piles -- smaller." -G
28. ballycatters or bellycatters catters -- Ice on shore and rocks from waves and salt spray.
29. bang-belly -- "Left-over bread, soaked and mixed with flour, with small pieces of pork, molasses, baking soda, and sometimes spice, added. It is then levelled-off in a pan and fried." -G. M.
30. banking dory -- A type of dory used on the Grand Banks, from 15 to 18 feet in the bottom.
31. bar -- A male pig. ("Bar and sow-- male and female pig." -E. M.)

32. barbel-- A fisherman's apron made of a rope and a piece of duck, or canvas.
33. barber-- Same as barbel.
- 33a. barber apron-- Same as barbel.
34. barbwire fence-- Posts with barbed wire strung between them; usually about 3 strands.
35. bark-- The heavy outer covering of tree trunks.
36. bark -- The brownish inner covering of tree trunks. ("Bark -- brownish inner covering." -W. C. C.) ("Rind -- heavy outer covering." -W. C. C.)
37. barm-- An old-fashioned type of leavening used in the making of bread to make it rise. Barm was made from hops and molasses and was used instead of yeast.
38. barnikuz-- Ice on shore and rocks from waves and salt spray. From barnacles ?
39. bar pig-- A male pig.
40. barrel-stave slide-- "Two barrel staves with boards hauled across." -C. F. P. (Usually one board at each end. Used by boys for coasting downhill).

41. barrel stove -- A drum-shaped stove with a round top and bottom, sides somewhat rounded, two or three covers, and a stovepipe which goes up through the oven on top of the stove. It has a box-like appearance.
42. barricues-- Ice on shore and rocks from waves and salt spray.
43. barrisway (spelled "barachois") -- A large brackish-water pond opening into the sea.
44. barvel -- A fisherman's apron made of a rope and a piece of duck, or canvas.
45. bastard dory -- A medium-sized dory, about 14 feet long in the bottom.
46. bawl -- The cry of a calf being weaned.
47. bayman -- A person from the head of Fortune Bay.
48. beams -- Shorter sticks laid across on top of the shores which hold up a stage.
49. bearberries -- "Like cranberries. No good to eat unless they are lying under the snow". -F. M.
50. beat out -- Extremely tired. Exhausted. ("Tired-- normal expression. Beat out -- strong expression." --A. W.)

51. bed-cover -- A sheet which covers the top of the bed. It is thin and decorated in different colours.
52. bell-boxes-- Square boxes on the stage head having sliding boards and one open side. The fish is covered with canvas. ("When we had nowhere else to salt the fish -- had no store." M.O.)
53. belly-flop -- A slide down a snow-covered hill.
54. _____ -- A dive flat on one's stomach into the water.
55. belly-flopper -- Same as belly-flop (2).
56. belly-ride -- A slide down a hill while lying down.
57. belly-slide -- Same as belly-ride.
58. belly-splash -- A dive into the water flat on one's stomach.
59. berry bushes -- Low bushes on the barrens, about knee-high.
60. bet out -- Extremely tired. Exhausted.
61. bide -- To wait or stay. ("Bide till dark -- stay until the sun goes down". -S.J.H.)
62. big stick -- A tall tree, good for cutting.

63. billets -- Short pieces of wood.
64. billycatter -- Small, floating iceberg.
65. bivver -- To quiver or shiver, said of a human being.
66. blabbermouth -- A children's nickname for one who tattles.
67. blabbertongue -- (A children's nickname for one who) (tattles.) Same as blabbermouth.
68. blackballs -- Floating objects used to hold up cod traps.
69. black jack -- Black felt for placing on roofs and fish boxes to hold the water.
70. black-man -- The Devil.
71. black-man's bread -- Inedible mushrooms.
72. black nigger -- A negro whose skin is very dark.
73. blackning -- Stove polish.
74. blacky -- A somewhat derogatory term for a negro.
75. blanket -- A woolen covering for a bed.

76. blare -- The sound made by a cow at feeding time.
77. _____ -- The cry of a calf being weaned.
78. blasty boughs -- Dried branches of coniferous trees, reddish in colour.
79. blathers -- A pronunciation of "bladders", which are large nodules filled with sap on the trunks of fir trees.
80. blay up -- To tie up or fasten.
81. blizzard -- Sudden snow-storm.
82. _____ -- A storm in fall when the sun crosses the line. ("No snow, just rain." -S. J. H.)
83. boarden fence -- A fence which has three horizontal boards, the middle one thickest of all, nailed on posts. ("Also called ranch-fence." -B. J. L.)
84. boardwalk -- A wooden ramp or walkway leading to a stage.
85. bobbers -- Round balls used to hold up cod traps.
86. bobbers-- Pieces of cork or wood used to hold up trawls and keep the lines in the same area.

87. bobsled -- A short sled for carrying logs with only half the normal length of runners, so that the ends of the logs rest on the ground.
88. body-part -- The middle part of a piece of dried fish.
89. bog -- A low-lying area, sometimes found in a mish, which is always wet with lots of water and black mud. It usually has grass and weeds, and is quite soft, being hard to cross. It is grassier, wetter, and smaller than a mish. ("Bog, swamp, mish -- no difference generally but a swamp is a bit wetter than a mish.") - E. A. M.)
90. bog-ground -- Same as bog.
91. boogeyman [*bug(-)*] -- The Devil. (Used to frighten children).
92. boogeyman's bread -- Inedible mushrooms.
93. boo peep -- A children's game where a person would hide and say "boo" to the one who was supposed to find him.
94. boss, boss, boss -- A call to cows to get them from the pasture.
95. _____ -- A call to calves.
96. bossy, bossy -- Same as boss, boss, boss (2)

97. bottle-cap -- A metal cap for a bottle.
98. bow-thawt -- The front thawt in a dory, near the bow, where a sail, if any, is carried.
99. boxcart -- A box or flat platform on runners for hauling salt or fish.
100. brambles -- Low bushes on the barrens, about knee-high.
101. bran bread -- A type of bread made of yeast, bran (whole-wheat flour), butter and salt, which is mixed together with warm water.
102. bread-buns -- Small lumps of bread dough, the size of an apple, baked in an oven.
103. breakers -- Submerged rocks with water breaking over them.
104. break up -- To end a courtship.
105. breakwater -- A long narrow wharf jutting out into a harbour.
106. breastbone -- A "V" shaped bone in the breast of a hen which is pulled apart by two persons; the one getting the larger portion making a wish, but sometimes this is done to see who will get married first. Often the bone is first dried.

107. breastwharf -- A long narrow wharf jutting out into a harbour.
108. breastwork -- Same as breastwharf.
109. breezing up -- Blowing harder. (Used when speaking about the wind.)
110. brewis -- [bruiz] Made out of hard tack, which is soaked and then boiled.
111. brim (v.) -- To barely float on top of (the water).
112. brin -- Coarse, loosely woven material used in the making of bags.
113. brin bag -- A bag made of coarse, loosely woven material, and used mainly for carrying coal, potatoes, and other vegetables.
114. britchers, britchits, or britchins -- Small, pink or red edible viscera in the stomach of a codfish, shaped like a pair of pants.
115. broody -- The condition of a hen or duck when she is attempting to hatch her eggs.
116. broody hen -- A hen which is sitting on her eggs in order to hatch them.
117. brook -- A small freshwater stream.
("Wider than 25 ft -- river." -F. M.)

118. buck -- To steal.
119. bulkheads -- Two curved, vertical boards in the middle of a dory under the thwarts used for holding fish.
120. bullfrog -- "All green; female has a white spot on the breast". -F. M.
121. _____ -- "Big with brown spots". -B. G. F. ("Frogs" -- smaller green ones". -B. G. F.)
122. bull-slide -- "Same shape as a small slide (hand-cat) only bigger". -S. M. N.
123. bumbleberries -- Large marsh-berries.
124. bumper load -- A good boat-load of fish.
125. bunch-a-bones -- A very thin person.
126. bung -- Open hole in a barrel closed by a cork; liquid flows out.
127. bung-dory -- A dory having oars only.
128. bunghole -- The hole in the bottom of a dory to let the water run out when the dory is pulled up on the beach.
129. buoy -- (Rhymes with "boy") A cylinder of wood with a stick down through it and a long flag on the stick. It is used to keep fishing lines in the same area.

130. _____ -- A small barrel used to float a cod trap.
131. buoy-line -- A line which goes from a buoy down to the bottom.
132. burn wood -- Burnt trees, smaller than rampikes.
133. butt -- The part of a dried codfish near the head.
134. _____ -- The central part of an apple which is usually not eaten.
135. _____ -- A small cask in which fish is packed.
("Drums -- big ones. Butts -- small ones". -T. W.)
136. buzkins -- A type of leggings used in the "olden days" made of thick cloth, pulled on over boots, and buttoned around the legs under the pants. Later called legs. From buskin?
137. by-road -- A road running across the country connecting high-roads.
138. byway -- A narrow road or path outside a town.
139. calm down -- To moderate or decrease. (Often used when a person talks about the wind).
140. calming up -- Improving; getting better. (Often used when a person speaks about the weather).

141. caplin scull -- The arrival of caplin in-shore in late spring.
142. carbuncle -- A large boil which usually occurs on the arm.
143. cark -- A cylindrical piece of cork placed in the neck of a bottle to keep the liquid in.
144. carpot -- A large box anchored offshore where lobsters are stored to keep them fresh.
145. cas or cast -- A large wooden container closed at both ends.
("50 to 55 gallons". -S. P.)
146. cash-purse -- A small purse made of leather or cloth with clasp but no handle, holding coins and bills only and carried in a larger purse. Only women and some old men carry them.
147. caskrate -- A pronunciation of "castrate", which means to remove the testicles from a male animal.
148. catamaran -- This type of slide is handmade and is the same shape as a handcat, but bigger and longer.
149. _____ -- A light, handmade slide, long, flat, and fast, with long runners, having vertical pegs placed at intervals and four harns for supporting wood. Longer than a handcat.

150. _____ -- This is the same type of slide as a toboggan, which is long, flat, and curved in front. ("Whole flat surface; curved in front." -A. W.)
151. catgut -- Thin, strong, transparent fishing line.
152. chaff -- To rub.
153. _____ -- A sore, rubbed spot, usually on the hand.
154. charlie clarks -- Boots with red tops reaching half-way from the ankles to the knees.
155. chick, chick, chick -- Call to chickens when feeding them.
156. chicken-house -- A building where chickens and hens are kept. Size depends on the number of chickens. ("Sometimes small ones are moveable". - E. M. K.)
157. chidlins or chitlins -- Small, pink or red, edible viscera in the stomach of a codfish, shaped like a pair of pants. (M. O. said that chitlins were small white viscera).
158. chips -- "Small pieces of wood, smaller than splits". -S. M. N. (Used to start fires.)
159. chock-a-block -- Completely full, usually said of a person.
160. chop around -- "Change direction" -C. F. P. (Pertaining to wind).

161. ~~chop~~block -- A heavy wooden block used for cutting firewood.
162. chopper -- A heavy knife, two inches wide and about 10 to 12 inches long with a thick handle, used to cut bait.
163. chopping-block -- A heavy wooden block used for cutting firewood.
164. chopping-log -- Same as chopping block.
165. Christmas back-junks -- Two junks of birch and a junk of spruce in three foot lengths. Burned in a fireplace at Christmas.
166. Christmas box -- A gift given at Christmas.
167. Christmas bread -- A type of bread made at Christmas consisting of yeast, salt, flour, butter, sugar, mixed peel, and cherries.
168. chuck, chuck, chuck-- Call to pigs when feeding them.
169. chutes -- Small troughs or pipes around the eaves of an house to catch the rain.
170. clean -- All the way. ("It goes clean across").
171. clear -- Same as clean.

172. clearing -- Improving, getting better.
(Used when persons speak about the weather).
173. clearing away -- Same as clearing.
174. clearing up -- Same as clearing.
175. close-bread -- Bread with too much salt which has been kneaded too hard, and does not rise very well.
176. closes in -- Gets dark.
177. closet -- Same as backhouse.
178. clump -- Small, floating iceberg.
179. clumper -- "Ice cut from ponds" -F. M.
180. _____ -- Small, floating iceberg.
181. clumper-jumpers -- Children who jump from one piece of floating ice to another.
182. clumpers -- Ice on shore and rocks from waves and salt spray.
183. coady -- "Homemade sauce made out of butter, flour, water, and salt". -F. M.
184. coalie -- A negro whose skin is light brown.

185. coaster -- A schooner used for carrying freight along the coast from port to port.
186. coasting -- The carrying of goods by ship from port to port along the coast.
187. cobwebs -- Webs which hang from ceilings in long, thick, white strings or form in corners in thick patches, never having any spiders in them. They are thought to come from dust and dirt, and are often black with it.
188. _____ -- Same as spiders' webs, but cobwebs do not have spiders in them, while spiders' webs do.
189. _____ -- "Thick and white -- young spiders hatch from these". -S. R. C.
190. cock -- The tap on a large barrel or cask, used for pouring out the liquid.
191. cock 'n 'ins or cocks 'n 'ins -- The soft-shelled Clam, Mya arenaria Linnaeus, used as food or bait. (Often used on sandlines for inshore fishing).
192. cocksiddle, cocksiddle, or cocksettle -- To jump head over heels; to do a somersault.
193. cocksiddle head-over-heels -- Same as cocksiddle, cocksiddle, or cocksettle.

194. cocktale -- An exaggerated story.
195. cod's head or cod head -- The head of a cod, often used for food.
196. cod-socks or cozzocks -- A pair of knee rubbers cut away, with only the foot portion left, so that they look like shoes.
197. coin-purse -- Same as cash-purse.
198. collar-boat -- A small pleasure boat, often anchored out in the harbour with a thick noose of rope in the front for attaching a mooring rope.
199. coloured man -- A person with dark skin.
200. comforter -- A heavy quilt, bought or handmade, which is quite thick, being of two thicknesses and padded. It is usually made of cotton and is stitched crossways in squares.
201. coming up-- Increasing, getting stronger. (Used when one speaks about the wind).
202. conk -- A person's head.
203. _____ -- A person's nose.
204. conker-bells -- Long slivers of ice hanging down from roof of house.

205. conkle --
The Common Northern Periwinkle,
Littorina littorea Linnaeus, used
for food sometimes.
206. conner --
A type of scavenger fish found
around wharves. It has iridescent
blue and green scales.
(Often jigged by boys.)
207. coop, coop, coop --
[kʊp]
Call to hens when feeding them.
208. copper store --
A store where casks are made.
209. coopry --
Same as cooper store.
210. copying --
Children jumping from one piece
of floating ice to another.
211. cord --
The central part of an apple which
is usually not eaten.
212. cork stopper --
A cylindrical piece of cork placed
in the neck of a bottle to keep
the liquid in.
213. couch --
A type of bed handmade in "olden
days" with long seat, four legs,
and curved headrest. It had a
wooden frame, and was stuffed with
straw, wool, or goosegrass.
It was often uncomfortable.
214. countryman --
[-man]
An outsider from a small settle-
ment.

215. coveralls -- Used when one goes to work. Covers most of body.
216. cowhouse -- A shelter for cows.
217. cow-path -- A narrow road or path outside a town.
218. crackberries, crackerberries, or crackers -- Small red, sweet berries which grow in small bunches near the ground.
219. crack-bone -- Same as breastbone.
220. cracky -- A small dog of mixed breed. ("Always yopping and barking"). -S. M. N.)
221. craft -- A small schooner.
222. cramp words or cramp names -- Unusual dialect words or pronunciations, which the local people think peculiar.
223. crazyass -- A person who is mentally unbalanced.
224. crazy quilt -- A heavy sheet which covers the top of the bed, decorated in different colours.
225. creepers -- Small, flat pieces of iron with the four corners bent outward which were strapped onto shoes to provide support when a person walked on ice.

226. _____ -- Long iron rods with hooks used to free trawls caught on the bottom.
227. cross-country road -- A road running across the country connecting high-roads.
228. cross-grained (n.)-- "Small twisted tree--trunk and branches greenish". -F. M.
229. crosshanded -- Alone; having no one to help. (From one person rowing and crossing the oars).
230. crossway -- A wooden ramp or walkway leading to a stage.
231. crowfood -- Inedible mushrooms.
232. crump -- Small, dry sticks and limbs of trees.
233. _____ -- Small burned wood of medium size.
234. crunnick -- Small, twisted pieces of wood.
235. crush -- To remove the testicles from a male animal.
236. cueing -- Placing special metal "shoes", or cues, on the feet of oxen.
237. cues -- Shoes for oxen.
238. cuff -- A type of glove used for splitting fish. It has a thumb, and has all fingers enclosed in one portion, instead of separate fingers.

239. _____ -- A type of glove used for splitting fish. It may be a full glove or may have the fingers cut out. Often made of calico or flour bags.
240. cull -- To grade fish according to size and quality.
241. cullage -- Worst grade of fish.
242. _____ -- Second worst grade of fish.
243. culler or fish-culler -- A person who grades fish.
244. culling-board -- A board on which fish is graded.
245. cutter -- A short, straight, sharp knife, right-handed only, for cutting the throat and stomach of a fish and removing the head.
246. cut-throat -- Same as cutter.
247. _____ -- A knife used for cutting the soundbone out of a fish.
248. cutting glove -- Same as cuff (2)
249. cutting knife -- Same as cutter.
250. damish cotton -- "Cheap cotton with a pattern" -F.M.
 ['dæm-] From damask cotton ?

251. damper-dogs -- Small pieces of bread dough, about the size of an apple, flattened out and fried in a pan on the stove with lots of butter. Sometimes, newly-risen bread was pinched off, flattened out and fried.
252. day-worm -- A small worm found in the ground.
253. dead-eye -- A ring-bolt, having a screw at one end and a loop on the other.
254. dead moss -- Whitish moss hanging on fir trees, usually on dead branches. It can be used for making yellow, brown, and green dye for wool.
255. death warmed over -- A term used when one is talking about a very thin person.
256. dennage or dunnage -- Birch and alder branches in the hold of a schooner to keep the fish dry.
257. dewberries -- "Like raspberries, but juicier"
-S. M. N.
258. different -- Several; a variety. (When speaking of a mish -- "Wet, but different kinds of things found there". -F.M.)
259. dike -- A platform on which fish is packed after it is washed out.

260. dinner hour -- Time at which second meal of the day is eaten, usually around 12:00 A.M.
261. dinner time -- Same as dinner hour.
262. dipnets -- The yellow flowers of "dandelions" which grow in gardens and back yards all spring and summer.
263. dirty -- Mād. ("He got awfully dirty").
264. doctor -- Collective. Young trees which are full of sap.
265. doggaberries -- Berries which grow on dogwood trees, in bunches, and ripen in the fall.
266. doggaberry tree -- A dogwood tree.
267. do grasshoppers -- To jump head over heels; to do a somersault.
268. dory-hat -- A waterproof hat worn by fishermen with the brim the same size all around.
269. dory pins -- Small, round pegs in the sides of a dory to keep the oars from slipping back and forth.
270. dory scoop -- Same as bailer.

271. dory thawts -- Boards across a dory on which people sit. There are three on most dories, but four on a few.
272. draft -- 112 lbs. of fish; two quintals.
273. _____ -- 224 lbs. of fish; two quintals.
274. draft-bar -- A wooden frame with two handles for carrying fish or nets.
275. drag -- A short piece of chain with a rope attached to each end. It was placed under the runners of a wood-slide to keep it from moving too quickly downhill and striking the ox which was pulling the load.
276. _____ -- A person always slow in his work.
277. _____ -- A heavy board with weights on the bottom which is dragged behind a boat while the fishermen are jigging or hand-lining. Its purpose is to keep the boat from drifting too quickly.
278. drainings -- A small amount of molasses over and above the quantity purchased.
279. draught -- A period of dry weather.
280. draw-bucket-- "A bucket which is small in the bottom, about 8 in., and about 12 in. on top. Each strip of wood in the bucket is tapered". -G. M.

281. draw-tub -- A tub made of a half-barrel and carried by a rope and a long stick.
282. dray -- A box or flat platform on runners for hauling salt or fish.
283. dress pants -- Used when one goes to church or has to dress up for any occasion.
284. driddle brook -- Same as a spring, which is a thin stream of water flowing out of the ground.
285. drizzle -- Light fall of rain.
286. drizzly -- Damp and foggy.
287. droke -- A small, narrow, thickly wooded valley with, or without, a stream running through it.
288. _____ -- "A kind of valley with wood on one side and none on the other". -F. M.
289. _____ -- "Wider than a valley and woods on both sides". -S. R. C.
290. _____ -- "A patch of woods". -G. M.
291. _____ -- "A path through a valley -- no stream". -S. P.
292. _____ -- "A road between two gardens". -M. O.
293. droke of woods -- A patch of woods.

294. drong or drung -- A narrow path in town wide enough for two or three people to walk.
295. _____ -- "A path in the country between two spots of woods". -A. W.
296. _____ -- A narrow road or path outside a town.
297. drope -- "A path through the woods". -B. J. L.
298. dropping out -- Decreasing in intensity, getting lighter. (Used when people speak about the wind).
299. drought --
[draut] A period of dry weather.
300. drum -- A cask in which fish is packed.
301. _____ -- A large, cylindrical metal container closed at both ends.
302. drying-towel -- A cloth used for drying dishes.
303. dry moss -- Same as dead moss.
304. dry spell -- A period of dry weather.
305. dry valley -- A valley with no stream.
306. duck -- Coarse, canvas cloth.

307. _____ -- A game where persons each have a small rock on top of a larger one and each, in turn, try to knock off the smaller rock.
308. duck-and-a-drake -- A game where flat stones are thrown to bounce several times on top of the water.
309. duckish -- Twilight. The time of day after sunset. ("The man worked until duckish". -M. O.)
310. ducks-and-drakes -- A game where flat stones are thrown to bounce several times on top of the water.
311. ducks-dive -- A children's game in which one attempts to throw a rock into the water without making it splash.
312. dumbox -- "For hauling kelp or manure". -S.P.
313. dun -- Small black or brown spots of mold on salt fish being dried. It can be brushed or washed off but often comes back again. ("Like pepper". -M. O.)
314. dunch -- A heavy bread made without yeast. ("Most generally sour". -F. M.)
315. dunch bread -- Same as dunch.
316. dunfish -- Fish having dun on it.
317. dutch oven -- A wide mouthed pan with a cover, made of iron, with a flat bottom and standing on legs.

318. dying down -- Decreasing in intensity, getting lighter. (Used when one speaks about the wind).
319. dying out -- Same as dying down.
320. eegrass -- A second cutting of grass.
321. eiderdown -- A thick, heavy padded sheet which covers the top of a bed.
322. eight-handed reel -- "Four couples dancing together". -F.M.
323. emly stone -- A revolving stone wheel used for sharpening axes. From emery stone ?
324. end -- The part of a dried codfish near the tail.
325. ern -- A pronunciation of "herring", a fish used for bait and food.
326. evening -- The part of the day after supper.
327. _____ -- The part of the day before supper.
328. evildoer -- The Devil.
329. faggots -- Small heaps of fish.
330. fat-back -- A piece of pork with no bones or meat in it. It is used in making pork cakes, and is taken from the back of the pig.

331. faucet -- The tap on a large barrel or cask, used for pouring out the liquid.
332. feared (adj.)-- Scared or afraid. ("I'm feared").
333. feeding time -- The time when farm animals are fed.
334. fender -- A log with holes bored through both ends, and hung by ropes from a boat in order to protect the sides when docking.
335. figgy duff -- A heavy pudding made of flour, salt, sugar, raisins, and then mixed with water and cooked.
336. finger mitt -- A glove with one finger and thumb.
337. finger-stall -- A covering for a cut finger, which is shaped like the finger of a glove and has a string to draw it tight.
338. finyin -- A mischievous person.
339. fish-beach -- A rocky beach on which fish is spread to dry.
340. fish-box -- A square box, open on one side and closed on three sides. Those boxes are kept in shacks on a stage, in rows by the walls, where fishermen salt down each successive day's fish and keep them through various stages of drying. Slider-boards are placed in the open sides as fish are packed in, and there is a cover on top which is locked by night. The dimensions are 6' long, 6' high,

340. fish-box (cont'd)-- and 4' wide, and each box holds four to six quintals of fish.
341. ~~fish-be~~ A small box on the stage head having a slider board and one open side. The fish is covered with canvas.
342. _____ -- A box or flat platform on runners for hauling salt or fish.
343. fishcart -- ~~Same as fish-box~~ (3).
344. fish-cask -- A cask in which fish is packed.
345. fish-eggs -- The eggs of a codfish.
346. fisherman's apron -- A fisherman's apron made of a rope and a piece of duck, or canvas.
347. fishes pea, fish pea, fishy peas, fishy pea, or fishes peas. -- The eggs of a codfish.
348. ~~fishes~~ -- Same as chidlins or chitlins.
349. fish-fork -- A large steel fork with two prongs for throwing fish out of a boat. ("No three pronged forks used in fishing". -G. M.)
350. _____ -- A large steel fork with one prong for throwing fish out of a boat.

351. fish-locker -- Same as fish-box (1).
352. fish-pen -- Same as fish-box (1).
353. fish-turner -- Stick used for cooking fish in a big pot.
354. flake -- A wooden platform for spreading fish to dry.
(Not many flakes were ever in the Grand Bank area as far as can be learned).
355. flake lungers -- Long poles on the top of a stage used for flooring.
356. flalnit -- A pronunciation of flannelette; a lightweight, loosely woven, woolen cloth.
357. flash (v.)-- To splash.
358. flat -- Small boat with a flat bottom and a square stern used for pleasure or for rowing to a larger boat. ("Half a dory with a square stern").
-T. W.)
359. _____ -- A flat-bottomed boat with a square stern, larger than a dory -- about 6 in. wider and about 22 ft. long. -- with an engine and no deck. They were built mainly in St. Pierre.
360. flat-asses -- Same as flat (1)

361. flat dive -- A dive into the water flat on one's stomach.
362. flatfish -- A type of scavenger fish, flat and brownish in colour, usually found around wharves and often jigged by boys.
363. flatty -- Same as flatfish.
364. fleece kelico -- A type of cotton material from which "cotton mitts" are made.
365. flicker -- "Lead on the upper part of a hook". -S. M.
366. floaters -- Floating objects used to hold up cod traps.
367. floating trawls -- A type of trawl with a keelick anchored at each end, and the trawl line horizontal under the surface of the water joined to those lines. The suds, or baited hooks, then hang down.
368. floats -- Floating objects used to hold up lines and cod-traps and keep them in the same area.
369. flour-sack -- A cloth bag for holding flour.
370. flue -- The pipe which goes from a stove to the chimney.
371. fly -- An artificial fly with hook for catching trout.

372. fog -- Light fall of rain.
373. _____ -- Bread which is bought in a store. Often soft.
374. fox-berries -- "Larger and softer than partridge berries. Good to eat". -F. M.
375. fox-bread -- Inedible mushrooms.
376. franklin -- A small, low stove with three legs, curved in front with a large, bottom grate or damper and two sliding doors. Chrome on top and bottom with a knob on the top of the stove.
377. frankum -- The dried gum from spruce trees.
378. freezing rain -- Light rain which freezes as it falls.
379. French flats -- Same as flat (2).
380. freshet -- A small area of swift water in a brook.
381. front-standers -- Long, upright posts serving as the foundation for a stage.
382. frying pot -- Pot made of iron with a round bottom and standing on legs. ("In olden days there was one pot for everything, both boiling and frying food". -S. J. H.)

383. funnel -- The pipe which goes from a stove to the chimney.
384. gaff -- A fish fork with one prong.
385. _____ -- A stick placed in the side of a dory and used to guide the hauling of trawls.
386. gale -- A storm in fall when the sun crosses the line.
("Weather on the 21, 22, 23 September tells what the winter is going to be". -E. R.)
387. gall -- A sore, rubbed spot.
388. gandy -- A type of pancake made of flour, water, baking powder, and salt.
389. garbit -- The two lowest boards on the sides of a dory near the bottom.
390. gear-box -- The box which holds the propeller in a motor dory.
391. gear-tub -- A tub made of a half-barrel and carried by a rope and a long stick.
392. gee -- Call to oxen to turn them left.
[gɪ:]
393. giddap or giddyap -- Call to horses to urge them up.

394. 'gin (prep.)-- By the ("The boat came over 'gin the ship").
395. ginyin --
[g'in-] A line with a baited hook on the end.
396. girdy -- A machine with two handles used to free trawls caught on the bottom and to wind them up. This was used mainly on the Grand Banks.
397. oglams -- Same as cock 'n ins or cocks 'n ins.
398. glander -- Heavy mucus from the nose and mouth.
399. glassiers -- Long slivers of ice hanging down from roof of house.
400. glitter -- Ice formed on trees, bushes, and wires from freezing rain.
401. goad -- "Stick with a sharp point - (pin in the end) - for driving oxen".
-C. F. P.
402. goats' collar -- A type of collar worn by goats to prevent them from squeezing through fences and eating vegetables and flowers.
403. gobble -- A bargain.

404. gommil -- A stupid person.
405. good drying day -- Good dry weather for drying fish.
406. good measure -- A small amount over and above the quantity purchased.
407. gopher-fish -- A type of fish used for bait.
408. go with -- To court. ("He's goin' with her".
-H. R. W. and S. R. C.)
409. grader -- A person who grades fish.
410. grading table -- A table on which fish is graded.
411. grampy -- Grandfather.
412. granny -- A wooden anchor for fishing lines, with two sticks at the bottom, crossed and sharpened at both ends, and four, or more, longer, thinner sticks holding a long, heavy rock.
413. grapelin -- A small iron anchor with five claws.
414. grass-garden -- Enclosed area for grass or hay.
415. grass-ground -- Same as grass-garden.
416. _____ -- Low-lying grass land.

417. _____ -- An area behind a dwelling, sometimes enclosed, and often with grass.
418. grate -- An open fireplace, usually in a living room.
419. graveyard-clothes -- Waterproof clothes worn by fishermen. ("Connection with sea disasters".) -A. W.)
420. grazing ground -- Where cows and sheep graze.
421. _____ -- Low-lying grass land.
422. green-doctor -- Young fir trees full of sap which does not run out, which are driest in the winter. They do not have as much sap as licky-doctor.
423. greenfish -- Fish spread on the beach after being taken from bulk.
424. green-licks -- Same as green-doctor.
425. green-river -- "A type of knife used for a cut throat". -G. M.
426. green tree -- A young tree.
427. grey-sole -- A type of flatfish obtained by fishing draggers and used as food.
428. grinding wheel -- A revolving stone wheel used for sharpening axes.

429. grizzle -- Light fall of rain.
("Overcast weather". -L. G. P.)
430. grizzly rain -- Light rain which freezes as it falls.
431. grub-bag -- A bag for carrying food.
432. grumps -- Posts on a wharf for tying on vessels.
433. guest room -- Room in the house where guests are entertained.
434. guide-stick -- A stick placed in the side of a dory and used to guide the hauling of trawls.
435. gully -- A place between two steep hills which has a stream.
436. _____ -- A tub made of a half-barrel and carried by a rope and a long stick.
437. gulsh -- A small, narrow passage joining a barrisway, or brackish water pond, to the sea. Fresh water flows out at low tide and salt water flows in at high tide.
438. _____ -- A narrow opening between two hills, smaller than a droke, having a small stream in the spring which dries up in the summer.

439. gunnels --
(st. and dict. wd.
"gunwales") /The sides of a dory.
440. _____ -- The top of the sides of a dory.
441. gut -- Same as gulsh (1).
442. gut -- The internal organs, or viscera,
of a fish.
443. _____ -- Stomach sac of a fish. ("Small
part connected on to the pu-
dick" - F. M.)
444. _____ (v.) -- To cut the stomach out of.
445. gut-splash -- A dive into the water flat on
one's stomach.
446. gutter -- A long ditch by the side of the
road.
447. _____ -- "A stream between two high hills".
-S. M. N.
448. _____ -- A long ditch in a field in which
potatoes are planted.
449. _____ -- A small trough or pipe around
the eaves of a house to catch
the rain.
450. half-leg boots -- Boots with red tops reaching half-
way from the ankles to the knees.

451. halibut-line -- A type of fishing line which is thicker than trawl-line.
452. hand-bar -- A wooden frame with two handles for carrying fish or nets.
453. hand-cart-- Same as hand-bar.
454. handcat -- A small slide, about three to four feet long, with two runners, two knees (curved pieces of wood) attached to the runners in front, two beams going across the runners, and four horns (vertical sticks) to support a load of wood. (Those slides were small enough for a man to pull and were often used by boys for sliding downhill).
455. handline -- A long length of sudline with a single baited hook and a handline lead for weight attached.
456. handline hook -- A piece of lead, shaped like a fish, attached to a hook, which carries the hook to the bottom.
457. handline lead -- A long, slender piece of lead on a line above the hook which carries the hook to the bottom.
458. handlining -- The type of fishing where long lines with weighted, baited hooks attached to the end hang in the water just off the bottom and one waits for the fish to bite.
459. hand-tub -- A tub made of a half-barrel with two side shafts for two men to carry.

460. _____ -- A tub made of a half-barrel and carried by a rope and a long stick.
461. handy-dandy -- A home-made lantern, made with a lamp chimney and wire frame.
462. hard tack -- The hard bread used on board a ship, generally, but often used in the home.
463. harmonoica -- A long mouth organ.
("Short one - mouth organ; long one - harmonoica." -S. M. N.)
464. harns -- Four upright sticks stuck in holes at the ends of the two cross beams on a handcat or larger slide for supporting the wood on the slide.
465. harse-barn -- Shelter for horses.
466. ~~harses~~ fart --- A type of puffball which grows on the surface of the ground. It is a fungus, round in shape and brown in colour, and if squeezed when ripe it bursts open, spraying out brown spores along with a bad odour.
467. harse's flower -- A large purple flower with wide petals and long, straight leaves. It usually grows in damp areas.
468. harse-stinger -- A dragon fly.
469. hart or harth -- An open fireplace, usually in a living room.

470. haulons -- A part of a glove, with or without a thumb, but never any fingers. The palms are padded to keep the lines from cutting them.
471. haulups -- Ropes used to haul up nets.
472. _____ -- Lines attached to wooden anchors to haul up fishing lines.
473. haw -- Call to oxen to turn them right.
474. hay-fork or hay-pick -- A fork with two prongs for pitching hay.
475. haystack -- "When there is not enough room in the barn for hay, you make a stack and leave it out all winter". -G. M.
476. haze -- Moisture rising from fresh or salt water after a cold night.
477. head -- The front of a dory.
478. head-rope -- The front rope on a dory.
479. heart -- The central part of an apple which is not usually eaten.
480. hen-coop -- A building where hens and chickens are kept.
481. hemlock --- Soft wood from which a roller is made.

482. herts -- A name for "blueberries".
483. hidy-bunk -- A game for children where everyone hides except one, who is "it" and must find the others.
484. _____ -- Same as boo peep.
485. hidy-go-seek -- Same as hidy-bunk (1).
486. hillcrest -- A large stove with four legs, an oven for baking, a hot oven above the stove, and also a side grate, four round covers, and one long cover. Has yellow enamel.
487. hoar-frost -- Moisture frozen white on top of the ground.
488. hog -- A male pig.
489. _____ -- "Pork is called hog". -S. M. N.
490. hogshead -- A large cask holding about 72 gallons.
491. holders -- Long, pointed teeth. ("Land animals have holders, sea animals have "tusks" - F. M.)
492. horse-slide or horse's slide -- Those handmade slides are like big handcats, having wooden runners with iron bolted on.
493. horsy, horsy -- Call to horses to get them from the pasture.

494. hot-oven -- A medium sized compartment on top of the more-recent wood and coal stoves where matches, some small tools, and cleaning rags are kept.
495. hove up or hev up -- Vomited.
496. hubby -- Colloquial for "husband".
497. ice-candles -- Long slivers of ice hanging down from roof of house.
498. _____ -- Ice formed on trees, bushes, and wires from freezing rain.
499. ice-clumper -- Small, floating iceberg.
500. ignevity, ignevidy, or ignity -- The very hard wood from which a roller is made.
501. indeclined -- Suffering from tuberculosis.
502. indian pipes -- Inedible mushrooms.
503. inside place -- Room in the house where guests are entertained.
504. invalid -- A weak, miserable person.
505. jackitar -- A navy man, his skin probably darkened by exposure to the wind and sun.

506. jetty -- A long narrow wharf jutting out into a harbour.
507. jew-sharp or do-sharp -- Pronunciations of "jew's harp" --a small musical instrument made of metal, held between the teeth and played by plucking a projecting bent piece with the fingers.
508. jiboom --
[dʒiˈbuːm] A bowsprit, which is a pole in the bow, or front, of the boat.
509. jigger line -- A long length of sudline with a cod jigger at the end.
510. jittaper tree -- Probably a pronunciation of "juniper tree".
511. jitterpers -- Low bushes on the barrens, about knee-high.
512. jolly-boat -- A pleasure boat.
513. jumpies -- Game with children jumping from one piece of floating ice to another.
514. jumping clumpers -- Same as jumpies.
515. jumping on belly-catters -- Same as jumpies.
516. juniper berries -- Hard blue berries which grow on juniper trees.
517. junk -- Small, floating iceberg.

518. _____ -- A short piece of wood.
519. kardin -- A pronunciation of "accordion", a musical instrument with keys and a bellows which is played by pulling or pushing the bellows together to produce tones.
520. ~~kelip~~=ferks -- Forks used for picking up kelp. ("Not seen used in Nfld. -- only P. E. I." -A. W.)
521. kellick or killick -- Same as granny.
522. kellick-line -- A line attached to a wooden anchor to haul up fishing lines.
523. kinlings -- Small pieces of wood.
524. knap -- A small hill, round and not very high, and water runs off it quickly.
525. _____ -- A large hump in the ground.
526. knees -- Curved pieces of wood which are part of the runners on a handcat or slide of similar shape. The knees are at the front of the slide, attached to the straight runners.
527. knob -- A small hill, round and not very high, and water runs off it quickly.
528. knockabout -- A schooner with no bowsprit.

529. komatik -- Same as catamaran (2).
530. kwif -- "A felt hat with a brim". -W. C. C.
531. lamwash -- The beach near a coastal settlement.
532. _____ -- A person's lap.
533. lance -- A type of fish used for bait by fishermen.
534. large madera -- The highest grade of fish.
[-'de:ra]
535. lass -- A pronunciation of "laths", which are thin, flat strips of wood.
536. lassy -- A pronunciation of "molasses".
537. lassy mogs -- Small buns made of flour, baking powder, salt, spices, and molasses.
538. lawn -- An area behind a dwelling, sometimes enclosed, and often with grass.
539. lean-in -- "A place in a field built as a shelter for cows". -S. P.
540. legs -- Same as buzkins.
541. lichen -- Same as dead moss.
['li:ʃən]

542. licky-doctor -- Young fir trees, always full of sap, especially in the spring when it runs out of big bladders on the trunks. Always has more sap than green-doctor.
543. liner -- A storm in fall when the sun crosses the line.
544. lines -- The long straps with which one guides oxen, usually attached to their horns.
("Lines for oxen; Reins for horses".
-M. O)
545. linkum -- A large waterproof hat worn by fishermen with a strap under the chin, a small rim in front, and a flap on the back to keep the neck dry.
546. _____ -- A term used for both sou' wester and dory-hat.
547. linny -- Small room added to the back of a house.
548. lippers -- A type of scavenger fish, often found around wharves.
549. livers -- The liver of a codfish.
550. livers 'n lights --- The edible viscera of a cow or calf.
551. lobster box -- A large box anchored offshore where lobsters are stored to keep them fresh.

552. lobster pots -- Traps in which lobsters are caught, having a flat bottom, semicircular top and sides, and covered at intervals with thin strips of wood.
553. lobster pound -- A large box anchored offshore where lobsters are stored to keep them fresh.
554. lobster traps -- Same as lobster pots.
555. local road -- A road running across the country connecting high-roads.
556. locker -- Same as fish-box (1).
("A shack and four lockers or pens -- three for fish and one for salt". -A. W.)
557. loft -- Upper part of barn.
558. log-load -- A good boat-load of fish.
("Like a log -- just brimming the water". -C. F. P.)
559. loin pork -- Same as fat-back.
560. long-carts -- "Two shafts and crossbars, 14 to 15 feet long, on wheels". -T.W.
561. longtongue -- A children's nickname for one who tattles.
562. looward (n) -- The side of an object which is sheltered from the wind.
563. love child -- A child born out of wedlock.

564. lucifer -- The Devil.
565. lucky-bone -- Same as breastbone.
566. lull -- Sudden dropping of the wind.
567. lumfish -- A type of scavenger fish found around wharves, usually blackish, and often jigged by boys.
568. lump -- Same as lumfish.
569. lun -- Sudden dropping of the wind.
570. lungers -- Long poles on the top of a stage used for flooring.
571. _____ -- Tall trees, good for cutting.
572. madera -- The highest grade of fish.
573. madiria large -- Same as madera.
574. maggoty fish -- Salt fish which is full of maggots.
575. maid -- An older word for "girl".
576. maiden-vane -- A thick band of stars across the sky.
577. _____ -- A thick band of heavy clouds in a bright sky at night.

578. maiden-ven -- A thick band of stars across the sky.
579. maiden vir -- "Short fir tree, about 4 ft. high, which is easy to pull out". -F. M.
580. making pebbles on the water -- A game where flat stones are thrown to bounce several times on top of the water.
581. malldown (first syll. always stressed locally) Same as dead moss.
582. manatea berries, magatea berries, mangatea berries, manyatea berries, magga berries, mangy berries, or magnateek berries.-- Small white berries which grow close to the ground and are very good to eat.
583. mantel -- Shelf over fireplace for holding knickknacks.
584. mantelpiece -- Same as mantel.
585. mantel-shelf-- Same as mantel.
586. manure pick -- A fork with three or four prongs for ~~spreading~~ spreading manure.
587. manyatea leaf -- A small plant, like clover, with yellow flowers which later turn white. It has three leaves which are very light in colour.
588. mar -- Tomorrow.

589. marsh -- Low-lying grass land.
 ("A marsh has shorter grass but a
 "meadow" has longer grass". -A. W.)
590. _____ -- A low-lying piece of land that is
 wet and has grass and weeds on it.
591. matter -- The pus from infected sores.
592. mental -- Insane.
593. merchable or large
 merchable -- Highest grade of fish.
594. merchantable or large
 merchantable -- Same as merchable or large merchable.
595. metal cap -- The cap on a bottle. ("The metal
 cap is on top and the stopper, made
 of cark, is inside to seal the
 bottle". --F. M.)
596. mickey or mick -- A nickname for a Roman Catholic.
597. middle-place -- The central area of a dory.
598. milat --
 [milat] A person with brown skin, but not
 as dark as a negro.
599. _____ -- A person whose skin is as dark
 as a negro's.
600. _____ -- A person whose skin is blacker than
 a negro's. ("Milat -- black as the
 coal. Nigger -- lighter". -T. W.)

601. milk container -- "Large vat for sour milk; cheese made from it". -F. M.
602. mind (mind) --- To remember.
603. miserable -- Wet and foggy. (Used when a person speaks about the weather.)
604. mish -- A low-lying area, usually damp and wet, but it dries up often leaving only occasional pools of water. Berries, low trees and bushes, and a variety of other things are found there, and it is sometimes full of rocks and stumps. It is larger than a swamp, not as wet, and more bushes grow there. It is usually easy to walk on.
605. mishberries -- Large berries, reddish, or whitish with small red spots, which grow on the ground in mishes.
606. misk -- Moisture rising from fresh or salt water after a cold night.
607. _____ -- Light fall of rain.
608. miski stuff -- Same as misk (2).
609. misky -- Wet and foggy. (Used when a person talks about the weather).
610. misky rain -- Light fall of rain.

611. mission -- A nickname for the Pentecostal Assemblies.
612. mister devil -- The Devil.
613. mitchip-thawts -- The two thawts in the middle of a dory.
614. mitts -- Same as haulons.
615. mizerble old dump -- A weak, miserable person.
616. molasses pork buns -- Same as pork buns, but molasses added.
617. molasses pork cakes -- Small flat cakes which are made of pork, flour, molasses, and baking soda.
618. mongrel -- "A large dog of mixed breed". -W. J. P.
619. mooch -- To stay away from school.
620. moocher -- A child who stays away from school.
621. mooring-rope -- Ropes used to haul up nets.
622. moorins -- Same as mooring-rope.
623. _____ -- Lines attached to wooden anchors to haul up fishing lines. ("Made by putting two trawl lines together". -A.W.)
624. morocco -- A type of leather.

625. mow --
[mo:] The sound made by a cow during feeding time.
626. mow, mow --
[mo:] A call to cows to get them from the pasture.
627. mucky -- Wet and foggy. (Used when a person speaks about the weather).
628. mud-hole -- A small, muddy pond.
629. mudpond -- A small, muddy pond. (Most small ponds in this area have muddy bottoms).
630. mud-puck -- A patch of wet, muddy ground.
631. mug up -- Food taken between meals.
632. nan, nan, nan -- Call to sheep to get them from the pasture.
633. nan or nanny -- Grandmother.
634. nanny, nanny -- Call to sheep to get them from the pasture.
635. nape -- The top part of a piece of dried codfish.
636. narwest wind -- Best wind direction for drying fish.

637. neckman -- A name for Neptune, the mythological god of the sea.
638. net-moorings -- Ropes used to haul up nets.
639. nice and civil -- Used when a person talks about good weather.
640. nice and fair -- Same as nice and civil.
641. ~~Nicodemus~~ -- A person who changes from one church to another.
642. nigger -- A negro with brown skin; lighter than a black nigger.
643. night-crawler -- A large earthworm which is found on the surface of the ground near its hole, usually on damp, foggy nights.
644. night-frost -- Moisture frozen white on top of the ground.
("Gone when the sun comes up". -M.O)
645. nightworm -- Same as night-crawler.
646. nip or nep -- The top part of a piece of dried codfish.
647. nippers -- Circular bands of knitted wool with heavier material sewn inside and folded over for thickness. They are worn across the palm of the hand and the base of the fingers to prevent the fishing lines from cutting the hands. Some nippers are also made of rubber.

648. _____ -- Same as haulons.
649. _____ -- Gloves used for splitting fish, having the tops of the fingers cut out.
650. _____ -- Mosquitoes.
651. nish (adj.) -- Describing sore or tender condition of flesh, often caused by the rubbing of a rope.
652. not-cow -- "A cow with no horns". -B. G. F. ("It can freeze hard enough to freeze the horns of a not-cow".-B.G.F.)
653. number one prime -- Third highest grade of fish.
654. nunny-bag -- A bag for carrying food.
655. nutheast wind -- Best wind direction for drying fish.
656. offulls -- Short pieces of sawn wood and ends of boards which are only good for burning.
657. _____ -- Heads and tails of fish -- waste.
658. oil-clothes -- Waterproof clothes worn by fishermen.
659. oilhat or ell-hat -- A waterproof hat worn by fishermen with the brim the same size all around.

660. oil-skins or ell-skins -- Waterproof clothes worn by fishermen.
661. oil-stone -- A portable, finely grained stone used for sharpening scythes or knives.
662. oil-tub -- A tub made of a half-barrel with two side shafts for two men to carry.
663. old feller -- The Devil.
664. old maid -- The part in the head of a lobster which is not normally eaten.
665. old man -- A somewhat contemptuous term for "father", used mainly by young boys.
666. old man's bread -- Edible mushrooms.
667. _____ -- Inedible mushrooms.
668. old nick -- The Devil.
669. old woman -- Same as old maid.
670. onion pudding -- A pudding made of flour, onion, and baking powder, which is put into a bag and then steamed.
671. our own -- A type of stove. ("A little bit fancier than a Victoria stove". -E. R.)

672. outdoor closet -- Same as backhouse.
673. outdoor stove -- Wide mouthed pot made of iron, with round bottom and standing on legs. ("You cook everything in it"). -S. M. N.)
674. outdoor toilet -- Same as backhouse.
675. outhouse -- Same as backhouse. ("Like a porch". - W. C. C.) ("Often used for cooking; doors and windows usually open". -S.M.N.)
676. painter -- The front rope on a dory.
677. paling -- A thin, flat, strip of wood, sawn out of ordinary lumber, about 3 inches wide, about 4 feet long, and from 1/2 to 1 inch thick. (Usually bought).
678. paling fence -- Two rails nailed horizontally on posts and strips of wood 3 in. wide nailed vertically about 2-3 in. apart, with either square or sharpened tops. ("Paling fence around a house and picket fence around a garden."-E. R.)
679. palm tree -- A type of tree with long thin branches and clusters of long leaves. They grow in front yards and spread easily.
680. pan -- Small, floating iceberg.
681. pantry -- Small room added to the back of a house.

682. pants -- Used when one goes to church or has to dress up for any occasion
683. parlour -- Room in the house where guests are entertained.
684. parlour pudges -- Two large spaces on opposite sides of a hopscotch game, which is drawn on the ground in a series of squares.
685. partcher berries -- Same as "partridge berries", which are red berries which grow on bushes close to the ground. ("Partridges love them". -F. M.)
686. peacock -- A large stove with an oven, hot oven, and six covers. Has yellow enamel.
687. peas -- The eggs of a codfish.
688. pegging -- The act of rendering lobster claws safe by inserting pegs in their sockets to keep them from opening.
689. pelsher -- A small trout, about two or three inches long.
690. pen -- Same as fish-box (1).
691. _____ -- This type of box is similar to a fish-box (1), but is smaller and is not covered over. Those pens are found in shacks on the stage.

692. pew -- A fish fork with one prong.
693. _____ -- A fish fork with two prongs.
694. pick -- Same as pew (2).
695. picket fence -- A fence with 3 rails and round, slender pickets or riddle rods interwoven around the rails in alternating directions.
696. _____ -- A fence with two rails and slender pickets nailed on in a criss-crossing pattern. ("Made out of spruce, put it across like "X's"." -S. M. N.)
697. _____ -- "Round stakes cut to certain sizes, about two inches in diameter, and driven into the ground with one rail on top". -F. M.
698. _____ -- Two rails with small round sticks, trimmed and sometimes pointed, and nailed vertically on the rails.
699. pickets -- Small, "green", round sticks with the rind removed. Made from small trees.
700. pick-fork -- A fish fork with two prongs.
701. picking up -- Increasing in intensity, becoming stronger. (Used by a person speaking about the wind).

702. pidgeon -- Same as duck (2).
703. piggin -- A ten pound tub with a short handle through a hole in the tub, used for bailing out keeled boats. Similar to a spudgel, spudgin, or spudgy.
704. pigstall -- "Little house or shelter for pigs". -L. G. P.
705. pile -- A large, circular heap of fish.
706. _____ -- A heavy log for supporting a wharf ("Smaller than balk". -A. W.)
707. pinboughs -- Dried needles of coniferous trees.
708. pink (adj.) -- Describing a condition of spoiled fish which is pinkish in colour and slimy.
709. pink fish.-- Fish which is slimy, sometimes maggoty, and has pink streaks down through it, probably caused by not being properly salted. It often stinks.
710. pissabeds -- Same as dipnets.
711. planchin -- A wooden ramp or walkway leading to a stage.
712. _____ -- "The floor of a stage made of chopped logs." -C. F. P.
713. plank -- A wooden ramp or walkway leading to a stage.

714. plim -- To swell. Caused, especially, by placing in water.
715. ploud flesh -- The red and swollen flesh around an infected cut pushed up by the pus beneath. When little red beads form or whitish flesh grows out the condition is serious and the ploud flesh must be removed. Cf. proud flesh
716. plugging -- Same as pegging.
717. plughole -- The hole in the bottom of a dory to let the water run out when the dory is pulled up on the beach.
718. pook -- Small piles of hay made in the evenings and left to stand overnight. Diameter on bottom is about 8' to 10' but is rounded off and tapers to a point. Net on top to hold hay down.
719. _____ -- A large, circular heap of fish.
720. pooking-rods -- A type of rack for carrying hay, made of two long sticks with a piece of net attached to both sticks.
721. poor angishore -- A weak, miserable person.
722. poor creature -- Same as poor angishore.
723. poor martle -- A weak, miserable person; one you feel sorry for.
724. poor old soul -- A weak, miserable person.
725. poor thing -- A weak, miserable person; one whom you would feel sorry for.

726. porch -- Small room added to the back of a house.
727. pork buns -- Buns made of pieces of pork, flour, baking powder, salt, and mixed spices, which is then mixed with water, rolled into balls and simmered on the stove.
728. pork cakes -- Small flat cakes made of flour, pork, and baking powder, salt and yeast, which are baked in a pan.
729. pork pudding -- A pudding made of flour, baking powder, small pieces of pork, salt, and onion, which is placed in a bag and then boiled.
730. portagee -- A person born in Portugal.
731. potato pork cakes -- Small flat cakes which are made from ground pork, salt, potatoes, flour and baking powder, and are then baked.
732. pound -- A large box anchored offshore where lobsters are stored to keep them fresh.
733. prattler -- A person who tells exaggerated stories.
734. prickle -- Very small trout.
735. prickleback -- A small, pale-green fish which has about two spines on its back. ("Never used for bait". -F. M.)

736. prickleprack -- A very small trout.
737. privy -- Same as backhouse.
738. prize -- A free gift presented to the first buyer.
739. prong -- A fish fork with two prongs.
740. prong-fark -- Same as prong.
741. proud flesh -- Same as ploud flesh.
("The sweetness of sugar cuts proud flesh away". -E. R.)
742. pryor -- "A bobber on the end of a herring net". -G. E. B.
743. pryor~~line~~ -- Rope used to haul up nets.
744. puddick -- The stomach sac of a fish only.
("Where all the food goes -- little place". -E. R.)
745. _____ -- "Strangs hanging from a codfish's throat". -H. R. W.
746. _____ -- Internal organs, or viscera of a fish. "Entire place where the fish holds food". -F. M.
(Fish hold their food in the stomach sac, but the same Inf. says that a gut is a "small part connected to the puddick". There is nothing connected to the stomach sac of a codfish, which is what most informants call a puddick, so it is assumed that the Inf. is speaking of the internal organs).

747. puffin -- A large type of sculpin, usually reddish in colour, and found around wharves. It is often jigged by boys who "blow it up" by hitting the fish across the stomach with a stick.
748. puke or puke up -- To vomit.
749. pullip-box -- The box for holding the propeller in a motor dory.
750. pullis -- A pronunciation of "poultice", which is made of bread soaked in water. The water is then drained out and sugar is then put into the bread.
751. pull-line -- Line attached to a wooden anchor to haul up fishing lines.
752. puncheon -- A large cask holding about 72 gallons.
753. _____ -- A large cask holding from about 80 to 120 gallons.
754. pussy willows -- The later stages of dandelions, when the round, wooly balls of seeds appear.
755. queer hand -- A humorous person, or one whose behaviour is unusual.
756. queer one -- Same as queer hand.
757. quilt -- A woolen covering for a bed.

758. bed --
A thick, heavy, homemade bed covering in three layers, with 2 layers made of different pieces of cloth sewn together and one slightly worn in the centre.
759. quintal --
112 lbs. of fish.
760. raft --
A floating platform.
("Used in place of a bridge".
-S. M. N.)
761. rain-chute --
A small horizontal trough or pipe around the eaves of a house to catch the rain.
762. rake --
A very thin person.
763. rail fence --
Four parallel rails; nailed on vertical posts.
764. raisin pudding --
A pudding made of raisins, flour, pork, and salt, which is put into a bag and then steamed.
765. ramp --
A wooden ramp or walkway leading to a stage.
766. rampike: --
A large, dry, weathered tree, whitish in colour, which has no limbs, but is still solid. Rampikes are sometimes killed by fire.
767. ranch-fence --
Three wide, horizontal planks nailed on vertical posts with spaces in between.

768. rans -- "Strips of pork from the backbone (of the pig) to the belly".
-F. M.
769. ratlin or ratling -- Line used for the mooring of a trawl.
770. R. C. -- A nickname for a Roman Catholic.
771. riddle fence -- Same as picket fence (1).
772. riddling-rod, riddle-rod or wriggle-rod fence -- Same as picket fence (1).
773. -- Same as picket fence (2).
774. -- "Little spruce trees about 1½ in. in diameter, trimmed, with the bushy top left. There are three rails on the posts, and the bushy top is placed on the bottom and the trees are woven around the rails. Only one nail in the top rail". -F. M. (Alternate weaving inside and out. Bottom area is almost impenetrable).
775. right -- All the way. ("It goes right across").
776. rind -- The heavy outer covering of tree trunks.
777. rinds -- Tree bark in the hold of a schooner to keep the fish dry.
778. ripper -- Same as cutter.

779. rising -- An old name for yeast.
780. rodes -- Lines attached to wooden anchors to haul up fishing lines.
781. rod fence -- Same as picket fence (2)
782. rolled-oats bread -- A kind of bread made from butter, salt, yeast, flour, sugar, molasses, and rolled oats, mixed with water and kneaded.
783. roller -- A wheel used to aid in bringing up trawls. ("Stick it in the bow of a dory, haul on the line, and the wheel revolves". -A. W.)
784. ronk -- Fervent, in a religious sense.
785. rounder -- A fish too small to split.
786. row-dory -- A dory having oars only.
787. rowlocks -- Pegs placed in the sides of a keeled boat to keep the oars from slipping back and forth.
788. rows -- Long ditched in fields for the planting of potatoes.
789. rubber-clothes -- Water proof clothes worn by fishermen.
790. rug -- A thick, heavy sheet covering the bed.

791. rummage house -- Same as a "store", which holds wood, tools, and small animals.
792. rump -- A post on a wharf for tying on a vessel.
793. rumpers -- Turnips.
794. runner -- A stick placed in the side of a dory and used to guide the hauling of trawls.
795. running-stick -- Same as runner. In the side of a dory and used to guide the hauling of trawls.
796. sallyann -- A nickname for a member of the Salvation Army.
797. salmon-line -- A type of line used for making salmon nets. It is thinner than sud line.
798. salmon-peel -- A young salmon.
799. salmon-twine -- A type of line used for making salmon nets. It is thinner than sud line.
800. salt-box -- A box or flat platform on runners for hauling salt or fish.
801. salt-water clams -- Same as cock 'n ins or cocks 'n ins.

802. salvationer -- An old word meaning "Salvationist", and used when talking about a member of the Salvation Army.
803. salve -- Sap from fir trees.
804. satchel -- A suitcase.
805. savage -- Extremely mad. ("He was some savage". -S. M. N.)
806. saw-dog -- Used by carpenters to saw planks.
807. saw-horse -- Same as saw-dog.
808. saw-stand -- Same as saw-dog.
809. scissors or sithers -- Shears used for cutting the wool from a sheep.
810. scoff -- A large meal.
811. scoop -- Same as bailer.
812. scopin -- A pronunciation of "sculpin", a type of scavenger fish often found around wharves and having spines around its head and fins. Often jigged by boys.
813. scopy -- Same as scopin.
814. scorcher -- Good dry weather for drying fish.

815. scotch misk -- Light fall of rain.
816. scout -- Same as bailer.
817. scrags -- Small burned bushes on the barrens.
818. scrape -- A steep slope composed of mud and rocks. ("Mud and rocks combined". -F. M.)
819. screw-heel skate -- "Steel runners attached to boots by a strap for the instep and a screw for the heel". -C. F. P.
820. screw loose -- (He's got a -- Said of a person who is acting queerly.
821. scrunchins -- Small pieces of pork fried in a pan until they are hard and crispy.
822. scurving or scurvyng rocks -- A game where flat stones are thrown to bounce several times on top of the water.
823. sea-dabs -- Jellyfish.
824. setting hen -- A hen which is sitting on her eggs in order to hatch them.
825. setting room -- Room in the house where guests are entertained.
826. shack gear -- To mend trawls.

827. shaft box -- The box which holds the propeller shaft in a motor dory.
828. shavins -- "Slivers of wood cut from the end of a stick". -G. M.
829. shawls -- The outer covering of oats.
830. sheep-path -- A narrow road or path outside a town.
831. sheep-pen or sheeps-pens-- A pen where sheep are kept for shearing.
832. shim -- A stick made from a barrel stave with a narrow handle and a wide end which was thinned out. The blade was 3 to 4 inches long, and the entire length --handle and all -- was about 6 inches. ("Used for scraping off rind of trees". - F. M.)
833. shores -- Heavy logs for supporting a wharf.
834. _____ -- Long, upright posts serving as the foundation for a stage.
835. shoulder-spell -- A load on the back.
836. sidding-case -- A hand-made couch.
837. simple -- Stupid.

838. single-handed dance -- A dance by only one person.
(Probably a step-dance).
839. single-handed dory -- A small dory, about 13 feet long
in the bottom.
840. sinker -- Lead which carries hook to bottom.
841. sis 'n -- A call to a dog to attack a person
or another dog.
842. six-handed reel -- "Three couples dancing together".
-F. M.
843. sixthread -- Line used for the mooring of a
trawl.
844. skating a rock -- A game where a flat stone is thrown
to bounce several times on top of
the water.
845. skeltin -- A very thin person.
846. skin-and-bones Same as skeltin.
847. skin-and-grief -- Same as skeltin.
848. skipping rocks -- A game where flat stones are thrown
to bounce several times on top of
the water.
849. skiver -- A very thin person.

850. slacking up -- Decreasing in intensity. (Used when a person speaks about the wind).
851. slamgut -- Same as bang-belly.
852. sleepers -- Shorter sticks laid across on top of the shores which hold up a stage.
853. sleeveen -- A person not to be trusted.
854. sleigh -- Handmade. It is made for smaller children and is smaller than a slide. There are two runners with boards laid across them and other boards nailed along them.
855. slice -- Wooden stick used for stirring oil or paint.
856. slide -- A device with two metal runners for children to coast in the snow; a sled.
857. _____ -- Similar to a sleigh, only larger.
858. slide-path -- A path in the woods made by wood slides.
(Men would go in the woods to cut wood for the winter. The slide-paths would then be frozen and covered with snow.)
859. slider-board -- A board which was placed in the open side of a fish-box (1) as the fish was salted and packed up.

860. slinger -- A sling, having a leather pouch, and strong cords attached to both ends. (Used for throwing rocks)
861. slink -- A person not to be trusted.
862. _____ -- A very thin person.
863. slinker -- Same as slink (2).
864. slippers -- Summer shoes for horses. ("Worn flat, no cogs". -G. M.)
865. _____ -- "Horn which grows on the feet of young horses". -S. M. N.
866. slob ice -- Ice on shore and rocks from waves and salt spray.
867. smatchy (adj.)-- Descriptive of slimy, smelly, strong tasting fish, often reddish in colour, which is starting to spoil because it was not properly salted and the weather was poor.
868. smatchy fish -- Same as smatchy.
869. smooch -- To stay away from school.
870. smoocher -- A child who stays away from school.
871. snaps -- Food taken between meals.

872. sneak -- A person not to be trusted.
873. snow squall -- Sudden snow-storm.
874. snuh -- "You know". -S. M. N. (Probably a shortened form of "Dost thou know?").
875. soggy bread -- A heavy bread made without yeast.
876. soundbone -- The backbone of a codfish.
877. sounding lead -- "No hook on it. For sounding the bottom". -A. W.
878. soup-slice -- Stick used for stirring soup.
879. sou'wester -- Same as linkum (1).
880. _____ -- A water proof hat worn by fishermen with a peak in front which turns up.
881. spade -- To remove the testicles from a male animal.
882. spanish -- Highest grade of fish.
883. spert -- A spirit or ghost.
884. spew or spew up -- To vomit.
885. spider -- Iron frying pan with legs.

886. spiders' webs -- Webs which are round, light in colour, smaller and much thinner than cobwebs, and are spun into a pattern by spiders in order to catch flies.
("Worked out in a pattern". -L.G.P.)
887. spigot -- The tap on a large barrel or cask, used for pouring out the liquid.
888. spinner -- "A hook with a revolving piece of metal attached". -E. M. K.
(Used for trouting).
889. splits -- "Small pieces of wood". -G. M.
(Smaller than junks).
890. splitting-apron -- A fisherman's apron made of a rope and a piece of duck or canvas.
891. splitting-cuff -- Same as cuff (2). (Made of calico or flour bags).
892. splitting-glove -- Same as cuff (2).
893. splitting-knife -- A knife with a blade curved like a half-moon, with both left and right handed types, used to take the sound-bones out of fish.
894. _____ -- A knife used for splitting the stomach of a fish.
895. splitting-mitt -- Same as cuff (2). ("No full fingers for gripping fish; thumb and padded palm for holding fish". -A. W.)
896. splitting-tables -- Tables on a stage where fish are cleaned.

897. spoonbow -- A schooner with a gently curving bow like the side of a spoon. ✓
898. spree -- A social gathering for dancing.
899. spring winter -- A snow-fall which occurs from about the 17th to the 20th of March.
900. spruce bark -- The bark from spruce trees which was used for medicine, with good effects.
901. spudgel, spudgin, or spudgy -- A 10 lb. tub with a long wooden handle, 5 or 6 ft. long, nailed on. It is used for bailing out deep, keeled boats.
902. spuds -- Potatoes.
903. spirit -- A spirit of ghost.
904. squall -- Sudden snow-storm.
905. squashberries -- Juicy berries which grow in large bunches on low trees. They are used for making jam or jelly.
906. squid-shit -- The juice squirted by squid.
907. stack -- "Same size (as pook) --no special size". -A. W.
908. stage -- Fishermen's wharf made of sticks and poles.

909. _____ -- "Building where fish is salted". -B.G.F.
910. stage head -- Fishermen's wharf made of sticks and poles.
("Place to dry fish".) -A. W.)
911. _____ -- "The top of the stage". -S. J. H.
912. stake fence -- Same as picket fence (4).
913. stall -- A pen where sheep are kept for shearing.
914. stanchins -- The ribs or framework along the sides of a dory.
915. starn -- The back part of a dory.
916. starridgin tree -- A dry juniper tree.
917. starve guts -- A very thin person.
918. stave-sleigh -- A box with barrel staves on the bottom instead of runners, and with the bottom curved. Used for hauling salt or fish.
919. stave-slide -- Same as stave-sleigh.
920. _____ -- A small, handmade slide made of two barrel staves with boards nailed across.

921. steam -- Moisture rising from fresh or salt water after a cold night.
922. stem -- The front of a dory.
923. stepping clumpers -- Game with children jumping from one piece of floating ice to another.
924. stern-line -- The rope on the back of a dory.
925. stern-painter -- Same as stern-line.
926. stern-rope -- Same as stern-line.
927. stern-strap -- Same as stern-line.
928. sticking-tommy -- An iron rod with a holder for a candle on one end and a point on the other end for sticking in the wall or the table. Used on boats.
929. stile -- "Steps on each side of a fence for walking over it" -C. F. P.
930. stilts -- Long, upright posts serving as the foundation for a stage.
931. stone-box -- A cart used for transporting stones from a field.
("Four wheels on it; pulled by a horse". -F. M.)
932. stool -- Used by carpenters to saw planks.

933. stopper -- A metal cap for a bottle.
934. story-teller -- Children's nickname for one who tattles.
935. stove-funnel -- The pipe which goes from a stove to the chimney.
936. straight -- All the way in a straight line. ("It goes straight across").
937. straps -- Rope handles on trawl-tubs and bait-jacks.
938. stream -- "Smaller than a brook". -W. C. C.
939. stretcher -- "Old name for couch". -S. M. N.
940. _____ -- Same as "daybed" -- steel frame with springs and mattress in the kitchen. Head of daybed could be raised.
941. strife breeder -- An exaggerated story.
942. _____ --- A person who spreads gossip.
943. strouds -- Long, upright posts serving as the foundation for a stage.
944. strouters -- Heavy logs for supporting a wharf.
945. stunpoll -- A stupid person.

946. stupe -- Same as stunpoll.
947. sudline -- The type of line used in the making of suds, short lines with hooks, for a trawl. It is thinner than trawl-line.
948. _____ -- Same as handline.
949. suds -- Short lines with baited hooks attached to a trawl-line.
950. sunbonnet -- The type of headgear worn by the women who worked on the beaches.
951. sundown -- The time of the day when the sun sets.
952. sunkers -- Submerged rocks with water breaking over them.
953. sunshades -- The type of headgear worn by the women working on the beaches.
954. sunup -- The time of the day when the sun rises.
955. swamp -- Same as bog. ("Can mow it". -S. M. N.)
956. sweet bread -- A type of bread made of flour, salt, yeast, butter, molasses and raisins, which is mixed with warm water.
957. sylum -- The Mental Hospital in St. John's.

958. syrup -- A sweet liquid served with pudding.
959. systone or sivestone -- A portable, finely grained stone used for sharpening scythes or knives.
960. tableland -- Salt water marshes along the sea-shore.
961. tail -- The narrowest portion of a dried codfish.
962. takes after -- Resembles or looks like.
963. take trick and turns -- To do something one after another in regular order.
964. tale bearer -- Children's nickname for one who tattles.
965. talking skam -- Speaking in an unusual manner.
966. tall ~~tale~~ -- An exaggerated story.
967. tall yarn -- Same as tall tale.
968. tally, telly or tilly -- A small amount over and above the quantity purchased.
969. tan duck -- Light, brown sailcloth which was bought in rolls.
970. tanky -- A board balanced on a central pivot on which children push themselves up and down. ("Tanky tips --- Played on seesaw". -S. J. H.)

971. tanky tip or tanky tips -- Same as tanky.
972. tan-pot -- Heavy iron vessel with a large opening for tanning fishing gear.
973. tarpot -- A large box anchored offshore where lobsters are stored to keep them fresh.
974. _____ -- Heavy iron vessel with a large opening for tarring fishing gear.
975. tattler -- A children's nickname for one who tattles.
976. tattletale -- Same as tattler.
977. tattletongue -- Same as tattler.
978. teddy pork cakes -- Same as potato pork cakes.
979. thawts (St. and dict. wd. "thwarts")-- Same as dory thawts.
980. the boss -- My husband. ("I must ask the boss").
981. the old boy -- Same as the boss.
982. the old darling -- Same as the boss.
983. the old dear -- Same as the boss.

984. the old feller --
[~~fella~~] Same as the boss.
985. the old man -- Same as the boss.
986. thickening -- A mixture of flour and water added to gravy or sauce to make it thicker.
987. thin as a rake -- A term used when one is talking about a very thin person.
988. three parts --
Three quarters. (" -- sawed three parts off". -G. E. B.)
(when speaking of making a trawl-tub).
989. throat-cutter -- Same as cutter.
990. thworts -- A spelling pronunciation of "thwarts", See thawts.
991. tide-stick -- A stick placed in the side of a dory and used to guide the hauling of trawls.
992. tierce -- Same as puncheon (1).
("70 or 80 gallons". -G. E. B.)
993. timbers -- The ribs or framework along the sides of a dory.
994. toilet-house -- Same as backhouse. ("Big enough for two persons." -B. J. L.)

984. the old feller -- [fɛlɚ] Same as the boss.
985. the old man -- Same as the boss.
986. thickening -- A mixture of flour and water added to gravy or sauce to make it thicker.
987. thin as a rake -- A term used when one is talking about a very thin person.
988. three parts -- Three quarters. (" -- sawed three parts off". -G. E. B.)
(when speaking of making a trawl-tub).
989. throat-cutter -- Same as cutter.
990. thworts -- A spelling pronunciation of "thwarts", See thawts.
991. tide-stick -- A stick placed in the side of a dory and used to guide the hauling of trawls.
992. tierce -- Same as puncheon (1).
("70 or 80 gallons". -G. E. B.)
993. timbers -- The ribs or framework along the sides of a dory.
994. toilet-house -- Same as backhouse. ("Big enough for two persons." -B. J. L.)

995. tolt -- A hill standing alone in flat country.
 ("Hill -- highest, tolt -- next highest, then knap." --E. A. M.)
996. tom cod -- A fish too small to split.
997. _____ -- A young codfish, often found around wharves.
 (Often jigged by boys).
998. _____ -- Lowest grade of fish.
999. _____ -- Second worst grade of fish.
1000. tommy cod -- A young codfish, often jigged around wharves.
1001. tongue -- The fleshy part in the mouth of a codfish.
1002. top blanket -- A woolen covering for a bed.
 ("Heavier material than a bed cover". - F. M.)
1003. touzins, toudins,
 or toutins -- Same as damper-dogs.
 [tavz-]
1004. tow-pins, towl-pins,
 or thow-pins -- Small, round pegs in the sides of a dory to keep the oars from slipping back and forth.
1005. trap-buoy -- A small barrel used to float a cod trap. ("15 to 20 gallons". -F. M.)

1006. trap-keg -- Same as trap-buoy.
1007. traveller -- A stick placed in the side of a dory and used to guide the hauling of trawls.
1008. traw --
(St. and dict. wd. "trough") -- A long, narrow, open container for feeding hogs.
1009. trawl -- A long, heavy line with short, thinner lines and hooks attached at intervals.
1010. trawl-buoys -- Floating objects used to keep lines in the same area.
1011. trawl-line -- A thick heavy line, the main ones on a trawl, going down to the bottom. ("About the size of a person's finger". -L. G. P.)
1012. trawl-tub -- One half or three quarters of a flour barrel with two rope handles, used for holding trawl lines. ("Sawed off at top hoop". -C. F. P.)
1013. _____ -- A tub made of a half barrel with two side shafts for two men to carry.
1014. trenches -- Long ditches in fields where potatoes are planted.
1015. trickle -- A small stream which is smaller than a brook.

1016. tripe -- "The lining of the stomach of a cow". -G. E. B.
1017. trolley-cart -- A box or flat platform on runners for hauling salt or fish.
1018. trousers -- Used when one goes to church or has to dress up for any occasion.
1019. trouting rod -- A type of pole used for angling. (Usually bought).
1020. trow (st. and dict. wd. "trough") -- A long, narrow, open container for feeding hogs.
1021. tuckamoors or tuckamoor trees -- Low bushes on the barrens, about knee-high.
1022. tucks -- Same as tuckamoors or tuckamoor trees.
1023. tungkwat -- A person who changes from one church to another.
[-,kwat]
1024. turbik -- A pronunciation of "turbot", a food fish obtained by deep-sea fishing.
1025. turkumtime or turpentime -- The water and sap in the trunks of fir trees, which often runs out of bladders. Good for healing cuts.
1026. turn -- An armful of wood.
1027. _____ -- A load on the back.

1028. _____ --
A load of milk or water.
(Usually two pails).
1029. turncoat --
A person who changes from one church to another.
1030. turned out --
Decorated, made fancy; said of clothes or furniture.
1031. tushes --
A pronunciation of "tusks", which are long, pointed teeth found in hogs.
1032. uprights --
Long, upright posts serving as the foundation for a stage.
1033. valise --
A suitcase. Obviously an informal word because it entered into relaxed speech as informant was telling a story.
1034. valve --
A circular handle on the water pipe on a kitchen sink which controls the flow of water.
1035. vapour --
Moisture rising from fresh or salt water after a cold night.
1036. _____ --
Moisture frozen white on top of the ground.
1037. vat --
Heavy iron vessel with large opening.
1038. victoria --
A stove which comes in different sizes, and is somewhat square with a front damper or grate, two side doors, and a round top. There is no hot oven.

1039. victory -- Large, square, iron stoves used around the time of World War I.
1040. victory special -- Same as victory.
1041. vin-part -- The part of a dried codfish near the head.
1042. vir-tree -- A pronunciation of "fir tree", which usually has bladders of turkumtime on the trunks.
1043. waffle -- A type of pancake made of flour, baking powder and salt, which is smooth on both sides.
1044. walk -- A wooden ramp or walkway leading to a stage.
1045. water-closet -- Same as backhouse.
1046. water-gully -- A tub made of a half-barrel and carried by a rope and a long stick.
1047. waterharse or waterhoss -- Fish in bulk after being washed.
1048. waterharse fish -- Same as waterharse or waterhoss.
1049. waterloo -- Same as barrel stove.
1050. water pot -- Heavy iron vessel with large opening.

1051. water-stone -- A portable, finely grained stone used for sharpening scythes or knives.
1052. water-whelps -- Salt water sores on the wrists of fishermen.
1053. ween -- The cry of a calf being weaned.
1054. westerly winds -- Best wind direction for drying fish.
1055. western boat -- A type of boat brought from Nova Scotia for fishing on the Grand Banks, and often used for carrying mail.
1056. west indies -- Third highest grade of fish.
1057. _____ -- Fourth highest grade of fish.
1058. _____ -- Lowest grade of fish.
1059. wetland -- A low-lying piece of land that is wet and has grass and weeds on it.
1060. wezaleens -- Wesleyans.
1061. wheelbar -- A pronunciation of "wheelbarrow", which is a type of cart with two handles and a single wheel. It is used for carrying stones, mud, or sand.
1062. whelp-chains -- Copper or brass chains worn on the wrists of fishermen to prevent salt-water sores.

1063. whelps -- Salt water sores on the wrists of fishermen.
1064. whetstone -- A portable, finely grained stone used for sharpening scythes or knives.
1065. whip --
[wib] Same as puffin.
1066. whip scoping --
[wib] Same as puffin.
1067. whicker -- The sound made by a horse at feeding time.
1068. white moss -- Same as dead moss.
1069. whitin -- Same as rampike.
1070. willow tree -- A tree with leaves always shaking.
1071. wind-split -- "A tree which is cracked open and full of water". -B. G. F.
1072. winker -- The sound made by a horse at feeding time.
1073. wire-mish fence -- Posts with band of woven wire strung between them. ("Wire kinked together." -S. P.)
1074. wishbone or wishing bone -- Same as breastbone.
1075. wisterd, wusterd, or wysterd (st "worsted") -- "Knitted wool". -G. E. B.

1076. wisterd cuffs -- Bands of knitted wool worn on the wrists of fishermen to prevent salt-water sores.
1077. wisterd mitts -- Knitted woolen gloves with all fingers and thumbs.
1078. witch-hazel -- A tree with leaves always shaking.
1079. with-rod brooms or with-brooms -- Brooms having the sweeping portion made of thin birch twigs tied firmly together.
1080. withs -- Small twigs used for making brooms.
1081. wolf-fish -- A type of food fish, but also found around wharves as scavengers.
1082. wonderful -- Awful; extreme. ("He's got a wonderful temper". -F. M.)
1083. woodhorse -- Used by carpenters to saw planks.
1084. wood-road -- A road in the woods. (Not many of those in the Grand Bank area; mainly slide paths. There are no large stands of timber in the area).
1085. wood-slide -- A type of handmade sled which is the same shape as a handcat but is much bigger.
1086. woodstand -- Used by carpenters to saw planks.

1087. wore out or worn out -- Extremely tired. Exhausted.
1088. work pants -- Used when one goes to work.
1089. wrapper bag or wropper bag -- Same as brin bag.
1090. wrapper sack -- Same as brin bag.
1091. wriggle-rod fence -- "Three rails with stakes up and down and wriggle-rods woven in around slantingly. Made out of young spruce. (Seen around Lamaline. (Burin Pen.") -A. W.)
1092. wriggle-~~rods~~ rods -- Small thin sticks made from young spruce trees.
1093. wrist-chains -- Same as whelp-chains.
1094. wropper -- Coarse, loosely woven material used in the making of bags.
1095. yaffle -- An armful of fish or wood.
1096. _____ -- "An armfull or small pile of fish".
-E. R.
1097. yarn -- A conversation.
1098. _____ -- An exaggerated story.
1099. yarner -- Children's nickname for one who tattles.

1100. yoke --

Same as goats' collar.
("Looks like a triangle" -- G. E. B.)
("Oxen wear collars" -S. M. N.)

1101. zero weather --

Cold weather that kills plants.

A MAP OF
GRAND BANK,
NEWFOUNDLAND

ADMIRAL COVE

ADMIRAL COVE POND

SMITH'S POND

SMITH'S POND

GRAND BANK BROOK

KEY

--- informant's home

Informants

- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| 1 -- S. M. N. | 11 -- C. F. P. |
| 2 -- F. M. | 12 -- G. E. B. |
| 3 -- E. R. | 13 -- S. P. |
| 4 -- G. M. | 14 -- W. J. P. |
| 5 -- A. W. | 15 -- B. J. L. |
| 6 -- S. J. H. | 16 -- T. W. |
| 7 -- L. G. P. | 17 -- E. A. M. |
| 8 -- M. O. | 18 -- W. C. C. |
| 9 -- E. M. K. | 19 -- H. R. W. |
| 10 -- B. G. F. | 20 -- S. R. G. |
| 21 -- G. L. N. | |

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