TWO ISLAND DIALECTS OF BONAVISTA BAY, NEWFOUNDLAND

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TWO ISLAND DIALECTS OF BONAVISTA BAY, NEWFOUNDLAND

by

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the conservative dialects of English used by speakers who grew up on two island groups in Bonavista Bay, Newfoundland. The 16 participants (eight males and eight females) had spent their early lives on either Deer Islands or Flat Islands, and at the time of interviewing in 2001, ranged in age from 78 to 93 years. Males and females proved to be very similar in their speech patterns, and only slight differences were found between the two groups of islands.

This thesis describes the distinctive phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical features of these dialects. The first settlers of Bonavista Bay were almost exclusively of Southwest English ancestry, and this work investigates the extent to which dialectal features of that main source area have survived in the language of these contemporary speakers. As expected, both island varieties revealed a mixture of conservative Southwest England features with typical Newfoundland innovations.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

C	Consonant
CCS	Consonant cluster simplification
COED	Concise Oxford English Dictionary
DI	Deer Island(s)
DNE	Dictionary of Newfoundland English (2nd ed.)
EModE	Early Modern English
FI	Flat Island(s)
GVS	Great Vowel Shift
GenAm	General American (after Wells)
LAE	The Linguistic Atlas of England
ME	Middle English
ModE	Modern English
n	noun
NfldE	Newfoundland English
NS	Non-standard
OE	Old English
OED	The Oxford English Dictionary
RP	Received Pronunciation
SCE	Standard Canadian English
SED	Survey of English Dialects
SES	Socioeconomic status
StdE	Standard English
SW	Southwestern
v	verb
V	vowel

1. INTRODUCTION

1.0 THE STUDY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS

The dialects of English have been remarked on from early times. As Chambers and Trudgill (1980:16) point out, Trevisa, as far back as 1387, commented on the north/south dialect continuum within England. However, it was not until the latter half of the 19th century that detailed dialect studies were undertaken and published by, among others, Ellis (1889) and Wright (1898, 1905). The late 19th and the 20th centuries saw an increase in the number of publications dealing with British regional dialects. Many of these studies were sponsored by the English Dialect Society, with the ultimate aim of producing a dialect dictionary of regional English. Ellis (1889), Dartnell and Goddard (1894/1991), Wright (1898), and Halliwell (1901) contributed just a few. Southwest England has a long tradition of dialect study, including Carew (1602/1953), Elworthy (1877, 1886), Barnes (1886), Hewett (1892), Dartnell and Goddard (1894/1991), Widén (1949), Orton and Wakelin (1967), Wakelin (1975, 1986), Fischer (1976), Ihalainen (1976, 1985, 1991a, b, 1994), Rogers (1979), and Attwell (1987).

Along with studies of individual regions, the major efforts of Orton and Dieth (1962) in conceiving of and carrying out the Survey of English Dialects

(henceforth SED) during the 1950s have yielded a large body of knowledge on the linguistic features of regional British English. This has led to the publication of not only the basic SED information (Orton and Wakelin, 1967), but also of several linguistic atlases based on the material gathered in this effort (see Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978; Upton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1987; Viereck, 1991; and Viereck and Ramisch, 1997).

The expansion of the English language beyond the British Isles has resulted in interest in transplanted varieties of English, particularly in the 20th century. There are now dictionaries of national varieties of English from Australia (Delbridge, 1981), South Africa (Branford, 1978), India (Nihalani, Tongue, and Hosali, 1979), the United States (Cassidy and Hall, 1985/1991/1996), and Canada (e.g. Avis, 1967; Avis, Drysdale, Gregg, Neufeldt and Scargill, 1983; De Wolf and Avis, 1997; and Barber, 1998), to name just a few. As well, many English-speaking countries have produced their own dictionaries of regional varieties; within Canada we find Story, Kirwin and Widdowson's (1982/1990) Dictionary of Newfoundland English, and Pratt's (1988) Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English. In addition, many publications have focused on structural (i.e. phonological and morphosyntactic) parameters of variation in New World English varieties. Within Canada, some

of the earlier examples of this include Scargill (1974) and Chambers (1975).

1.1 NEWFOUNDLAND

The overwhelming majority of settlers in Newfoundland came from Southwest England and from the Southeast of Ireland. Settlement from these two areas started slowly during the 17th century, and reached its peak in the late 18th and early 19th centuries[1] (Story, 1975; Head, 1976; Mannion, 1977; Handcock, 1977, 1989, 1996). Because of the lack of significant in-migration during the last 150 years, most present day Newfoundlanders are descended from these early settlers.

The relative lack of in-migration since the middle of the 19th century - combined with the relative isolation of our island from the greater North American mainland as well as the relative isolation of many communities on the island from one another - have resulted in the retention of regional English and Irish vocabulary items, as well as many phonological and morphological traits, to a degree that is probably unparalleled elsewhere in North America. Kirwin and Hollett (1986), Kirwin (1993, 2001), and Clarke (1997, 2004a),

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[1] For example, between 1770 and 1820, the permanent population of Bonavista Bay, the focus of my study, rose from 120 to 3,273 (Handcock, 1989:102).

among others, have documented the strong linguistic link between these English and Irish source areas and Newfoundland.

In 1966, Paddock, working in the tradition of Story (1957), Widdowson (1964), and Seary, Story, and Kirwin (1968), gave us the first detailed linguistic study of a Newfoundland community when he investigated the dialect of the Conception Bay community of Carbonear. Prior to the aforementioned scholars, those writing on the dialects of Newfoundland had been primarily interested amateurs rather than trained linguists; they include Cartwright (1792/1911), Tweedie (1894), Patterson (1895-97), England (1925), Evans (1930), Greenleaf (1931), Strong (1931), Devine (1937/1997), Tomkinson (1940), Porter (1963), and Moreton (1863/1977). Subsequent to Paddock, there followed Noseworthy (1971), describing the dialect of Grand Bank on the Burin peninsula; Whalen (1978) with a discussion of the contexts of [h] adding and dropping on New World Island, Notre Dame Bay; Reid (1981), with a description of the speech community of Bay de Verde in Conception Bay; Colbourne (1982), with an account of the vernacular speech of Long Island, Notre Dame Bay; Clarke (1991), with an analysis of some of the phonological features of St. John's English; Lanari (1994), reporting on the speech of the Burin region; D'Arcy (2000) examining the acquisition of dialect in St. John's;

and most recently Newhook (2002) who investigated the speech of Burnt Islands and Isle aux Morts on the southwest coast of the island. These studies have done much to document regional and social varieties of English in Newfoundland.

The growing ease of movement between communities as well as increased travel by Newfoundlanders to mainland Canada and other parts of the world - along with continued ridicule of non-standard varieties of English by those who consider themselves speakers of a "Standard English", whether it be the standard of St. John's or elsewhere - have all combined to change the English language in outport Newfoundland in the direction of a more standard variety, particularly in more formal speech styles.

1.2 THE CURRENT STUDY

This research was undertaken because, aside from Hollett's (1982) investigation of allegro speech, there exists no thorough study of the regional dialect of Bonavista Bay. As a native of this area, I was aware of some highly marked features which are geographically restricted within Newfoundland, such as the centralization of the nucleus of words like *tea*, *me*, *say*, and *away* (see section 2.1.5), a feature restricted to Flat Islands, one of the two former Bonavista Bay communities that I will be investigating. This feature is present

in the speech of conservative Flat Islanders but not in that of their children who were raised on the main island of Newfoundland after resettlement. Such sociolinguistic studies as those of Colbourne (1982) and Newhook (2002) have shown that younger speakers are losing many of the phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical features that have traditionally characterized their rural communities. Exposure to varieties of Standard English (StdE) has increased with the advent of radio and television and with population mobility and movement away from the relatively isolated small communities along the coast. This exposure has resulted in more standardized local speech.

1.2.1 The communities

The present study documents a dialect of Newfoundland English found in Bonavista Bay, on the northeast coast of the province (see the map in Figure 1.1). As exemplars of this dialect, I have chosen speakers from two small island groups: Flat Islands and Deer Islands (see the map in Figure 1.2). Like much of the main island of Newfoundland, this area was settled mainly by immigrants from the traditional "Wessex" counties of Dorset, East Somerset, Wiltshire and Hampshire in the Southwest of England (Macpherson, 1977; Mannion, 1977; Handcock, 1977, 1989). Handcock (1996) notes that these settlers constituted 92% of the immigrants of English origins in Notre Dame

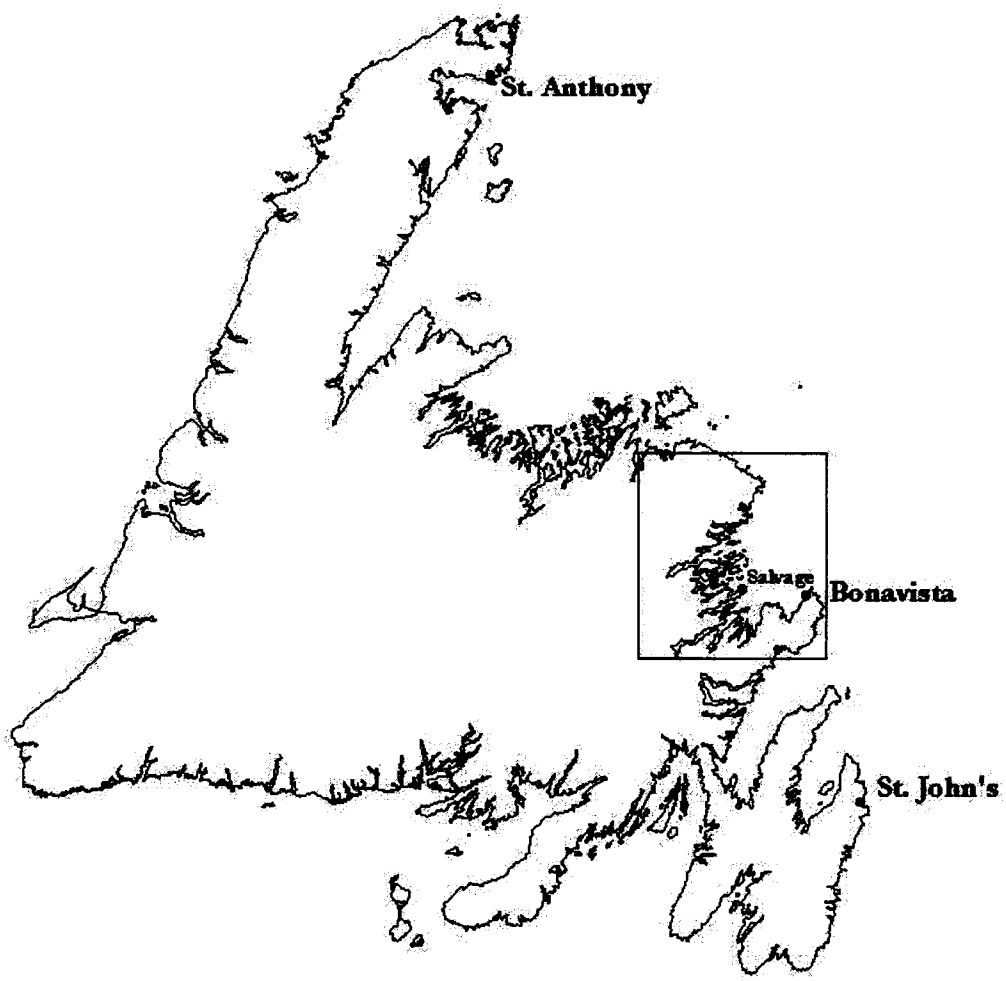

Figure 1.1 Map of Newfoundland showing Bonavista Bay

Source: ArcView 3.2
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Figure 1.2 Map of Bonavista Bay showing Flat Islands and Deer Islands

Source: ArcView 3.2
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Bay, and over 85% in both Bonavista and Trinity Bays; the same was true of areas of the island settled somewhat later, as approximately 70% of English migrants to the south and west coasts also originated in Wessex. Initial migration from these counties was followed by secondary internal migration within the island of Newfoundland itself. A study of surnames suggests that Deer Islands residents have descended from settlers from Greenspond in Bonavista Bay, Goose Cove on the Great Northern Peninsula, and Placentia (Seary, 1977). Flat Islanders, too, migrated from Greenspond, as well as from Kings' Cove, and from Gooseberry Islands, all of which are within Bonavista Bay (Macpherson, 1977); mostly, however, they came from the north shore of Conception Bay, particularly Port de Grave, as well as from Trinity Bay (Macpherson, 1977; Seary, 1977).

The Flat Islands group includes Flat Island proper, Coward's Island and North Island, as well as a small uninhabited island.[2] The 1836 census showed the population of this group of islands to be 26; by 1921, it was 666. The main reason Flat Islands became so relatively populous was the inshore fishery. Boats of the late 19th and early 20th century were propelled either by sail and

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[2] Unless otherwise noted, information about the Islands is taken from Feltham (1986 and 1992).

wind power or by oars and manpower. By being out in the middle of the bay, rather than on the more sheltered coastline, the fishermen were closer to the fishing grounds; thus they spent less time and effort in travelling back and forth. However, this island group was involved in the Labrador fishery from its earliest times as well. In 1857, Flat Islands sent four schooners to the Labrador coast. By the early 20th century more than two dozen vessels went, with almost every able-bodied man aboard. Many of those vessels were built on Flat Islands, using timber from other nearby islands as well as from those deeper within Bonavista Bay. Between 1858 and 1945, 27 vessels were registered as having been built on this group of islands.

The Deer Islands group includes Deer Island proper, Green's Island and Bragg's Island. This island group was first settled in the late 18th century. By the time of the 1836 census there were 36 people on these islands, while the 1857 census gives the population at 68, and the 1945 census recorded 403 living there. Like the Flat Islands group, these islands were settled because of their proximity to the rich fishing grounds. However, when compared to Flat Islanders, the Deer Islanders were relatively late in entering the Labrador fishery. They tended to fish closer to home and only in the early 20th century did they travel to Labrador in significant numbers.

Life on these islands was hard, with little in the way of luxury. Teachers often had little or no formal training; clergy were seen only a few times a year; doctors' visits were rare or non-existent. However, the people were an independent, hardy lot, and quite willing to look after all aspects of their lives themselves. They fished, hunted all types of sea birds, carried on kitchen gardening, kept a few chickens, sheep, and goats, and raised a pig each year for meat in the early winter. They built their own houses and outbuildings, schools and churches. They drew their teachers, church leaders and midwives from their own population, and asked for outside help only in dire emergency. The people of Flat Islands were the only group in Newfoundland to refuse any government help during the Depression years.

However, with the decline of the salt cod fishery in the mid-20th century (Alexander, 1976), and the difficulty of providing teachers and clergy to these isolated communities, the government of the day decided that the island populations should be resettled onto the larger island of Newfoundland. Many families on Flat Islands moved to the mainland Bonavista Bay communities of Glovertown, Eastport, and Gambo; Deer Islanders also moved to such Bonavista Bay communities as Glovertown, Hare Bay, Dark Cove and Wareham. Between 1954 and 1965, 75 families from Deer Islands and 119

families from Flat Islands relocated (Lane, 1967). There were, of course, people who left the islands before this formal resettlement was enforced. Some went away in order to get a better education, some went to work elsewhere in Newfoundland, to other parts of Canada, or to the "Boston States" of New England. The out-migration of Newfoundlanders is hardly a phenomenon limited to the mid- and late-20th century.

1.2.2 The participants

I interviewed 17 people, nine males and eight females, between the ages of 78 and 93, who had lived on one or more of these islands until their adult years. More detailed information on the 16 participants who provided linguistic data for this study is given in Table 1.1 below.

Table 1.1 Informant designations and information

Informant's Designation	Island of Origin and Island Group[3]	Age [4]	Year left Islands	Other Information
F1[5]	Coward's Island, FI	82	1957	Housewife, widow of fisherman
F2	Coward's Island, FI	84	1953	Housewife, married to M2
F3	Deer Island, DI	80	1939	Teacher
F4	North Island, FI	84	1955	Housewife, married to M6
F5	Coward's Island, FI	78	1954	Housewife, Grandfather from Port de Grave
F6	Flat Island, FI	85	1953	Housewife, married to M7
F7	Bragg's Island, DI	78	1954	Housewife, married to M8; Grandfather from England
F8	North Island, FI	83	1952	Housewife, widow of fisherman

[3] In this column, FI represents Flat Islands and DI represents Deer Islands.

[4] This column shows the age of the informants at time of interview in 2001.

[5] In this thesis, F designates a female informant and M designates a male.

Table 1.1, continued Informant designations and information

M1	Coward's Island, FI	81	1957	Fisherman. Great-grandfather from Port de Grave
M2	North Island, FI	85	1953	Worked as carpenter in Labrador, St. John's, Toronto. Married to F2
M3	Bragg's Island, DI	87	1955	Fisherman
M4	Deer Island, DI	81	1954	Fisherman, carpenter
M5	Deer Island, DI	83	1955	Fisherman, carpenter
M6	Coward's Island, FI	83	1957	Fisherman, married to F4
M7	North Island, FI	86	1953	Carpenter, married to F6; Great-grandfather from Port de Grave
M8	Bragg's Island, DI	79	1954	Carpenter, married to F7

Although no occupation is shown for the majority of the women, it is not correct to say they were unemployed. The term "housewife" also does not do justice to the work they did. Besides keeping house (which meant bringing water from hundreds of metres away to cook and clean with, doing laundry by hand, and making most of the clothes worn by the family), they also tended the gardens, looked after the animals, and did much of the curing of fish.

Because the islands were resettled during the 1950s and 1960s, it follows

that the people who were adults at the time of resettlement would have been elderly in 2001, the year of my interviews. It is just these people who can be expected to have retained the greatest number of local features; their conservative speech varieties may best reflect the varieties brought from Southwest England by their ancestors. The parents or grand-parents of many of my Flat Islands informants had come to the islands from the Carbonear/Port de Grave area of Conception Bay. My Deer Islands informants seemed to have more direct ties with England, at least in that one woman's grandfather came from there. Even here, though, the majority of my informants' parents were born on the islands. The age of the participants, however, was not as important to my study as was their residence on the islands from birth to adulthood. One female, F3, was used for the lexical questionnaire only, as she left the Islands while very young, was educated as a teacher, and thus had very little remnant of the local speech. Another speaker, a 93-year old clergyman, was interviewed for information purposes only as he, too, was university-educated and used little of the local speech variety, except by way of illustration of a story or incident.

1.2.3 The methodology

My methodology is grounded in traditional regional dialectology, the

focus of which has been on NORM-like[6] participants, or those most likely to preserve the traditional lexical and structural features which characterize their area. However, I have also included females in my study because of their familiarity with the vocabulary of kitchen gardening and the household. These women were even less mobile than their male counterparts, as the men sometimes went inland for lumbering, to the "Front" to hunt seals, or to the coast of Labrador to fish, while the women traditionally rarely left the islands.

I approached my list of possible informants first by letter, asking if they would be willing to talk to me about their life on the islands. I followed up with a telephone call to set up an interview time with those who consented. The interviews were conducted in the homes of the study participants and lasted from one to two hours. The first part of the interview consisted of general conversation and a discussion of life on the islands during the time the participants lived there. After this, a questionnaire designed to elicit some 81 lexical items was administered orally (see Appendix A). This questionnaire is derived from the questionnaire developed by Paddock (1996) for his Carbonear

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[6] NORM is the acronym for nonmobile, older, rural males (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:33). For Newfoundland, this approach is well exemplified in the community studies of Paddock (1966) and Noseworthy (1971).

study, and covered a wide range of topics including natural phenomena, subsistence occupations and daily living. Both parts of the interviews were taped, on a Sony TC 142 cassette recorder using an ECM-16 condenser microphone, with the permission of the participants (see Consent Form, Appendix B). The interview was presented as an attempt to collect stories about life on the islands, and the questionnaire described as a means of gathering old words which might be no longer in use. The questionnaire was presented at the end of the interview because I did not want to seem focused on language during the conversation portion of the interview; this would make participants more self-conscious, and might well affect their use of language. I elicited stories about island life so that the participants would not feel as if they were being tested in any way, but rather were being consulted as experts on their subject. This was done in the hope of relaxing them and eliciting more natural speech.

Only one of the people I originally contacted refused to take part in the study. All were interested in what I was doing, and most were aware of the decline of the "old way of talking". In fact, several said that it would have been better if I could have interviewed their father, uncle, or grandfather, who **really** talked in the old way.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.0 INTRODUCTION & TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

This chapter describes the vowels as well as the chief consonant features of the dialects under investigation. The full set of vowel phones in these varieties is provided below.

i			ɨ		ʉ			u
		ɪ				ʊ		
	e						ɤ	o
				ə	ɞ			
		ɛ		ɜ			ʌ	ɔ
		æ			ɐ			
					a		ɑ	ɒ

The list below provides the full range of diphthongal variants that occurred in my data, arranged by identity of the initial element:

iɞ

ɨɪ, ɨi, ɨə

ɪə, ɪɞ

ei, eɪ

ɛɨ, ɛɪ, ɛɞ, ɛə̯, ɛʊ

ɜɪ, ɜʊ

æə

ɐi, ɐɪ, ɐʊ

aɪ, aɪə, au, aʊ

ɔi, ɔɪ, ɔɨ, ɔə, ɔʊ

ʌɪ, ʌə

oə, oʊ

ɤʊ

uə, uʊ

ʊə

əi, əɪ, əɨ, əʊ

ɞɪ

This thesis employs IPA transcription conventions, with some modifications, as follows:

1) a) All high long tense monophthongs will end with a colon(:) designating length, instead of an upglide. Thus, the vowel of *fleece* is [i:], the vowel of *goose* is [u:]. If the colon is not used, the vowel is shortened in this particular occurrence.

b) Inglided mid long tense vowels will be followed by [ə], or [ᵊ].

2) a) A high onset glide is shown as [w] or [j].

b) A high coda glide is normally shown as lax [ʊ] or [ɪ] except when the preceding nucleus is in the range of [ʊ] or [ɪ], when tense [u] or [i] is used.

3. a) Vowel raising is represented by the symbol [ˆ], as in [wʊˆɬ]; lowering by [ˇ], as in [wɬᵛᵊɬbaroʊ]; retracting by [˃], as in [be˃ɪt]; and advancing by [˂], as in [ra˂dni].

   b) Both [ɨ] and [ɪ] will be subsumed under [ɨ], as the difference between these in my data is minuscule or non-existent.

   c) Nasal and lateral syllabic sonorants are represented as [ᵊn], [ᵊŋ], [ᵊm], [ᵊl]: for example [bɐrbᵊl] 'barbel'.

   d) When it is heard as syllabic, the mid-central retroflex vocoid is represented as [ə˞].

   e) Devoicing of a following sonorant (*l, r, w, j*) is shown by aspiration on the previous voiceless stop consonant, for example [kʰl] in [kʰlo:z] *clothes.*

   f) Devoicing of voiced stops (*b, d, g*) is shown as [b̥, d̥, g̥]. Lenis *t* will also be represented as [d̥].

   g) Since trilled *r* does not exist in this dialect, orthographic [r] is used for non-syllabic retroflex *r*, instead of IPA [ɹ].

   h) Stress is marked in disyllables when unusual, for example [ˌmɑlˈdaʊ] instead of the initially stressed compound noun

['mɑl,daʊ]. It will regularly be marked in polysyllabic words such as *catamaran* [ˌkʰæɾəmə'ræn]. Writing compounds as a single word (either hyphenated or unbroken) indicates stress on the initial element.

i) Barely audible segments are shown as superscripts: for example, in *partridge*, as spoken by speaker F1, the *d* is almost non-existent, thus [pʰæˀɾʔɹɪ^dʒ].

The vowel section is grounded in Wells (1982), and follows his standard lexical sets as closely as possible. I chose the Wells model because it is a common reference point used by linguists in the description of dialects of English. I have emphasized the Southwest English information because of its obvious importance as the primary input variety to the dialect area I am investigating. The vowel section which follows presents first the lax monophthongal vowels, followed by the tense monophthongal vowels, then the diphthongs, and finally the vowels before /r/. Data for each vowel set may be found in Appendix C. The consonant section will discuss only those consonants which differ in some way from the standard variety.

2.1 VOWELS

2.1.1 KIT/DRESS

Wells (1982:127) characterizes the KIT vowel as "a relatively short, lax, fairly front and fairly close unrounded vocoid" /ɪ/, in both RP, "the general type of educated British pronunciation" (p. 117) and GenAm, "the type of American English pronunciation taught to learners of English as a foreign language" (p. 118). The DRESS vowel he describes as "relatively short, lax, front mid [and] unrounded . . . /ɛ/" (p. 128).

Southwest England

Both lowering of /ɪ/ to /ɛ/, KIT lowering, and raising of /ɛ/ to /ɪ/, DRESS raising, have been found in the Southwest of England (Barnes, 1886; Widén, 1949; Orton, Sanderson, and Widdowson, 1978; Rogers, 1979; Wakelin, 1986; Pettersen, 1996). In addition, Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson (1978) recorded other variants of the KIT vowel in the word *bristles*. This word shows [ʌ] in parts of Devon, Dorset, Wiltshire and Hampshire, and [ə] in most of Dorset. This last may be a case of lexical conditioning from the ME variant *brustel*, as this is the only word from the KIT set which shows such variation.

Newfoundland

Other findings: Both Colbourne (1982), on Long Island, Notre Dame Bay, and Lanari (1994), in Burin, found evidence of DRESS raising and KIT lowering; the result was partial merger of these two vowels in the dialects which they investigated. Colbourne (1982: 13) states that they were "largely allophones of one phoneme with [ɛ] usually occurring before /l/, and [ɪ] occurring elsewhere". He also found a tensed [i] variant of the KIT vowel in his informants' speech, most often with "following consonants such as [ʃ] . . .or [ɬ]" (Colbourne, 1982: 13). Lanari (1994:132) found that DRESS raising "is promoted by a following oral stop... yet not by a following nasal stop...". This raising also occurs in Burin before fricatives and before voiceless consonants (Lanari, 1994:132-133). Lanari found, however, little use of the mid vowel [ɛ] in place of the standard [ɪ] (134).

Newhook (2002), in her research on the dialect of Burnt Islands on the Southwest coast of Newfoundland, found some evidence of non-standard (henceforth NS) usage of these vowels. Both KIT lowering and DRESS raising were in evidence in her group of informants, with the raising of [ɛ] to [ɪ] more common than the reverse. Thus there appears to be some regional variation in the degree of merger of these two vowels in Newfoundland.

My findings (See Appendix C1 for data): Within my Bonavista Bay sample, I found some instances of merger. There were many occurrences of DRESS raising, the substitution of high lax [ɪ] for standard [ɛ]. These were not limited to one speaker, but were part of the idiolects of several male speakers. M7 had *heads* [ɪ:dz] and *kept* [kʰɪˇpˈ]; while M5 gave *next* [nɪks], *fence* [fɪˇns], *bed* [bɪ:d], *steady* [stɪdi], and *kettle* [khɪʔᵊɬ]. These instances of raising all occur in words in which the vowel is immediately followed by an oral or nasal stop.

KIT lowering was less common, but again, not restricted to one speaker. M4 gave *children* [ʧɛɡᵈrᵊn]; M7 said *winter* as [wɛ^:ntəˠ]; and F8 had *since* as [sɛ^ns]. In the last two of these examples, the non-standard [ɛ] is found before a nasal and may have been affected by this environment. (See Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978, along with Pettersen, 1996, for further instances of lowering before a nasal.)

Two other tokens were found with both vowel variants: *killick* and *emmet*. The Dictionary of Newfoundland English (1990) (henceforth the DNE) offers an alternate spelling for *killick* with the first vowel as e: *kellick*. It also cites Wright (1898), who states that this word comes from *kelk*, which means "a large, detached stone". This etymology makes the change to *kellick* fairly transparent, as English speakers do sometimes tend to break up consonant

clusters with an intrusive vowel, as in *athalete* for *athlete*, *kellup* for *kelp,* and *fillum* for *film.*

The Concise Oxford English Dictionary (1995) (henceforth COED) gives the origin of *emmet* and *ant* as OE *ǣmete.* The low front vowel [æ] has raised to a mid front lax vowel [ɛ] in *emmet* and in some cases among my informants all the way to a high front lax vowel [ɪ] in *immet.* As we have seen above, the raising from [ɛ] to [ɪ] is common in NfldE.

Many of my informants showed some instances of tensing of the KIT vowel, but one in particular (M4) showed tensing of the DRESS vowel [ɛ] to [i] in *shells* pronounced /ʃi:ɑz/, and in *head(stone)* as /hiᵛd/[7]. In these words, [ɛ] might have first raised to [ɪ] before tensing.

We can see from this data that the KIT/DRESS vowels in this part of Bonavista Bay are not merged to the degree that Colbourne found in nearby Notre Dame Bay. Rather, there seem to be specific environments which favor one realization over another. Thus KIT lowering occurs mostly before a nasal stop, one of the environments which also favors lowering in Southwest

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[7] This word had a long vowel in OE as *hēafod.* This *heed-* variant has merely preserved the OE length, and the laxing found in standard varieties did not occur.

England, although by no means the only one: for example, lowering environments in Wakelin (1986) include following voiceless fricatives /f, θ, s, ʃ/; following alveolar stops /d/ and /t/; and following velar stop /k/. DRESS raising occurs in my data before the stops [b, d, p, k, ʔ, m, n]. Part of the variability of the merger may be accounted for by the fact that many of the words using these vowels came from my questionnaire answers, thereby giving a more formal style than one would see in casual conversation.

2.1.2 TRAP/BATH

Wells (1982:129) describes the TRAP vowel as /æ/ in both RP and GenAm. This vowel "is a front nearly open unrounded vocoid, . . .[which] occurs in checked syllables only". The BATH vowel he gives as /ɑ:/ in RP but /æ/ in GenAm. This vowel in RP is "a fully open unrounded vowel lying between back and central" (p.158). In GenAm, however, it is "a front nearly open unrounded vocoid" (p.129).

TRAP and BATH form two distinct vowel sets because of a split in the eighteenth century: "a phonemic split in the /æ/ derived from Middle English (henceforth ME) /a/ or /au/" (p.134). This split resulted in a lengthening of the [æ] in BATH words, and in RP to an eventual retraction to [ɑ:] in this set.

Southwest England

Both vowels in Southwest English varieties seem to vary within the range of [æ~a~ɑ], with more instances of front [æ] and central [a] than of back [ɑ] (Matthews, 1939; Widén, 1949; Orton, Sanderson, and Widdowson, 1978; Wakelin, 1986). An example of the TRAP vowel is *man* as [ma(:)n]~[mæn], both of which occur in the Southwest (Orton, Sanderson, and Widdowson, 1978). The BATH vowel is found in *chaff* as [a:] and [æ:] (Orton, Sanderson, and Widdowson, 1978).

There are some special cases. Words from the BATH set may have tensed and raised to [e:] or [e:^{ə}] before historical *lf, lv, lm*, as in *calf* [ke:f], in Dorset (Widén, 1949; Orton, Sanderson, and Widdowson, 1978). Words from the TRAP set may develop a slight glide before the voiced velars [g] or [ŋ], as in *twang* pronounced [twæ:^{ɪ}ŋ] (Widén, 1949).

Newfoundland

Other findings: There seems to be a nearly total merger of these two sets in NfldE, with [æ] being the most common reflex, as in *pat* [p^{h}æt] (Paddock, 1966; Noseworthy, 1971). Some speakers, however, may display lengthening of the [æ] in BATH words. Paddock (1966:32) also found some Carbonear informants with [a] in BATH words with following voiceless fricative

or [n] plus consonant, such as *laugh, gas, can't.* These informants were from "long-established families with English origins". As Seary, Story and Kirwin (1968:69) note, however, the low central [a] variant is almost never heard outside the Conception Bay area.

My findings (See Appendix C2 for data): All informants used a variant of [æ], a low-mid front monophthong, in both TRAP and BATH words, with no consistent lengthening in BATH words, indicating that these vowels are still basically one phoneme. In other words, this dialect never did undergo the TRAP/BATH split of 18th century StdE. There were, however, a number of additional variants, almost all of which involved some degree of raising. Two of these were monophthongal ([ɛ(:)] and [e:]), while four were diphthongal variants: [eɪ], [eə], [æə^], and [æ^ɪ]. One of the environments which promoted raising, as well as ingliding, was a following nasal. I recorded *aunt* as [hɛ:nt], provided by M4 from Deer Island; and *(Cape) Ann* as [kʰeɪp 'æ:ᵊn] came from F1 and as [kʰeɪ'pʰæə^n] from M6, both from Flat Island. Widén (1949:64) also found an anomalous vowel in the word *aunt*, but in that case it was [e:] as in [e:nt].

A second environment in which I found a raised variant of this vowel was before a following velar. In *bags*, given as [beəgz] by F1, I found the only

instance of [eə]. I also found only one instance of [e:], and that was in *tackle* [tʰe:kᵊɬ], reported by M5.

A third environment which promoted raising or diphthongization was a following voiced stop plus [z]. The words in which I found this were *bags*, as seen above, and *Dad's*, reported as [dæ^ɪdz], again by F1.

There were two other instances of raised variants that do not so easily fit into a phonologically conditioned environment. One of these is [ɛ(:)], reported in *cattlehouse* [ˈkʰɛʔˌlɐ^ʊs] by F5. The other instance I believe may be lexically conditioned. There was some discussion between Informant F6 and her husband on the correct pronunciation of the word *bavins*. The husband, M7, produced [bæˀvᵊnz], while F6 insisted on [beɪvᵊnz].

2.1.3 LOT/CLOTH/THOUGHT

According to Wells (1982:130), the LOT vowel is rounded /ɒ/ in RP and unrounded/ɑ/ in GenAm. RP has " typically a back, nearly open, weakly rounded vocoid. . . relatively short, and restricted to checked [closed] syllables". GenAm has "a central fully open unrounded vocoid ranging from (retracted) [ɑ] to (advanced) [a]. . . typically longer [than the RP variety], and [it] occurs. . . in free syllables too" (p.130). This vowel derives in most cases from ME short lax /ɔ/, and in other cases from ME /a/ in the environment of preceding /w/,

as in *quality*. It is usually spelled o, but sometimes a.

The THOUGHT vowel is /ɔ(:)/ in both RP and GenAm, except before /r/ in some cases in GenAm. RP /ɔ/ is " a back closely-rounded mid vocoid" (p. 145). Gen Am /ɔ/ is more open and has weaker lip-rounding. The THOUGHT vowel comes from ME /au/ and /ɔu/ before former velar fricatives, spelled *augh* and *ough*, as well as from /au/ alone, spelled *au*, *aw*, and *al*.

The CLOTH vowel is rounded /ɒ/ in RP and unrounded /ɑ/ in GenAm. So CLOTH words belong with LOT words in RP, but with THOUGHT words in GenAm. The CLOTH vowel derives from ME short lax /ɔ/ (p.136).

Southwest England

As mapped in the Linguistic Atlas of England (Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978), the vowel of the LOT set is generally represented by the SED (1962-1967, specifically Orton and Wakelin, 1967) as a low back rounded vowel [ɒ]. However, Pettersen (1996:15) found that her informants usually used a "short back, fully open, unrounded" variant, [ɑ] (see also Widen, 1949; Wakelin, 1986). There is also evidence of an even more fronted and unrounded variant [æ] (Rogers, 1979). The CLOTH vowel seems to have been fairly consistently a mid back rounded [ɔ] in the Southwest, with some unrounding in Wiltshire and Hampshire (Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson,

1978) (although see Widén, 1949:50 - who gives, for example, *long* [lɑ(:)ŋ], with or without lengthening - along with Matthews, 1939; Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978; Pettersen, 1996). In the Southwest, the THOUGHT vowel, /ɔ(:)/, is today generally found to be close to the RP standard (Matthews, 1935; Wells, 1982) but Matthews (1935:206) also found some signs of unrounding in words with au, aw, ou, such as *saw*, *straw*, *brought.*

Newfoundland

Other findings: The LOT vowel is most commonly low, central and unrounded [a] (Paddock, 1966; Noseworthy, 1971). Although Noseworthy found the CLOTH vowel to be low, back and unrounded [ɑ], in free variation with rounded [ɒ] (Noseworthy, 1971:51), this is unusual in NfldE. Clarke (2004b:371) describes the vowels of the LOT/CLOTH/THOUGHT set as being fully merged for most Newfoundlanders. The THOUGHT vowel is the most variable of this group with such variants as the central low vowel [a] in *father* [faðə˞]; the low back unrounded [ɑ:] in *law* [lɑ:], (Noseworthy, 1971); both the low back [ɑ:] and, less usually, the mid back [ɔ:] in *sauce* [sɑ:s]~[sɔ:s], *caught* [kɑ:t]~[kɔ:t], and *bought* [bɑ:t]~[bɔ:t] (Paddock, 1966:34, 48). It would seem that there is some merger in the dialects of both Carbonear and Grand Bank, although whether this merger is complete or only partial is unclear.

My findings (See Appendix C3 for data): The most common vowel in all sets was a low central vowel /a/, with variants [a:~a˃~ɐ~ɑ], giving evidence of full merger of the three lexical sets in the dialects of these islands. The vowel displayed variable lengthening in *sauce* [sa˃:s]~[sas] and *dog* [dɐg]~[da:g]. There was one instance of the low back vowel [ɑ] in each of the CLOTH and THOUGHT sets. Informant F1 from Flat Island produced both these occurrences, each of which involved a following voiceless fricative environment: *sauce* [sɑs] and *loft* [lɑft]. It appears that she has variably retained the more backed vowel as in RP, but has lost the rounding, giving a vowel close to the Canadian standard /ɑ/. THOUGHT words exhibited the most variation, with the nearly low mid central vowel [ɐ] found in *alders* [ɐɬdə˞z] given by M6 from FI, and several variants of the low central vowel /a/: [a~a:~a˃~a˃:]. I also found that for some of my informants, a following *l* underwent vocalization but its trace was found either in the lengthening of the vowel, as in *scald* [ska˃:], given by M7 from Flat Island, or in the appearance of a glide, as in *walls* [wa:ᵊz], given by M5 from Deer Island. Noseworthy (1971:51) also observed this phenomenon, although he recorded the more backed variant [ɑ:].

Two anomalous lexical items were found in these sets. One was *trough*, which Wells (1982:136) assigns to his CLOTH set, and which all my informants gave as [ʧroʊ]~[ʧroʊᵊ]. It appears, then, that the conditioning is lexical in this case. (Standard English also has similar words with the same vowel, such as *dough*.) Widén (1949) and Halpert and Widdowson (1996) both place the word *trough* in the [o:] group, (i.e., Wells' GOAT set), and it does pattern like this group in the dialects of Southwest England. I include it here because the standard British English pronunciation puts it in the CLOTH group (Wells, 1982:136).

The second word with an unusual vowel is *launch(ed)*, a THOUGHT word in most standard varieties of English. I recorded two pronunciations of this word: *launch* [læ^ɪnʧ], from M5 of Deer Island, and *launched* [lɛᵛənʧt], from F8 of Flat Island. In both cases, the vowel has been fronted and raised from the more common /a/ of this dialect to something much closer to the TRAP vowel [æ]. Seary, Story and Kirwin (1968:61) also show this lexical item with [æ]. The COED (1995) shows the ME origin of *launch* to be Anglo-French *launcher* (from Old Norman French *lancher)*. Wells (1982:205) reports that many words which had ME variants with /aʊ/, or which were of French origin, where the vowel is followed by /ns, nʃ, nt, nd/ have become /ɑ:/ in RP but /æ/ in

GenAm. In these words Wells (1982:135, 205) includes the BATH words *dance* and *branch*; we can add *launch* to this list, at least for some of my informants.

2.1.4 FOOT/STRUT

Wells (1982:131-132) describes the STRUT vowel in both RP and GenAm as "a relatively short, half-open or slightly opener, centralized-back or central, unrounded vocoid". He states that the FOOT vowel is, in both RP and GenAm, "a relatively short, lax, fairly back and fairly close vocoid. . . usually weakly rounded" (p.133). He explains the primary origin of these two vowels in one and the same ME short vowel /u/ which split into two phonemes in the 17th century - /ʌ/ and /ʊ/ - except in "broad accents of the north of England, and . . . in Ireland" (p.197). However, some words belonging to the FOOT and STRUT sets came from the ME long vowel /o:/. A number of these underwent shortening early and joined the ME short lax /u/ category before the split. As a result, we now have [ʌ] in *blood, love, flood.* Others shortened later resulting in [ʊ] in such words as *good, stood, foot, book.* This shortening was lexical, and displays regional differences. For example, northern England, Scotland, and parts of Ireland retained the long vowel in words such as *look* [lu:k], and *book* [bu:k]. RP shows vacillation between lax [ʊ] and tense [u:] in a small subset

including *broom, groom, room*: [rʊm~ru:m]. In the west of England, *hoof, roof, tooth, soon,* and *spoon* often have [ʊ] and, more rarely, [ʌ] instead of [u:].

Southwest England

The STRUT vowel has been found to be normally articulated with the low-mid back unrounded vowel [ʌ], similar to the standard, with occasional unusual lexical variants. Wakelin (1986) found *one* to be unusually variable, while Widén (1949:23) found frequent rounding as [ɔ], "resembling Fr. *o* in *comme*". Rogers (1979) found the variants [ɪ] (presumably sometimes [ɨ]), to be common in Devon where *such* is [sɪʧ]; [ɛ] in a few words in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, among them *skull* pronounced [skɛl]; and [aʊ] in words like *dust, ruts,* and *crust.* There were also instances where [ʌ] was a variant of /u:/[8], as in *hoof* as [hʌf] instead of the standard [hu:f] (see FOOT examples below).

The FOOT vowel is usually pronounced with [ʊ] in standard varieties, but with some fronting in the Southwest, especially in Devon, to [ü] or [ʏ] (Widén, 1949; Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978; Rogers, 1979; Wakelin, 1986). *Put* and words like *soot* often show the STRUT vowel, as in [pʰʌt] rather than standard [pʰʊt]. Rogers (1979) also found instances of [ʊ] in standard /u:/

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[8] The transcriptions of other authors have been reworked to follow the transcription conventions adopted in this thesis.

words, such as *root* as [rʊt] instead of [ru:t] (see also Matthews, 1939). Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson (1978) shows [u:] in words with velarized "dark" coda [ɬ], such as *wool* and *bull.* In both these words, Devon has rounded, front lax [ʏɬ] while the rest of the Southwest has rounded back tensed [u:ɬ].

Newfoundland

Other findings: In Newfoundland English, the STRUT vowel may be rounded in Irish settled areas, as in *cut* articulated close to [k^hɔt] (Paddock, 1966; see also Seary, Story and Kirwin, 1968). It may also be lengthened as in *gushes* [gʌ:ʃɪs], or nasalized as in *Gunville* [gʌ̃$v^ə$ɬ] (Noseworthy, 1971). The DNE (1990:124) also shows the variant [æʊ] in *crousty* [k^hræʊsti] from *crusty.* The usual variant, however, is the local regional standard [ʌ].

The FOOT vowel is usually articulated with the standard high back rounded lax [ʊ] in English-settled areas of the province (Clarke, 2004b:371), though some words that in StdE belong to the FOOT set are articulated with the vowel of STRUT.

My findings: (See Appendix C4 and 5 for data): In these groups of words, I found mostly the local standard variant [ʊ] in FOOT words, and [ʌ] in STRUT words, with some variability in certain lexical items, such as *put.* In most occurrences of this word, the vowel was [ʌ], but one informant, M5, had both

[ʌ] and the standard variant [ʊ]. Since there were very few occurrences of *put*, it is not possible to assert that the vowel is invariant for most subjects, nor is it possible to be certain that M5 is the only speaker to display variability.

Among the other words which Wells states may be problematic in these sets (e.g. *roof, spoon, soon*), I found only *spoon* in combination as *teaspoon*, given by F8, and *roof*, recorded from M5. For F8, the vowel of *teaspoon* fits in the FOOT set: [ˈtʰiˌspʊn]. In *roof*, the vowel is included in the GOOSE set, as in the standard Canadian pronunciation, with the addition of a minimal centering glide: [ruːᵊf].

The vowel in *wool* shows some variation: [ʊᵊ~ʊ~ʊ^~u^ᵛə]. In two instances, the word has become disyllabic, with the insertion of a centering glide between the vowel and the final [ɬ]. The situation here may be much the same as the one in SW England, with variable tensing/laxing before /l/.

The word *wood*, which for Wells is in the FOOT set, also shows variation among my informants. Four informants, F1, F5, F6, and M6 all have [wʊd], while M5 has the more tense vowel, [wud], but without the length that would put this word completely in the GOOSE set.

2.1.5 FLEECE

Wells (1982) describes the FLEECE vowel as "a relatively long close vocoid, often with some degree of diphthongization of the [ɪi] type" (p. 140), generally realized as /i(:)/ in both RP and GenAm. This vowel in Modern English (henceforth ModE) is the result of the partial merger of ME /e:/ and /ɛ:/

Southwest England

In most studies of the FLEECE vowel in Southwest England, the standard [i:] was found to be the most common variant (Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978; Wakelin, 1986; Pettersen, 1996). The next most common variants were monophthongal [e:] (Widen, 1949), along with a variety of diphthongs: [ɪə], [ɛɪ], [ɛi], [ei] (Barnes, 1886; Orton, Sanderson, and Widdowson, 1978; Wakelin, 1986).

Interestingly, in light of my Flat Island results presented below, Orton, Sanderson, and Widdowson (1978) also found that a pocket in the north, including parts of North Yorkshire, Northumberland, and Southeastern Cumbria, displayed the reflex [əi].

Newfoundland

Other findings: Paddock (1966:46) describes the vowel of the FLEECE set in Carbonear as a slight diphthong [ɪi], while Noseworthy (1971) shows it with some lowering [iˇ]. In the Irish varieties in the province, it has been noted as a high front vowel with a slight glide (Seary, Story and Kirwin 1968:60).

My findings (See Appendix C6 for data): For the FLEECE vowel, my findings are much like those of Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson (1978). Most tokens in my data contain a high front long close vocoid which is either monophthongal [i:] or minimally diphthongized [i^{ə}] or [iɪ]. There are some instances, however, in which the nucleus is more centralized and lowered. Such realizations are highly unusual in Newfoundland. The centralized variants [əɪ] and [ə^i] were both produced by speakers from Flat Island. In my data, this variant occurred in the words *me*, *see*, *tea, tree*, and *(to) read* (the last given by F8 as [rəɪd]). It is possible that *tea* and *read*, which are among the ea words that were commonly [eɪ] in the 18th century, did not, in this dialect, make the transition to [i:] as they did in standard varieties. Instead of raising, the first element of the diphthong might have centered. If these suppositions are correct, then these words have not undergone FLEECE merger and may, in fact,

be part of the FACE set for some of my Flat Island informants. (See also the FACE set below for further occurrences of centralizing).

I found one other instance of a slightly centralized diphthong in the word *meal,* giving [mɛ˃ɪɤ], produced by M7, also a Flat Islander. It is probable that this is also a case of non-raising rather than centering. This realization matches an instance recorded in the same word by Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson (1978) in Lancashire and parts of North Yorkshire. Why this northern-like variant should show up in a population that originated in the Southwest of England is an interesting question. Quite possibly this is simply a pronunciation that survived longer only in outlying or geographically peripheral areas of England, as well as in transported enclave varieties in such places as Newfoundland.

2.1.6 FACE

Wells (1982:141) describes the FACE vowel in both RP and GenAm as "a narrow front closing diphthong or. . . a front half-close monophthong [that is]. . . unrounded". It comes from ME /a:/ which became /ɛ:/, a monophthong, or from ME /ɛi/ and /æi/, both diphthongs. These three vowels later merged in many varieties when [ɛ:] became a diphthong [ɛɪ] and [æɪ] raised to also become [ɛɪ].

Southwest England

Many researchers have found some differences in the realizations of the vowels in this set, depending on the ME source. Pettersen (1996) calls the two resulting sets the NAIL set, from ME [aɪ], and the NAME set, from ME [a:]. The main differences were that, while the most usual realization of the NAME set was a monophthong [e:] ~ [ɛ:], with some diphthongization to [eɪ] ~ [ɛɪ], the NAIL set was almost invariably a diphthong, generally in the area of [ɛɪ], with low realizations [aɪ] ~ [æɪ] fairly common (Barnes, 1886; Widén, 1949; Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978; Rogers, 1979; Wakelin, 1986; Pettersen, 1996). There were also, in the NAIL set, many instances of ingliding before a following *l* as in *pail* [paɪ^{ə}ɬ] (Widén (1949:62).

These are the most common variations of the FACE diphthong, but there is one other variant that is worth special mention in light of my own findings. In the word *grave*, Orton, Sanderson and Widdowsen (1978) record [iə] in the northwest of Somerset while the rest of Somerset has [ei], and the other counties in the south-west have [e:]. This same variant [iə] is found in the word *bacon* in the extreme north of Dorset and part of central Wiltshire.

Newfoundland

Other findings: It appears that the distinction between the vowels of the NAIL and NAME subsets is being lost in Newfoundland. In 1966, in Carbonear, Paddock found this distinction regularly among the informants of his Group 1, who had low socioeconomic status (SES) and a low level of education; it appeared only sporadically among Group 2, with a mid SES and education level, and Group 3, with high SES and level of education. Thus Group 1 regularly had a diphthong in *maid* [mɛɪd] and a monophthong in *made* [mɛ:d]~[me:d] (pp. 48-49). In 1971, in Grand Bank, Noseworthy found a wide range of variants for the FACE set, with onsets in the range of [e] ~ [ɛ] ~ [æ], and some monophthongization and upgliding, but no distinction between the NAIL and NAME subsets (pp. 54-55). In 1982, Colbourne reported that, in the dialect of Long Island, in Notre Dame Bay, the distinction was disappearing and was by then only associated with older males (pp. 37-40). The most common variants were [æɪ~ɛɪ~eɪ] in the NAIL set and [e:~ɛ^:~ɛə~eə] in the NAME set. Like Paddock (1966), Colbourne (1982:10-11) found distinctions that gave "minimal pairs [such] as *maid/made*".

The range of variants documented in Newfoundland for this set is very wide, although all consist of front vowels. Some of the more common

realizations from the above-mentioned sources are [e(:) ~ eɪ(:) ~ ɛ(:) ~ ɛɪ ~ eə ~ æɪ(:)].

My findings (See Appendix C7 for data): Generally, this vowel fell within the parameters of the standard [eɪ] and [ɛɪ] variants, [eɪ ~ e$^{\vee}$ɪ ~ ɛ(:) ~ ɛ(:)ɪ ~ ɛ$^{>}$ɪ], with few instances of monophthongal [e:] or ingliding [e^{ə}]. No distinction was made between words from ME /ai/ (Pettersen's NAIL set), and ME /a:/, (her NAME set), except by some Flat Islanders. Within this group, the centralized variants [əɪ] and [ɜɪ] were used in some, but not all, NAIL words: *bay* [bə$^{<}$ːɪ], *say* [sə$^{<}$ɪ], and *away* [əwə$^{<}$ɪ] from F8; *say* [səɪ], *away* [əwɜ$^{<}$ɪ], *pay* [p^{h}ɜɪ] and *pain* [p^{h}ɜɪn] from M7; and *rails* [rəɪ^{ə}ɬz] from M6. (See the FLEECE set above for other instances of non-standard centralization). Perhaps the NAIL subset, from ME [aɪ], is the core set that went to [əɪ] by raising instead of by centralizing. This subset may have then attracted other words of the same type, such as *tea*, pronounced with [eɪ] in the 17th century (Rogers, 1979:20). Yet, many words with the historical /aɪ/ diphthong do not have these centralized variants but rather the standard ones. Only one word from the NAME subset displayed the centralized variant and then only in a single instance. This word is *flake* which had many variants within the standard /eɪ/range, ([e$^{\vee}$ɪ ~ ɛːɪ ~ e$^{\rangle}$ɪ ~ ɛɪ]), as well as the non-standard [flɜɪk], given by M7 from Flat Islands.

There were also two other words which showed a wide range of variants. One of these was *rails*, which was given variously as [rəɪ^{ə}ɬz], [rɛ^{i}ɬz], [rɛːɞz], and [reɪ^{ə}ɬz]. Another was *palings*, its forms including [ˈp^{h}eɪɬɪnz], [ˈp^{h}ɛːɬː^{ə}nz], [p^{h}ɛːɬnz], [p^{h}ɐɬnz] and [p^{h}iəɬɪŋz]. This last form contains the non-standard variant [iə] found by Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson (1978) in some parts of the Southwest of England, and might serve to pinpoint more precisely the locations from which the ancestors of my informants emigrated. Some of the variability in *flake*, *palings*, and *rails* may be at least partly due to the following velar and velarized consonants, while the greater variability in *palings* is probably lexical, as one speaker reduced it to a single syllable, [p^{h}ɐɬnz], lowering the vowel and retracting it somewhat.

2.1.7 GOAT

Wells (1982:146) describes the GOAT vowel as "a back half-close rounded monophthong or narrow closing diphthong, [o ~ oʊ]" in GenAm, and as a "diphthong with a mid central unrounded starting point . . . moving to a somewhat closer and backer lightly rounded second element", i.e. [əʊ] in RP. The vowel has two sources: ME /ɔː/ and ME /ɔu/. The first of these vowels raised to [oː] in the Great Vowel Shift (henceforth GVS) and the second vowel merged with this raised variant during the 15th and early 16th centuries. By the

17th century, the distinction between words such as *tow* and *toe*, and *soul* and *sole* was lost in standard British English (p. 193). Wells also reports that the vowel is particularly variable, with a variety of both diphthongal and monophthongal realizations.

Southwest England

There is certainly some evidence of variability of this vowel in the Southwest, though even in conservative varieties the reflexes do not preserve the historical difference. Generally, when articulated as a monophthong, the variant is [o(:)] or [ɔ(:)], with occasional [u:], and some in-gliding as in [o:ᵊ] and [u:ə] before a following consonant. The diphthongal articulation is extremely variable, with initial elements generally back vowels [ʌ ~ɔ ~ o ~ u ~ ɒ] and second elements [u ~ ʊ ~ ə] (Widén, 1949; Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978; Rogers, 1979; Wakelin, 1986; Pettersen, 1996). Pettersen (1996:34) also discusses Barnes' use of [o:] and [wo] in closed syllables and [u:] in open syllables in the subset of GOAT words that come from ME monophthongal /ɔ:/. Some examples of this from Barnes (1886:4-5) are *bold* as *bwold*, *home* as *hwome* and *go* as *goo*. We see here also the insertion of *w* before the vowel, both syllable-internally and, in *oak* as *woak*, initially.

Newfoundland

Other findings: Generally, the realization of the GOAT vowel among conservative speakers is monophthongal [o(:)] or [ɔ] (Paddock, 1966; Noseworthy, 1971). However, Paddock did find that his System A users, those with low SES, tended to favour the use of a monophthong while System B users, those with higher SES, tended to use a more standard-like diphthong (p. 55).

My findings (See Appendix C8 for data): My informants made no distinction between words that originally contained a monophthong and those that contained a diphthong. Informants seemed to vary between monophthongal and diphthongal variants for the same word. For example, M7 had both [o:] and [oʊ] in *clothes*; and [oʊ] and ingliding [o:ᵊ] in *boat*, while M5 had [o:ᵊ] and [o^:] in *boat*. There were instances of a breaking diphthong in an originally monophthongal word, in *goats* as [gɔwɨtz], given by M7, and of a monophthong in an originally diphthongal word, in *blows* as [blo:z] given by F5. Often, in a checked syllable, an inglide appears after the vowel, giving *boat* as [bo:ᵊt], and *most* as [mo:ᵊst]. Nowhere, however, did I come across an instance of an intrusive glide [w] before the vowel, as was often found in the Southwest of England, especially in Dorset. No speaker said *[ʷo:ɨd] for *old* or *[ʷo:k] for

oak, as the participants in Widén's 1949 study did. This regionalism seems to have disappeared from the dialects of my informants.

2.1.8 GOOSE

According to Wells (1982:147), the GOOSE vowel, in both GenAm and RP, is "a relatively long close back vocoid, often with some degree of diphthongization...[and is] often somewhat centralized from fully back". It is also sometimes preceded by a glide, giving [ju]. The centralization to [ʉ] is less common in the environment of a following dark *l*.

Southwest England

Parts of the peninsular Southwest, namely West Somerset, Devon, and East Cornwall, have a fronted variety of this vowel (which Wakelin, 1986:25, writes as [ʏ]). For the rest of the Southwest, including Dorset, Hampshire, and Wiltshire, the vowel is generally as Wells described it, [u(:)] (see also Widén, 1949; Orton, Sanderson, and Widdowson, 1978; Rogers, 1979). That subset of the GOOSE set which, in some dialects, may belong to the FOOT set – such as *roof, hoof, spoon, broom, room* – has been paid scant attention in most studies. Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson (1978) give only *roof*, with [ʌ] in Wiltshire, and *hoof*, with the usual [u(:)] in all areas outside Devon. Wakelin (1986) found

shortening of [u] to [ʊ] before final voiceless consonants in *boots*, *root*, *hoof*, and *tooth*, as well as [ʌ] in *roof* in Wiltshire.

Newfoundland

Other findings: It seems that the centralization of [u:] to [ʉ] is fairly common in some parts of Newfoundland. Both Paddock (1966) in Carbonear and Newhook (2002) in Burnt Islands found variable fronting of this vowel.

Newhook specifically excluded from her study that subset of words in this group in which tense [u:] may alternate with lax [ʊ]; i.e. words like *spoon*, *roof*, and *room;* but Noseworthy (1971) showed *spoon* with the standard variant [u:] as [spu:n] (p. 53), with a somewhat fronted vowel as [spu:$^{ʏ<ɵ}$n] (p. 60) and with the laxed variant as [spʊ^{ʏ}ən] (p. 53). He also gave *roof* as [ru:f] and *hoofs* as [hu:fs] (p. 53).

My findings (See Appendix C9 for my data): Generally, the incidence of [u:] followed conservative RP, GenAm, and Canadian English. It was most usually a high back monophthong [u(:)], as in *soup* [su:pˈ] and *cruising* [ˈkʰru:zɪŋ]. It also occurred with a preceding glide as [ju:] in the standard pronunciation of *beautiful*, provided by two informants. M4 from Deer Island gave [bju:dɪfɞ], and F8 from Flat Island gave [bju:difɞ]. In the local word *goldwithy*, usually pronounced *goowiddy* [gu:wɪdɪ], one informant, F5 from Flat Island, gave

[ˈgju:ʊˌwedi]. There was some evidence of Devon-type fronting in *moved* as [mʉvd] and *too* as [tʰʉ], both given by F8 from Flat Island.

The subset of GOOSE words which may belong to the FOOT set is predictably unstable in this dialect (see Section 2.1.4 for more discussion on this). Words such as *room*, *schooner*, *roof*, *root*, and *spruce* were found to have both [u(:)] and [ʊ(:)]. A word such as *wool*, which would have [ʊ] in the standard, may have [u:] in this dialect. I recorded *room* with the following variants: [rʊm], from F6 of Flat Island; [ru:m]from F5 from Flat Island; [rʊ:m] from M7 of Flat Island; and both [ru:ˆm] and [rʊˇm] from M5 from Deer Island. *Schooner(s)* was found to have only the lax [ʊ] variant with [ˈskʊˆnə˞z] given by F1 from Flat Island, and [ˈskʊnə˞] by M5 from Deer Island. *Roof* and *root* both had [u:], with M5 from Deer Island giving [ru:ᵊf], and M4 from Deer Island giving [ru:t]. *Spruce*, surprisingly, was variable with both [u:] and [ʊ] varieties being recorded. Both F5 and M6 from Flat Island gave [spru:ˇs], while F1 from Flat Island gave [spru:s], and M5 from Deer Island gave the compound [blæk sprʊs], with equal stress on each component.

Wool, which in standard varieties belongs to the FOOT set, is also variable in this dialect. I recorded [wʊˆɬ] from F1 of Flat Island; [ˈwu:ˇəɬ] from F5 of Flat Island; [wʊɬ] from F6 of Flat Island; and [wʊᵊɬ] from M7 of Flat Island.

This word is not usually included in the subset which may be variable, but in this dialect, it appears to be part of that subset.

One other anomalous variant appeared in a pre-*l* environment. The name of the seaport town in Dorset from which many of the ancestors of my informants set out on their journey to Newfoundland is Poole. One informant, M4 from Deer Island, rendered this name as [p^{h}o:ɬ]. In the same environment, informant M7 from Flat Island gave *school* as [sko$^{\wedge ɬ}$], while informant F8 from Flat Island said [sku:^{wə}ɬ]. The occurrence of the lowered variant [o(:)] before [ɬ] is not unexpected, as *l* tends to promote lowering, or non-raising, of a preceding vowel.

2.1.9 PRICE/CHOICE

Wells (1982:149) characterizes the PRICE set as having the vowel [aɪ] in both RP and GenAm. This vowel is "a wide diphthong with a starting-point which is open, unrounded, and most usually centralized-front, [a˃ɪ], though front and central variants . . . are also common" (149).

The CHOICE set has the vowel [ɔɪ] in both RP and GenAm. This is, like the PRICE vowel, "a wide diphthong", but this vowel has a more backed and rounded starting point "gliding towards a closer and fronter unrounded second element" (p. 150).

Wells points out that, although most speakers now distinguish between these two vowels, this is a relatively recent phenomenon (pp. 208-210). The PRICE vowel comes from ME [i:], which via the GVS became a diphthong, most likely of the [eɪ] type. It ensuingly became[ʌɪ] in the 18th century, and from that changed into the modern versions with low onsets such as [aɪ]. The CHOICE vowel has two ME precursors, [ɔɪ] and [uɪ]. The second of these became regularly pronounced as [əɪ] or [ʌɪ]. In some dialects, this led to confusion with the PRICE vowel; consequently some CHOICE words, which originally had [uɪ] (e.g. *boil, join, poison*), came to be pronounced with the PRICE vowel, as [baɪl], [ʤaɪn], [pʰaɪzᵊn]. This situation continued into the 19th century, resulting in variable merger between the two vowels, a merger that still exists in some conservative dialects.

Southwest England

Generally, CHOICE vowels are rounded and PRICE vowels unrounded, but there are many exceptions. When the CHOICE vowel is unrounded or the PRICE vowel is rounded, there may be partial merger of these two sets. Much of the Southwest shows this pattern, with a corresponding lack of distinction between these vowels, except that CHOICE words sometimes show a [w] glide before the vowel, especially when preceded by the bilabial plosives *p* or *b*, as in *boy* [bwɔɪ]

(Barnes, 1886; Widén, 1949; Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978; Rogers,1979). In her late 20th century Dorset data, Pettersen (1996:30) found the rounding of the PRICE vowel in the speech of only one of her informants, except for the word *wife* as [wɔɪf], which was generally rounded following the bilabial /w/. The unrounding of the CHOICE vowel again was rare, occurring only once, in *joining* [ʤaɪnɪn] (p. 33).

Newfoundland

Other findings: Other researchers have documented variability in these vowels in NfldE. Some merger has been noted, although this is variable (see for example Seary, Story and Kirwin, 1968 for the Avalon Peninsula). Some instances of this variability are seen in the following words: *join* as [ʤəɪn] and [ʤɔɪn], and *died* as [dəɪd] and [daɪd] (Paddock, 1966:55-57); and *boiler* recorded with both [ʌɪ] and [oɪ] (Noseworthy, 1971:58). Newhook (2002) found no rounding of the PRICE vowel in the southwest coast community of Burnt Islands, and Noseworthy (1971) recorded a rounded PRICE variant only once in Grand Bank. In the mixed Irish/Southwestern English-settled Burin area, however, Lanari (1994) noted use of the rounded variant in PRICE words among working-class, as opposed to middle-class, speakers.

My findings (See Appendix C10 for data): My informants for the most part made no distinction between the vowels of PRICE and CHOICE words. Words in both these categories were, with few exceptions, uttered with the unrounded vowel of the PRICE group. In fact, one informant, M5, gave the same pronunciation [əɪs] for *hoist*, a CHOICE word, and *ice*, a PRICE word. The few exceptions show PRICE words with the rounding usually found in CHOICE words. For example, F1 gave *time* as [tʰɔɪm]; F8 gave *high* as [ʰɔi] and *times* as [tʰɑɪmz]; M4 gave *died* as [dɑ:ɪd]; M5 gave *rinds* as [rɔɪnds]; and M7 gave *five* as [fɔɪv]. There was also an anomalous monophthong found in *oil* [aɬ], reported by F6. The low number of CHOICE words recorded makes it difficult to state categorically that my informants would never show rounding of the CHOICE vowel, but that seems to be the case with all those words that I did elicit.

The reason for the merger of most tokens containing the PRICE or CHOICE vowels may be that, at the time the ancestors of my informants came to Newfoundland from England, the situation with words of ME [uɪ] origin was still in flux (cf.Wells, 1982:209), at least in our main source areas in Southwest England. In the dialect of these people, words with this origin may have settled at the PRICE vowel and likely drew most other words in these sets with them, thus causing nearly total merger.

2.1.10 MOUTH

Wells(1982:151) describes this set as comprising those words with the vowel /aʊ/ in both RP and GenAm. This is "a wide diphthong with a starting-point which is open, unrounded, and most usually central. . . although centralized-front and centralized-back variants. . . are also common".

Southwest England

According to Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson (1978), Devon consistently shows this vowel with fronted onsets as [æɤ~œɤ], Somerset has mostly [æʊ~aʊ], while the rest of the Southwest, including Dorset, is usually in the area of [aʊ]~[əʊ]. We see here the occurrence of fronting in peninsular Devon and West Somerset, while most of the mainland Wessex area of the Southwest shows some "raising" (i.e. historically, absence of lowering). However, Widén (1949) reports almost exclusive use of a mid-back rounded starting point, [ɔʊ], with a few instances of a mid-front first element, [eʊ], in Dorset. It is unlikely that the thirty years between these studies was enough to make this difference. It may be that what Widén actually heard was the mid-back slightly-rounded vowel, [ʌ̹ʊ], yet misinterpreted the lip-rounding as a fully rounded vowel.

Newfoundland

Other findings: In Newfoundland, the most common reflex of the MOUTH vowel seems to have a low-mid starting point, [ɐ], though there is considerable variation (Paddock, 1966; Seary, Story and Kirwin, 1968; Noseworthy, 1971; Newhook, 2002). As the above sources document, along with Lanari (1994), the use of a mid-central first element [ə] is also fairly typical, with some occurrences of fronted [ɛʊ]. Lanari (1994:137) reports that in her Burin study, the MOUTH vowel and the PRICE vowel were not only "raised" in the environment of a following voiceless obstruent, as is common in many areas of Canada, but were variably "raised" in the environment of a following voiced obstruent and also word-finally. Though the occurrence of [əʊ] may be seen as an innovation in the direction of Canadian Raising (which itself may be due to historical non-lowering), it may well be a Newfoundland relic form which preserves some trace of the EModE form of this vowel, a non-low narrower diphthong, [əʊ] (cf.Wells, 1982:152 and 493-494).

My findings (See Appendix C11 for data): The most common reflexes of the MOUTH vowel among my informants are [ɐʊ~aʊ]. There are some instances of the mid starting point [ə] which Wells (1982:152) relegates to "old-fashioned and rural speech". There is also some evidence of the fronting of

the first element to [ɛˀ ~ ɜ ~ əˁ] although not all the way to [æ ~ ɛ ~ e], which Wells (1982:152) mentions as sometimes characterizing speech in the south of England. There seem to be no phonological conditions to account for the different variants, and no pattern of Canadian Raising. Nor is there any geographical conditioning, as informants from both local areas used most of the variants. Individuals sometimes used two different variants in different articulations of the same word. For example, M4 of Deer Island gave *out* as [hɐʊtˡ] and [əʊt], and *down* as [dɐʊn] and [dɛˀʊn]. Interestingly, Noseworthy (1971) found the only instance of fronting to this degree in this same word in his survey, as he also recorded [dɛˀʊn]. The low onset [a] was found only in the questionnaire portion of my study. Nowhere in the free conversation did I find a truly low first element. This leads me to believe that this vowel is generally more "raised" than in RP or GenAm, and conforms more closely to the "raised" variant of Standard Canadian English (henceforth SCE), while remaining variable within the range of [ɐʊ~ɛˀʊ~əʊ].

2.1.11 NEAR/SQUARE

Wells (1982:153) describes the NEAR vowel in RP as "a centring diphthong with a starting-point that is unrounded and fairly close and front, [ɪ], moving towards a mid central [ə] quality," that is [ɪə]. In GenAm, Wells

describes this vowel as the short *i* vowel of KIT followed by [ɹ], that is, [ɪɹ]. Common spellings for this vowel are *eer, ere, erV, ier, eir, ear.*

The SQUARE vowel is described by Wells (p. 156) as being, in RP, "a centring diphthong with . . . a front unrounded, and approximately half-open [starting point], moving towards a mid central" final element, [ɛə]. In GenAm, this vowel is [ɛɹ]. The most usual spellings for this vowel are *are, arV, air, ear.* Both these vowels are sometimes spelled with *ear*, as in *tear*, which may give rise to some confusion as to which group a word actually belongs.

Southwest England

The most common reflex of the SQUARE vowel in Southwest England - typically a rhotic dialect area - is some form of [e(:)ə˞]or [ɛ(:)ə˞], a centering diphthong with a mid-front initial element, followed by syllabic *r* (Widén, 1949; Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978; Rogers, 1979; Wakelin, 1986; Pettersen, 1996). The NEAR vowel is most often [iə˞], a centering diphthong with a high front tense initial element, followed by syllabic *r* (Widén, 1949; Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978; Rogers, 1979; Wakelin, 1986; Pettersen, 1996). There is also some overlap and some regional variation in the realization of these vowels as when *queer* is represented as [kʰwɛ(:)ə˞] and *scarce* as [skiə˞s] (Widén, 1949; Wakelin, 1986). Orton, Sanderson and

Widdowson (1978) also reported some variability in the word *chair*. They noted the following variants: [ʧaiə˞] in Wiltshire and west Hampshire; [ʧeiə˞] in West Somerset and eastern and southeast Dorset, both with syllabic *r*; and [ʧɛr], with non-syllabic *r* in central Somerset. Widén (1949:40, 73) also found some instances of a mid central monophthong, [ə], or its retroflex rhotic counterpart; for example, *very* as [və˞i] and *where* as [wə˞].

Newfoundland

Other findings: Seary, Story and Kirwin (1968:61) have noted merger of these two sets in at least one area of Newfoundland, the Irish-settled southern Avalon Peninsula. In Carbonear, Paddock (1966) found variability in the realizations of V+r sequences. However, only in the careful speech of the higher SES group did there appear any distinction between the two vowels. Generally, the SQUARE words were consistent for both groups, with *chair* as [ʧɛr] and *fair* as [fɛr]. The NEAR word *fear,* however, was sometimes [fir] for the higher SES group, but only [fɛr] for the lower SES group.

My findings (See Appendix C12 for data): I found no differentiation between words in these two sets. All my informants gave a variant of [ɛ(:)r] in words from both lexical groups. I recorded *deer* as [dɛ:r] from M5 and [dɛ^r] from M4; *here* as [ɛ:ə˞], with syllabic *r*, and [ʰɛr] from F8, and [hɛ:r] from M5,

while *Hare (Bay)* is also given by M5 as [ɛːɾ].

Berries and *berry*, problematic words because of the VrV configuration, with a high second vowel, were given as [bɛri(z)], when standing alone and also when part of a compound. Thus, *berry* is [bɛri], *partridgeberry* is [ˈpʰæˀɾˌʔɪɾdʒˈbɛri], *blueberries* is [ˈbluᵛˌbɛriᵛz], all from F1 of Flat Island, and *blackberries* is [ˈblækˈˌbɛriz], from M5 of Deer Island. Only in *gooseberries* did I hear the retroflex schwa variant, [ˈgʊ.zˌbə˞iz], also from M5 of Deer Island. (See also Widén (1949:40) for *very* as [və˞i]).

2.1.12 START

Wells (1982:158) describes this set as having a low back vowel, /ɑː/ in RP and /ɑr/ in GenAm. In RP, this vowel is "a fully open unrounded vowel lying between back and central". In GenAm, the START vowel is, like the LOT vowel, "a central fully open unrounded vocoid" (p. 130). This vowel may be backed [ɑː] or centralized [ɐː] in RP and GenAm, or merged with the vowel of NORTH in some Caribbean areas as well as in Wiltshire and Hampshire (p. 158)

Southwest England

In the Southwest of England, this vowel is generally fronted to [aˠː] [9]

[9] In these transcriptions, [a] is a low front vowel, Cardinal 4, whereas I typically use the [a] symbol to represent a low central vowel.

(Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978; Rogers, 1979), although Widén (1949) found it to be a nearly low central vowel, close to [ɐ]. Widén also found some instances of fronting with *r*-dropping in *parson* [pʰa:sᵊn], *parcel* [pʰa:sᵊl], and *arse* [a:s]. This dropping of *r* is common in Dorset before the voiceless fricatives [f, θ, s, ʃ] (Barnes, 1863), and, while certainly occurring before the 16th century, may have happened as early as 1300 (Wells, 1982:222). (See also Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978, for *arse* as [a:s] ~ [æ:s], and Rogers, 1979, for a greater degree of fronting in *parson* [pʰæsᵊn]).

Widén (1949:40) also found some anomalous centering as [ɚ] in, for example, *carve* as [kʰɚ·v] and *garlic* as [gɚ·lɪk].

Newfoundland

Other findings: Words which have the standard pronunciation of the START vowel have not been examined closely by most earlier researchers in Newfoundland English, with the exception of Paddock (1966) and Seary, Story and Kirwin (1968). The former documented fronting in *barn* and *barrow*, giving [bærn] and [bærɔʊ] respectively, while the latter noted fronting and raising towards [æ] to be common on the Avalon peninsula.

My findings (See Appendix C13 for data): The most usual reflex of the START vowel is fully low central [a(:)] or nearly low central [ɐ(:)], although there

are instances of fully fronted [æ]. The most common reflexes are seen in *barbel* as [barbᵊɬ], given by F1, F5, and M6, all of Flat Island, and by M5 of Deer Island; and as [bɐrbᵊɬ], given by M7 of Flat Island. The two instances of [æ] came from different speakers, F1 and F8, both from Flat Island, but in the same word, *partridgeberries*. F1 gave *partridgeberry* as [ˈpʰæˀɹʔ ɹɪ^ᵈʒˌbɛri], while F8 gave the plural form as [ˈpʰætʃɪˌbɛˀriz]. This last may be a case of Wessex-type *r*-deletion and reanalysis as *patchy berries*, by folk etymology from *berry patch* (H. Paddock, 2004, personal communication).

The word *marsh* was consistently given with a higher vowel than other words in the START set, and with no *r*, that is, as [mɪʃ] or [mɛʃ] by F1, F5, and M7, all of Flat Islands. This word is from Old English (OE) *mer(i)sc*, from West Germanic via ME [mɛrs]. Standard English lowered this vowel to [æ], giving [mærʃ]~[marʃ] in rhotic and [mɑ:ʃ] in non-rhotic dialects. It is likely that, in some dialects of the Southwest of England, the word first lost the *r* before any vowel lowering had occurred, in a case of Wessex-type *r*-dropping before a voiceless fricative, in this instance [ʃ]. The [ɛ] vowel was then subject to variable raising to lax [ɪ], a fairly common ocurrence in the Southwest, as we saw in the KIT/DRESS sets (Widén, 1949; Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978; Rogers, 1979; Wakelin, 1986; Pettersen, 1996).

2.1.13 NORTH/FORCE

The NORTH and FORCE sets were historically distinct. The vowel of the NORTH set "derives from ME short [ɔ] plus [r]" (Wells, 1982: 159), while the FORCE vowel comes from ME long [ɔ:] before [r] (161). As well, those words which are of Germanic origin belong mostly to the NORTH group, while those which were borrowed from other languages, mainly French, are usually part of the FORCE group. In many dialects, RP among them, the FORCE and NORTH sets have merged, now having the stressed vowel /ɔ:/, "a back closely-rounded mid vocoid" (145), identical to the vowel of the THOUGHT set. In GenAm, these vowels are distinguished, with the NORTH vowel being more open, /ɔr/, and the FORCE vowel being more closed, [or] (159-161). In addition, the NORTH vowel is also sometimes merged with that of the START set as unrounded [ɑ:]~[a].

Southwest England

The regional varieties of Southwest England are among those in which the NORTH vowel is partially merged with the START vowel. Thus, the NORTH set usually has a fronted, unrounded, r-coloured vowel, [ar], except in Devon and parts of Southwest Somerset where it remains [ɔr] (Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978; Rogers, 1979; Wakelin, 1986; Pettersen, 1996).

In Southwest England, the FORCE vowel seems to be most often a

diphthong with a mid back first element and a centralized rhotic second element [o:ɚ] ~ [ɔ:ɚ] (Matthews,1939; Wakelin, 1986; Pettersen; 1996). There is also some evidence of raising in the first element of the diphthong as in *more* [mu:ɚ], *floor* [vluɚ:], and *ford*, [fuɚ:d] (Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978; Pettersen, 1996).

Newfoundland

Other findings: Although other Newfoundland dialect researchers have not expressly examined the differences between FORCE and NORTH words, some differences have been found. Several researchers (Seary, Story and Kirwin, 1968; Noseworthy, 1971; Colbourne, 1982; Newhook, 2002) have looked at the unrounding of *orC* which moves words from the NORTH set into the START set. Colbourne (1982:12) explicitly discusses that group of words with an orthographic *-a-* vowel between *w* and *r*: *war*, *warm*, *warn*, *wharf*. These words had low central [a]~[ɐ] or low back [ɑ] in ME, and for some of Colbourne's speakers on Long Island, that vowel is retained. However, this vowel has rounded to [ɔ] in standard varieties of Modern English.

Both Noseworthy (1971) and Newhook (2002) found some unrounding of the NORTH vowel to [æ], [a], [ɐ] or [ʌ], although not all speakers did this consistently. Thus, the NORTH vowel is partially merged with the START vowel.

Conversely, FORCE vowels remained rounded with few exceptions (Paddock, 1966; Noseworthy, 1971; Colbourne, 1982; Newhook, 2002). One of these exceptions was *quarter*, a case of failure to round rather than of unrounding, as we have seen above (Paddock, 1966). There is some evidence, however, that this word, along with *oranges* and *order*, although of foreign origin, may "belong" to the NORTH set (Wells, 1982:160). If this is so, there is no exception to the rounding of FORCE vowels.

My findings (See Appendix C14 for data): My data showed evidence of a residual distinction between FORCE and NORTH words, as all NORTH words were articulated with some unrounded tokens. These words included: *morning* ['mɐrnɨn] M7 Flat Island, [mɛ̃ɾ̃n:] M5 Deer Island; *(thi)s morning,* ['smɐrnɨn], M7 Flat Island; *north* [nɐrt] M7 Flat Island, [nɐrt] F8 Flat Island; *northwest* ['nɐrwʏs] M4 Deer Island; *lord* [lærə˞d] F8 Flat Island; *born(ed)* [bɐrn] F8 Flat Island, [bɐ˃rnd] M7 Flat Island, [bɐ^{ə}nd] F8 Flat Island; and *storm* [stɐrm] F8 Flat Island. Also included here, as per Wells (1982:160), is the word *oranges*, given as['ɐrɨ$^{\vee}$ndʒɨ$^{\vee}$z] by M7 of Flat Island. In some NORTH words, I found partial unrounding, as *forty* and *born* showed instances of both [ʌ] and [ʌ̟]. This unrounding also appeared in the FORCE word *door,* pronounced [dʌ̟ə˞] by M4 of Deer Island. Other FORCE words usually had either the variant [ɔ(:)r] as in *store*

[stɔ:r] and *porch* [pʰɔ:rʧ] with non-syllabic *r*, or the Southwest England variant [ɔ(:)ə˞] as in *pork* [pʰɔə˞kˈ] with syllabic *r*. In some cases, in addition to the syllabic *r*, I did find some *w*-gliding by two informants in the word *store*: M5 had [sto:ʷə˞] while M7 gave [stoᵛʷə˞]. Only these last two tokens had the more closed variant of the [or] type found in GenAm.

My data also contained some words which showed failure to round the vowel after a preceding *w*. These are: *quarter*, given as [kʰwardə˞] by F1 of Flat Island and as [kʰwɐrˈə˞] by M5 of Deer Island; *wharf*, as [wɐrf], given by M5 of Deer Island; *warm*, pronounced [wɐrm] by M5; and *towards*, pronounced by F8 of Flat Island as [dəˈwɐrdz]. All these words had [ar ~ ɐr].

2.1.14 CURE

Wells (1982) describes this set as involving the GenAm sound [ʊr], and the conservative RP vowel [ʊə]. The reason for the "conservative" qualification on RP is that this dialect is currently in the process of replacing [ʊə] with [ɔ:] (p. 162), which Wells calls the "Second FORCE Merger", the first being the merger of FORCE and NORTH (234-237). The RP vowel is "a centring diphthong with a starting point that is weakly rounded, somewhat close and back, . . . moving towards a mid central quality" (p. 163), while the GenAm vowel has the same nucleus as the FOOT vowel, resulting in "a centring

diphthong" (p. 133) followed by retroflexion; i.e., [ʊəˑ].

Southwest England

The most common reflex of this vowel in SW England is a high back initial element going to a mid-central retroflex quality, [u:əˑ],[10] with some lowering of the initial element to a high-mid position [o:əˑ] or a low-mid position [ɔ:əˑ], especially in Dorset, and parts of Somerset (Orton, Sanderson, and Widdowson, 1978; Rogers, 1979; Wakelin, 1986). This illustrates Wells' (1982:236-237) "Second FORCE Merger", although the situation is much more complex in the Southwest than in RP. Thus Rogers (1979:21) includes *floor*, *roar* and *more* in this group saying that they are "heard with a variety of vowels– [u:], [o], [ɔ], often with a [ə] before the [r]" (i.e. [əˑ]), so that *floor* may be heard as [vlʊəˑ] with the same vowel as *poor*.

Newfoundland

Other findings: Although there has been no systematic examination of this vowel in Newfoundland English, there is some incidental evidence which

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[10] Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson (1978) do not differentiate between high back tense [u] and lax [ʊ]. They use only [u], so it is difficult to tell if the vowel is tense or lax. In addition, although Orton et al typically use [ɽ] for the retroflex consonant r, I am representing it in terms of my usual notation as syllabic [əˑ] or non-syllabic [r].

indicates merging of high and mid pre-/r/ vowels as a mid vowel, but little if any merging of these two sets as a high vowel (see for example Seary, Story and Kirwin, 1968:66). Paddock (1966) indicates that, generally, *shore* and *sure* are [ʃʊ̹r] and *tore* and *tour* are [tʰʊ̹r].[11] It is only in the careful speech of some higher SES informants in Carbonear that the CURE vowel approaches the standard articulation, with *sure* being [ʃur] and *tour* being [tʰur]. Colbourne (1982:109) observes that, in the dialect of the residents of Long Island, Notre Dame Bay, "[there is] nearly universal lowering of all high front and high back vowels before /r/". These observations are in accordance with the apparent tendency of the CURE vowel to lower in many dialects of Newfoundland English.

My findings (See Appendix C15 for data): Though my data contained few words displaying this vowel, those I did find showed the same tendency to lower as was found in parts of Southwest England as well as elsewhere in Newfoundland. Informant F8, from Flat Island, produced two of these words: *poor* [pʰɔr], and *sure* [ʃɔʷəˑ]. M6, also from Flat Island, gave *moorings* ['morɪŋʃ] (where [ʃ] represents the plural allomorph). The only instance in which the

[11] Paddock (1966) uses [ʊ̹] to represent variable lip-rounding in words of this type.

vowel did not lower was when it was preceded by a palatal glide /j/, in the word *pure* [p^{h}jur] from F8.

2.2 CONSONANTS

2.2.1 Pre-vocalic *h* onsets: Deletion and insertion

Wells (1982:253) describes initial *h* deletion as a feature of "working-class accents of most of England", and describes initial *h* insertion as "a variable marker of emphasis" by this same group. However, unstressed function words, such as the pronouns *he, him, her, his* and the auxiliary verbs *has, have* and *had*, often have no *h* even in the standard accents. Wells (1982:255) also states that "[*h* deletion] is unknown in North America" and attributes this to the probability that "it [*h* deletion] arose in England only well after the American colonies were founded" in the early 17th century.

Southwest England

Evidence from Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson (1978) suggests that initial *h* deletion is common in the conservative rural speech of England, including parts of the Southwest. Initial *h* deletion is the norm in Devon, the south of Dorset, northern Somerset, and most of Hampshire and Wiltshire (Matthews, 1939; Harris, 1967; Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978; Kirwin and Hollett, 1986). However, some of these areas, namely Somerset as

well as parts of Wiltshire and Dorset, also show retention of *h* (Wakelin, 1986:30-1). Widén (1949:88-89) reports that, in Dorset, there is frequent loss of initial *h* before a vowel, but this is irregular and these forms "stand side by side with *h*-forms" in the same words by the same speaker. Initial *h* is not used just for emphasis, but appears to be in "free" variation with an *h*-less variant. Widén (1949:89) also discusses *h* insertion before "a word beginning with a vowel sound". Here, too, he suggests that it is sporadic and idiosyncratic.

Newfoundland

Other findings: The most comprehensive examination of *h* deletion and insertion in Newfoundland is that of Whalen (1978) who looked at the instances of [h] among Grade IV and Grade IX students on New World Island, Notre Dame Bay. He found *h* insertion and *h* deletion in both groups. Three factors promoted the presence of *h*. Firstly, *h* insertion occurred more often in stressed syllables than it did in unstressed syllables. Secondly, if there was no preceding C to act as an onset for the V in question, *h* was variably inserted to provide that onset. Thirdly, a following unrounded vowel was more likely to trigger *h* insertion than was a rounded one (50-51, 58). Whalen (1978:54) concluded that "vowels that show the least addition of [h]. . . also show the most "dropping" of [h]. . . and vowels which show the most addition of

[h]. . .also tend to show the least "dropping" of [h]". There was a far greater percentage of *h* deletion (38%-91%) than there was of *h* insertion (0%-31%) in the various environments examined in the study (42-45).

Noseworthy (1971:31-32) and Newhook (2002:25) also examined this variable and found both insertion and deletion; again deletion was more frequent than insertion. Paddock (1966), Colbourne (1982) and Kirwin and Hollett (1986) likewise, found variability in the use of [h]. In their description of the dialect of Bay Roberts, Conception Bay, Seary, Story and Kirwin (1968:67-68) suggest that [h] is not phonemic, but rather, a sandhi or linking phenomenon, conditioned by several phonological factors.

My findings: Among my informants, deletion of historical *h* was the norm, and *h* insertion was generally used only as a means of adding emphasis. Even in words that were stressed, historical *h* was often deleted: for example M5 from Deer Island said "[the people on the Islands] were contented and *happy* ['æpi]"; and "we made sure we put enough in to *heave 'em* ['ɛɪv əm] off". M4, also of Deer Island, gave me this list of subjects studied in Grade IV: "arithmetic, reading, geography, and *history* ['ɪsri]" In all these cases, the transcribed words were stressed. In addition, any utterance of the pronoun *he*, or the auxiliary verbs *had/have/has*, showed *h* deletion, whether the word was

stressed or not.

The instances of *h* insertion were also varied although, clearly, adding emphasis often meant adding *h* to words beginning with a vowel. Some examples are "we went in the *Arm* ['harm]" and "we *had eighty* [æd 'heɪti] barrels" (M5, from Deer Island); *out* ['hɜʊtˡ] (F8, from Flat Island); *attic* ['hædikˡ] and *the Island* [də 'ɦeᴵᵊˈlᵊn] (M7, Flat Island); *the Island* [də 'hɞɪlᵊn], *Abel* ['ɦeᵛːbo] and *out* ['hɐʊtˡ] (M4, Deer Island).

One word that never showed *h* insertion, although it did appear many times in both stressed and unstressed positions, was *education.* Many of my informants talked about the role of education in their lives on the Islands, but no one said *[hɛʤukeɪʃᵊn], even when the primary stress fell non-standardly on the first syllable.

Many words showed standard pronunciation alongside non-standard, as when M4 used both *my uncle* [mi 'ʌnkᵊl] and *your uncle* [yə 'hʌnkᵊl], and M5 gave *here* as both [ɛːr] and [hɛːr], and *island* as [a^ɪɬᵊn] and [haɪɬᵊn] in unstressed occurrences of this word.

It is obvious from the above that Wells' (1982:255) comment about the dearth of *h* deletion in North America is somewhat overstated. He does qualify this to some extent when discussing NfldE: "In the broad speech of the rest of

the island [outside the Avalon Peninsula] it is generally not a segmental phoneme" (501). Here again, though, he suggests that this phenomenon is a Newfoundland innovation, rather than a British import, a position with which I take issue.

2.2.2 Fricative voicing [f θ s ʃ]

Southwest England

Wells (1982:343) states that syllable-initial fricative voicing, once quite common in the Southwest of England, is now "sharply recessive". Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson (1978) found that although fricative voicing did not regularly occur in most of 20th century England, it was still the norm in conservative dialects in the Southwest of England. Barnes (1886) found widespread voicing in the Southwest, but one hundred years later, Wakelin (1986:29) found that it was "recessive and archaic". Other researchers in the 20th century have found varying amounts of voicing in the Southwest (Widen 1949:78-87; Rogers 1979:24-25; Pettersen 1996:51-57) although there is less as time progresses.

Newfoundland

Other findings: While there has not been a great deal of examination of this feature, several researchers have found at least some instances of fricative

voicing in their informants. Paddock (1966:41) mentions only one instance of this phenomenon, that of the [f] in *fir* becoming [v] as in *vir*. It is probable that the voiced pronunciation has been lexicalized in this word: in the DNE, for example, the word is listed under *v* as *var*. Noseworthy (1971:27-30), too, found instances of voicing of [f], as well as of [θ] and [s], in his study of the dialect of Grand Bank.

My findings: I found few instance of fricative voicing among most of my informants. F1 and M1 both gave *fir* as [vəˑ], but that was the only voicing they showed. This tends to support the lexicalization hypothesis for this word. Two other informants provided other examples of non-standard voicing. M5 gave *coffin* with both a voiced and a voiceless fricative in this ambisyllabic position, thus [kʰafᵊn]~[kʰaːvᵊn]. Again, this was the only word in which he showed non-standard voicing.

M7 of Flat Island was a different matter. He routinely, though not invariably, voiced initial *f*, giving *fishermen* as both [ˈfiʃəmᵊn] and [ˈviʃəmᵊn], *firewood* as both [f̬ᵊˑwʊd] and [v̬ᵊˑwʊd], and the *f* in *father* was always voiced as in [vadəˑ]~[vaˀdəˑ]. This informant also occasionally voiced *s*, and not only word initially. He gave *salvation* as [zɛɬˈveˀɪʃᵊn], and *myself* as [ˌmʌ̬ɪˈzɛɬ̬f].

M6, another Flat Islander, showed the opposite tendency, non-initial

fricative devoicing. In *moorings* and in *nippers*, he also palatalized and devoiced, giving [morɪŋʃ] and [nɪpəˑʃ] with [ʃ] instead of standard [z]. This palatization is perhaps influenced by the raising of the tongue body needed to articulate the velar [ŋ] in *moorings* and by the velarized and retroflex [əˑ] in *nippers*.

There was also one other example of final fricative devoicing. F1 of FI devoiced the final consonant in *sprinkles*, pronouncing it [sprɪŋkᵊt̬s]. In this case, the sound prior to the devoiced segment is voiced, thus making it more likely that the following sound would also be voiced. Although word-final devoicing is typologically common, I have no convincing explanation[12] for this phenomenon, and it occurred only in this one word from this speaker.

As can be seen by these few examples, fricative voicing is recessive, but has not yet totally disappeared, in Newfoundland.

2.2.3 TH stopping

Wells (1982:97) refers to the phenomenon of TH stopping only in regard to "Ireland, the West Indies, New York and elsewhere, [where] the dental fricatives [are replaced] with dental or alveolar plosives [t, d]". In his "elsewhere" region, one assumes he includes Newfoundland, as he comments

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[12] It may be that the voicelessness of /k/ carried through the syllabic *l* to the final [s~z], thus [sprɪŋk̥s].

briefly (1982:498) that in Newfoundland "broad local accents lack the [θ] and [ð] of standard accents, either dental plosives [t̪, d̪] or else [f, v] being used in their place". Wells makes no reference to alveolar plosives which, as will be shown below, appear to be the most common variants in Newfoundland.

Southwest England

There is ample evidence of the stopping of TH in the Southwest. Widén (1949:83) records [d] for [ð] in, for example, *then*, *there*, and *smother*. He also reports [θr] > [dr] and [θ] > [t] (1949:82). Wakelin (1986:29), Rogers (1979:25) and Barnes (1886:9) also report [θr] > [dr] in *three* and *throw*, for example. There is also general consensus on the stopping of [ð] in the function words *the*, *this*, *that*, *these*, *those*, *then* and *there* (Barnes, 1886:6; Matthews, 1939:203; Widén, 1949:81-83; Wakelin, 1986:29; Widdowson, 1995:320). Other variants of these fricatives have been reported in Southwest England. Both Widén (1949:81) and Rogers (1979:25), for example, documented the voicing of [θ] to [ð], giving as examples *thing* [ðiŋ], *thistle* and *thigh*, while Wakelin (1986:29-31) noted that [θ] was sometimes realized as [f] and [ð] as [v].

Newfoundland

Other findings: Researchers in NfldE have found the stopping of TH to be a widespread phenomenon (Paddock, 1966; Seary, Story and Kirwin, 1968;

Noseworthy, 1971; Colbourne, 1982; Halpert and Widdowson, 1996; Newhook, 2002; Clarke, 2004b). The usual result is merger with the alveolar stops /t/ and /d/, but both dental stop and fricative variants also occur. Newhook (2002:15-16) found some use of the fricatives [f] for [θ] and [v] for [ð] word-medially and -finally, though this phenomenon is no longer widespread in Newfoundland. She also found instances of word-final and intervocalic [θ] as [s], as in *bath* [bæs] and *Matthew* [mæsju]. This last substitution seems to be limited to the residents of the southwest coast community of Burnt Islands, as no other study has turned up these realizations. Noseworthy (1971:25) found some instances of [θ] being articulated as [d] (presumably via some intermediate stage such as [ð] or [t]) intervocalically in, for example, *with her* as [widə˞], as well as the more usual [t] replacement. Along with Newhook (2002), Colbourne (1982:14) seems to have found the most variation in these consonants. In addition to the more common /θ/ as [t] and /ð/ as [d], he found /θ/ articulated as [t̪, tθ, f] and /ð/ as [d̪, dð, v]. In the onset cluster *thr*, Colbourne (1982:15) also noted the retroflex affricate [ʧr], meaning that *three* and *tree* are homonyms for his Notre Dame Bay informants.

My findings: In my study, I almost invariably found the use of the alveolar stops in place of the interdental fricatives, in all phonetic

environments. For words with [θ], I recorded *think* [tʰiŋk], *thing* [tʰiŋ], *thick* [tʰɪk], *path* [pʰætˀ], *lathed* [latəd], and *north* [nɐrt]. In words with [ð], I found *father* [fadəˠ]~[fɐdə]~[faɾəˠ]~[vaˀdəˠ], *mother* [mʌdəˠ]~[mʌdəˠˀ]~[mʌɾəˠ], and *brothers* [brʌdəz]. All function words with voiced [ð] such as *the, this, that, those,* and *them,* with one idiosyncratic anomaly, were articulated with [d] as the first segment, so I recorded [də], [dɪs], [dæt], [doz], and [dɛm]. The unusual variant came from M7 of FI, who pronounced *the other* as [jʌdəˠ][13]. One would expect to hear [dʌdəˠ]. This is the only environment, and in fact the only phrase, in which this phenomenon was noted.

As can be seen from the above, the only variant other than an alveolar stop was the occasional use of the flap [ɾ], presumably in place of the voiced or voicelesss stop variants [t] and [d].

2.2.4 Ambisyllabic stop voicing

Wells (1982:248-252) discusses what he calls "tapping and T voicing" as a GenAm innovation, with tapping affecting both /t/ and /d/ when they occur post-tonically (that is, between a preceding stressed vowel and a following unstressed segment). He admits that there are differing opinions on

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[13] It is probable that the palatal glide here is the only remaining trace of the strong [ðij] allomorph of the definite article commonly found before vowels.

whether this tapping results in a voiced /t/ (i.e. a [d]) or an actual flap [ɾ], or whether it is lenis or fortis (p. 249); in any case, the result tends to be "the neutralization of the opposition between /t/ and /d/" (p. 249). He cites an observation by R.I. McDavid Jr. (1966) that this neutralization "is an innovation that seems to be spreading, especially among the younger and better educated speakers" (Wells, 1982:250). This Wells sees as further evidence that neutralization is an American innovation. However, he does suggest that another possible source for this variant may be found in the Southwest of England. I will be looking more closely at this in the next section.

Southwest England

The neutralization of the difference between [t] and [d] (via the voicing of [t] ambisyllabically) has been well documented in the dialects of Southwest England. We find *butter* with a non-standard [d] (Orton, Sanderson and Widowson, 1978); *water* and *kettle* with the same (Rogers, 1979:25); *contented* spelled *contendyd* (Matthews, 1939:203); and many examples from Widén (1949), such as *butter* [bʌdə˞], *gutter* [gʌdə˞], and *trotters* [tʰrɑdə˞z]. However, this voicing is not universal as Widén (1949) also has *glutton* [glʌtən], and *letter* [leḍə˞].[14]

[14] The voicing of [p] has also been noted by Widén (1949) in *cripple*, *grapnel*, and *open*.

The opposite phenomenon of devoicing has also been noted in Southwest England. Widén (1949) shows the devoicing of [g] to [k] in *faggot* as [fakət].

Newfoundland

Other findings: Post-tonic stop voicing is frequent in Newfoundland speech of Southwest English origin, although no-one has looked closely at this phenomenon. Paddock (1966:40) found voicing in "words like *pepper*, *water* and *picket*", while Noseworthy (1971:25) gives the example of ['ædɪk] *attic*.

My findings: I found many instances of post-tonic [t]/[d] neutralization, always in favor of the voiced variant. Examples of this voicing include: *beautiful* uttered as ['bjudifʊ] by F8 and as ['bjudɪfʊ] by M4; *attic* as [hædik^{1}] given by M7; and *put un* 'put it' realized as [p^{h}ʌd$^{ə}_{̚}$n] by M5. I also found words in which [t] had undergone flapping, some of which are: *catamaran* as [ˌk^{h}ærəmə'ræn], given by both M5 and M7; *outhouse* given as ['aʊɾˌaʊs] by F1 and M5, as ['ɐʊɾˌɐʊs] by M7 and as ['ɐʊɾˌaʊs] by F5. Not all speakers exibited these neutralizations, and those that did so, did not do so at all times, indicating that this phenomenon is variable. Some words more than others seemed to favour neutralization, perhaps indicating partial lexicalization. *Outhouse*, for example was always given with a flap [ɾ] in place of the standard [t]. This flapping may have been

influenced by the loss of [h] at the beginning of the second syllable, thus putting the [t] between two vowels, and by the fact that the second syllable is not fully unstressed.

I also found an instance of non-post-tonic voicing in *fifteen* as[fɪf 'dɪ^n], given by M7; this feature may also characterize some standard pronunciations for this and similar numerical lexical items when they bear second-syllable stress (e.g. *thirteen*, *eighteen*).

2.2.5 Ambisyllabic stop glottalization

One other common substitution for post-tonic [t] (as well as other voiceless stops) is the glottal stop [ʔ]. Wells (1982:260-261) discusses two types of glottalization: preglottalization or glottal reinforcement, where a glottal stop is inserted before the voiceless stops/p, t, k/ or the affricate /ʧ/; and glottalling, the full substitution of a glottal stop for one of the preceding three stops. For glottal reinforcement to occur, the reinforced segment must be syllable-final, and the following segment is often a syllabic liquid or nasal. Glottalling occurs most commonly as a replacement for /t/ but is also found replacing /p/ and /k/. These two phenomena occur throughout England in both RP and local dialects.

Southwest England

Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson (1978) show only one word with a glottal stop, *butter.* This word exhibits glottalization in the London area, the southeast, East Anglia, and parts of Wiltshire. Wakelin (1986:29) discusses glottalization, with reference to Wells (1982), only to say that it is well-known and "occurs in both urban and rural areas". Pettersen (1996:15) records several instances of glottalization, in *not* [nɑʔ], *got* [gɒˑʔ], and *bottle* [bɒ̰ʔt̚] while Widén (1949) shows *butter, button, cattle, water* and other similar words with [d] instead of a glottal stop [ʔ].

Newfoundland

Other findings: Instances of both glottal replacement and preglottalization are fairly common in the speech of Newfoundlanders. Both Paddock (1966) and Noseworthy (1971) found examples of these phenomena. Some examples from Paddock (1966:40) are *little* [lɪʔtᵊl], *captain* ˈkæʔpᵊm], *button* [bʌʔᵊn], and *rock and roll* [ˌrɑʔkəŋˈrɔʊl]. Noseworthy's (1971:40-42) examples include *glitter* [gliʔəˑ], *wrapper* [raʔəˑ], and *marked out* [ˌmærʔˈaut]. While /t/ is the consonant most often glottalized, we can see that it is not the only one.

My findings: Among my informants, there were several who made regular use of glottal replacement. Glottalization occurred most frequently with

[t], and appeared in *cattlehouse* [ˈkʰæʔᵊɬˌaʊs] from F1 and M5; *Satan* [seᴵʔᵊn] from F5; *partridgeberry* [ˈpʰæˀrʔɪrᴬᵈʒˌbɛri] from F1 and [ˈpʰɐrʔɪɹʤˌbɛri] from M5; and in *salt pork* [ˈsaɬʔˌpʰɔəˑkˈ] from F1.

However, it was not only [t] that the glottal stop replaced. I also recorded it replacing [d] in *hide-and-go-seek* [ˌaɪʔngoˈsəɪk], given by F5, and in place of [g] in *peggin* [pʰeɪʔᵊn] from M6 and [pʰəɪʔᵊn] from F1.

2.2.6 Post-vocalic *l*-vocalization

Wells (1982:258-259) describes *l*-vocalization as the conversion of [ɬ] "into a non-syllabic back vocoid, [ɤ], or its rounded equivalent, [o]". He describes the development of *l*-vocalization as a recent phenomenon, being "probably less than a century old in London", where it had "its putative origin in the local accent".

Southwest England

L-vocalization has been well-documented in the Southwest of England (Widén, 1949; Orton, Sanderson, and Widdowson, 1978; Wakelin, 1986). Some examples from Widén (1949:75) are *bowl* [boːᵒ], *tall* [tɑːᵒ], and *walnut* [wɑːᵒnət]. Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson (1978) show instances from the Southwest of *l*-vocalization, as well as the more usual dark lateral *l* [ɬ], in the words *uncle* and *weasel.* Wakelin (1986:31), too, describes /l/ as "sometimes becoming

completely vocalized" as [ö] or [ʊ] in some areas of the south, including Somerset, from where he records *twelve* as [twəuv] (p. 134).

Newfoundland

Other findings: Paddock (1966) found only the standard instances of *l*-vocalization in Carbonear as in *walk, talk, folk*. Noseworthy (1971:37) briefly discusses *l*-dropping after [ɑ], as in *always* [ɑwiz] and *wall* [wɑ]. These examples are *l*-vocalizations which have become assimilated into the preceding vowel. Colbourne (1982:15) has found "widespread delateralization of /l/ in postvocalic positions". He gives the examples of *fall* as [fɑ:] and *fell* as [fɛʏ]. Where this delateralization does not occur, Colbourne found a "dark" (i.e. velarized) lateral *l* [ɬ]. Newhook (2002) also reports much use of vocalized /l/ in the casual speech of her informants.

My findings: The most usual realization of post-vocalic /l/ in my data is dark lateral *l* [ɬ], with some instances of *l*-vocalization. I have, for example, *shells* as [ʃi:ɑz] from M4, *walls* as [wa:^{ə}z] from M5; *rails* as [rɛ:ɑz] from F5, *beautiful* as ['bjudɪfɑ] from M4 and F8; and *bowl* as [bo] from M5. Traces of the deleted /l/ showed up in additional length on the vowel in *called* [k^{h}a:d] from M4 and in *scald* [ska^{ɔ}:] from M7. In this latter case both the /l/ and the /d/

were lost, presumably the /d/ first in consonant-cluster simplification and then the /l/ word-finally.

2.2.7 Consonant cluster simplification

The only mention of Consonant Cluster Simplification (CCS) in Wells (1982:286, 344) is in regard to the loss of word-final /t, d/, as in *sand* [sæ:n] and in *rest* [rɛs]. While this deletion is common in RP before a word beginning with a consonant, in the Southwest of England it may happen sentence finally as well. The phenomenon of final t/d deletion has been extensively investigated in the sociolinguistic literature. An early description is found in Wolfram and Fasold (1974), who also formulated rules of deletion for word-final stops. They reported that stops delete more often when the following word begins with a consonant than with a vowel, as well as when the preceding consonant is a sonorant as opposed to an obstruent (1974:101-102).

Southwest England

Consonant Cluster Simplification is quite common in the Southwest, and has been for some time. There are instances from Barnes (1886) with *brand* as *bran'*, *round* as *roun'*, and *just* as *jis'*, through to the 20th century with Pettersen (1996) recording *lost* as [lɑ:s] and *mind* as [məɪn]. Between these two extremes are Matthews (1939), Widén (1949), Rogers (1979), and Wakelin (1986), all with

examples of CCS involving not only a wide range of clusters ending in *-t* or *-d* ([pt], [ft], [st], [skt], [nd], and [ld]), but also in *-s* or -ɾ ([ps], [θs], [ks], [ðz]).

Newfoundland

Other findings: As in Southwest England, CCS is very common in Newfoundland, where several studies have examined this phenomenon. Halpert and Widdowson (1996) report instances of final [t] and [d] deletion in such words as *and, old, child, find, found, told, tuft,* and *slept.* Hollett (1982) has done some in-depth work with CCS, resulting in the collection of a plethora of examples from an informant from Bonavista. His "hierarchy . . . of . . . resistance to neutralization. . . [i]n the alveolar series" (p. 136) gives the voiced and voiceless fricatives as the most resistant to deletion and the voiceless stop as the least. That is, in clusters with other consonants, [t] is the most likely to be deleted and [s] and [z] are the least likely. Examples from other Newfoundland researchers include *rind* [rəin] (Paddock, 1966); and *frost* [frɑs], and *loft* [lɒ:f] (Noseworthy, 1971).

My findings: I found many occurrences of CCS among my informants. The most common one was the reduction of [nd] to [n] or [ndz] to [nz]. Some words occurred only with CCS, among them *rinds* which showed up five times, always with the final CC as [nz] in place of the standard [ndz], and *hand* where

again all tokens elicited displayed final [n] instead of the standard [nd]. I also recorded *pond* as [pʰa:ən] (F8); *pound* as [pʰɐʊn] (F6); and *island* as [ʌⁱɬᵊn] (F8), [ɑɪlᵊn] (M4), [hɑɪlᵊn] (M4), [aᵛɪɬᵊŋ] (M5) and [aᴵɬᵊn] (M7). However, in a case where the CC contains a morpheme boundary, it did not get reduced. Both F8 and M7 gave full value to the final CC in *borned* with F8 giving [bɐᵊnd] and M7 giving [bɐˑrnd].

Another CC which was often but not always reduced is [st]. In the case of the word *breakfast*,[15] all five informants who gave this word reduced the final CC [st] to [s]. However, when final /st/ formed part of a grammatical morpheme, it tended to be simplified less frequently as, for example, when M7 gave *youngest* as [jʏŋəst].

In my data, the CC [ft] was variably reduced as well, with two instances of *loft* as[laf] (M6 and M7) and one as [lɑft] from F1. I also found one example of [kst] reduction to [ks] in *next* as [nɪks] (M5). No one informant used the standard form of any coda CC at all times, although some did more so than others.

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[15] *Breakfast* was often pronounced [brækrəs] by my informants.

There was also one word which in two instances showed what is probably hypercorrection or perhaps confusion with the similar word, *cord.* Two informants, F6 and M7, gave the centre inedible part of an apple as [kʰɔ:rd] rather than the standard *core.*

2.2.8 Metathesis

Wells (1982) does not mention metathesis in his discussion of either standard dialects or non-standard ones.

Southwest England

Many occurrences of metathesis have been documented in Southwest England. Sequences most often affected are: *sk*, *sp*, and many combinations with *rV*. A representative sample of these are: *ask* as *ax* (Barnes, 1886; Wakelin, 1986), *axe* (Matthews, 1939) and [æks] (Rogers, 1979); *hasp* as *haps* (Barnes, 1886), *hapes* ~ *hapse* (Matthews, 1939) and [haps] (Widén, 1949); *children* as *childern* (Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978), [ʧɪldɜ-n] Rogers, 1979), *childer* (Wakelin, 1986); *first* as *frist* and *third* as *thridde*[16] (Matthews, 1939); *afraid* as *afeard* (Wakelin, 1986); and *hundred* as *hunderd* (Rogers, 1979) and [hʌndə-d] (Widén, 1949).

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[16] This is the original OE standard pronunciation while the contemporary standard is *third.* The current standard is actually a metathesized variant.

Newfoundland

Other findings: Noseworthy (1971) found few examples of metathesis in his study of the dialect of Grand Bank, with one exception. He recorded *hundred* as [hʌndəˑd] from many of his informants. Paddock (1981) gives several examples of metathesis from Carbonear, including *sp* to *ps* in *wasp* > *waps/wops*; *sk* to *ks* in *duskish* > *duksish* >*duckish* where metathesis is followed by consonant deletion; *ask* > *aks/ax*; and *rV* to *Vr* in *great* > *gert* and *pretty* > *perty*. Halpert and Widdowson (1996) document metathesis of *sk* in *ask* [aks] and, like Paddock (1981), of *rV* in *great* and *pretty*.

My findings: In my study, I, too, found few examples of metathesis. Nevertheless, one word was consistently pronounced by two informants with [əˑ] rather than the standard [rɛ]: *hundred* showed up several times as [hʌndəˑd] from M4 and [ʌndəˑᵈ] from M7. I also found *apron* from M7 as [ɛɪpəˑn] and M4 gave *preliminary* (a term for a school level) as [pəˑlɪmri]. Only the men showed any metathesis, and then only with *rV*. Like Noseworthy, I found no metathesis of *sp* or *sk*, although I have heard, and used, *(h)aps* for *hasp* many times. It seem that this is one of the features of the Southwest England dialects that has become recessive and occasionally lexicalized in Newfoundland.

2.2.9 *R*-dropping

Wells (1982) reports that historical /r/ was eliminated from RP in the 18th century, except in the environment of a following vowel, or word-initially. Prior to that, by the 16th century, /r/ had been lost before some instances of /s/ and /ʃ/, giving such pronunciations as *cuss* for *curse* and *hoss* for *horse.*

Southwest England

The Southwest of England is generally rhotic: that is, it preserves historical /r/ in all cases (Wells, 1982:341-343), except occasionally before the voiceless fricatives /f, θ, s, ʃ/, as stated above (Widén, 1949:75-76). Thus we find rhotic *fir* [vəː][17] and *corpse* [kɑrps] contrasting with variable *horse* [hɑːs] and [hɑrs], as well as non-rhotic *curse* [kɔs] (Widén, 1949); rhotic *arm* [ɑrm] and non-rhotic *cursing* [kʰʌsɪŋ] (Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978); and non-rhotic *worse* as *wos* (Barnes, 1886).

Newfoundland

I found several examples of *r*-dropping among my informants. M6 of Flat Island pronounced *woodhorse* as [ˈwʊd̥as]. This may be a case of *r*-dropping before a voiceless fricative, [s], which is prevalent in the Southwest of England

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[17] Here, as elsewhere, I have altered the transcription conventions of the original to agree with my own.

(Barnes, 1863; Widén, 1949), or it may be due to the fact that the *r* in question is in an unstressed syllable. I am inclined to believe the former as I have heard *woodhorse* with [(h)as] as frequently as [(h)ars] from many older folk.

A word which was invariably given the non-rhotic pronounciation was *marsh.* Three informants gave it variously as [mɪʃ] or [mɛʃ] (see section 2.1.12 for more discussion on this). Other words which had variable rhoticity were *fishermen* [fiʃəmᵊn], *father* [fɐdə], *doctor* [daktə], *brothers* [brʌdəz] *partridgeberries* [ˈpʰætʃɪˌbɛˑriz], *your (uncle)* [yə (ˈhʌnkᵊl)], and *sure* [ʃɔʷə]. It would seem, then, that there is some evidence of [r] deletion in unstressed syllables among the speakers of this dialect.

3. MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX[18]

3.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I examine some of the morphological and syntactic structures of the dialects of Flat Island and Deer Island. I first discuss verbs (section 3.1), including past forms, verbal agreement, lexical and auxiliary *have* and *do*, forms of *be*, perfect aspect and contracted forms. The following section (3.2), on pronouns, deals with pronoun exchange, grammatical gender, possessives, and the object form *un*. Nouns are then examined (section 3.3) for grammatical number marking, as well as the associative plurals *and they, and them, and their*. The chapter concludes with sections on directional prepositions (3.4) non-standard use of adjectives and adverbs (3.5), and multiple negation (3.6).

3.1 VERBS

English verbs may be divided into two types: lexical and auxiliary. Regular (weak) lexical verbs have only two distinct forms to represent their past and non-past. The past form also serves syntactically as the past participle.

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[18] This chapter contains a fairly exhaustive list of the NS features which were recorded during the interviews. However, while all speakers displayed a mixture of standard and NS forms, no attempt has been made to determine the relative frequency of each.

These verbs regularly construct the past by the addition of the suffix *-ed*: thus the lexical verb *look* has a past form *looked.* Irregular (strong) lexical verbs (which form their pasts by internal vowel change) often have three distinct forms, in that the past and the past participle differ. Thus we have verbs like *to sing* with the non-past form *sing(s)*, past tense *sang* and past participle *sung.*

3.1.1 Past forms

One of the hallmarks of a non-standard Newfoundland dialect is the way in which both strong and weak verbs are treated (Paddock, 1966; Noseworthy, 1971; Halpert and Widdowson, 1996; Clarke, 2004c). Some strong verbs may be regularized by the addition of the *-ed* suffix to the non-past stem, thus giving such past tense/past participle forms as *eated, goed* and *knowed.* For most non-regularized strong verbs, a single past form serves as both past and past participle (e.g. *drove, ran, seen*). Occasionally, some other form might be substituted for the standard one, for example *sit/sot*, instead of the standard *sit/sat.*

A number of researchers have examined the formation of verbs in NfldE. The general consensus is that there is a "high proportion of nonstandard forms in the past tense and past participle of verbs" (Halpert and Widdowson, 1996:lxxviii). Halpert and Widdowson note several categories of

these: a) forms that lack any tense marker, such as *build, come, split*; b) forms with extra tense markers, such as *bursted, drownded*; c) strong verbs patterned after weak verbs, such as *blowed, falled, leaved*; d) weak verbs patterned like strong verbs such as *hove* (*heaved*), *riz* (*raised*), *sove* (*saved*); e) some prefixing of *a-* to the past participle as in *abroke, afalled.*

Paddock (1966), Seary, Story and Kirwin (1968), and Noseworthy (1971) also found many nonstandard past and past participle forms in their examination of verb use among their informants. Some examples they give are: *done* for *did/ done, took* for *took/ taken, drove* for *drove/ driven, bit* for *bit/ bitten, swum* for *swam/ swum, riz* or *rised* for *rose/ risen, bet* for *beat/ beaten, throwed* for *threw/ thrown, blowed* for *blew/ blown,* and *eat* for *ate/ eaten.*

It is easy to see from the above examples that Halpert and Widdowson's (1996:lxxviii) assertion that there is a "high proportion" of nonstandard verb forms in Newfoundland is no exaggeration. It is also true of my own study. All of my informants used some nonstandard past tense and participle forms as well as standard ones. Some informants were more standard than others.

My data contained a number of strong verbs where the standard irregular past tense and participle form has been regularized to the weak verb paradigm with the addition of the *-ed* suffix. These included *know, grow, keep,*

leave, teach and *spin*, which occurred in the following examples:

1. We *knowed* nothing about the Depression. (M4)
2. The most I *knowed* lived there was 501. (M7)
3. We had about 80 barrels of potatoes *growed.* (M4)
4. We had potatoes *growed.* (F8)
5. We always had our own - *keeped* our own sheep. (F1)
6. I *leaved* off school. (F4)
7. One summer I *spinned* 22 big skeins. (F6)
8. He never *teached* there all his life. (F8)

There are also many strong verbs which showed a non-weak merging of the past tense and past participle forms, including some standard *-en* verbs. Some of the ones I found are *forgot, take, write, do, come*, and *see.*

9. We had everything *forgot.* (F8)
10. It had to be *took* down. (F8)
11. If I had a book *wrote* now. . . (F6)
12. They'd say, you know, people never *done* it, but they did do it. (F1)[19]

[19] See section 3.1.3 below where the *done/did* distinction is discussed.

13. Now I'll sit down and wonder how I *done* it all. (F4)

14. . . . what I *done* from the time I was 12 year old . . . (F6)

15. That's what *done* it. (M4)

16. All I *done* was carpenter work. (M7)

17. . . . when we *come* up here. (F1) [20]

18. They *come* from somewhere around Port de Grave. (M1)

19. They *come* home. (M4)

20. As we *come* down [each generation] we was a little different. (M4)

21. They *come* up and went in the lumberwoods. (M6)

22. Three or four year after we *come* up here. . . (M7)

23. That's all the minister *come* here. (F1)

24. My dear, I *seen* more bottles break on the stove! (F6)

25. She *seen* the doctor last Thursday. (F8)

My data also contained verbs in which the zero-marked past form is identical with the non-past, as in *give*, *spin*, and *leave*.

26. They *give* it to Doug. (F8)

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[20] The context clearly showed that examples 17-23 are past tense, not present historic.

27. That's what you knit it out of, the wool you *spin* from the sheep. (F6)

28. [There were only] four or five families there when I *leave* it. (M6)

Example 26 in all likelihood represents an extension of the vowel of the past participle *given* to the past tense (Paddock, 1990). In examples 27 and 28, if the *-ed* ending from the past tense had been formerly used, giving *spinned* and *leaved*, there might be some relic of this in extra length on the final consonant of the verb. I could find no such evidence by listening to my tapes. Acoustic analysis may enable us to more certainly state whether or not any reflex of the past tense ending is phonetically present.

In a small number of cases, the past form differs from the standard not simply in terms of morphology, but also phonology.

29. We *took* [t^hʌk] his house down first. (M5)[21]

30. I *sot* in un. (F8)

The preceding examples reveal an interior change (ablaut) which makes a form that does not exist within the standard paradigm. While the variation of ʌ ~ʊ is a common one throughout Newfoundland, including the southern shore of

[21] This change is also discussed in Ch. 2, Section 2.1.4.

the Avalon Peninsula (Seary, Story and Kirwin,1968:64), the æ ~ a/ɑ alternation in *sat/sot* is less usual [22].

Another peculiarity of some verbs, those ending in a sonorant plus either *-d* or *-t*, is that the past tense is identical to the infinitive or non-past form. I found *build*, *send*, *spend*, *report*, *want*, *melt*, and *start* in this category.

31. Everybody chipped in and *build* un. (F6)

32. You *build* your own boat. (M4)

33. Then they *build* boats. (M6)

34. We *build* the house. (M7)

35. They *send* this from Toronto. (F4)

36. The first Christmas she *spend* with us. (F4) [23]

37. I haven't *report* it all to the world. (F8)

38. Well, you had to go in boat if you *want* to get anywhere. (M1)

39. And I *start* to sew when I was 12 year old. (F6)

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[22] But see the phonological variation in such items as *crunnick* ~ *crannick* ~ *cronnick* in the DNE (1990:127).

[23] It is also possible, although perhaps less probable, that those verbs with sonorant plus *-d* have been re-analyzed as having infinitives *to buil, to sen, to spen*, in keeping with the common occurrence of Consonant Cluster Simplification. The past forms are then made by adding *-ed*, as in weak verbs, giving *buil-ed*, *sen-ed*, *spen-ed*, analogous to *look/look-ed.*(Personal communication, H. Paddock, 2004)

For verbs ending with *-t* or *-d*, Halpert and Widdowson (1996:lxxviii) suggest that "final *-ed* [ɘd] following these consonants is very susceptible to assimilation", most likely through the deletion of [ɘ], thus leaving two alveolar plosives immediately adjacent to each other. It is not surprising to find assimilation in these cases. So it may be that, in examples 31-39, the final stop has assimilated in voicing to the preceding segment as in standard English where *rammed* and *raised* have voiced *-d* but *baked* and *raced* have voiceless *-t*. Thus, in Example 36 *spend+ed* > *spend=d* > *spend*, and in Example 37 *report+ed* > *report+d* > *report+t*. In some cases (Examples 35 and 36) the *d* seemed to be lengthened, perhaps indicating retention of the historical *d* of the base form, leading to phonetic gemination.

The strong verb *to leave* showed two non-standard forms for the past tense. One was totally regularized as in Example 6 above, here repeated for convenience:

40. I *leaved* off school. (F4)

and the other showed the base form as in Example 28, also repeated here:

41. [There were only] four or five families there when I *leave* it (M6)

3.1.2 Verbal agreement

Lack of non-past verbal agreement was common in my data, regardless

of the grammatical subject (see Paddock, 1990; Clarke, 1997; Clarke, 2004c for more on this). The grammatical categories of 1st person singular, 2nd person, and 3rd person plural all showed instances of the non-standard *-s* suffix. Much of my data consists of stories and reminiscences about life on the Islands and so is most often in the past tense, leaving little opportunity for present tense use. The following examples are taken from my recorded data, and represent the instances where *-s* is used as a generalized present tense suffix:

42. I *remembers* about one. (F5)

43. I *tries* to keep a bit of paint on un. (F8)

44. I *knows* un all to pieces. (F8)

45. I *knows* he woulda spoke. (F8)

46. I *worships* that. (F4)

47. . . . when you *turns* the corner. (F1)

48. His parents *lives* in that long trailer down Jim's road. (F8)

49. Three parts 'day (=today) *thinks* this is our house. (F8)

50. They *calls* it a cabin! (F8)

51. They *plays* cards down to the Senior's Home. (F1)

52. Me son and his family *is* going out. (M4)

Example 52 above illustrates lack of agreement in the present tense of *be*.

Generalization of *was* for *were* in the past tense of the verb *be* was also quite common among my informants, as it was among Noseworthy's (1971) Grand Bank speakers.

53. There *was* a lot lanched up here. (F8)

54. There *was* two or three fellows. (F8)

55. There *was* seven of we. (M7)

56. There *was* no horses to do the work. (F1)

57. We *was* always gifted. (M4)

58. . . . the last couple of year we *was* on Flat Island. (F1)

59. As we come down, we *was* a little different. (M4)

60. You *was* all friends. (F8)

61. You *was* reared up in a carpenter shop. (M4)

62. What you *was* eating was good. (M7)

63. You *was* on the flake all the fall. (F1)

64. When people *was* leaving [the Islands]. . . (F5)

65. They *was* down there then. (F8)

66. All hands *was* in roughly the same boat. (F8)

67. They *was* a bit higher up. (F8)

68. They *was* gone all the winter (=the whole winter). (F8)

69. The maids *was* home 'bout a hour 'fore we got home. (M6)

70. They *was* going back home. (M6)

71. They *was* down there. (M7)

72. They *was* well-trained nurses. (M7)

73. They *was* going to land him on Ship Island. (M7)

74. The pictures of the two *was* there. (F1)

In vernacular speech, *was* may be reduced to *'s* as in the following examples:

75. I thought you *'s* talking about [today]. (F8)

76. I was 38; you*'s* 37. (M7)

Here, only the context disambiguates between the *'s* representing *was* and the *'s* of reduced *is*.

In the use of past negative, my speakers tend to use *wasn't* for *weren't*, again showing a generalized form throughout the paradigm. They generally follow the same pattern as Noseworthy's (1971) Grand Bank informants, reducing *was not* to *wasn't*, through CCS to *wasn*, then by anticipatory assimilation to *wadn*. Following Clarke (2004c), I will use the form *waddn('t)* to show the reduced form which is often phonetically closer to [wʊdᵊn]. The following examples illustrate this usage:

77. I don't know if there *waddn('t)* two there. (F5)

78. He *waddn('t)* what you calls very old. (F8)

79. He *waddn('t)* sure of everything. (M7)

80. We *waddn('t)* there. (F5)

The substitution of *were* for *was*, which may be expected here in the light of its appearance in Wessex (Barnes, 1886:21; Widén, 1949:107, 108, 111; Rogers, 1979:41) also occurs, though it is not common in my data. It emerged in the speech of only two of my subjects. Clarke (2004c) calls this form "rare" and it has not often been found by other researchers in NfldE (although see Halpert and Widdowson, 1996). My examples follow.

81. I *were* born on Flat Island. (M6)

82. When I *were* 12 years old . . . (M6)

83. He *were* a good doctor. (M6)

84. My mother *were* born and my father *were* born on Coward's Island. (F1)

3.1.3 Lexical versus auxiliary *have* and *do*

The verbs *have* and *do* are unusual in that they function as both lexical and auxiliary verbs.

Lexical usage

The few examples in my data of lexical past-tense *have*, listed below, display the same form as do standard varieties, namely *had.*

85. I *had* un like a youngster. (F8)

86. We never *had* no goats. (F8)

In their lexical form, *have* and *do* "require the *-s* inflection in the present indicative", in vernacular Newfoundland varieties, while in the auxiliary form they lack this inflection (Paddock,.1981:11; cf. Paddock, 1990:244-247, for further analysis of this pattern). Elworthy (1877:57) shows auxiliary *have* with an *s~th* suffix for 2nd person singular *thou*, alternating with zero suffix for the rest of the pronoun paradigm; auxiliary *do* shows the same pattern (72). Hewett (1892) shows the zero suffix (*have*)for all subjects in the auxiliary form for Devon, while Barnes (1886:22) describes the same phenomenon for auxiliary *do* in Dorset. Evidence for more recent southern British vernacular speech is provided by Cheshire (1982:34-39), as she notes that, in Reading, *doos* occurs mostly with 3rd person singular subjects in the lexical form of the verb, *does* is the usual lexical form with all other subjects, and *do* is most frequently the form used for the auxiliary function. Ihalainen (1994:226) reports a similar pattern for conservative Somerset varieties. In this dialect, all instances of

what, in StdE, would be non-past lexical *have* are *got,* so there is no opportunity to test Paddock's assertion.

87. No, I *got* ne'er boat now. (M1)

88. I still *got* one here now. (F1)

89. And I *got* three [children]. (F1)

90. He *got* a house out there [in Alberta]. (M4)

In one other instance, given below, *have* is uninflected, and looks like a lexical verb, but this is very likely a case with habitual meaning in which the preceding modal auxiliary *would* has been reduced to zero. Its lack of inflection can be explained thus: *we would have* > *we'd have* > *we have.*

91. We *have* gardens and sheep. (F5)

There were many examples of past-tense lexical *do*, all of which used the form *done* instead of the standard *did*, a common phenomenon in all vernacular varieties of English, and, for NfldE, noted by Paddock (1981:12).

92. I *done* two. (F5)

93. Now I'll sit down and wonder how I *done* it all. (F4)

94. I *done* it on North Island. (M7)

95. If I had a book wrote now what I *done* . . . nobody wouldn't believe it. (F6)

96. All I *done* was carpenter work. (M7)

97. She *done* the cleaning. (F1)

98. I don't know what she *done* with it. (F1)

99. They *done* it all. (F1)

100. That's what *done* it. (M4)

101. [You'd say] people never *done* it, but they did do it. (F1)

No examples of non-past lexical *do* were elicited in my data. However, I have personally heard *does* used throughout the non-past paradigm.

Auxiliary usage

When used as auxiliaries, non-past forms occur in my data in both standard and non-standard form. As in standard, *have* typically occurred with non-3rd singular subjects as the form *have*, with zero inflection (see 102-105 below). Yet, one example (106) was encountered of 3rd plural *has*. In the 3rd singular, example 105 illustrates the pattern noted by Paddock (1966) in which the auxiliary usage is represented by unmarked *have* ~ *'ve* throughout the paradigm.

102. You can't imagine how much change we *have* a-seen in our life. (M6)

103. I *have* a-played a scattered time. (F1)

104. I *have* a-played down there. (F1)

105. She*'ve* done a lot of cross-stitch. (F1)

106. The last two generations *has* gone to the extremes. (M4)

Speakers of this dialect, like those of Grand Bank (Noseworthy, 1971:70) often drop the auxiliary *have/has* from the verb phrase *have/has been.* In example 107 following, the *been* has also been reduced to *be*, further reducing the verb phrase *must have been born.* This makes the construction look, on the surface, like the passive mood, but it probably derives by deletion from an older perfect aspect.

107. He *must be born* on Coward's Island. (F5)

108. He *bin* down in the store for years. (F8)

At least part of this reduction may be attributed to allegro speech, a trait for which people from Bonavista Bay are well known (Hollett, 1982).

The negative *have not*, equivalent to the standard *has not*, may be reduced, through the non-past paradigm, from *haven't* through *h*-dropping to *aven't* and through subsequent loss of [v] plus reduced vowel [ə] to *an't.*

109. He *an't* (<*haven't* 'hasn't') got too many more years to go. (F8)

The non-past auxiliary *do* also shows mixed usage, with zero inflection throughout the auxiliary paradigm, as noted by Paddock (1966, 1981) among

others. Thus, while example 111 has the non-standard *don't* for standard *doesn't*, example 110 shows the standard and non-standard forms coinciding, as a non-standard rule produces a standard form of the auxiliary. So we find *don't* with zero inflection in both 1st singular and 3rd singular forms below:

110. I *don't* be there. (F8)

111. He *don't* still drive! (F8)

The past auxiliary form of *do*, *did*, is identical to the standard one, although it may be used in non-standard structures as in examples 112 and 113.

112. Everybody *didn't* work like we. (M4) meaning 'Not everybody worked...'

113. No one *didn't* live long on them islands. (M7) with a double negative

114. [You'd say] people never done it, but they *did* do it. (F1)

3.1.4 Non-past forms of the verb *be*

As in many varieties of NfldE, the verb *to be* shows a morphosyntactic split between a regularized lexical verb *be* with habitual meaning and an irregular suppletive *am/is/are* with non-habitual meaning. Although, because of the nature of the interviews, non-past *be* occurred rarely, the suppletive forms displayed a lack of subject concord as seen in the 3rd plural example 52,

repeated as 115 below (see also Noseworthy, 1971).

115. Me son and his family *is* going out. (M4)

Habitual *be* takes the regular *-s* ending found with all other regular lexical verbs in the local non-standard variety (Noseworthy, 1971:65-6), as in 116 *bees* below.

116. Dey *bees* 200 - couple o' hundred mile off the land in 'er. (M1)

Similarly, the negative and interrogative forms of lexical *be* are exactly like those of all the other lexical verbs in that they require the use of the auxiliary *do* (although see Noseworthy, 1971:67-8) as in Example 110 above.

3.1.5 Perfect aspect

Clarke (2004c:98) describes the "accomplishment perfect" as reflecting "an earlier perfect construction in which the past participle follows rather than precedes the direct object". (See also Kallen, 1989:17 for another definition of this term.) I found several examples of this construction:

117. You *have* pigs *growed.* (M4)

118. You *had* all those vegetables *growed.* (M7)

119. If I *had* a book *wrote* now what I done . . . nobody wouldn't believe it. (F6)

120. We *had* about 80 barrels of potatoes *growed.* (M4)

121. We *had* potatoes *growed.* (F8)

122. We *had* everything *forgot.* (F8)

123. I *got* her *outlived* by a good many years. (F8)

Another form of the perfect aspect involves the prefixing of *a-* on the past participle of the verb. Most writers have described this *a-* prefix as a relic of the archaic, highly productive OE prefix *ge-*. (See, for example, Wright and Wright, 1928; Quirk and Wrenn, 1957.) The relic is somewhat common among older speakers in Newfoundland, as Noseworthy (1971:72) and I both found. Examples of this, given earlier in my discussion of *have* auxiliary forms, are repeated below.

124. You can't imagine how much change we *have a-seen* in our life. (M6)

125. I *have a-played* a scattered time. (F1)

126. I *have a-played* down there. (F1)

Probably because the people in my dialect area are almost invariably descendents of settlers from Southwest England, I found no instances of the Irish "*after* perfect" (*be* + *after* + V-*ing*) that is particularly common in Irish-settled areas of the province (see e.g. Seary, Story and Kirwin, 1968; Noseworthy, 1971; Clarke, 1997 and 1999).

3.2 PRONOUNS

In this section I will deal with the personal and the possessive pronouns. Rogers (1979) discusses the personal pronouns he found in the Wessex dialect in the mid 20th century. His findings give us a basis for comparison as he found much non-standard usage, reflexes of which can still be seen in the results of earlier studies of NfldE pronouns (Paddock, 1966, 1981; Noseworthy, 1971).

3.2.1 Pronoun exchange

A common perception of NfldE is that speakers use subject forms in object positions and object forms in subject positions (Story, Kirwin and Widdowson, 1990). Rogers (1979) seems to have found widespread use of this pattern in Wessex, especially in the 1st person plural paradigm. In his 1974-76 studies of the regional distribution of morphological and phonological features in coastal Newfoundland, Paddock (1982:89)examined and mapped the use of standard subject forms as stressed objects. He found that Bonavista Bay was a mixed area, with variable use of this pattern.

Paddock's (1966) study of language in Carbonear also found that pronoun exchange occurred variably there. He noted that when an object pronoun was strongly stressed, it could be replaced by the subject form. For

example, if a person wanted to say "Give it to *me* (not to *her*)" that person might say "Give it to *I*". Similar realizations were found by Newhook (2002) in her study of the speech of Burnt Islands, and by Noseworthy (1971) in his Grand Bank study. A table of the full range of pronouns elicited by Paddock in Carbonear is given in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 The Personal Pronoun System in Carbonear (Paddock, 1966)

	Subject	Object		Possessive	
		Stressed	Unstressed	Stressed	Unstressed
1st sing	I	me	me	my	me
1st plural	we	we	us	our	ɑr
2nd sing	you	you	yə ~ yæ	your	yə ~ yər
2nd plural	you~ye	you ~ ye	ye ~yæ	your	yə ~ yər
3rd sing	he she it	him her - - -[24]	im ~ ən ər ət	his her - - -	iz ər - - -
3rd plural	dey~deh	dem	əm/um	deir	der

As we see in this pronoun paradigm from Carbonear, the only instance of pronoun exchange occurred with the first person plural, the same context in which Rogers (1979) found the most non-standard use. Both Paddock (1966) and Rogers (1979) give *we* as the stressed object form.

[24] The dashed line indicates that no forms were found in this category.

I begin my discussion of the personal pronouns found in my study with a similar chart of the forms which I elicited from my informants.

Table 3.2 The Bonavista Bay Pronoun System found in the Current Study

	Subject	Object		Possessive	
		Stressed	Unstressed	Stressed	Unstressed
1st sing	I	- - -	me	my	me
1st plural	we~us[25]	us~we	us	our	ɑr
2nd sing	you	- - -	ya	- - -	- - -
2nd plural	you	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
3rd sing	(h)e she it	(h)e~(h)im she~(h)er	im ~ un (h)er it~un	(h)is - - - - - -	(h)is~(h)ees - - - - - -
3rd plural	dey/dee	- - -	(d)em	- - -	- - -

Apart from the missing data, this table shows much the same pattern of pronoun usage as was reported by Paddock (1966), except for the absence of 2nd person plural *ye*. I will discuss only those pronouns which show non-standard use.

The first of these is the 1st person plural subject. Rogers (1979:34-35), in his discussion of the pronouns of the Wessex dialect in the mid-20th century,

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[25] The subject form *us* was found in my data in tag questions only. See Example 127 below.

found *we* and *us* used in both subject and object position. Ihalainen (1991b) described the use of *us* as a nominative in both main clauses and tag questions in Somerset. (See also Elworthy, 1877:33-39 for West Somerset; Barnes, 1886:19 for Dorset; Rogers, 1979:34-35 for Wessex; and Wagner, 2004:157-159 for the Southwest in general.) It is quite possible that the object form was first used as a subject only in tag questions, but then was promoted to use in all unstressed positions (Paddock, 1994). Like Noseworthy (1971:77), I elicited only one occurrence of the non-standard *us*, by one informant in a tag question.

127. We lived up on a hill, didn't *us*? (M6)

Consequently, it is something of an anomaly or relic, and may perhaps be limited to this position.

Likewise, the 1st person plural object form also exhibited non-standard usage. There were several examples of the subject form in the object position, as we see below :

128. There was seven of *we*. (M7)

129. Were 14 of *we* in family. (M4)

130. There was four or five of *we* young fellows. (M6)

131. Everybody didn't work like *we*. (M4)[26]

In the first three of these examples, it is possible that the phrase *There were/was X (number) of we* has become a fixed phrase and may well be a fossilized collocation.

The only instance of a NS 2nd person form was that of *ya* [jə] in unstressed object position.[27] Again, Noseworthy (1971:77) also recorded this form.

132. He('d) operate on *ya*. (M4)

The use of 3rd person non-standard forms was much more widespread. The 3rd person singular object forms *him/it* alternated with non-standard *un* when unstressed or with *he* when stressed, and *her* was sometimes replaced by *she* when stressed. This is not surprising as this pattern is well known in NfldE (e.g. Noseworthy, 1971:77). It is also a well-known feature in Southwest England (e.g. Rogers, 1979; for discussion of the *un* form, see Ihalainen, 1985). In the examples below, the referent of the pronoun is provided in square brackets.

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[26] In StdE, the current form would be *us* when the verb is omitted, and *we* only if the verb were inserted as in "like we did".

[27] A similar phenomenon occurs, of course, in the casual speech of Standard speakers.

133. I sot in *un.* (F8) [rocking chair]

134. I give *un* to [name of son]. (F8) [Sunday School certificate of attendance]

135. I had *un* like a youngster. (F8) [a pig raised by the speaker]

136. You'd get your bit of bread and put *un* on the damper. (M6) [bread dough]

137. I tries to keep a bit of paint on *un.* (F8) [house]

138. . . we tore *un* down and brought *un* up ere and build *un* up. (F1) [house on Flat Island]

139. I'll always remember *he.* (F8) [former clergyman]

140. I rubbed sides by *un.* (F8) [former clergyman]

141. He load *she* full of slabs. (M5) [boat]

142. We put it right to the head of *'er.* (M5) [boat]

143. We had 80 barrels of mussels aboard of *'er.* (M5) [boat]

144. Da's(=that's) how you kep' *'er* goin'. (M5) [life in general]

Sentences 139 and 140 above, with the same referent, as well as examples 141-143, illustrate that the standard subject form is used for the stressed pronoun object and the local non-standard object *un* or the standard object *(h)er* is used in unstressed object position.

3.2.2 Grammatical gender

Many of the above examples also illustrate the phenomenon of grammatical gender in NfldE. Paddock (1966) posits a system of grammatical gender based on the two distinctions: mass/count and mobile/immobile. The immobile count nouns are generally classed as masculine, as illustrated by the use of unstressed masculine *un* to refer to a chair, a certificate, a bit of bread, and a house in examples 133, 134, and 136 to 138 above. Mobile count nouns, such as the boat referred to in examples 141 to 143 above, are feminine and take *she/her* as their pronoun. (See also Paddock, 1988, for a wider look at gendered pronouns, and Barnes, 1886:17-18, for discussion of another way of classifying nouns.)

Example 144 is more difficult to explain; however, Clarke (2004c:104-105) suggests that "feminine gender is found with a wider semantic range than that of mobile object. . . [and may] refer to 'the situation at the time'." She gives as one example the common Newfoundland saying "*She's gone, boy, she's gone*", referring to the economy in bad economic times. In my example 144, the meaning of the statement is "that is how we continued to make a living". (For an extensive investigation of gendered pronouns in Newfoundland and other Englishes, see Wagner, 2003.)

While I did not find a great many examples of gendered pronouns with subject function referring to inanimate nouns, I did elicit some instances from three informants.

145. *He*'s old. *He*'s gone. (F8) [house]

146. *He* bin down in the store for years. (F8) [rocking chair]

147. [Son's name] was saying where *he* come from. (F8) [rocking chair]

148. Indeed *he* is! (F8) [church]

149. *E*'s dere between where [neighbour's] house is now and our own house. (F1) [brother's house]

150. The more barrels is under, see, the higher *'e*'d float up. (F1) [house]

151. We didn't know if *she* was goin' to bear up dis much. (M5) [boat]

152. And *she* put un off in Rigolet. (M5) [ship]

153. Dey bees 200 - couple a hunderd mile off land in *'er*. (F1) [fishing boat]

Here we find confirmation that normally immobile *house*, *chair* and *church* are masculine nouns whereas normally mobile *boat* and *ship* are feminine.

3.2.3 Other pronominals

The possessive pronouns also showed some non-standard usage. Although I did not find any of Rogers' (1979) nasal suffix forms such as *hisn, hern, ourn*, I did find the same use of [mi] in the 1st person singular noted in many descriptions of Newfoundland varieties (e.g. Noseworthy, 1971), and common in many varieties of colloquial English worldwide (e.g. Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi, 2004:1163).

154. *Me* great-grandfather . . . (M7)

155. *Me* son and his family. . . (M4)

156. I had a bun in *me* 'and (=hand). (M5)

157. In the winter, *my* dad and they['d] be building boats. (M6)

158. Da's (=that's) *my* son's scarf. (M5)

The first three examples, numbers 154 to 156, are unstressed possessives, while the last two are stressed. The non-standard form is a relic from before the GVS which changed [mi:] to a diphthong of the [maɪ] type (Rogers, 1979:32). In many vernacular varieties, the shift did not take place in the unstressed form, leaving us with two possible forms, depending on whether or not the pronoun is stressed.

Demonstrative pronouns are often used as replacements for complete noun phrases. Most of my informants substituted [d] for [ð], giving *dat* for *that*, *dis* for *this* and *dose* for *those* (cf. Section 2.2.3). Except for pronunciation then, the forms I elicited correspond to the standard forms.

159. *Dat* was all gone. (F1)

160. *Dat* was for stand-by on ice if you was caught out. (M5)

161. You wouldn't touch *dat* without you had to. (M5)

162. A good crowd was almost able da(=to) eat *dat* pig. (M7)

163. I worships *dat.* (F4)

164. Wa's (=what is) all *dis* dere? (F8)

165. Three parts today thinks that *dis* is our house. (F8)

166. They send *this* from Toronto. (F4)

167. Where did *dose* come from? (M5)

168. You had all *dose* vegetables growed. (M7)

Paddock (1966:15-16) gives as an example the following: "*Dem* are lovely" where *dem* is a substitute for a nominal phrase such as "Dem white gloves". He equates the use of *dem* with that of standard *those* (28). In my data, however, non-standard *dem* emerged only in an adjectival function (i.e. with its noun retained), as in the following examples:

169. Dey played all *dem* kind o' games. (F1)

170. No one didn't live long on *dem* islands. (M7)

3.3 NOUNS

3.3.1 Noun phrases and the definite article

Nouns in this dialect differ very little from those of the standard dialect. Some apparent differences could possibly be phonological rather than morphological, as in the following examples which seem to contain zero definite article realization in the noun phrase.

171. Were fourteen of we *in family.* (M4)

172. You had to pay $3.25 to go *on train.* (M5)

173. The seats goes dat way and dis way off the post *in centre.* (M5)

174. Dat was for stand-by *on ice.* (M5)

175. They'd go *in fall* of the year. (M5)

176. Dere's ten a dem *in family.* (M5)

177. Den dey'd go *on Labrador.* (F1)[28]

In the above examples, the "missing" definite article invariably follows an *n.* It appears to have been first reduced to *d* and then subsequently

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[28] The usual phrase is *on the Labrador.*

assimilated to the previous alveolar nasal as *in the* > *ind'* > *inn.* It is likely that there was some lengthening of the nasal, although this is not immediately apparent with these speakers. (A similar phenomenon was also seen in Section 3.1.3 above with *'d* representing *would.*)

There are, however, two areas where the difference is morphological rather than possibly phonological. The first of these is in grammatical number phrases, and the second in the use of associative plurals.

3.3.2 Grammatical number phrases

Rogers (1979:33) mentions invariant number on nouns in such phrases as *six year ago* and *five mile back,* which show no difference between singular and plural forms. Clarke (2004c:8) also remarks on this phenomenon "in phrases involving a numerical quantifer" such as *three ton of bricks*, and *ten mile* (see also Noseworthy, 1971:74; Paddock, 1990:243). In my data, too, this was a common feature with nouns of temporal and spatial measurement, as shown in the examples below:

178. [Name of son] was *three year old.* (F5)

179. . . . almost *60 year old.* (M6)

180. Without that was *the last couple of year* we was on Flat Island. (F1)

181. . . .*two or three year* before I left. (F1)

182. He was about *two year old.* (F8)

183. He was *19 year old* when he left. (F8)

184. Dey was down there *three or four year* after we come up. (M7)

185. When I was *13 year old. . .* (F6)

186. I was *five year* on the Labrador. (M7)

187. . . . from the time I was *12 year old . . .* (F6)

188. And I start(ed) to sew when I was *12 year old.* (F6)

189. Da's (=that is) about *18 mile* from dis. (M7)

190. (Those other islands were) *five and six and seven mile away.* (M7)

This is not an invariant phenomenon, however, as there are also examples of the more standard phrase as below:

191. . . . when I were *12 years old.* (M6)

192. We had about *80 barrels* of potatoes growed. (M4)

3.3.3 Associative plurals

The term "associative plural" has been applied to noun phrases involving *and them/ and they* (plus possessive *and their*), which typically denote others of the same category or "habitual associates" (Clarke, 2004c). Such plurals occur in my data; some examples follow:

193. In the winter, *my dad and they*('d) be building boats. (M6) [Dad and his fellow boatbuilders]

194. Eastport *and they* would come up. (F1) [the residents of Eastport and the surrounding communities]

Although I would have also expected to find both the object form *and them* and the possessive form *and their(s)*, this construction only occurred with the subject form in my data. The absence of the object and possessive forms may be due only to the restricted size of my speech database, or the subject form may be an example of a fossilized or frozen collocation.

3.4 PREPOSITIONS

One of the items of the dialects of Wessex discussed by Rogers (1979) is the use of prepositions in naming directions to other towns within a region. "The dialect speaker is not usually satisfied with 'to' or 'at' . . . but . . . prefers to use *up*, *down* or *over*" when talking about going to another town (Rogers, 1979:41-42). This is also true of many Newfoundlanders, including some from my study, not just for towns, but for other geographical locations and directions. While the same phenomenon occurs in all varieties of English, including standard varieties, it is notable among my informants because of its relatively high frequency.

195. . . .til I left and come *up* here. . . (F6) [from the Islands to Glovertown]

196. . . . when we come *up* here. (F1) [from the Islands to Glovertown]

197. . . . after we come *up* here. (M7) [from the Islands to Glovertown]

198. You'd go *up* in a big skiff. (M7) [to another island]

199. Dere was a lot [of houses] launched *up* here. (F8) [to Eastport]

200. Dey come *up* and went *in* the lumberwoods. (M6) [from the Islands]

201. I come *in* in '57. (M6) [from the Islands to Glovertown]

202. 'E bin *down* in the store. . . (F8)

203. Dey was *down* dere. . . (M7) [on the Island]

204. *Down* to the Seniors' Home. . . (F1)

205. He got a house *out* there. (M4) [in Alberta]

206. Me son and his family is goin' *out* there. (M4) [to Alberta]

It appears from these examples that this dialect requires directional prepositions as well as locational adverbial prepositional phrases. Many of these phrases are conventionalized as stock phrases, such as those in examples 195 to 201, dealing with movement from the offshore islands to the main island of Newfoundland.

Example 195-206 above are geographical directions, as suggested by Rogers (1979), but examples 207 to 209 below are somewhat more unusual. The first two of these are examples of the conventionalized stock phrases mentioned above. In Newfoundland, one speaks of going "*on* the Labrador" or "*down on* the Labrador" rather than the more standard "to Labrador". It is likely that the original phrase was "on the Labrador coast" but, typically, the allegro speakers of this area have deleted part of the phrase. In example 209, the reference is temporal rather than spatial, to a season, much as the standard *in the summer.* The phrase corresponds to StdE *at Christmastime.*

207. Den dey'd go *on* Labrador. (F1)

208. I was five year *on* the Labrador. (M7)

209. Dat was *in* Christmastime. (M7)

Directional prepositions are not the only ones subject to non-standard usage, as examples 210 to 212 illustrate.

210. There was [two local men] taught *on* the last couple of year. (F1)

211. I can read anything that ever was put *into* a book. (F8)

212. I'll show you *da* [də] *once.* (F1)

Example 211 would be *in* in StdE, and is somewhat reminiscent of the stative use of *to* and *into* that is regularly found in Newfoundland, as in the

stereotypical phrase often attributed to Newfoundlanders: "Stay where you're *to* 'til I comes where you're *at*". Similarly, 212 apparently exemplifies an historically stative use of *to*, as the local unstressed pronounciation of *to* is typically [də]. When local speakers try to standardize this phrase, they reanalyze it as *the once* rather than its original SW English form *to once.* For further examples of the reanalysis of *to* [də] as *the*, see Story, Kirwin and Widdowson (1990:570). In example 210, StdE would probably use *during* or *in* rather than *on*, which is used here.

Some prepositions used in this variety are not found in StdE. An example of this is the phrasal preposition *clear o(f)*, with the meaning 'except for' in examples 213 and 214 below, and 'as well as' or 'in addition to' in example 215.

213. Dere was only myself *clear o'* [ə] me father and mother. (M7)

214. That was all *clear o'* Gander. (F8)

215. There was doctors 'round Salvage and Eastport *clear o'* dat. (F1)

In addition, certain prepositional phrases do not have the same meaning as in StdE, as seen in the examples below:

216. I leaved off school *for dat purpose.* (F4)

217. (I left school) to *look out to my mom.* (F8)

218. The cemetary was *looked out to.* (M6)

219. The 'andiest thing we had to us then, see, *for doctors.* (F8)

In example 216, *for that purpose* does not mean the speaker left school in order to do something else, as it would in StdE. The speaker is saying she left as a result of a particular circumstance, in this case because she couldn't correctly spell a difficult word in a spelling bee. Therefore, *purpose* can be glossed as 'reason'.

In examples 217 and 218, *to look out to* is used instead of the standard *to look after* meaning 'to tend to' or 'to take care of'.

In example 219, *for* is used in the standard sense of 'to serve as', but in a non-standard collocation.[29]

Some StdE prepositions function in this dialect as other (i.e. non-prepositional) lexical categories. Noteworthy is the standard preposition *without* which is often found as a conjunction with the meaning 'unless', as illustrated in examples 220 and 221 below.

220. You wouldn't touch dat *widout* you had to. (M5)

F1, when asked if the teachers on Flat Island were locals who attended

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[29] In StdE, and in a formal situation, the learned, legalistic word would be Latin *qua.*

Teachers' College and then returned home to work, said this was not typically so, qualifying her reply thus:

221. *Widout* 'twas the last couple of year we was on Flat Island. (F1)

3.5 ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

Because of my restricted database, other common forms occurred rarely or never. The indefinite adjectives *either/neither* (with variants *e'er, ne'er*, etc.), which in NfldE are not restricted to a binary distinction, occurred in only two examples.

222. I got *ne'er* [nɛr]boat now. (M1)

223. You wouldn't have *neither* [ni:də˞] drop of milk. (M7)

The use of *neither* in this sense is found in some parts of Wessex, generally given as *nar* or *ne'er*, as reported by Wakelin (1986). It is variously glossed as 'not a single. . . ', 'never', and 'neither . . . nor'.

The form in example 222 is the one usually found in Newfoundland dialects (see, for example, Paddock, 1966:25; Noseworthy, 1971:83). Example 223 shows the phonologically standard form, thus illustrating the variable nature of this feature.

While Paddock (1966) and Noseworthy (1971) found examples of the adverbial intensifiers identical in form to adjectives that are common in

Newfoundland speech, in particular *some, real* and *right*, these intensifiers are absent from my sample. This absence may be attributed to the fact that my data consists only of questionnaire answers and reminiscences of life on the Islands.

There were also several instances of parts of speech being used outside their conventional bounds. I found a noun used as an adjective in

224. He was a *genius* man. (M4)

and an adjective used as a noun in

225. This is no[30] *fictitious*. (M6) [meaning 'no fiction/no mere story']

3.6 DOUBLE NEGATIVES

The use of double or multiple negatives is also common in this dialect as it was in the dialect of Grand Bank studied by Noseworthy (1971). My data contained the following examples:

226. . . . *nobody wouldn't* believe it. (F6)

227. *No one didn't* live long on them islands. (M7)

228. We *never* had *no* goats. (F8)

229. You *wouldn't* have *neither* drop of milk. (M7)

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[30] This is not an example of *no* = 'not', as *no* does not occur as an adverbial negator in this variety.

4. LEXICON

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The vocabulary presented in this chapter is derived mainly from the lexical questionnaire given to each informant. First, however, I will discuss some items of interest which arose from the conversational segment of the interviews. As in Chapter 2, compounds written as a single, unbroken word or with a hyphen have primary stress on the initial element, while those written as two words have primary stress on the second element.

4.1 FREE CONVERSATION

Each of the items below contains an example of an unusual use of a common word, or of an unusual turn of phrase.

230. We was always *gifted.* (M4)

Here, the speaker is saying that he and his family were always lucky in life, and were blessed with many gifts, such as a capacity for hard work and ingenuity for solving problems.

231. We went and *poor* fader went and dug extra lot of land. (M4)

This use of *poor* to refer to a person who is deceased is common in the vernacular speech of Newfoundland.

232. *Three parts* 'day (=today) thinks that this is our house. (F8)

Instead of the standard forms *many people* or *most people*, this speaker uses the more specific *three parts* meaning 'the vast majority' (literally 'three quarters') of the local population.

233. *Never heared talk of the like*, anyone going to hospital! (F8)

While StdE has the phrase *to hear tell of*, in Newfoundland people also use *hear talk of*. In both cases the meaning is 'to be informed about' or 'to know about'. The addition of the phrase *the like*, meaning 'such a thing', before specifying the thing itself gives the sentence a more emphatic feel.

234. Me great-grandfather, *I'll say*. (M7)

235. There was a couple of "home boys", *I'll say*, taught on the last couple of years. (F1)

I'll say has a discourse function which is difficult to gloss precisely. Some of its possible discourse meanings are 'for example' and 'for instance'. This is probably close to the meaning in example 234. In example 235, the speaker is talking about people who taught on the Islands, calling men who returned to the Islands after going away to finish school "home boys". *I'll say* in this case is probably more like 'I'll call them'.

236. I can *mind* this. (M7)

This use of *mind* meaning 'remember' has always been common in

Newfoundland; the earliest attestation of this usage dates from 1792 (DNE, 1990:329[31]).

237. He runned back and *scraveled* the bun. (M5)

This speaker is describing the actions of a dog to which he had thrown a piece of bread. The dog was scratching in the snow to retrieve the food. This word is most likely a variant of *scrabble*, in the sense of 'to scratch or grope to find or collect or hold on to something' (COED 1995:1240; see also DNE 1990:441). The same *b~v* variation is found in *barbel~barvel* (see section III (b) below).

238. *In the spring of the year*, around June month. . . (F1)

239. They'd go *in the fall o' the year.* (M5)

240. *In May month* . . . (F1)

Examples 238 and 239 are common phrases used in this dialect where StdE would have just *in the spring* or *in the fall.* Wakelin (1986:39) found that *fall of the year* was widespread in Devon, Dorset, South Wiltshire and parts of Hampshire. Examples 238 and 240 show *June* and *May* respectively in

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[31] In this chapter, for the sake of brevity and readability, Story, Kirwin and Widdowson (1990) will be referred to as DNE (1990).

prenominal adjectival position, before the noun *month*, a pattern which has been attested in the DNE (1990:332).

241. The *maids* was home 'bout a hour 'fore we got home. (M6)

This use of *maid* to denote any, usually young, female is common in Newfoundland dialects, and is also found in parts of SW England (Wakelin, 1986:97, 108).

4.2 THE QUESTIONNAIRE

As outlined in Appendix C, the questionnaire covered a range of topics, including natural phenomena, subsistence occupations and daily living. In the sections below I provide a brief summary of the responses. In cases where more than one variant is given, it should be assumed that all were found among both the Deer Islands and the Flat Islands groups of speakers unless otherwise stated. Items which elicited no response or for which only standard lexical variants were provided will be omitted from discussion. Reference to the DNE (1990) below indicates that the same lexical item has also been recorded more generally for Newfoundland.

I Landscape

a) Low lying wet land: The most common response, from 6 FI speakers, was some variant of *marsh*, with four respondents from DI and one from FI[32] giving *bog/ bogplace*. *Marsh* was pronounced by all respondents as *mesh* [mɪʃ] or [mɛʃ],[33] with loss of postvocalic /r/ before the voiceless fricative.

b) Small pond: This item returned three names: *pond; flashet* from two men from FI; and *steady* from M5 of DI. According to the DNE (1990:189), a *flashet* is a small pond within a marshy place, while a *steady* is the unruffled places in a brook where it enters or leaves a pond or lake.

c) Small stream: There were two responses to this item with *brook* being more common, and *steady* reported by a single individual, M5 from DI.

d) High steep rock face: Here *cliff* was the most common response, with one instance of *bully rock* from M7, and one of *head* from M2, both of FI.

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[32] Hereafter, I will use DI for Deer Island and FI for Flat Island.

[33] See Section 2.1.12 for discussion on *r*-deletion in this word.

e) Local names for roads, ponds and other features of the landscape: Here I obtained a variety of responses, as expected. All were given by FI informants and are listed here: *Stroud's Droke* (*droke*=a thick grove of trees in a valley, DNE 1990:154), *The Courting Hole, The Bark Pot, Poor's (=Power's) Point, Gussy Gulch* (perhaps from Gussy's Gulch?), *Pike's Cove, Ship's Water Place, The Gully, Dark Hole Pond, Morgan's Mesh* (*mesh*=marsh), *(H)iscock's Room (room*=a tract of land on the waterfront from which a fishery is conducted, DNE, 1990:418).

f) An area enclosed by a fence: I obtained just one word for this item, as most said there were no fences on the Islands where they lived. M7 and M1 of FI, along with M5 of DI, all gave *garden* for this question.

II Flora and Fauna

a) Needles of evergreen trees: Here there were four different responses, with *sprinkles* (DNE 1990:516) being reported by three FI respondents, M7, F6, and F1; *twigs* by F5 of FI; *needles* by M2 of FI; and *buds* by M9 from DI.

b) Outer covering of tree trunks: There were some different responses to this item. Most people gave *rind(s)*. However one informant, F1 of FI, said that this pertained only to fir trees. Other respondents gave *birch rind* or *bark* as the name of this item.

c) Types of local trees: Here there was a wide range of responses. These were: *fir* as [vəˑ] and [fəˑ]; *spruce; black spruce* (given only by M5 from DI); *birch*; *bramble* and *goldwithy* (pronounced ['guʊˌwədi] and ['gjuʊˌwədi]) – terms usually referring to low bushes (DNE 1990:220) – given only by F5 from FI; *dogwood* reported by M5 of DI; *dogberry*, presumably the same tree; *pine*; *aps* (i.e. *aspen*); *alders*; *juniper*; *silver maple*, given only by F1 from FI; and *crunnick/cronnicks* ['kʰranɪks] (stunted, twisted trees, according to the DNE 1990:127), only from M5 of DI.

d) Low shrubs on the barrens: I elicited a variety of responses here, with *goldwithy* pronounced *goowiddy* (cf. DNE 1990:220) given by informants from FI. There were also single instances of *scrub* and *moss* from M7 and M6 of FI, respectively. *Alders* was reported by F3 of DI.

e) Types of berries found on the Islands: Here there was again a variety of answers, both in the wild category and in the cultivated category. For wild there were *partridgeberries (Vaccinium vitis-daea)*[34] (DNE 1990:370); *blueberries (Vaccinium angustifolium)*;[35] *poisonberries (Clintonia borealis)*; *raspberries*; *blackberries (Empetrum nigrum)*; *teaberries* (DNE 1990:559-60), also of the *Empetrum* species; *dogberries*, from the mountain ash or dogberry tree *(Pyrus americana)*; *marshberries (Vaccinium oxycoccos)*; *squashberries (Viburnum edule)* (DNE 1990:521); and *bakeapples (Rubus chamaemorus)* (DNE 1990:16-17). Several informants gave the following examples for the cultivated berry category: (*English*) *gooseberries*; *greenharts* ['griᵛnarts] (cultivated blueberries), (see DNE 1990:262 under *hurts*); *black currants* and *red currants*; and *strawberries*. M5 told me that he had brought an English gooseberry bush from Deer Island and planted it in his garden in Glovertown, where it still bore fruit after 50 years.

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[34] All botanical names are taken from the DNE, 2nd edition, 1990 unless otherwise noted.

[35] Thanks to the botanists at MUN's Botanical Gardens for this information.

f) Hanging white moss/lichen on trees: The most common response here was *moldow* [ˌmaɬˈdaʊ] ~ [ˈmaɬˌdɐʊ] (DNE 1990:331), given with the two different stress patterns shown; however *moss* was also well represented. One informant only, M6 from FI, gave *mollyfodge* [ˈmɐˑliˌfaʤ] (DNE 1990:332).

g) Large flying insect with double wings which eats mosquitoes: Only one informant, F5 of FI, responded to this item, giving *horse-stingers* [ˈasˌstɪˆŋəˑz] (DNE 1990:259). This was probably a result of the interview situation rather than lack of knowledge of the insect in question.

h) Insects that make nests and get into the walls, i.e. ants: All informants agreed on the name of this insect as *emmets* [ˈɛməts] ~ [ˈɪməts], but one, M2 of FI, also gave *ants*. Surprisingly, *emmet* has the same etymological source as *ant*. For further discussion, refer to section 2.1.1.

i) Small mongrel dog: I elicited three responses of *cracky* (DNE 1990:119), from F5, F6 and M7, all of FI. Other respondents did not have any special name, except for a baby dog, variously *puppy* or *pup*.

III The Fishery

a) Home-made anchor with rock enclosed by sticks: Most of my informants were familiar with this item and gave its name as *killick* [kʰɛlɪk] ~ [kʰɪlɪk] ~[kʰɪlik] (DNE 1990:285-6). One DI male, M9, gave *grapenel* [grɛɪpnᵊl], a variant of StdE *grapnel* [græpnᵊl].

b) Waterproof apron used when cleaning fish: Here I obtained the two variants *barbel/ barvel* (DNE 1990:29) from informants in both Island groups, with *barbel* being the more common response. One instance of *apron* was also reported by F3 of DI. The name of this item was widely known.

c) Waterproof clothing worn by fishermen: Again, I obtained several variants, *oilskins*, *oil-clothes,* and *rubber-clothes*, with *oil-clothes* being the most frequent. *Oil-clothes* revealed two stress patterns, the more frequent of which displayed primary stress on *oil*, rather than on *clothes*. *Oilskins* always had primary stress on the first morpheme.

d) Waterproof hat worn by fishermen: All my informants gave *cape ann* (from Cape Ann, Massachusetts, DNE 1990:81-2), with no occurrence of *sou'wester*, which is also common on the island

(cf. Noseworthy, 1971 for Grand Bank).

e) Knitted hand covers used when hauling lines: Here there were several names given: *nippers, finger-nippers* (DNE 1990:349), and *fingerstalls* (DNE 1990:175). M7 of FI provided the sole instance of *gloves.*

f) Hand covers worn when splitting fish: This item yielded several answers but only *splitting-mitt* (DNE 1990:512) occurred more than once. *Mitt* and *lefthanded mitt* were responses given by Deer Islanders, and *cuff* (DNE 1990:128) was given only by M2 of FI.

g) Horizontal rack for drying fish: All informants agreed on the term *flake* (DNE 1990:187-8) for this item, although F5 of FI also gave the more specific variant *hand-flake*, presumably for the smaller portable type.

h) Long poles forming the platform top of the fish flake: The general consensus here was *lungers/ longers* (DNE 1990:313), with M7 of FI giving *beams*, M2 of FI providing *flake-beams* (probably the framework on which the lungers rested), and F3 of DI giving *poles* and *boughs.*

i) Tree bark used to cover fish on the flake: Here, there was full agreement, with *rin(d)s* being the word obtained from all informants. M6 and M7 of Flat Island also informed me that a bundle of 10 rinds was a *(k)nitch* (DNE 1990:287-8). For those who couldn't count, M7 said, a rhyme was made up so they would know when they had ten.

Two and two is four,

And two is a couple more,

And two and two makes a nitch.[36]

j) Amount of dried fish carried in one's hands or arms: Interestingly, only three Flat Islanders gave an answer here, but they all agreed on *yaffle* (DNE 1990:621).

k) Stretcher-like frame used to carry fish: Here, while all informants provided *barrow* (DNE 1990:28), - which was given as [baroʊ]~[bɐrə]~[bɐr] - there were some different qualifiers, yielding *fish-barrow*, *dirt-barrow*, *hand-barrow*, and *single hand-barrow*. This last names a device used by one person carrying fish alone

[36] See the DNE (1990:288) under *knitch* for another version of this rhyme.

while the preceding words designate the item used when two people carried fish together.

l) Large tubs in which bait is carried: This item had a variety of answers: *bait-tub* was given by informants from both Island groups, while *puncheon-tub* (DNE 1990:396), *bait-box*, and *bucket* were each given only by Flat Islanders.

m) Names for larger boats which traveled to the fishing grounds: Here again a variety of names was given to these boats: *schooner* (42 feet or longer, according to one informant); *motor-boat/ trap-boat/ trap-skiff* (about 28-30 feet); *bully/ bulley* (about 24-26 feet) (DNE 1990:73); and, with no size specified, *second-boat*, *second-skiff*, *cruising-skiff*, and *fishing-boat*. Schooners were used for the migratory fishery in Labrador, while the other boat types were used in the local inshore fishery. Deer Islanders gave only responses of *schooner* and *bully*, but Flat Islanders knew all these names.

n) Names of the smaller boats in which individuals fished: This

item elicited both *rodney*[37] (DNE 1990:416) and *punt* (DNE 1990:396) from most of my informants. These are two names for similar types of small, round-bottomed boat. I also elicited *row-boat* from M9 of DI and *gunney-punt* (presumably from *gun-punt* or *gunning-punt,* DNE 1990:233) from M2 of FI.

o) Ropes used to haul nets: There was some difference of opinion here. I elicited *rope* from M5 of DI; from Flat Islanders I obtained *moorings* from M1 and M6, and *rowlock* from M7. I expect that *rowlock* was a result of a misunderstanding of the question, as this is the device used to hold the oars in place on the gunwales (COED 1995:1202)

p) Device used to bail water from the bottom of a boat: Different terms were given for two different types of this device: a long-handled version called a *spudgel* (DNE 1990:518), provided only by Flat Islanders, and a short-handled one called a *peggin/piggin* (DNE 1990:377), given by respondents from both Island groups. One

[37] The source of the name *rodney* is unknown; Kirwin (1982:110) rejects the popular etymology which claims that this type of boat was named for an early British governor of Newfoundland.

other word elicited was *bailer*, from two Deer Islanders, but this seems to be a more modern word.

IV Kitchen Gardening

a) The building which houses livestock and their feed: Overwhelmingly, the response here was *cattle-house*, with F3 of DI giving *barn*. When asked if there was a separate place for pigs or sheep, respondents replied with a variety of names: *(pig)pen, pig-sty, pig's-house, (sheep's)-pound, sheep's-barn.*

b) The upper part of a barn: This was known as the *loft*, or the *hay-/grass-loft.*

c) Container for pigs' feed: The consensus here was *trough,* pronounced [ʧroʊ] ~ [ʧroʊə] (see section 2.1.3 for more discussion of this word). Two Flat Island informants gave *pig's-trough* as well.

d) Amount of wool removed from a sheep: While not all informants knew this item, I did get several answers from Flat Islanders with *wool, fleece*, and *fleece of wool* all being equally known. A single informant, M2 of FI, gave *sheepskin.*

e) Name for time when animals give birth: Here I recorded just

one answer, from F1 of FI. She gave *lambing-time* as her response.

f) Noise a horse makes:[38] This question again returned only one response, also from a FI respondent. M6 reported *neigh.*

g) Place where animals graze. This item also received little response. The one Flat Islander who did reply, F1, gave *the wild* as her answer.

V The Premises

a) Name for a wooden fence: Several FI informants responded to this question with *layer* (DNE 1990:299) as [lɛɪəˑ]~[lɛ^əˑ]~[leɪəˑ], while one gave *riddlin'-rod* (DNE 1990:409-10). The latter is a type of fence where small rods are interlaced, either at an angle to make a woven look, or with three rails, one each at top, bottom and middle. Other Flat Islanders gave *slab*, as well as *lathed* [lætəd]. [39] Both groups knew *picket.*

b) Name for the long poles used horizontally to make a fence: Here the consensus was *rails*, with M5 of DI alone giving

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[38] The only domestic animals on these islands were sheep and pigs, so that most people did not have a response which they used when living there.

[39] Note that the recorded OE standard form is *lætt* with the letter *t* doubled.

longers/ lungers (DNE 1990:313), pronounced [lʌŋgəːz].

c) Smaller boards attached to these rails vertically to make a fence: *Palings* was the most common response, but *pickets* was almost as well known. Only M5 of DI gave *slabs.*

d) Type of vehicles used to transport wood in winter: The term *catamaran* (DNE 1990:89) was known to Flat Islanders, although shortened to *cat* by one male respondent. M5 from DI reported *hand-cat*, and M9, also of DI, reported *slide*, also called *countryslide* (designed like an Inuit *komatik;* see DNE, 1990:289 for a description of the latter).

e) Device on which firewood is supported for sawing: Eight different informants called this device a *wood-horse*, usually with pronunciations like ['wʊd ˌars] or ['wʊdˌas].

f) Short pieces of wood sawn to fit into a stove: Again, eight informants agreed that the name for this was *junk(s)* (DNE 1990:282). F1 of FI specified that *junks* are round and unsplit while those pieces which are split are called *billets* (DNE 1990:43).

g) Small pieces of wood used to start a fire: While ten respondents gave *splits* as their preferred answer, alternative answers were also

given. Flat Islanders also knew *whittles*, *shavings*, *chips*, and *bavins* [beɪv^{ə}nz]~[bæˀv^{ə}nz] (DNE 1990:30). M5 of DI gave *kindling* as an alternate term.

h) Amount of a substance one person can carry: The answers here depended on the item carried for some Flat Islanders. F1 gave *yaffles* (DNE 1990:621), but only if fish were the commodity. F5 gave *turns* (DNE 1990:588) which she applied only to water. *Armful* or *armload* were said to apply to any other item, such as firewood.

i) Large, coarse sack for vegetables: Here, only two women from FI had a response. Both F1 and F5 gave *brin bag(s)* (DNE 1990:67) as the name of this item.

j) Large container for carrying liquids: *Bucket(s)* was the common response here, although F1 of FI provided the more specific *galvanized bucket.* M9 from DI and M7 and M2 from FI used the term *buckets-and-hoop* (DNE, 1990:702).

k) Device used to turn on water: The preferred answer here was *tap(s)*, but three FI informants also gave *faucet* as an alternate term.

l) Name for an outdoor toilet: Both groups of respondents had

outhouse as their most common answer, but Flat Islanders also gave *toilet.* F6 and M7 of FI said they knew it as *Nineteen* or *Number nineteen.* M5 of DI responded with *privy.*

VI Food

a) Names for meals: All respondents agreed that the names for the meals were *breakfast,* taken on rising; *dinner,* taken at noon; and *supper,* taken in the evening.

b) Names for food eaten between meals: Here there were differences. Three informants had *(a cup of) tea* immediately upon rising, while two Flat Islanders had the same at 11 a.m., and three had *tea* at 3 p.m.. At 10 p.m., some respondents had a *lunch* before going to bed, while some had *lunch* any time between meals. M5 of DI called a large late evening meal a *scoff* (DNE 1990:438-9; COED 1995:1237, from Dutch *schoft* via Afrikaans *schoff*).

c) Bread bought at a store: Only one respondent, M6 of FI, gave a name for this item, *baker's-bread,* as all others said there was no store-bought bread when they were growing up.

d) Fried bread dough: This delicacy is known in Grand Bank by

such names as *damper-dogs* (DNE 1990:133), *touzins, toudins, toutins* (Noseworthy, 1971; DNE 1990:575), and in Carbonear as *fried dough, pancakes* or *gandies* (Paddock, 1966; DNE 1990:210). My informants, too, reported more than one name for this item. The most commonly used term was *tiffins* (DNE 1990:567), but M1 of FI used *fried dough*, and F5, also from FI, gave *pantiles/fantiles* [ˈpʰæn,tʰʌˀɪɬz] ~ [ˈfæn,tʰʌˀɪɬz].[40]

e) Unsplit salted cod: Most informants had two names for this item: *rounders* (DNE 1990:421) and *leggies* (DNE 1990:302). M9 of DI had *tom(my)-cod* (DNE 1990:572) in addition to the above two terms.

f) Sweet liquid served with pudding: Two informants, M2 and M6, both of FI, still called this *coady* (DNE 1990:102), while to everyone else, it was merely *sauce.*

g) The centre of an apple: M6 and M7 of FI, along with M9 of DI, gave the term *cord*, most likely a hypercorrection of *core.* M2,

[40] The term *tiffins* sems to be a Bonavista Bay word, while *pantiles* has apparently not been previously documented in Newfoundland. (However, see OED (1989, Vol. VII:431) for a possible etymology of *pantiles.*)

also of FI, provided the standard *core.*

VII Home and Family Matters

a) Best room in the house, or one used to receive visitors: There was a difference between the island groups on this item. Most Flat Islanders called it the *inside-room* or *inside-place* while most Deer Islanders contributed either *minister's-room* or *living-room.* F1 of FI and F3 of DI both reported *parlour*, while M6 of FI gave *front-room* and *spare-room.*

b) Small room added to the back of a house: There was no knowledge of the DNE (1990:306) word *linny* in this context as, upon further questioning, I discovered that the item was unknown to my informants. The only response, from M7 of FI, was *back porch.*

c) Pipe from stove to chimney: I obtained both *funnel* and *stove pipe* from informants on both Island groups in response to this question.

d) Storage room for food: The most common response here was *pantry*, with *store-room* and *storage-room* each reported once by Flat Islanders.

e) Covering worn by women when working in the kitchen: The most usual response here was *apron*, although there were two reports of *barbel* (DNE 1990:29) and one of *pinafore*, all by women from FI.

f) Place to store clothes: *Clothes-closet* was the most common term furnished for this item. There was one instance each of *clothes-cupboard*, from M2 of FI, and *closet*, from M9 of DI. Two Flat Islanders also gave *trunk*.

g) Thick and warm but lightweight bed cover: Here there were many different names given: FI participants gave *comforter*, *rug*, and *eiderdown*; DI informants gave *bed-spread*; and *quilt* was give by one man from each Island.

h) Woman who delivers babies: Informants gave *midwife* as the most common name, while M1 of FI also gave *granny* (DNE 1990:222).

i) Liquid from an infected sore: Respondents gave *pus* most frequently, while F5 and M6, both of FI, gave *matter* and F5 also gave *inflammation*.

VIII Various Attitudes and Activities

a) Exaggerated stories: Here I recorded a variety of responses. M6 of FI called these *yarns*. M7, also of FI, said this exaggeration was *telling lies*. Both F5 of FI and M5 of DI said it was *stretchin' on it*.

b) Masquerading at Christmas: This practice was most commonly known as *mummering* and the actors were *mummers* (DNE 1990:337). However, F5 of FI also knew the terms *jannying* and, along with M1, M6, and M7, all from FI, *jannies* (DNE 1990:273), for the actors themselves.

c) Name for someone from a rural community: *Bayman* was the most frequent tems used, but M9 of DI gave *baywop(s)* (DNE 1990:33).

d) One who converts to another church: Most informants used the term *turncoat* here. F2 of FI gave *back-slider*, which may not have meant the same thing.

e) Names for Satan: Flat Islanders had such names as *Satan*, the *Devil*, *Old Nick* and the *Black-Man*. Deer Islanders gave no response to this item.

f) Jumping around on ice pans: All informants gave some variant of *flip(s)y* (DNE 1990:191). I recorded *flipsying, flippying, flipsy* and *flipsy-pans.*

g) Game played with board across fulcrum and person on each end: I recorded only *see-saw* from informants representing both Island groups.

h) To sneak off from school: Only F5 of FI reported *mooch* (DNE 1990:332), while M6 of FI reported *run away.* One informant told me that the people she knew did not indulge in this behaviour!

i) Container for burial: Of the two responses provided, *coffin* was the more common, with *casket* also known.

j) A left-handed person: The only response here was *left-handed Paddy*, from four informants encompassing both Island groups.

k) An unsavory man: This item elicited three responses from three different respondents. F1 of FI gave *back-biter*, M5 of DI gave *contrary man* [kən'tʰrɛri ˌmæn], and M6 of FI gave *rascal.*

l) Games played as children: F5 of FI and M9 of DI gave most of the responses here. They both said they played *hopscotch*; F5 played *hide-and-go-seek, skipping*, and *kick-the-Nicky* (Nicky=inflated

pig's bladder) as well, while M9 also played *cats* (a form of softball or baseball) (although see DNE 1990:89 for another explanation of this game), *tiddly* (DNE 1990:566), and *sliding on the cat* (*cat*=catamaran). F2 of FI said she played *dominoes*, and F4, also of FI, played *ring-around-a-rosy*.

IX Miscellaneous

a) Time - 15 minutes to the hour: The most common response here was *quarter to* [ˌkʰwɛrdəˑ ˈtʰu(ː)~ˈkʰwɛrdəˑ də]. M7 of FI gave *15 minutes to*, and F5, also of FI, gave *15 minutes 'fore*.

b) Wind beginning to blow harder: The most frequent responses here were variants of *breezing up*: *breezin' up*, *breeze up*, *breezin'*. There were also such phrases as *gale-wind*, *gale-force*, *blows a gale*, and *hurricane*.

5. CONCLUSIONS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Despite their close geographical proximity, the participants in this study did not speak a uniform variety. There were differences between individuals as well as between island groups. These dissimilarities were found in the phonology, in the morphology and syntax, and in the vocabulary. Many of the NS features of the dialects can be attributed to the origins in Southwestern England of the informants' ancestors, but the differences between the idiolects do not lend themselves to such easy attribution. Because all the participants in this study were from a single generation, ranging in age from 78 to 93, there is very little difference that can be attributed to age. Most of these people had only primary schooling and all lived on the islands until adulthood, so their education and cultural differences were negligible. In this section I will take a general look at the differences and similarities in the phonology, the morphosyntax, and the vocabulary of the informants' speech.

5.1 PHONOLOGY

The formal interview situation did not seem to have any obvious effect, in that the interview yielded a casual speech register. The participants were asked to describe life on the islands when they were growing up, and all were

relaxed and comfortable with this task. One female informant, who was wary of the initial process, soon relaxed as she began telling of the things she and her friends would do for fun.

The most noticeable phonological distinction in the speech of my informants was the centering of /i:/ to [əɪ]~[ə^i̞] and /eɪ/ to [əɪ]~[ɜɪ] by many Flat Islanders. No Deer Islanders showed this feature, and it was something of a shibboleth when I was growing up in Glovertown. The only other overall difference was also regional: the voicing of initial fricatives by Flat Islanders but not by Deer Islanders.

The many other NS phonological features described in Chapter 2 were found within both groups. Thus, both Island groups showed KIT lowering and DRESS raising; *TH* stopping; glottalization; *L* vocalization; Consonant Cluster Simplification (CCS); and some metathesis and *R* dropping. The vast majority of these differences from StdE have been reported for the Southwest of England and have survived to some degree among my informants.

5.2 MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

There was a great deal of NS use of verbs among the participants in this study. Many strong verbs were regularized to the weak verb paradigm with the addition of *-ed* to form the past tense and the past participle forms, among

them *knowed*, *growed*, *leaved*, and *keeped*. Some strong verbs merged the past tense and past participle forms into a single past form, such as *took* (for *took* and *taken*); *wrote* (for *wrote* and *written*); *come* (for *came* and *come*); *seen* (for *saw* and *seen*). Others displayed past forms that were identical to the present : *give/give*, *leave/leave*; *spin/spin*.

Another way in which verbs differed from the standard was in their lack of agreement with the subject. Lack of standard non-past agreement was common, with many instances of verbal *-s* with all grammatical subjects. The verb *be* showed several NS realizations, such as past tense generalization of *was* for *were*, as well as some use of *were* for *was* by two informants.

There was much NS use of the verbs *have* and *do*, in both their lexical and auxiliary forms. What in StdE would be non-past lexical *have* is invariably, in this dialect, *got*. Past tense lexical *do* is at all times *done* instead of the standard *did*. Non-past auxiliary *have* is sometimes standard (e.g. 2nd person singular *have*), and sometimes not (e.g. 3rd person plural *has*, 3rd person singular *have*). Negative non-past auxiliary *do* often becomes *don't* instead of standard *doesn't* in 3rd person statements. Sometimes, tense or aspect markers were deleted altogether, giving constructions like *must be born* instead of standard *must have been born*.

Pronouns, too, show much NS usage. The use of the subject form in stressed object position is alive and well among these speakers. When speaking of the number of members in their families, many of the participants used the subject pronoun *we* in the object position as in ". . . seven of we". There was also general use of unstressed *un* rather than *it* or *him* as the 3rd person singular masculine object; instances of subject forms *he* and *she* utilized as stressed objects; use of [mi] for the 1st person possessive in unstressed positions; and grammatical gender assignment based on mobility and the mass/count distinction.

While nouns did not show a great deal of variation from the standard, there were some unusual formations. In many nominal phrases with numeric qualifiers, such as "three years old" and "seven miles from here" nouns often displayed no plural suffixes. Thus the phrases above would be *three year old*, and *seven mile from here*. The associative plural, noun phrases where *and them* or *and they* denotes others of the same category or group, is also found in my data in such phrases as *my dad and they* , and *Eastport and they.*

The use of the prepositions *up*, *down*, *in*, *on*, and *over* in relation to geographical direction was widespread among my study participants. No one went just "here" or "there", they went *up here*, *in here*, *out there*, *over there*, and

down there. Only in Newfoundland does one go *down North* and fish *on the Labrador*, as one of my speakers told me he had done.

The use of the indefinite adjective *neither*, meaning 'not any', did occur, but not often, in my data. One speaker had *neither drop of milk*, while another had *ne'er boat.* This also showed up as a double negative in *wouldn't have neither drop of milk*, while other double negatives reported were *nobody wouldn't*, and *never had no.* In all word categories, Newfoundlanders give the language their own distinctive flavour.

5.3 LEXICON

Newfoundlanders have long been known for their tendency to coin words and phrases. The participants in my study are no different. One speaker maintained that his family was *gifted*, meaning not 'talented' as the standard would, but possessing the gifts of luck, ingenuity and a capacity for hard work. While researching words in the DNE (1990) , I discovered that a number of the words collected in the questionnaire portion of my interviews are also presumed to be of Newfoundland origin. Here is a sampling of these Newfoundland words: *rodney*, a small rowboat; *moldow* and *mollyfodge*, two words for a type of moss which grows on trees; *cracky*, a small dog of indeterminate

breed; and *leggy* and *rounder*, both denoting a small codfish, salted without being split.

Because of the origins of many Newfoundland settlers, phrases from Southwest England are often found in Newfoundland. A type found in this study is *the fall of the year*, or *the spring of the year*. This collocation is quite common when referring to these two seasons, and seldom remarked on.

Not only phrases, but many words used by the speakers in this study can be traced directly back to Southwest England. A few examples follow: *marsh* as *mesh,* found in the Isle of Wight, south Devon, Hampshire, and Somerset; *droke*, linked to the Southwest counties; *yaffle*, from Cornwall and Devon; and *spudgel*, reported from in Dorset, Somerset, the Isle of Wight and Glocestershire.

Because of the exclusively Southwest-English origins of the people in this area, unlike in many other parts of Newfoundland and especially the southern shore of the Avalon Peninsula (see Dillon, 1968), virtually no Hiberno-English words and expressions were found in this dialect.

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APPENDIX A: ITEMS IN THE LEXICAL QUESTIONNAIRE

I **Landscape**

a) Low lying wet land
b) Small pond
c) Small stream
d) High, steep rock-face
e) Local names for roads, ponds and other features of the landscape
f) Area enclosed by fences

II **Flora and Fauna**

a) Needles of evergreen trees
b) Outer covering of tree trunks
c) Types of local trees
d) Low shrub on the barrens
e) Types of berries found on the Islands
f) Hanging white moss/lichen on trees
g) Large flying insect with double wings which eats mosquitoes
h) Insects that make nests and get into the walls, i.e. ants
i) Small mongrel dog

III **Fishery**

a) Home-made anchor with rock enclosed by sticks
b) Waterproof apron used when cleaning fish
c) Waterproof clothing worn by fishermen
d) Waterproof hat worn by fishermen
e) Knitted hand covers used when hauling lines
f) Hand covers worn when splitting fish
g) Horizontal rack for drying fish
h) Long poles forming the platform top of the fish flake
i) Tree bark used to cover fish on the flake
j) Amount of dried fish carried in one's hands or arms
k) Stretcher-like frame used to carry fish
l) Large tubs in which bait is carried
m) Names for larger boats which traveled to the fishing grounds
n) Names of smaller boats in which individuals fished

o) Ropes used to haul nets
p) Device used to bail water from the bottom of a boat

IV **Kitchen Gardening**

a) The building which houses livestock and their feed
b) The upper part of barn
c) Container for pigs' feed
d) Amount of wool removed from a sheep
e) Name for time when animals give birth
f) Noise a horse makes
g) Place where animals graze

V **The Premises**

a) Name for a wooden fence
b) Name for the long poles used horizontally to make a fence
c) Smaller boards attached to these rails vertically to make a fence
d) Types of vehicles used to transport wood in winter
e) Device on which wood is supported for sawing
f) Short pieces of wood sawn to fit into a stove
g) Smaller pieces of wood used to start a fire
h) Amount of a substance one person can carry
i) Large, coarse sack for vegetables
j) Large container for carrying liquids
k) Device used to turn on water
l) Name for an outdoor toilet

VI **Food**

a) Names for meals
b) Names for food eaten between meals
c) Bread which is bought from store
d) Fried bread dough
e) Unsplit salted cod
f) Sweet liquid served with pudding
g) The centre of an apple

VII **Home and Family Matters**

a) Best room in the house, or one used to receive visitors
b) Small room added to back of house
c) Pipe from stove to chimney
d) Storage room for food
e) Covering worn by women when working in the kitchen
f) Place to store clothes
g) Thick and warm but lightweight bed cover
h) Woman who delivers babies
i) Liquid from an infected sore

VIII **Various Attitudes and Activities**

a) Exaggerated stories
b) Masquerading at Christmas
c) Name for someone from a rural community
d) One who converts to another church
e) Names for Satan
f) Jumping around on ice pans
g) Game played with board across fulcrum and person on each end
h) To sneak off from school
i) Container for burial
j) A left-handed person
k) An unsavory man
l) Games played as children

IX **Miscellaneous**

a) Time - 15 min. to the hour
b) Wind beginning to blow harder

APPENDIX B: PARTICIPANT RELEASE FORM

Memorial University of Newfoundland
The Islands of Bonavista Bay Study
Participant Release Form

Participant's Name: _____

Participant's Address: _____

I have been advised of the purpose of the research for which you have interviewed me and

1. I am fully aware of the fact that the interviews are being tape-recorded.

2. I grant you permission to use the interview material for your current research, and for any resulting published or unpublished thesis.

3. I further grant you permission to use the interview material for any other purposes, such as discussions, presentation or any published or unpublished works in addition to the thesis.

4. I grant you permission to deposit the tape-recorded material with the Department of Linguistic, Memorial University of Newfoundland, thereby granting access to this material for other research.

5. It is understood that all information provided will be kept strictly confidential, and that my identity will be known only by the present investigator, Linda M. Harris. It is also understood that my participation is voluntary, and that I may end the interview at any time.

Participant's Signature: _____

Date: _____

Interviewer: _____

APPENDIX C: VOWEL DATA [41]

In this Appendix, I present my vowel data from the Bonavista Bay communities of Flat Islands and Deer Islands/Bragg's Island. The data are organized as follows: 1) according to Wells' (1982) sets; 2) according to whether the data are from the questionnaire or free conversation portions of the interview; 3) according to speaker. Each vowel section begins with a listing of all variants found for the lexical set in question.

1 KIT/DRESS

The variants found in this study are: i(:) ~ i˅ ~ iːɞ

ɪ(:) ~ ɪ˅ ~ ɪ˄ ~ ɪᵊ ~ ɪə ~ ɪɞ

eɪ

ɛ ~ ɛ˄(:) ~ ɛ˅ɪ ~ ɛɞ

ə˄ː ~ əɪ

æ

a

[41] In this appendix, stress is indicated on all disyllabic words where both syllables contain an unreduced vowel.

Questionnaire Data for KIT/DRESS set

	KIT		DRESS	
F1	cliff	kʰlɪf [42]	emmets	ɛməts
	sprinkles	sprɪŋkᵊɬs	peggin	pʰəɪʔᵊn
F1	brin	brɪn	pen	pʰɛn
	killick(s)	ˈkʰɛlɪks	breakfast	brakfəs
	nippers	nɪpəˑz		
	fish	fiʃ		
	splits	splɪts		
	billits	bɪɬᵊts		
	tiffins	tʰɪfᵊnz		
	dinner	dɪˇnəˑ		
	pigs	pʰəˆːgz		
F4	splits	splɪˆts		
	chips	ʧɪˆps		
	pickets	pʰɪkəts		

[42] The conventional square brackets of phonetics are omitted in the transcriptioms which appear in the second and fourth columns.

Questionnaire Data for KIT/DRESS set

	KIT		DRESS	
F5	cliff	kʰlif	emmets	ɪməts
	stingers	stɪˆŋəˑz	breakfast	brækrəs
	killick	ˈkʰɪlɪk	peggin	pʰeɪgᵊn
	splits	splɪts		
	brin	brɪn		
	picket	pʰɪkətˈ		
	dinner	dɪnəˑ		
	flipsying	ˈflɪpsiᵊn		
	skiff	skɪf		
	kick	kʰɪkˈ		
	inside	ˈɪnsɐɪd		
	twigs	tʰwɪgz		
F6	sprinkles	sprɪŋkᵊɬz		
	killick	ˈkʰɪlik		
	skins	skɪnz		
	splits	splɪts		
	tiffins	tʰɪfᵊnz		
	pig	pʰɪˆg		
	dinner	dɪnəˑ		

Questionnaire Data for KIT/DRESS set

	KIT		DRESS	
M5	cliff	kʰlɪˇf	bed(spread)	bɪːd
	skins	skɪnz	(bed)spread	sprɛdˈ
	splits	splɪts	leggies	ˈlɛˇɪgiz
	mitt	mɪt	breakfast	brækrəs
	kindling	ˈkʰɪnlɪn	steady	ˈstɪdi
	privy	ˈpʰrɪvi	peggin	pʰɪgᵊn
	tiffins	tʰɪfᵊnz		
	midwife	ˈmɪdʷəɪf		
	minister's	ˈmɪˇnɪstəˑz		
	dinner	dɪˇnəˑ		
	living	lɪbᵊn		
	finger	fɪŋgəˑ		
	flip(s)ying	ˈflɪpiᵊn		
M6	killick	ˈkʰɪlɪk	peggin	pʰeɪʔᵊn
	nippers	nɪpəˑʃ		
	splits	splɪts		
	whittles	wɪtᵊɬz		

Questionnaire Data for KIT/DRESS set

	KIT		DRESS	
M7	sprinkles	sprɪnkᵊɬz	emmets	ɛməts
	killick	ˈkʰɪlik	leggies	ˈleɪgiz
	finger	fiːŋgə˞	breakfast	brækrəs
	fishing	fiːʃᵊn		
	skiff	skɪf		
	splits	splɪts		
	pig	pʰɪg		
	pickets	pʰɪkəts		
	dinner	dɪˇnə˞		
	inside	ˈɪnsɐid		

Free Conversation Data for KIT/DRESS set

	KIT		DRESS	
F8	big	bɪ:g ~ bi:g		
	kill	$k^hɪə^t$		
	killed	$k^hiɞ^td$ ~ $k^hɪ^ə{}^td$		
	since	sɛˆns		
	think	$t^hiŋk$		
	thing	$t^hiŋ$		
	stick	stɪk		
	picked	p^hikt		
	pig(s)	$p^hi:gz$ ~ p^hig		
	fish	fiʃ ~ fɪʃ		
M4	cliff	$k^hlɪf$	head(stone)	'hiˇdston
	fished	fi:ʃt	shells	ʃi:ɞz
	(to) fish	fi:ʃ		
	tickle	$'t^hɪkɞ^t$		
	children	ʧɛɞ$^dr^ə$n		
	big	bɪg		

Free Conversation Data for KIT/DRESS set

	KIT		DRESS	
M5	children	ʧɛˆᵗᵈrᵊn	breakfast	ˈbrækfɬs
	living	lɪbᵊm	next	nɪks
	thick	tʰɪk	fence	fɪˇns
	chimney(s)	ˈʧɪmni~ˈʧɪmbliz	kettle	kʰɪʔᵊɬ
	history	ˈɪsri		
M7	fishing	fiʃᵊn	heads	ɪːdz
	fish	fiʃ	vegetables	ˈvɛʤᵊbᵊɬz
	fifteen	fɪf ˈdɪˆn	myself	mʌ̹ɪˈzɛɬ̹f
	pig(s)	pʰɪg ~ pʰɬːgz	kept	kʰɪˇpˈ
	kill	kʰɪᵊɬ		
	stick(s) (n)	stɪk ~ stiˇks		
	stick (v)	stɪˆk		
	fishermen	ˈfiʃəmᵊn ~ ˈviʃəmᵊn		
	winter	wɛˆːntᵊ		

Questionnaire Data for TRAP/BATH set

2 TRAP/BATH

The variants found in this study are: æ(:) ~ æˆ ~ æˀ ~ æəˆ ~ æˆɪ

eɪ

ɛ ~ ɛ$^{\vee}$

F1	yaffles	jæfᵊɬz	lambing	ˈlæmɪn
	tap	tʰæpˈ	path	pʰætˈ
	cattle(house)	ˈkʰæʔᵊɬˌaʊs	back	bæk
	(cape-)ann	æːən		
F4	cattlehouse	ˌkʰætᵊɬˈɐʊs		
F5	yaffle	jæfᵊɬ	pantiles[43]	ˈpʰænˌtʰʌˑɪᵊɬz
	hand	æn	latted (lathed)	lætəd
	cattle(house)	ˈkʰɛʔˌlɛˆʊs[44]		
	jannying	ˈʤæniɪn	Paddy	ˈpʰædi
	taps	tʰæpˢ	bramble	bræmbᵊɬ
	casket	kʰæskətˈ	(cape-)ann	æˆn
	pantry	ˈpʰæntʃri		

[43] See Chapter 4, Section VI for the meaning of this term.

[44] F5 did not seem to know that she was saying *cattlehouse*, but pronounced the word as if it were *ket-louse*, which may account for the anomalous [ɛ].

Questionnaire Data for TRAP/BATH set

F6	crackie	ˈkʰræki	hand	æn
	bavins	beɪvᵊnz[45]		
M5	hand	æn	(cape-)ann	æn
	tap	tʰæp	scaffold	skæfᵊɬ
	cattlehouse	ˈkʰæʔᵊlˌaʊs	cat	kʰæt
	slabs	slæbz	casket	kʰæˆskətˈ
	pantry	ˈpʰænʔri	black(berries)	ˈblækˈbɛriz
M6	hand	æn	(cape-)ann	æəˆn
	trap	ʧræpˈ		
M7	crackie	ˈkʰræki	catamaran	ˌkʰærəməˈræn
	hand	æn	tap	tʰæp
	grass	græs	cattlehouse	ˈkʰæʔəɬˌɐˆʊs
	trap	ʧræp	pantry	ˈpʰæntʃri
	back	bæk	bavins	bæˀ vᵊnz

[45] This may be a special case with lexically conditioned [eɪ].

Free Conversation Data for TRAP/BATH

F8	back	bæk	dad's	dæˆɪdz
	launched[46]	lɛˇᵊntʃt		
M4	cabin	kʰæbᵊn	aunt	hɛ:nt
M5	tackle	tʰe:kᵊɬ		
	launch	læˆɪntʃ		
M7	attic	ˈhædikˌ		

[46] For more on the inclusion of this word here see Section 2.1.3.

Questionnaire Data for LOT/CLOTH/THOUGHT set

3 LOT/CLOTH/THOUGHT

The sets are almost totally merged in these dialects.

The variants found in this study are: a(:) ~ a˃(:) ~ a˂ ~ a:ᵊ

ɐ ~ ɐ˂

ɑ ~ ɑ˂

F1	moldow	maɬ'dɐʊ	loft	lɑft
	sauce	sɑs~sɑ˂s	salt(pork)	'saɬˀˌpʰɔə·kˈ
	rodney	'ra˂dni		
F5	moldow	'maɬdaʊ	coffin	kʰafᵊn
	sauce	sas	see-saw	'siˌsa
	faucet	fasətˈ	hopscotch	'apˌskaːʧ
F6	moss	mas		
M5	closet	kʰlazətˈ	dog(-wood)	dɐg
	sauce	sa˃:s	moss	mas
	bog	bag	coffin	kʰafᵊn~kʰaːvᵊn
	cronnick	'kʰranɪks	stalls	staɬz
	scoff (n)[47]	ska:f		

[47] See Chapter 4, Section VI for discussion of this word.

Questionnaire Data for LOT/CLOTH/THOUGHT set

M6	alders	ɐɬdəˑz		
	loft	laf		
	mollyfodge	ˈmɐˑˈli ˌfadʒ		
M7	closets	kʰlazəts	loft	laf
	sauce	sas	moss	mas
	faucet	fasətˈ	stalls	staɬz

Free Conversation Data for LOT/CLOTH/THOUGHT set

F8	pond	pʰaːᵊn		
	father	fadəˑ		
M4	father	fɐdə		
	called	kʰaːd		
M5	father	farəˑ	walls	waːᵊz
	dog	daːg		
M7	father	vaˀdəˑ		
	doctor	daktə ~ daktəˑ		
	scald	skaˀː		

Questionnaire Data for STRUT set

4 STRUT

The variants found in this study are: ʌ ~ ʌ̟ ~ ɤ

F1	lungers	lʌŋgə˞z	buckets	bʌkəts
	tub	tʰʌbˀ	supper	sʌpə˞
	junk	ʤʌŋk	punt	pʰʌntˀ
F5	lungers	lʌŋgə˞z	lunch	lʌnʧ
	tub	tʰʌːbˀ	funnel	fʌnᵊɬ
	junks	ʤʌŋks	pus	pʰʌs
	buckets	bʌkəts	puncheon	pʰʌnʧᵊn
	supper	sʌpə˞		
	mummering	ˈmʌmə˞ᵊn		
F6	supper	sʌpə˞		
M5	lungers	lʌŋgə˞z	stomach	ˈstʌmɪkˀ
	tub	tʰʌb	mummers	mʌ̟mə˞z
	junks	ʤʌŋks	cuff	kʰʌf
	supper	sʌpə˞		

Questionnaire Data for STRUT set

M6	spudgel	spʌʤᵊɬ		
	junks	ʤʌŋks		
M7	junks	ʤʌŋks	supper	sʌbɚ
	bucket	bʌkət	lunch	lʌnʧ

Free Conversation Data for STRUT set

F6	put	pʰʌt		
F8	mother	mʌ·dəˑˀ		
M4	mother	mʌɾəˑ	uncle	ʌŋkᵊt
	hundred	hʌndəˑd	youngest	jɤŋəs
M5	mother	mʌɾəˑ		
	brothers	bɾʌdəz		
M7	mother	mʌdəˑ	one	wʌn
	hundred	ʌndəˑᵈ	the other	jʌdəˑ

Questionnaire Data for FOOT set

5 FOOT

The variants found in this study are: ʊ ~ ʊˆ ~ ʊˇ ~ ʊᵊ

u ~ uˇə

ʌ

F1	wool	wʊˆɬ
	wood	wʊd
F5	wool	wuˇᵊɬ
	wood(horse)	ˈwʊr(oˇrs)
F6	wool	wʊɬ
	wood	wʊd
M5	brook	brʊˇk
	wood	wʊd
M6	wood	wʊd
M7	bulley	ˈbʊɬi
	wool	wʊᵊɬ
F8	teaspoon	ˈtʰispʊn

Free Conversation Data for FOOT set

M4	book	bʊk
M5	*put un* 'put it'	$p^{h}ʌd^{ə}n$
	put	$p^{h}ʊ̌t$
	wood	wud
	took	$t^{h}ʊ̌k$

Questionnaire Data for FLEECE set

6 FLEECE

The variants found in this study are: i(:) ~ iˀ: ~ iˇ
ɨᵊ ~ ɨˇᵊ ~ ɨi ~ ɨɪ
ə(:)ɪ ~ əˆɨ
ɛˀɪ

F1	tree	ʧrəɪ:		
	wheelbarrow	ˈwɨˇᵊɬˌbaroʊ		
	breezing up	ˈbri:zᵊn ʌpˈ		
F5	breezing	bri:zᵊn	see(-saw)	ˈsi ˌsa
	(hide-and-go) seek	səɪkˈ	tea(time)	tʰiˀ:ˈtʰʌ˂ɪm
F6	fleece	flis	nineteen	nəɪnˈtɨᵊn
	(cup of) tea	kʰʌpəˈtəˆɨ		
M5	greenharts	ˈgriˇnˌarts		
M6	fleece	flis		
M7	fleece	fli:s ~ flis	nineteen	nɞɪnˈtɨᵊn
	tea	tʰəɪ ~ tʰɨˇi	beams	bɨimz
	(cup of) tea	kʰʌbəˈti		

Free Conversation for FLEECE set

F8	me	mɨˇɪ ~ məːɪ	sweet	swiːtʲ
	teaspoon	ˈtʰiˌspʊn	believe	bəlɨɪv
	(to) read	rid ~ rəɪd	(cup of)tea	tʰəɪ
	see	sɨɪ		

Questionnaire Data for FACE set

7 FACE

The variants found in this study are: $e^{\wedge} \sim e^{>\wedge} \sim e(:) \sim e:^{\ominus} \sim e(:)ɪ \sim e^{\check{}}ɪ \sim e(:)^{ɪ}$ $\sim e^{\rangle}ɪ \sim e^{ɨ}$

$iə$

$ɛ(:) \sim ɛ^{\wedge >} \sim ɛ(:)ɪ \sim ɛ:ɞ \sim ɛ^{ɪ} \sim ɛ^{\rangle}ɪ \sim ɛ^{ɨ}$

$ɜɪ \sim ɜ^{>}ɪ$

$əɪ \sim ə^{<}(:)ɪ$

$ɐ$[48] $\sim ɐɪ$

$æ\ ^{\wedge ɨ}$

	aCe (Historical monophthong)		*ai* (Historical diphthong)	
F1	flakes	fle$^{\check{}}$ɪks	rails	reɪ$^{\ominus}$ɬz
	cape	k^{h}eɪp	bait (tub)	ˈbe$^{>}$ɪtˈ ˌtʌbˈ
	palings	ˈp^{h}eɪɬɪnz	layer	lɛɪə$^{\cdot}$
F5	flakes	flɛ:ɪks ~ flɛɪks	rails	rɛ:ɞz
	cape	k^{h}eɪp		
	palings	p^{h}ɛ:ɬ$^{\ominus}$nz		
	apron	ˈ^{h}eɪpɾ$^{\ominus}$n		
	inflammation	ˌɪnfləˈmɛ$^{>}$iʃ$^{\ominus}$n		
	place	p^{h}le$^{>}$ɪs		

[48] This is possibly a lexical anomaly as it occurs in *palings* spoken by F6 as if it contains only one syllable.

Questionnaire Data for FACE set

	aCe (Historical monophthong)		*ai* (Historical diphthong)	
F6	apron	ˈeɪprɪˑn		
	palings	pʰɐɬnz		
F4	palings	ˈpʰeɪɬɪŋz		
M5	cape	kʰɛɪp	bait (tub)	ˈbeɪtˈ ˌtʰʌb
	bakeapples	ˈbɛkˌæpᵊɬz		
	palings	ˈpʰiəɬɪŋz		
	apron	eɪprᵊn		
M6	shavings	ʃeɪvᵊnz	rails	rəɪᵊɬz
			layer	leɪəˑ
			neigh	neⁱ
M7	flake	flɜɪk	rails	rɛⁱɬz
	shavings	ʃeɪvᵊnz	hay	eɪ
	palings	pʰɛːɬnz		
	apron	eᴵ pəˑn		

Free Conversation for FACE set

	aCe (Historical monophthong)		*ai* (Historical diphthong)	
F8	great	g^{e}re:ɪt^{ˈ}	today	d^{əi}dɛ$^{>}$ɪ
	stage	ste:^{ɪ}ʤ	bay	bə$^{<}$:ɪ
			maid	me$^{>}$ɪd^{ˈ}
			say	sə$^{<}$ɪ
			days	deɪz
M4	Able	ˈɦeˆ:bo ~ ˈeˆbo	Taites	t^{h}e$^{>}$ɪts ~ t^{h}ɐɪts ~ t^{h}əɪts
	name	ne:^{e}m	stayed	steɪd
	made	me:d		
M5	range	reĩnʤ	day	de:^{ɪ} ~ de
			nail	næˆ^{i}ɬ
			eight	heɪt^{ˈ}
M7	tape	t^{h}eˆɪp^{ˈ}	say	səɪ
	name	nɛ$^{>}$ɪm	pay	p^{h}ɜɪ
	game	geˆɪm	away	əwɜ$^{<}$ɪ
	make	meɪk	day(s)	de$^{>}$ɪ ~ dɛˆ$^{>}$iz
	age	e$^{>}$ɪʤ	pain	p^{h}ɜin
	Salvage	sɛɬˈve$^{>}$ˆɪʤ	salvation	zɛɬˈve$^{>}$ɪʃ^{e}n
			McKay	məˈk^{h}ə$^{<}$ɪ

Questionnaire Data for GOAT set

8 GOAT

The variants found in this study are: o(:) ~ o(:)ʊ ~ o:^{ʊ} ~ o(:)^{ə} ~ oˆ
ɔ(:) ~ ɔʊ ~ ɔ^{w}ɨ

F1	boat	bɔʊtˈ	motor	mɔtə˞
	clothes	k^{h}lo:^{ʊ}z	load	lɔʊd
	trough[49]	ʧroʊ		
F4	trough	ʧroʊ		
F5	clothes	k^{h}loʊz	trough	ʧroʊ
F6	(pigs') trough	ʧroʊ		
M5	rope	rɔpˈ	stovepipe	ˈstoʊv$_{ˌ}$p^{h}əɪpˈ
	trough	ʧroʊ		
M6	boat	bɔ:tˈ	clothes	k^{h}loz
	trough	ʧroʊə ~ ʧroʊə^{ˈ}		

[49] *Trough* is included in this set rather than in LOT/CLOTH/THOUGHT because, for these speakers, *trough* is in the GOAT set. (See also Matthews, 1939:205 for *trough* as *trowys* in Somerset).

Questionnaire Data for GOAT set

M7	boat	boʊt		clothes	kʰɬoʊz
	rowlock	ˈroʊɬak		trough	ʧroʊ˞

Free Conversation for GOAT set

F8	goats	gɔ^{w}ɨts		
M4	(head)stone	ston	cove	k^{h}o:v
M5	boat	bo:^{ə}t ~ boˆ:t		
M7	most of them	'mo:^{ə}st^{ɨ}v^{ə}m	home	o:m
	clothes	k^{h}lo:z	boat	bo:^{ə}t

Questionnaire Data for GOOSE set

9 GOOSE

The variants found in this study are: u(:) ~ uˇ ~ uʊ
ʊ(:) ~ ʊˆ ~ʊˇ
juʊ
ʉ
o(:) ~ oˆ

F1	blueberries	ˈbluˇˌbɛriˆz	schooners	skʊˆnəˑz
	spruce	sprus		
F5	cruising	ˈkʰruzɪŋ	room	ruːm
	spruce	spruˇs	mooch	muˇːʧ
	goldwithy	ˈguʊˌwədi ~ ˈgjuʊˌwədi		
M5	room	rʊˇm ~ rʊˆm	schooner	skʊnəˑ
	spruce	sprʊs		
M6	spruce	spruˇs		
M7	room	rʊːm		

Free Conversation Data for GOOSE set

F8	moved	mʉvd	school	skuʷᵊɬ
	beautiful	ˈbjudifʊ	too	tʰʉː
	due	ʤu		
M4	Poole	pʰoːˈ	beautiful	ˈbjudɪfʊ
	root	ruːt		
M5	roof	ruːᵊf		
	(bowl of) soup	ˌboəˈsuːpˈ		
M7	school	skoˆˈ		

Questionnaire Data for PRICE/CHOICE set

10 PRICE/CHOICE

The variants found in this study are: ɐɪ ~ ɐˆɪ ~ ɐi ~ ɞɪ

ʌɪ ~ ʌᴵ ~ ʌ̹ ~ʌ̹ᴵ

ɔɪ ~ ɔˊi ~oˇɪ

a ~ aɪ ~ aˇɪ ~ aɪɐ

ɐi ~ ɐɪ ~ ɐᴵ

		PRICE		CHOICE
F1	rinds	rɐɪnz	toilet	tʰɐɪlɐt
	time	tʰɔ˂ɪm	oil (clothes)	ɐɪɬ
	wild	wɐɪᵉɬ		
F5	eiderdown	ˈaɪdɐ˞ˌdaʊn	toilet	ˈtʰʌᴵlɪtˌ
	rinds	raɪnz	oil (clothes)	aɪᵉɬ
	time	tʰʌ˂ɪm		
F6	sty	stɔ˂i	oil (skins)	aɬ
M5	rinds	rɔɪnz	oil (skins)	aɪɬ
	pine	pʰɐi.n		
	midwife	ˈmɪdʷɐɪf		

Questionnaire Data for PRICE/CHOICE set

	PRICE		CHOICE	
M6	rinds	rɞɪnz	oil (clothes)	ɐɬ
M7	rind	rɞɪn	oil (clothes)	ɐɪl
	sty	staɪə		

Free Conversation for PRICE/CHOICE set

		PRICE		CHOICE
F6	like	lɰɪk		
F8	my	mʌɪ~məɪ	toilet(s)	t^{h}ɐɪɬ^{ə}t ~ t^{h}əɪɬ^{ə}ts
	high	ɦɐɹ ~ ^{h}ɔi		
	Island	ʌ^{i} ɬ^{ə}n		
	nine	nəɪn		
	times	t^{h}ɞɪmz		
	ice	ɔɪs		
	ripe	rəˆɪp		
	wife	wəɪf		
	nights	nəɪts		
	by (un) 'it'	bi (^{ə}n)		
M4	Island	ɞɪl^{ə}n		
	the island	də hɞɪl^{ə}n		
	besides	bi'səɪdz		
	died	dɞ:ɪd (stressed)		
	my	mɞɪ~məɪ		

Free Conversation for PRICE/CHOICE set

	PRICE		CHOICE	
M5	wife	wʌ̹If	hoist	ɐɪs
	Island	aˇɪɬᵊn		
	dry	ʤɪrʌ̹ɪ		
	ice	ɐɪs ~ hʌ̹ɪs		
	nineteen	ˈnʌːɪntin		
	by	bi (unstressed)		
M7	hide	ɔɪd	oil	ɐˀɬ
	firewood	ˈfʌ̹ᵊˌwʊd		
	(the) Island	aᴵɬᵊn ~ də ɦɐɪᵊɬn		
	my	mʌɪ		
	Friday	ˈfrəɪʔd̥i		
	five	fɔɪv		
	times	tʰɐˆmz		
	die	doˇɪ		
	died	dəɪd		
	twice	tʰwɜɪs		

Questionnaire Data for MOUTH set

11 MOUTH

The variants found in this study are: ɛ˃ʊ

ɜ ~ ɜʊ

əʊ ~ ə˂:ʊ

aʊ ~ au

ɐʊ ~ ɐˆʊ ~ ɐ^{wə}

ɤʊ

F1	out(house)	ˈaʊr(ˌaʊs)	house	aʊs
F4	house	ɐʊs		
F5	out(house)	ˈaʊr(ˌaʊs)		
F6	rounders	rɐʊndə˞z	pound (n)	p^{h}ɐʊn
M5	out(house)	ˈaʊr(ˌaʊs)	house	aʊs
	boughs	bauz		
M7	out(house)	ˈɐʊr(ˌɐʊs)	house	ɐˆʊs

Free Conversation Data for MOUTH set

F8	house	ɜʊs	about	əbɜʊt
	now	nəˀ:ʊ	out	hɜʊtˡ
	down	dɛˀʊn		
M4	out	hɐʊtˡ ~ əʊt	down	dɐʊn ~ dɛˀʊn
M5	house	ɤʊs ~ əʊs	hour	hɐwəˑ (disyllabic)

Questionnaire Data for NEAR/SQUARE set

12 NEAR/SQUARE

The variants found in this study are: ɛ(:)r ~ ɛ:ɚ ~ ɛˆr

ɚ

F1	berry	ˈbɛri	berries	ˈbɛriˆz
M5	berries	ˈbɛriz	contrary	kʰənˈtrɛri

Free Conversation Data for NEAR/SQUARE set

F8	berries	ˈbɛɾiz	here	ɛːə˞ ~ ʰɛr
M4	Deer (Island)	dɛˆr	buried	ˈbə˞ɪd
M5	Deer (Island)	dɛːr	Hare (Bay)	ɛːr
	here	hɛːr		

Questionnaire Data for START set

13 START

The variants found in this study are: ar ~ a:r ~ aˇr

ɐr ~ ɐ˃(:)r ~ ɐˇ r

æ ~ æ˃r

ɪ, ɛ } Both found only in *marsh*, non-rhotically. Probably lexically conditioned.

F1	partridgeberry	ˈpʰæ˃rʔˌrɪˇᵈʒ ˈbɛri	barbel	barbᵊɬ
	marsh	mɪʃ	fish barrow	fɪʃ ˈbɐ˃roʊ
	armload	ˈharmˌlɔʊd		
F5	marsh	mɪʃ	bark	ba:rk
	barbel	barbᵊɬ	hand barrow	ænˈbaroʊ
	armful	armfᵊɬ		
F6	handbarrow	ˈænˌbɐr		
M5	barbel	barvᵊɬ	handbarrow	ˈænˌbar
	partridgeberry	ˈpʰɐrʔrɪʤˈbɛri		
M6	barbel	barbᵊɬ	handbarrow	ˈænˌbɐrə
	fishbarrow	ˈfɪʃˌbɐrə		

Questionnaire Data for START set

M7	barbel	bɐrbᵊɬ	handbarrow	ˈænˌbɐˑrə
	marsh	mɛʃ	bark	bɐˀːrk

Free Conversation Data for START set

F8	partridgeberries	ˈpʰætʃɪˌbɛ˃riz	star	sta˂r
M7	gardens	gɐrdᵊnz		

Questionnaire Data for FORCE/NORTH set

14 FORCE/NORTH

The variants found in this study are: ɔ:r ~ ɔ(:)ə

or ~ o˅r ~ o˅ʷə ~ o:ʷə

ʌ(:)r ~ ʌ˂r ~ ʌ̰r ~ ʌ̰ə

ɐr ~ ɐ˃r ~ ɐ̃r̃

a ~ ar

ær ~ æᵊ

	NORTH		FORCE	
F1	(wood)horse	ɔ:əs	pork	pʰɔəkˈ
	quarter	kʰwardə		
F5	(wood)horse	o˅rs		
F6	(wood)horse	ɐrs	store(room)	stɔ:r
			core	kʰɔ:rd
M5	quarter	kʰwɐrᵗə		
M6	(wood)horse	as		
M7			core	kʰɔ:rd
			porch	pʰɔ:rʧ

Free Conversation for FORCE/NORTH set

	NORTH		FORCE	
F8	lord	lærəˑd[50]	store	stɔəˑ
	towards	dəwɐrdz		
	born	bɐrn		
	borned	bɐ^{əˑ}nd		
	storm	stɐrm		
	north	nɐrt		
M4	born	bɯ̽rn	door	dɯ̽əˑ
	north(-west)	ˈnɐr(wɤs)		
M5	morning	mɛ̃ɾ̃n:	store	sto:^{w}əˑ
	forty	ˈfʌ:rti		
	wharf	wɐrf		
	warm	wɐrm		

[50] Note the unusual pronunciation, with two syllables in this word.

Free Conversation for FORCE/NORTH set

	NORTH		FORCE	
M7	oranges	ˈɐrɨˇnʤɨˇz	store	stoˇʷəˑ
	north	nɐrt		
	forty	ˈfɑ̰rti		
	born	bʌ˂rn		
	borned	bɐ˃rnd		
	this morning	smɐrnɨn		
	morning	mɐrnɨn		

Questionnaire Data for CURE set

15 CURE

The variants found in this study are: ɔʷə

o(:)r

jur

M6 moorings 'morɪŋʃ

Free Conversation Data for CURE set

F8	pure	p^hjur
	sure	$ʃɔ^wə$
	poor	$p^ho:r$