De-isolation and identity in Newfoundland

by © Ismar Muhic

A Thesis submitted

to the School of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts/Linguistics/Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Memorial University of Newfoundland

April 2021

St. John's Newfoundland and Labrador

Abstracts

This thesis investigates two linguistic variables prone to change in the English language, stative possession and deontic modality. By investigating the change in progress in two Newfoundland communities, this thesis will explore the relationship between language and identity. Newfoundland has undergone a deisolation process over the course of the past century and has seen great societal changes with a lot of money and power from the "outside" having played a large role in this transformation. This thesis will investigate how this societal change might have attested itself in language. The Uniformitarian Principle assumes that the same processes that operate now have operated in the past, but it would be foolish to assume that this principle extends to a social factor such as prestige. This thesis will investigate what counts as prestigious in Newfoundland and how this is not necessarily what we would assume would be prestigious, i.e. the high linguistic variant.

General Summary

Which words we use to talk about obligation and possession in English varies between established norms in Britain, North America and Australia. This thesis will show that Newfoundland's dialects were influence by the large number of American troops passing through the island in the 1940s. This observation will allow us to draw conclusions on how language, prestige and identity are interconnected.

Acknowledgements

Throughout the writing of this thesis I have received a great deal of support and assistance. I would first like to thank my supervisor, Professor Gerard Van Herk, whose expertise was invaluable in formulating the research questions and methodology. Your insightful feedback pushed me to sharpen my thinking and brought my work to a higher level. I understand that I am not the easiest person to work with, so I thank you for all your patience.

I would like to acknowledge my fellow graduate students from the linguistic department at Memorial University for their wonderful collaboration and friendships.

I would particularly like to thank various linguistics professors at Memorial University. I want to thank you for your patient support and for all the opportunities I was given to further my research. You provided me with the tools that I needed to choose the right direction and successfully complete my thesis.

Finally, I could not have completed this dissertation without the support of my wife, Colette, who pushed me through when the obstacles appeared too great. You are always there for me.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

1. Introduction

In this thesis I study two communities in Newfoundland. Having historically been an isolated society, Newfoundland is now in a post-insular situation (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1995). This situation provides a researcher with a great opportunity to study the mechanisms underlying linguistic variation. More specifically this situation allows us to investigate which effects the "outsider" has on variation. The "outsider" has been identified as playing a vital role in local language preservation and influencing the spread of incoming features (Labov 1963, 1972a, 2007). This situation in Newfoundland is interesting because in the 1940s, traditionally isolated Newfoundland, saw an influx of huge numbers of Americans and Canadians who brought with them economic prosperity and modern conveniences. We often pinpoint isolation as a powerful force for linguistic change but the deisolation process is just as important.

By studying changes in the deontic modality and stative possession systems, changes that are currently in progress elsewhere in the Anglosphere, I will answer the question of what role the outsiders have played in Newfoundland's post insularity. In other words, this project is a sociolinguistic study of grammatical variation in two Newfoundland communities; Petty Harbour and Corner Brook. Though located on opposite sides of the island of Newfoundland,

these two communities are both rural and urban, both isolated and integrated, both small and big. It is for this reason that I argue that Petty Harbour and Corner Brook serve as an excellent representation of Newfoundland English.

I propose that some of the variation we see for deontic modality and stative possession can be explained by influences from "outsiders". This assertion, if proven, would imply that the "outsider" leaves an imprint on language. I also argue that the nature of prestige is perhaps different from how we have understood it thus far. Newfoundlanders appear to have adopted a low prestige variant due to contact with working class "outsiders". This indicates that prestige does not have to aim towards the linguistic "high variant" but that prestige is locally constructed and what counts as prestigious is dependent on social factors.

The research questions I ask relate to local identity (Labov 1972a, Shilling-Estes and Wolfram 1995, 1999, Shilling-Estes 1999) as well as the role money and "outsiders" have on linguistic choices. To answer these questions, I will discuss dialect contact and how features are introduced to a community by "outsiders" (Labov 2007).

I also ask how Newfoundlanders practice local identity. Does a traditional language feature mean "Newfoundland", or does incoming rural and non-standard English mean Newfoundland? In other words, what constitutes a Newfoundland

index? Language is an excellent resource for speakers in other communities when it comes to identifying with the local community (Labov 1972a, Shilling-Estes and Wolfram 1995, 1999, Wolfram 1997). Patterns in the form of social variation are observed in the use of these local language features including gender, age and place. Local identity practices are achieved through variable use with social variation of perceived local features. In other communities local features have been found to be in decline for most speakers with the exception of clearly defined social groups such as rural older males. The hypothesis is that because of the way that local identity works in Newfoundland we might see that non-traditional social groups are preserving local features. In Newfoundland that means that younger speakers are using what is the traditional feature while their parents are influenced by outsiders and it is the youth that is reclaiming traditional features. Multivariate analysis of use of local variants will show an "u-curve" as youth reclaim older more local variants.

Another question that must be asked is how do non-local feature diffuse to communities such as Newfoundland? According to Labov (2007), in diffusion of speech features from one community to another in cases of dialect contact, we will see a weakening of the original patterns. If variant forms for stative possession and deontic modality were brought to Newfoundland by outsiders, we will see that

these do not pattern like elsewhere but there will social variance different from the source.

1.1 Thesis structure

In chapter 2, I will provide a detailed analysis of Newfoundland and the island's linguistic history. I will discuss the background literature on local identity practices and dialect contact. I will also discuss the nature of linguistic prestige. In chapter 3 I will describe my communities, my data, and my study design. In chapter 4 I will provide a background to stative possession, and present my findings regarding stative possession. In chapter 5 I will provide a background to deontic modality and present my findings regarding deontic modality. In chapter 6 I will discuss my results and follow with chapter 7 in which I will offer a conclusion.

2. Literature Review

In order to address my research questions concerning the sociolinguistic practices of Newfoundland, it is necessary to address the sociolinguistic history of my communities and previous work on language use in similar communities. The structure of this chapter is as follows: First I will discuss the history of Newfoundland, its isolation, its linguistic history and its post-isolation. Second, I will discuss the framework for this thesis project: variationist sociolinguistics (Labov 1972a). Third, I will review works which observe language as a resource

for speakers to practice a local identity (Labov 1963, Wolfram 1997, Wolfram and Shilling-Estes 1999, 1995). Fourth, I will discuss the impact of linguistic market and capital on linguistic choice (Bourdieu 1972).

2.1 Newfoundland

Newfoundland and Labrador is located on the north-eastern corner of the North American continent Newfoundland became Canada's youngest province in 1949 but before that, it was one of Britain's North American colonies. This section will describe Newfoundland and its dialects and why Newfoundland is worth studying in a sociolinguistic context.

Clarke writes that Newfoundland English dialects "have long been acknowledged as distinct" (2010, p.1). Despite displaying overwhelmingly North American tendencies, Newfoundland English is often characterized as sounding Irish as opposed to Canadian. Consider the following quote from American writer Robert Finch:

"In St. John's and in most of the towns on the Avalon Peninsula, local speech exhibits a strong Irish rhythm and lilt. In the more remote and largely English settlement of the outer bays, the accent is less flamboyant; but that, if anything, makes it more foreign to an outside ear. (Finch2007: 57)"

This quote illustrates defining characteristics of Newfoundland English (NE): it is both distinct (from other varieties) and (internally) diverse. NE has long been acknowledged for displaying a great range of variation in grammar, pronunciation, and lexical items across different communities (Kortman and Szmrecsanyi 2004, Schneider 2004). Contemporary NE ranges from broader Canadian-sounding dialects spoken by younger middle-class speakers to more conservative dialects found in rural areas. Newfoundland English's internal variation has been observed since the 1800s, when English clergyman Edward Wix wrote that 'neighbouring bays separated by only a few miles differed as much as if they were of different nations' (1836, p. 168). Newfoundlanders themselves are also aware of internal variation, with folk-linguistic claims each harbour having developed its own dialect; and each would make fun of its neighbour's misuse of what it considered "proper" English. While it might be stretching the truth a bit to claim that each harbour has its own dialect, the literature does find 8 dialect regions (Paddock 1966). Regional differences in language use are also frequently discussed in scholarly works such as the Dialect Atlas of Newfoundland & Labrador (Clarke 2015) or the Dictionary of Newfoundland English (Kirwin, Story and Widdowson 1990), and in the popular media. Newfoundlanders are aware of their linguistic background and how they are supposed to speak; however, not all regional features are equally salient. Anecdotal evidence can provide numerous instances

of the saliency of regional variation in NEs such as a member of the extended family from Twillingate telling me that in Twillingate they say "we'm" (we am), before telling me that "okay, we're going to go see grandma now".

NE's distinctiveness results largely from historic, economic and geographic reasons. Newfoundland was settled by Europeans earlier than most of North America, and by people from two distinct regions: southeastern Ireland and southwestern England. Newfoundland is geographically isolated, and we will see that isolation plays a crucial part in dialect preservation. Economically, Newfoundland has been shaped by its main industry, the fishery, which caused the island to have a small population highly diversified into many small settlements. Even today, Newfoundland has only one real city, a handful of towns, and many smaller settlements (outports).

2.2 Newfoundland's history

This subsection will discuss the history of Newfoundland as a way of explaining NE's regional variation. Newfoundland was one of the first parts of North America to be visited by Europeans. By the 1500s, Europeans were coming to Newfoundland to fish and it was not long before permanent colonies were established by both the English and the French. Newfoundland was officially claimed by the English crown in 1583 (Clarke 2010, p. 5). The English were originally interested in using Newfoundland as seasonal fishing grounds, but

permanent settlements started appearing in the 1600s, including places like Cuper's Cove (1610), today known as Cupid's, and Avalon (1621), today known as Ferryland.

While parts of mainland Canada were colonized by English subjects loyal to the English crown (Loyalists) after the American War of Independence, Newfoundland saw no loyalist settlers. Instead, most of Newfoundland's European population come from two sources: the southwestern counties of Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, and Somerset (also known as the West Country), and the southeastern Irish counties of Carlow, Cork, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, and Wexford (Clarke, 2010, p. 6). The reason for the highly localized settlement can be found in Newfoundland's primary economic activity at the time, the migratory fishery.

Later migration to Newfoundland was again primarily sourced from the same two English and Irish localities (Clarke 2010, p.9). As a result, Newfoundland, even today, shows a higher degree of homogeneity in its European population than other parts of English-speaking North America. Later European migration to North America bypassed Newfoundland, as the cod fishery was already declining by that point. Thus, Newfoundland stayed English and Irish. By the end of the 1800s almost all of Newfoundland's population was native born. Geographically Newfoundland is also isolated due to the nature of the landscape. Much of Newfoundland's population was scattered along 18.000 kms of coastline

(The National Atlas of Canada 1974) in many small communities, traditionally called "Outports". Most communities on the island were accessible only by boat until 1898, when the trans-island railway was constructed. Historically contact between communities in Newfoundland has been limited. Men were more likely to travel for employment; however, such travel was limited. Newfoundland's later history is closely tied to its English (and to lesser extent its Irish) settlers with Newfoundland becoming a colony of England, later a Dominion and finally a province of Canada.

By 1935 Newfoundland had a population of almost 300.000. For the average Newfoundland worker, life was a constant battle against geography, the weather and mounting debts to banks and merchants (MacKenzie 2004). Against this background of isolation and poverty, Newfoundland society was forever changed by the outbreak of World War II. Newfoundland's government decided to avoid conscription, but 10% of the population volunteered to fight for the British or Canadian armies, and thousands of more would have fought but failed to meet medical or other standards for recruitment. Going off to war meant high army wages, a route out of poverty. On the home front, however, Newfoundland did not have anything resembling an army. It became clear to the Canadian, US and UK governments that Newfoundland was of strategic importance, both for continental defense and transatlantic shipping. Transatlantic flights needed to make pitstops in

Newfoundland or the Azores. Newfoundland could not fall into German hands. It was for these reasons that the United States struck a deal with the UK government to establish military bases in Newfoundland. At the peak of the American presence in Newfoundland we saw 100.000 US servicemen and women living among a local population of only 300.000. The American presence centered around three areas: St. John's, the west coast, and the south-western Avalon. The Americans brought with them not only a non-local culture but also high paying jobs for the local population (MacKenzie 2004). As many as 15000 Newfoundlanders (5% of the total population) were employed in the construction of the base in Argentia, the most expensive US military installation outside the United States during the second world war. Similar economic booms happened on the west coast, where the local population around the US Harmon Field base soared from 500 to over 7.000 over the span of weeks (MacKenzie 2004). The economic boom brought on by the US military was not limited to areas with bases. Other industries across the province soared as well, including the lumber and paper industries in Corner Brook and mining in Labrador. Wages for unskilled workers quickly rose from 15 to 45 cents an hour and middle-class occupations such as stenographers saw an increase of monthly wages of $40 to $120 (MacKenzie 2004). Many upper-class homes in St. John's overnight lost their maids and nannies to areas with high economic growth. The rise in income not only brought better financial

circumstances for Newfoundland but also a deep-rooted acceptance that Newfoundland's future was as an integral part of English-speaking North America. The message was clear to most Newfoundlanders. With this increased prosperity, why should Newfoundland continue with its past semi-colonial status, when this meant nothing but financial hardships? There was wealth and a better life to be found by joining North America. This idea became reality in 1949 when Newfoundland joined Canada as the tenth province.

2.3 The sociolinguistics of Newfoundland English

The capstone of sociolinguistics is the examination of how linguistic variables are distributed across social groups (Labov 1972a, Chambers 2002) so that we may explain social constraints on language use. Previous work has discovered that a speaker's gender, age, educational background, employment, place, and other social factors can impact variation. For example, Labov found that women universally lead changes in progress and men use non-standard variants when variation is stable or if the variant is salient (Labov 1972a).

Sociolinguistics grew out of the study of regionally diverse dialects, or dialectology as it was known at the time. However, in the 1960s our field saw a revolution as William Labov and others turned their attention from rural regional dialects towards urban social dialects. Labov showed that several variables correlated with factors such as age, sex, socio-economic class and ethnic origin.

Closer to home, Paddock (1966) showed that variation and change in Carbonear English could be explained by examining correlations with the social factors of socio-economic class and age. The youngest speakers were being influenced by social and economic changes brought about by confederation with Canada in 1949 and adopting incoming and prestigious forms of language.

Traditionally, as mentioned in the previous subsection, the relevant social factor in Newfoundland would have been religion/ethnicity. A study of 1800 Newfoundland English would have shown how Irish and English origin speakers differed from each other. Nowadays, Newfoundlanders are frequently misidentified as speaking Irish English when travelling outside the province. This goes for both English and Irish origin Newfoundlanders.

Paddock showed in 1966 that the same sociolinguistic forces that operate elsewhere are found in Newfoundland. This thesis will show that this is in fact still true; however, Newfoundland does things slightly differently, especially when it comes to considerations of prestige.

Despite increasing urbanization, Newfoundland is still very much a rural place. This rural nature has been ideal for dialect preservation. Many of the province's communities are (and have been) small and scattered. Economic necessity leads to seasonal migration, but this migration is still fairly limited.

Government policies in the 1950s and 60s led to the resettlement of smaller communities, but many remain. There is also widespread migration from smaller communities to larger Newfoundland communities such as St. John's and Corner Brook. Clarke writes that many of Newfoundland's communities are remarkably endocentric and have dense local networks (2010, p. 9). So, despite the changing nature of Newfoundland's society, Newfoundlanders remain remarkably attached to their linguistic roots. It can be argued that Newfoundland is best understood, not by looking at outside forces, but rather by looking at internal forces such as settlement patterns and cohabitation between various groups.

2.4 Isolation in Newfoundland

One of the most persistent myths about language is that isolation on faraway islands, and in the mountains, results in language that is "unspoiled". This is, however, not true. Any group of speakers of any given living language will inevitably change. The birth of languages is based on linguistic change. However, this myth that isolation results in stagnation is perhaps best illustrated in Montgomery (1998), with a quote from North Carolina's travel and tourism board, which nonchalantly claims that you'll hear Queen Elizabeth I's English in the hollows and coves of the Blue Ridge Mountains, the Great Smoky mountains, and on the windswept islands of the Outer Banks (p. 66). Claims like these are derived from the observation that linguistic innovation happens in high contact population

centers and spreads outward to rural regions. The more rural a region is, the less likely it is to participate in a particular change. Loose ties (non dense networks) favour linguistic change, and dense local networks do not (Milroy and Milroy 1985). Even our own field has historically adhered to these ideas with earlier dialectologists focusing entire on "NORMs" (non-mobile rural males). However, isolation does not bar linguistic change. Language changes in isolated communities merely happen differently than in less rural and isolated places. 6th generation Newfoundlanders from a mostly English settled outport are going to speak Newfoundland English, and while they might sound a bit like their ancestors from Devon and Dorset, they are going to speak a different variety of English from their Devon and Dorset cousins. This is because linguistic change has occurred in both communities.

2.5 Isolation and sociolinguistics

This subsection will discuss the linguistic concepts necessary to understand the situation we see in Newfoundland. Concepts such as isolation, insularity, prestige, diffusion and transmission will be discussed. I will start by presenting and discussing what isolation in a sociolinguistic context means, and how it applies to a community such as Newfoundland.

Isolation does not seem too difficult to incorporate into a sociolinguistic analysis. A community is separate from another community. However, how do we

define "separated"? Where does isolation begin and where does it end? If we study a group of speakers as being isolated, does that mean we can only interview speakers who have never left their community? Do we need to exclude speakers who have talked to outsiders? Quantifying isolation is difficult, and it is unclear how social or geographic or political isolation can be quantified as an social variable. Schreier (2009, p. 684) describes a situation in which one would travel from North Carolina's Appalachian Mountains, a historically isolated region, into the Piedmont, a historically accessible region, and onwards onto the isolated Outer Banks islands. This journey would force one to ask where isolation begins and where it ends. And this question does not seem to have an easy answer. This situation also forces one to ask what happens when a community stops being isolated. It is no longer imaginable for most humans what places can be non-accessible. Take the example of the Appalachian Mountains. This region, which has often been described as isolated and backwards, is now home to big cities such as Asheville. It also does not make sense to refer to large isolated regions as one unit. For example, the Appalachian Mountains stretch across 13 US states and involve regional or social differences in language use. The same can be said about Newfoundland. Half a million Newfoundlanders and Labradorians spread over an area the size of France or Texas are not one isolated block without social and regional differences.

North Carolina's Outer Banks (as studied by Wolfram and Shilling-Estes 1999), an isolated area, pose a problem. Islands are prime candidates for isolation, especially in a world before motorized boats and tunnels or bridges However, isolation is not historically given, and is subject to change. The survival of islands depends on their economic circumstances. Self-sufficiency preserves isolation on islands. While having been a self-sufficient community in the past, Ocracoke on the Outer Banks is now a community accessible by both ferry and bridge. Ocracoke has seen an increase in its population as well as yearly influx of visitors and tourists. Ocracoke is no longer isolated. Ocracoke is a modern community like many others. The situation we see on Ocracoke is what Wolfram and Schilling-Estes call 'post-insularity' (1999, p. 119). Isolation can end. Geography provides the initial barriers to isolation but isolation itself is not forced on a community by geography.

Following this train of thought, isolation is then a social construct. Isolation is not a consequence of geography but merely a correlate. Isolation is not an absolute state for communities. There are various stages of isolation. There are various forms of isolation. No two isolated communities experience the same level or form of isolation. And this is a problem for sociolinguistics. How can we include an extralinguistic variable when it differs from place to place? I suggest that in order to include isolation in a sociolinguistic study, we must first examine

the circumstances behind a community's isolation and how this community has emerged from the isolation.

2.6 Local Language and Identity

In order to understand Newfoundland's linguistic identity practices, it is useful to review studies of local identity in similar communities. The most relevant comparison communities seem to be Ocracoke Island and Smith Island (Wolfram and Shilling-Estes 1997, 1999, Wolfram 1999). Ocracoke is an island off North Carolina which is very dependent on tourism and other external economic factors. In contrast, Smith Island, located in Chesapeake Bay between Delaware and Virginia, is not dependant on "outsiders" for its economic activity. Smith Island's population is in decline as younger people are leaving the island for other areas (Wolfram and Shilling-Estes 1995), while Ocracoke's population is increasing.

In both communities, language is a resource for community members and a tool allowing speakers to identify as islanders. Wolfram found that all locally-identified features were in decline on Ocracoke, with the exception of the raising and backing of /aj/, which is typically realized as /oj/. /oj/ serves as a local marker for Ocracoke's older men (*Hoi **toide** on the sand **soid***), who retain it for various social needs. There is generally social utility to be gained from having a "belonger" status as opposed to an "outsider" status. One way in which we can show that we belong to a community is to use the linguistic norms of that

community. And while /oj/ on Ocracoke is being maintained by older men, Smith Island's /oj/ is in remission. Wolfram and Shilling-Estes argue that this finding seems to indicate that non-standard speech features are at a higher risk of disappearing in communities that are more mobile in one direction (like the outmigration on Smith Island). In order words, Smith Island does not necessarily put the same economic value on traditional speech features, as Smith Island-ness means having to leave and look elsewhere. Ocracoke-ness on the other hand, is perhaps more likely to mean local, traditional, authentic, and other values that Ocracoke men value.

Studies have shown that speakers can use language features to reject unwanted identities. Bucholtz (1999) found that "nerd" girls in a US high school expressed their identity through a rejection of the language used by the wider social groups. Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (2003) found that in New Zealand speakers are resisting incoming American norms and trying to maintain older British phonology. Here identity is built by rejecting linguistic influence from abroad. Cutler (1999) found that white middle-class male participants used African American features to identify with social groups, and thusly rejecting the white middle-class identity.

The use of local language features to signal a local identity has also been observed in Newfoundland. Childs et al. studied /θ/ and /ð/ stopping in rural

Newfoundland and observed its use as a local identity marker (2010). This study proposes that Newfoundlanders make use of an external referee (in the sense of Bell 1984), an idealized authentic Newfoundlander, in style shifting (Deal 2016). Childs et al. argue that this idealized Newfoundlander is part of local identity practice (2010). This reference shows how salient local speech features are and how important it is to maintain a local identity through locally identified speech.

2.7 Linguistic Marketplace

The linguistic marketplace forces us to think about our linguistic choices as we think about any other choices in life. Our social and economic capital and our relationship with others influence our linguistic choices. Bourdieu (1972) suggests that speakers' linguistic choices are influenced by their position in society, which itself is dependent on their position in the market (i.e. what relationship they have with others in their community). It becomes especially salient for speakers living in communities which heavily depend on outsiders, to be aware of positions in society. Speakers in tourism heavy areas must then evaluate their reliance on outsiders and decide how they can benefit from making certain linguistic choices. After all, language can be part of a place's charm or it can cause a barrier to communication.

Gal (1973) reports that a bilingual Hungarian-German community is increasingly favouring German over Hungarian in situations of courtship and

favouring Hungarian over German in matters of familiarity. This demonstrates that the speakers are aware of the differences in power these two linguistic choices offer them and that speakers are aware of economic/political differences between the two languages.

Van Herk, Childs, Sheppard and Thorburn (2009) show the impact of market on linguistic choices in Newfoundland after the cod moratorium in 1992, which ended the fishery as an economic resource in Newfoundland. This forced Newfoundlanders to pursue alternative economic activities. Van Herk et al. (2009) found that speakers are adopting standard norms, reflecting a push for urbanization by islanders.

These examples show that a speaker's position in the linguistic market has a strong impact on their linguistic choices. In economies reliant on outsiders, the market may even play a bigger role in speaker choice.

2.8 Contact, transmission and diffusion

In this section I will discuss dialect contact. Dialect contact is a situation that arises when speakers of mutually intelligible languages come into geographical or social proximity. Speakers of two varieties of the same language who interact are likely to exchange money, ideas, attitudes and language features.

The intricate mechanism behind the spread of linguistic features in contact situations has been of significant interest to sociolinguists over the years. Labov (2007) argues that dialect contact results in *diffusion* (rather than *transmission)* of linguistic features across communities. This typically means the weakening of the original linguistic pattern and a loss of structural cohesion on the linguistic constraints from the original pattern in the language of the donor community.

To put this idea into perspective I will discuss Canadian Raising. This is the raising of the first element of the /aj/ and /aw/ diphthongs before voiceless consonants. Boberg (2008) reports on Canadian Raising across Canada. Considering how close the US and Canada are, geographically and socially, contact and linguistic diffusion between Americans and Canadians is expected. And Canadian Raising has in fact been observed in the United States (Vance 1987). However, studies have observed that Canadian raising is behaving differently across borders. One example can be found in Ann-Arbor, MI, where /aj/-raising is patterning differently than Canadian varieties (Dailey-O'Cain 1997, p.117).

3. Data

In this section I will present my communities and my data. Traditional sociolinguistic methods (Tagliamonte 2006, Labov 1972a) were used to assemble a corpus of linguistic data. This data is the base of my multivariate analyses, which I used to examine the social patterns underlying the use of stative possession and deontic modality in Newfoundland. This section is structured as follows. First, I will discuss my two Newfoundland communities. Second, I will discuss how the data was assembled. This discussion will include the procedures used to build a linguistic subcorpus from which I extracted the data for these analyses.

3.1 Communities

This subsection will describe the two communities that provide the data for this thesis, Corner Brook and Petty Harbour.

3.1.1 Corner Brook

Corner Brook is Newfoundland's second largest community. It is located on the western side of the island of Newfoundland, by the mouth of the Humber River. Corner Brook is the economic centre for the western and northern portion of the province. It is home to a historically large paper mill. Until the 1900s, Corner Brook was a small outport community with fewer than 100 people, mostly engaged with the fishery or lumber. The 1900s brought in people and industry with the paper mill, the cement plant, the gypsum factory, an airport, and a nearby

American military base. Corner Brook's population went from 100 people to well over 15.000 by the end of the 1900s. People from various parts of the island settled here, as did Latvian and Baltic immigrants.

3.1.2 Petty Harbour

Petty Harbour is a former fishing community located about 15 kilometers from the provincial capital of St. John's. Today Petty Harbour-Maddox Cove is home to 960 people who mostly work or attend school in St. John's. Historically Petty Harbour has been isolated and relied on the fishery for economic activity. The settlement of Petty Harbour dates to the 1590s when Basque fishermen would spend the summer before sailing back. Later, English fishermen took over. Petty Harbour eventually grew into a mostly self-sufficient fishing community. In recent times, Petty Harbour is more of a suburb of St. John's than an independent rural community. The sprawling neighbourhoods of the Southlands, Kelligrews and the Goulds are slowly approaching Petty Harbour. Petty Harbour is the home of Chafe's Landing, a popular local seafood restaurant, as well as a catch and release aquarium and a few souvenir shops. Tourism thus plays a big role in Petty Harbour's life, as visitors can enjoy traditional Newfoundland outport scenery in the town.

3.2 Interviews

The linguistic data for this project were collected using a traditional approach in variationist sociolinguistics known as the sociolinguistic interview (Labov 1972a, 1984). The data comes from Van Herk, Child and Thorburn (2011). Labov (1984) describes the sociolinguistic interview as a sophisticated strategy defined by several goals, the most important of which is to record one to two hours of recorded speech and a full range of demographic data for each speaker within a sample design. Labov suggests the interview proceed as a set of questions structured in a hierarchy. Tagliamonte (2006) notes that this approach is instrumental in recording the vernacular as it occurs within the speech community. In his notes on field methods, Labov (1984) indicates that the vernacular is the primary object of analytical interest for the linguist when collecting data in the field. This follows from his earlier observation in Labov (1972b) that the vernacular is where "we find more systematic speech, where the fundamental relations which determine the course of linguistic evolution can be seen more clearly." A series of techniques are available to achieve this elicitation of the vernacular. The everyday speech of the informant is what we are interested in and style-shifting due to the observer's paradox (Labov 1966) should be avoided. The interviews included questions of the "danger of death" and "moral indignation" nature. These types of questions help elicit the vernacular as informants get

invested in the conversation and forget to "speak properly" according to any prescriptive stylistics.

3.2.1 Corpus Composition

I selected 24 speakers from each community, 12 male and 12 female. The existing corpora consist of 57 speakers in Petty Harbour and 77 in Corner Brook. The speakers were further categorized into 3 age groups. The oldest group were 60 years or older at the time of the interviews. This cut off point was selected as to have the oldest group having been born in pre-confederation Newfoundland. The next group consisted of speakers between the ages of 35 and 59. The final group consisted of speakers aging from 15 to 34. These age groups were also selected to allow for comparison with earlier works on stative possession and deontic modality in other communities (Tagliamonte 2003, Tagliamonte and Smith 2006, Jankowski 2004).

Care was taken to include speakers with the least possible time spent away from the communities. This was done to ensure a proper representation of Newfoundland English in my data.

The first hour of the interview was selected and tokens representing every instance of the two variables under study were extracted. The demographic (extra-linguistic) factors included speaker gender (Labov 1972a), speaker age

(Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2009), residence in community (Boberg 2008), level of education and nature of employment.

Speaker age largely coincided with employment status. The oldest group was mostly retired people, the middle group were people in career-oriented jobs and the youngest group consisted of people undergoing schooling and starting career-oriented jobs.

Level of education and nature of employment proved to be difficult to disentangle for my analyses. I decided to combine these into a single factor group: people with post-secondary education and/or a traditionally white collar job in one category and those with less than post-secondary education and/or a traditionally blue collar job groups participants in another category. In cases where a speaker might have had post-secondary education and a blue-collar occupation, other factors would have been considered. If say a speaker had a university degree but worked in a blue-collar job but they were among the younger speakers, I would have grouped them in the post-secondary category.

4. Stative Possession

In this section I will discuss one of my two variables: stative possession, the different verb choices English speakers can make to indicate possession or

ownership. The English stative possessive system manifests itself in three different variants, *have, have got* and *got*, as the following sentences (1-3) will illustrate:

1- We *have* three game systems (PH-O/M/26)

2- My neighbour'*s got* a big kid (CB-I/F/63)

3- We *got* a heated cabin out there (CB-k/M/51)

While non-stative uses of *have,* such as the dynamic use as in "*have breakfast*" are invariant in all varieties of English, stative *have* is geographically and socially evaluated (Tagliamonte et al. 2010, p.150). Empirical findings from both diachronic and synchronic investigations of British, North American and southern hemisphere Englishes reveal changes in progress. The literature also suggests that stative *have* is becoming a distinguishing feature of varieties of English (Tagliamonte et al. 2010), with North American varieties favouring *have* (Tagliamonte et al. 2010 for Canadian English; Jankowski 2004 for US English). In Britain and in the southern hemisphere, *have got* is becoming the favoured variant (Kroch 1989; Tagliamonte 2003 for British English; Quinn 2009 for New Zealand English). The third variant, *got,* has historically been associated with American English (Jespersen 1961, p. 53).

4.1 Stative Possessive Background

There is considerable literature on stative possession, from both historical descriptive (Jespersen 1961) and generativist syntactic (LaSourd 1976) perspectives. The earliest of the three forms is *have*, as we can attest uses in Old English (Visser 1963, p. 1474)

4- Nu we sind hlæane **hæbbe** we nan þing to etanne buton Manna.

'Now we are lean, ***have*** we no thing to eat except Manna.'

(Ælfric c. 970–1000, Num. 11,9)

Have got had the meaning of "have acquired" in Middle English but started to be used in the 16th century for stative possession as an alternative to *have* (Jespersen 1961, p. 47). We find *have got* used in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*. However, *have got* was not widespread until much later, in the 19th century.

5- What a beard **hast** thou **got**; thou **hast got** more haire on thy chin, than

Dobbin my philhorse *has* on his taile. (1596, Merchant of Venice ii. 99)

Tagliamonte describes two hypotheses regarding the origins of *have got* (2003, p. 533). The first argues that *got* was inserted for emphasis of possession and to contrast it with the frequent use of *have* as an auxiliary verb (Jespersen 1961, p. 47). The other theory suggests that *got* was inserted due to the phonological reduction of *have* to a clitic, and the need to insert phonological

content that could indicate that *have* was being used as a main verb even though it was unstressed (Crowell 1959, p. 280). By inserting *got* main verb stress would then be preserved. Tagliamonte also reports that the origin of *have got* is not fully settled (2003, p. 534).

The final variant *got* was first attested much later in the mid nineteenth century. *Got* is described as very informal (Quirk et al. 1985, p.132). Visser described *got* as being an American variant (1963, p. 2205).

6- They **got** no principles. They **got** no platform to stand onto. (1849, Knickerbocker XXXIV, 12)

This is not the entire story of stative possession in English. Stative possession started developing geographic evaluation in the nineteenth century as *have got* was becoming heavily stigmatized by Americans (Tagliamonte 2003, p. 534). There are numerous examples from prescriptivist literature calling the addition of *got* in *have got* unnecessary and even wrong (Rice 1932, p. 284). Hill's manual of Social and Business Forms, an American household writing and etiquette reference in the nineteenth century, dictates that "*I have got the book*" should be "*I have the book*" (Hill 1882, p. 55). Earlier literature has also observed a higher frequency of *have got* among British writers than American writers (Crowell 1959, p.286).

In terms of overall trends in current varieties of English, there are established patterns of change towards a *have* dominated system of stative possession in North America (Jankowski 2004 for US English, Tagliamonte et al. 2010 for Canadian English) and a change towards a *have got* dominated system in British and New Zealand English (Tagliamonte 2003, Quinn 2004).

4.2 Data

The task of coding for stative possession involved searching the corpora exhaustively for every instance of *have, have got* and *got* that encode stative possession. Only present tense instances were included, to allow for comparison to previous studies (Noble 1985; Quinn, 2004; Tagliamonte, 2003). Negative contexts were excluded, as earlier studies found a categorical preference for *have* with negative contexts (Tagliamonte et al. 2010). This was the case for both *have + no* negation, and *do* support negation. Interrogatives were also excluded as these too have been shown to heavily prefer *have* over other variants (Tagliamonte 2003).

Traditionally sociolinguistic studies have correlated variation with external social variables, such as socioeconomic status (SES). For example, in Toronto English, there is a correlation between the use of *have* and a post-secondary education (Tagliamonte et al. 2010, p. 162).

Variation is also explained though grammatical constraints. Earlier works on Toronto English found a favouring effect for object abstractness, with *have* being favoured with abstract objects as opposed to concrete objects (Tagliamonte et al. 2010, p.163). I coded object type for whether an object was concrete *(I have a house)* or abstract *(The lion's club has space)*. Subject type was also found to influence variation in previous studies, with NP subjects and 3rd person plural pronouns favouring *have* and 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns favouring *got* (Tagliamonte et al. 2010, p. 160). I coded the subjects into two groups, noun phrases and pronouns, which in turn were separated into person, 1st singular and plural, 2nd singular and plural, 3rd singular, and 3rd plural. This choice was also made to allow for comparison to Toronto English as studied by Tagliamonte et al. (2010).

4.3 Results

Table 1 reports the overall distribution of variants of stative possession in both the Corner Brook and Petty Harbour datasets. The most frequent variant is *have,* with 60% and 67% rates in Corner Brook and Petty Harbour respectively. *Have got* only appears 14 times in Corner Brook and 3 times in Petty Harbour. To put this in context, Toronto English shows rates of 77% *have*, 18% *have got*, and 6% *got* (Tagliamonte et al. 2010, p. 157).

Table 1: Overall distribution of forms for stative possessive in Newfoundland English

		Have	*Got*	*Have Got*	Total
CB	%	60	40		1556
	N	912	630	14	
PH	%	67	33		1937
	N	1289	645	3	

So where does this place Newfoundland English vis-à-vis other varieties? The literature describes Toronto English as having a very restricted stative possessive system, with *have* being the preferred variant (Tagliamonte et al. 2010, p. 158). Newfoundland English can be characterized in a similar way; however, Newfoundland English also displays a lot of *got*. *Got* has historically been considered American (Jespersen 1961, p. 53). This is not to imply that *got* is part of some broader North American stative possessive system, or that Newfoundland English is somehow an American variety of English. Twenty percent of all tokens for 19th century American English are *got* (Jankowski 2004, p.96). However, this number needs to be taken with a grain of salt, as Jankowski studied American

English as manifested through works of fictions (i.e. plays), and the socioeconomic and dialectal pattern of the playwrights may have influenced this number. Realistically, we would probably see a higher usage of *got* in American English, had Jankowski 2004 studied data obtained from sociolinguistic interviews with a diverse group of informants. From a sociopolitical perspective it would make sense that NE follows broader Canadian trends, Newfoundland being a Canadian province and 60 years of political union; however, this is not borne out by the data. Toronto rates of *got* are low (6%) (Tagliamonte et al. 2010, p. 157). For British dialects, we see similarly low numbers with the literature reporting rates of 4% to 7% (Tagliamonte 2003, p. 537). Newfoundland English is often seen as being very Irish derived, but even contemporary Irish English has rates of *got* as low as 3% (Tagliamonte et al. 2010, p. 158).

Generally, we assume that if there is change in progress in a grammatical system, age will provide insight into the direction of a change. As linguists we cannot observe long term linguistic changes as they happen, as these changes sometimes take decades or more to manifest themselves in a speaker group. However, thanks to the notion of apparent time (Labov 1972a), we can observe differences across age groups and use this as a proxy for change. If we now consider variable *have* in apparent time, as in Figure 4.1, we can see that *have* is common among the oldest speakers, appears to drop for the middle group of

speakers before rising again among young people (except for Corner Brook women, who steadily increase the use of *have* over *got* across apparent time). .

Stative Possessive *have*
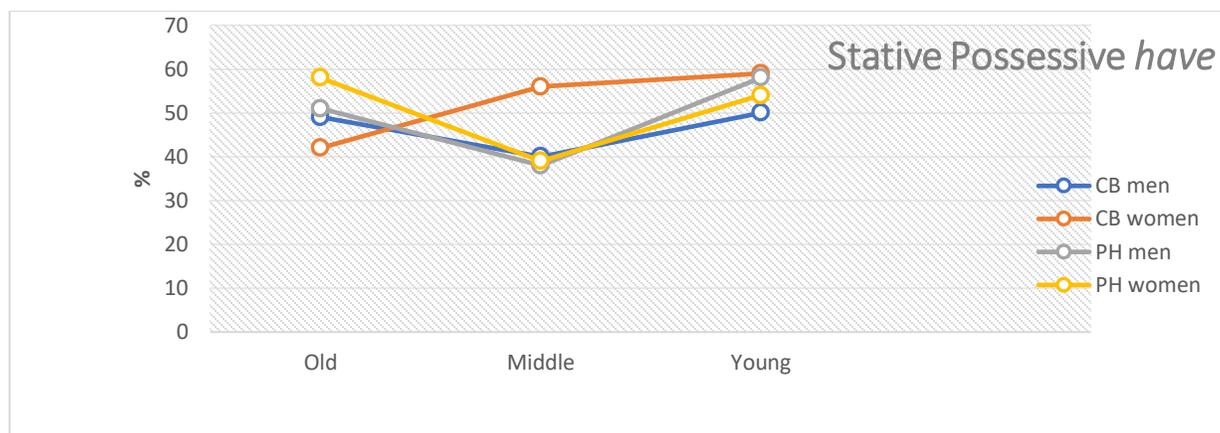
FIGURE 4.1: Stative Possessive *have*

This is interesting as it implies that *got* became a popular variant for the middle generation before being replaced with *have* again.

Elsewhere in Canada, e.g. in Toronto English as reported in Tagliamonte et al. we see reports of a change in progress to a *have* favoured system with near categorical rates of *have* for their youngest speakers (2010, p 162). This appears to also be somewhat true for Newfoundland as well, except much slower. The middle generation, expect women in the Corner Brook corpus, use less *have* than the generation above them.

The findings in figure 4.1 can also be contrasted with the rising rates of *have got* in York English (Tagliamonte 2003) and New Zealand English (Quinn 2004) away from *have*. A final variety of English to consider for comparative

reasons is American English as studied by Jankowski (2004). She reports rates of around 50% for the use of *have* in the late 19th century, with apparent time rates of *have* rising over the course of the 19th and 20th century to about 70% (Jankowski 2004). In North American English there is an ongoing shift to a *have* dominated system of stative possession. And this is partially true for Newfoundland as well, given how frequent *have* is with the youngest speakers. *Have got* most likely never entered the system in the first place with so few tokens in either corpus. The following figure illustrates the changes happening to *have* in two other dialects of English, Toronto English and York English.
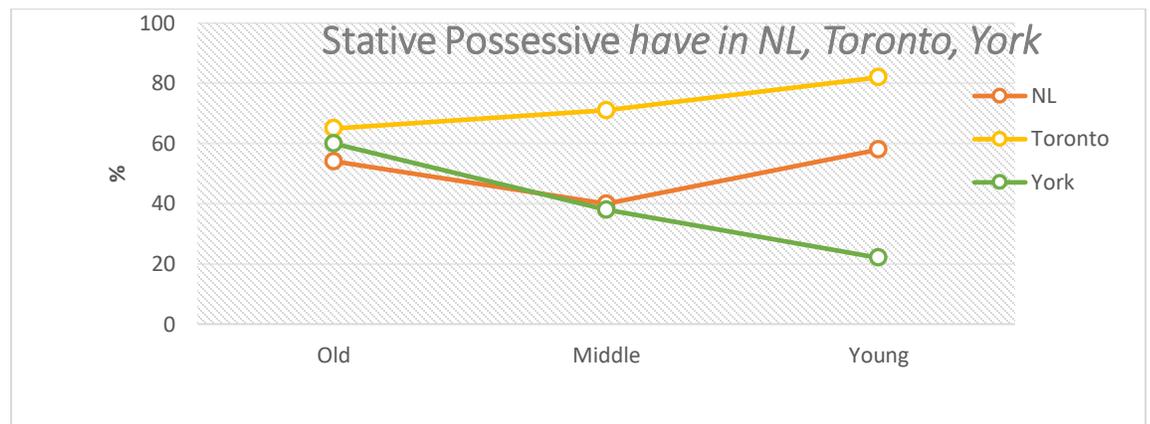

FIGURE 4.2: Stative Possessive *have* in NL, Toronto, and York (Data adapted from Tagliamonte et al. 2010, Tagliamonte 2003)

Table 2 reports the findings of a multivariate analysis of the factors contributing to the probability of *have* (over *got*) in Newfoundland English. This analysis was conducted with GoldVarb X (Sankoff, Tagliamonte, and Smith

2005). The analysis is configured to test each variant in the system for each of the

constraints being tested.

Table 2: Factors contributing to the selection of *have* over *got* in Newfoundland English						
	CORNER BROOK			PETTY HARBOUR		
Total N		1544			1976	
Corrected mean		.594			.660	
	FW	%	N	FW	%	N
Speaker Age and Sex						
Men, Old	.49	58.9	202	**.51**	67.3	394
Men, Middle	.40	49.0	339	.38	54.8	341
Men, Young	.50	59.0	283	**.58**	73.8	279
Women, Old	.42	51.9	129	**.58**	69.7	472
Women, Middle	**.56**	65.6	294	.39	56.0	243
Women, Young	**.59**	68.9	297	**.54**	69.9	471
RANGE	*19*			*19*		
Subject Type						
NP	**.53**	58.3	216	**.56**	70.8	277
1st person	.44	50.4	395	.45	62.7	743
2nd person	**.68**	72.2	309	**.60**	74.5	447
3rd person singular	.34	40.9	323	.38	54.4	268
3rd person plural	**.51**	56.7	171	**.53**	68.0	241
RANGE	*34*			*22*		
Speaker, SES/education						
Middle Class/uni	**.52**	61.1	856	**.51**	66.1	1233
Working Class/no uni	.48	56.8	688	.50	65.9	743
RANGE	*4*			*1*		
Not selected:	Object Type, Subject Reference			Object Type, Subject Reference		

Age and sex did have marginal effects, however, with younger men and

women preferring *have* over the generation before them. In Petty Harbour and

Corner Brook we see that 3rd person subjects disfavour *have*. In other words, there is a preference for *got* with subjects that are 3rd person singular pronouns. *He got, she got* and *it got*. There is also a small disfavouring effect on 1st person pronoun subjects. *I got,* and *we got.* Toronto English displays similar effects with 1st and 3rd person pronoun subjects (Tagliamonte et al. 2010, p. 163).

5. Deontic Modality

In this section I will describe deontic modality, my other variable. Deontic modality is how a speaker expresses degree of requirement, of desire for, or commitment to the realization of the proposition expressed by the utterance. Deontic Modality in English can be expressed in two ways: either through the use of the modal auxiliary (*must*) or through equivalent periphrastic constructions which encode a meaning of obligation. There are four main variants to consider: *must, have to, have got to*, and *got to*. These four variants all encode obligation or necessity and are in some contexts interchangeable. The following examples illustrate deontic modality in English:

7- He said, you ***have to*** pay a couple of dollars towards the rebuilding of the church (CB-b/F/63)

8- I ***must*** try to remember that next time in town (PH- e/F/59)

9- ...then she ***got to*** keep an eye on it ...(PH-j/M/40)

10- He***'s got to*** find his place soon... (CB-n/F/50)

An important distinction within linguistic modality is the distinction between epistemic and deontic modality. Epistemic modality relates to possibility and necessity while deontic modality has to do with permission and obligation. This difference is illustrated in the following two sentences:

11-Lorna must be the killer

12-Lorna must be killed.

Sentence 11 infers that Lorna is a killer even though that might or might not be the case (this is epistemic modality). Sentence 12 states that Lorna has to be killed. It is interesting to note that *must* here is ambiguous and that the difference between an epistemic and a deontic reading rests on the rest of the sentence. Epistemic modality will not be included in this analysis.

5.1 Background Deontic Modality

The oldest of the four variants, *must*, dates back to Old English, where it is attested as the preterit-present lexical verb *mot,* meaning be able/permitted. In the OE period *must* starts developing both an epistemic and a deontic meaning (Traugott 1992, p. 2)

In Middle English, *have to* started developing from possessive *have. The* following example from Chaucer illustrates this:

13-I **moot** go thider as I haue to go *(Chaucer, CT Pard, c. 749)*

'I must go thither as I have to go.'

Constructions of *have to* with infinitives start appearing in Middle English and Early Modern English (Krug 2001, p. 54). Tagliamonte reports that there is variation between *must* and *have* in this period (2001, p. 35).

It was not until much later that *have got to* and *got to* started appearing as possible deontic modality variants. *Have got to* was derived from stative possessive *have got,* according to Traugott (1992, p. 8). *Got* is slightly younger as it starts appearing in the early 20th century. By the 19th and 20th century these variants started competing with *have* and *must* on different sides of the Atlantic (Jankowski 2004, p. 87).

Bolinger argues that the modal auxiliary system of English has undergone a wholescale reorganization (1980, p. 6). In fact, the English modal system has undergone many changes since Old English (Lightfoot 1979, p. 81). The rise of *have got to,* and *got to,* can serve as evidence that changes are still happening. A question sometimes asked in the literature is whether these changes are the result of ongoing grammaticalization, with grammaticalization being the evolution of various forms over time where lexical items can serve grammatical functions in certain contexts (Hopper and Traugott 2003, p. 15). Variationist studies of the English modal system should allow us to probe at this question.

Have developed a meaning of obligation through a long-term process wherein *have* was transformed into a modal auxiliary from a lexical verb. *Have to* transforms into a modal auxiliary "when it expressed nothing but duty, obligation, compulsion, necessity, gradually had the place assigned to it occupied by auxiliaries, namely before the infinitive, while at the same time the object began to be placed after the infinitive" (Tagliamonte and Smith 2006, p. 17). The morphosyntactic state of *have,* however, is not clear in the literature. Some authors (e.g. Bolinger 1980) treat *have* as a semi-auxiliary while others treat it as a full auxiliary. This is due to *have* sharing defining characteristics with full verbs: it can have non-finite forms, it can occur with other models and it has a 3rd person present form.

Have got to, on the other hand, appears to have entered the language without complex semantic or syntactic reanalysis, perhaps because this had already been done for deontic modal *have to* (Tagliamonte and Smith 2006, p. 18). *Have got to* has operator properties, it cannot occur with other modal auxiliaries and it has no non-tensed forms according to Tagliamonte and Smith (2006, p. 18).

The final variant, *got to,* resembles *must* with its lack of inflections, and non-finite forms. It is important to note that for deontic modality the various variants entered English at various times, making their distribution a potential window on the development of the English deontic modal system. However,

grammatical aspects aside, there is another factor influencing variation in the deontic modality system of English. As with stative possession, there is a social aspect to deontic modality. Krug argues that *have got to* and *got to* have long been infused with social meaning (2001, p. 79). While *got to* and *have got to* have historically been associated with non-standard speech, *must* has been associated with formal registers and a stricter notion of duty/obligation (Biber et al. 1993, p. 3).

This notion still holds true, but there are also geographical differences to consider. Denison goes so far as to argue that for deontic modality *got* is considered standard in American English, while this is not the case in British English (1998, p. 173). *Have to* and to lesser extend *have got to* are fairly common in British English, whereas *got to* and the more colloquial *gotta* are considered downright vulgar. It is also worth noting that *have got to* is gaining in popularity in British English (Tagliamonte and Smith 2006, p. 20). The literature reports geographical variation for deontic modality with US English favouring *have to* and *got to* (Jankowski 2004 p. 95), and British English increasing use of *have got* (Jankowski 2004). *Must* is reported to be in decline in both British and American varieties (Jankowski 2004, p. 106).

To summarize, the English deontic modality system allows for different variants, namely *have to, have got to, got to, and must*. Deontic modality expresses

a meaning of obligation or necessity. While the four different variants take different forms, they are in most contexts interchangeable (Jankowski 2004, p. 86).

5.2 Data

Coding for deontic modality involved searching the corpora exhaustively for every instance of *must, have to, have got to, and got to* which encoded deontic modality. Sentences such as (14), with epistemic modality which carries a meaning of inferred certainty, was excluded.

14 – You must be joking, right?

These were excluded as the literature explicitly claims what this represents a process which has largely grammaticalized to *must* (Tagliamont 2001, p. 54). This epistemic reading can also be realized with *have to, got to* and *have got to*; these have also been excluded. Following the tradition of previous works, contexts involving the past or future tenses were also excluded. The literature states that these contexts have largely completed a grammaticalization to *have to* (Palmer 2014, p. 114).

Negative tokens were infrequent and were therefore excluded following the tradition of other studies. Interestingly enough, there are very few tokens of *have got* in either corpus, and for this reason *have got* has been excluded from analysis.

A similar observation was made by Thorburn et al. (2016) for Nain English. Perhaps, this can be explained by the fact that Newfoundland's settlement was largely completed before *have got* gained its popularity in British English.

5.3 Results

Table 3 provides an overview of the distribution of forms most frequently used for deontic modality in Newfoundland English. The most frequently used variant in Petty Harbour is *have* with 47% of the tokens. *Have* is followed closely by *got* representing 37% of the tokens. *Must* represents 17% of the tokens from Petty Harbour speakers. In Corner Brook the data looks different. *Got* is the most frequently used variant, with 40% of all tokens. *Have* is not too far behind *got,* with 35% of all tokens. *Must* is used 25% of the time. As was the case with stative possession, there were very few *have got* tokens so these have again been excluded from the analysis.

	Table 3: Overall distribution of forms for deontic modality in NE					
		Have	*Got*	*Must*	*Have Got*	Total
CB	%	34.2	38.4	24.6	2.8	391
	N	134	150	96	11	
PH	%	45.9	36.6	16.2	1.3	517
	N	237	189	84	7	

When compared to other varieties of English, Newfoundland English reveals a pattern different from elsewhere. Tagliamonte and Smith report high rates of *have* and *have got* in most British varieties of English as well as low *got* and *must* rates (2006, p. 20). Tagliamonte and Smith report that Tiverton in Devon shows high rates of *got* (49%) (2006, p. 26). It is interesting to note that for most dialects *must* is virtually absent. Tagliamonte and Smith conclude that *must* might never have been popular in northern English and Scottish dialects (2006, p. 6). And it is well established in the literature that semi-modals (*have to and have got to*) are becoming more frequent (Biber 1993).

The following figure (5.1) shows the use of *have* over *got* and *must* in the Newfoundland data, across generations and gender.

FIGURE 5.1: *Have* over *got* and *must*

Rates of deontic modality *have* are high and have historically been high. For both Petty Harbour and Corner Brook we see a decrease in *have* use across generations. However, Petty Harbour youth seem to be reclaiming *have*. This is not the case for Corner Brook youth, who use *have* less than their parents and grandparents. Men use *have* less often than women in both datasets.
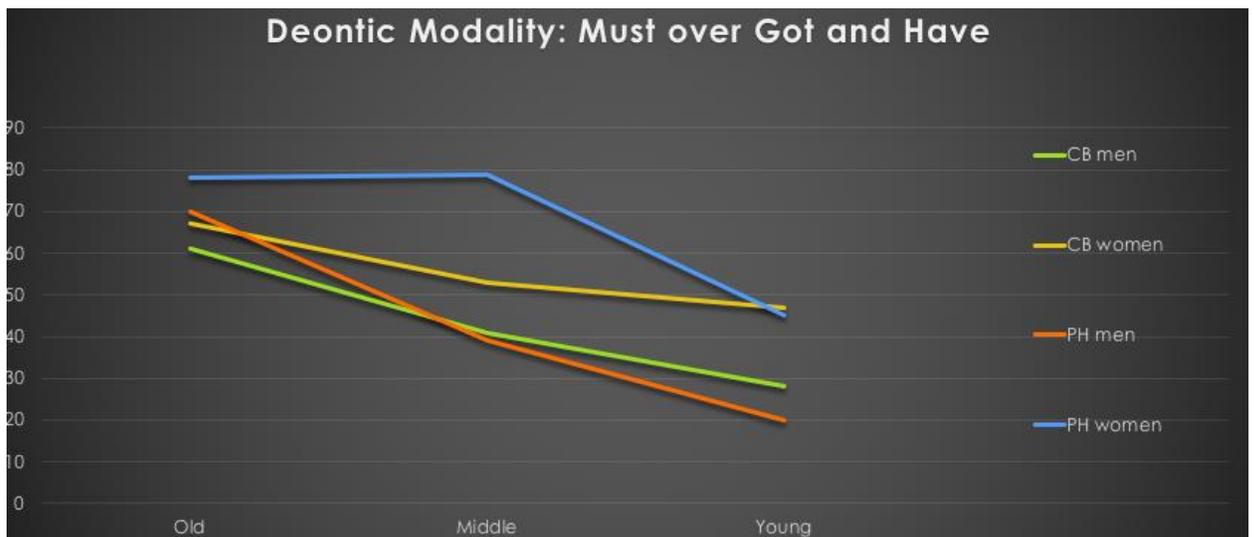
Figure 5.2: *Must* over *got* and *have*

Figure (5.2) shows the rates of *must* use over *have* and *got* in Newfoundland. In apparent time we can see that *must* is losing out in favour *of have or got*. This is true for all speaker groups in the study. Furthermore, men use *must* less than women. This is not entirely surprising, as deontic modality *must* is declining in most varieties of English (Jankowski 2004; Tagliamonte and Smith. 2006).
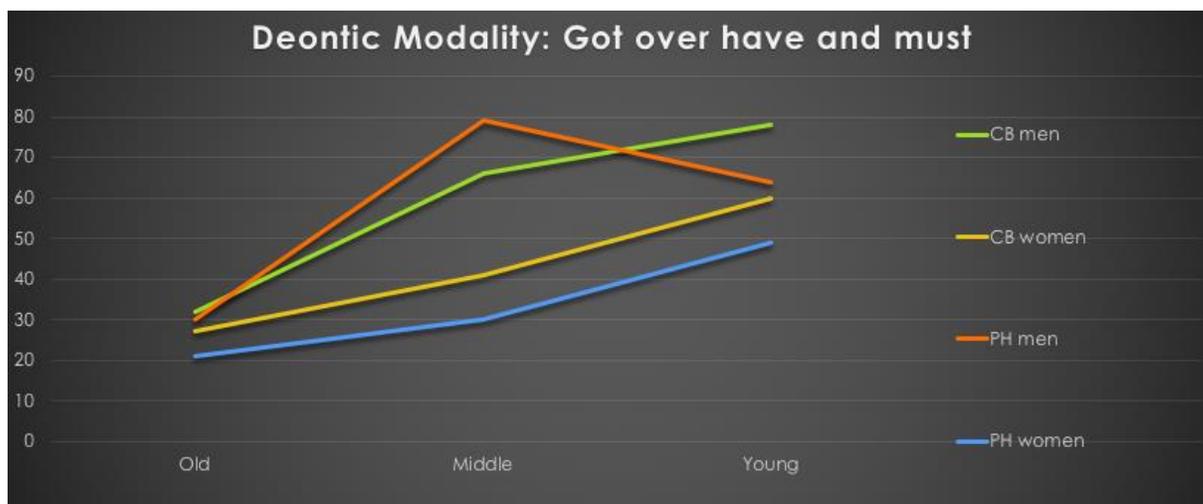
Figure 5.3:*got* over *have* and *must*

Finally, figure (5.3) shows the use of *got* over *must* and *have* in Newfoundland.   All speaker groups in the study are increasing their uses of deontic modality *got*. For speakers from Petty Harbour, it appears that *must* is being replaced with *got,* while in Corner Brook both *have* and *must* are being replaced with *got*. This is different from what is happening elsewhere in the world: rates of *got* are dropping in favour of *have* in most of North America (Jankowski 2004, p.105), while *got* is being replaced by *have got* in most British varieties (Tagliamonte and Smith 2006, p. 30).

Similar to stative possession, there appear to be few statistically significant linguistic or social constraints on the variant choice for deontic modality in this study.

Table 4: Factors contributing to the selection of *must* over *have* and *got* in Newfoundland English

	CORNER BROOK			PETTY HARBOUR		
Total N	380			510		
Corrected mean	.241			.124		
	FW	%	N	FW	%	N
Speaker Age and Sex						
Men, Old	**.61**	32.8	85	**.70**	25.0	60
Men, Middle	.41	18.2	88	.39	8.3	109
Men, Young	.28	11.1	45	.20	3.4	119
Women, Old	**.67**	39.6	48	**.76**	34.5	73
Women, Middle	**.53**	26.6	64	**.79**	31.7	72
Women, Young	.47	22.0	50	.45	10.4	77
RANGE	*39*			*59*		
Not selected	Object Type, Subject Type, SES/Education			Object Type, Subject Type, SES/Education		

Table 4 displays the results of a multivariate analysis of factors contributing to the probability of *must* over *have* and *got* in Newfoundland English. There appear to be no socioeconomic factors affecting the choice of variant for deontic modality. Gender and age do appear to affect the choice of variant: younger speakers use less *must*, with men leading the way. Grammatical factors were not selected as significant to the choice of variant in NE. It is interesting to note that *must* represents a large portion of the tokens compared to other studies (Jankowski 2004). Elsewhere, *must* is usually seen as a very formal and authoritarian variant for deontic modality and is thus not used very much.

Table (5) shows factors contributing to the selection of *have* over *must* or *got* in Newfoundland English.

Table 5: Factors contributing to the selection of *have* over *must* and *got* in Newfoundland English						
	CORNER BROOK			PETTY HARBOUR		
Total N		380			510	
Corrected mean		.346			.460	
	FW	%	N	FW	%	N
Speaker Age and Sex						
Men, Old	**.60**	44.7	85	**.60**	56.7	60
Men, Middle	.42	27.3	88	.28	28.8	109
Men, Young	.31	20.0	45	**.52**	48.7	119
Women, Old	**.57**	41.7	48	**.60**	56.2	73
Women, Middle	**.60**	43.8	64	**.51**	47.2	72
Women, Young	.45	30.0	50	**.60**	55.8	77
RANGE	*29*			*32*		
Subject Type						
Not selected	Object Type, Subject type, SES/Education			Object Type, Subject Type, SES/Education		

As we see in table (5) Petty Harbour youth are reclaiming *have* as their preferred variant for deontic modality, despite their parents' choice to favour *got.* This is not the case in Corner Brook, where *got* is taking over from *have*.

As table (6) below shows, there is an interesting surge in *got* over *must* and *have* in the middle generation for both genders in both datasets. In Corner Brook there is a positive correlation between *got* use and age. Younger people use *got* more than older people. In Petty Harbour, this is true for women too, but not to the same extent, as the highest rates for *got* in Petty Harbour women are about a generation

lower than in Corner Brook. Petty Harbour men, however, show a decline in *got* over time, with the exception of the *got* heavy middle generation.

Table 6: Factors contributing to the selection of *got* over *have* and *must* in Newfoundland English						
	CORNER BROOK			PETTY HARBOUR		
Total N		380			510	
Corrected mean		.384			.345	
	FW	%	N	FW	%	N
Speaker Age and Sex						
Men, Old	.32	22.4	85	.30	18.3	60
Men, Middle	**.66**	54.4	88	**.79**	67.0	109
Men, Young	**.78**	68.9	45	**.64**	47.9	119
Women, Old	.27	18.8	48	.21	12.3	73
Women, Middle	**.41**	29.7	64	.30	18.1	72
Women, Young	**.60**	48.0	50	.49	33.8	77
RANGE	*51*			*58*		
Subject Type						
Not selected	Object Type, Subject Type, SES/Education			Object Type, Subject Type, SES/Education		

6. Discussion

In this section I will discuss the social, quantitative and qualitative uses of stative possession and deontic modality in Newfoundland based on the findings in the previous sections.

6.1 Summary: stative possession

The following observations can be made about use of stative possession in Newfoundland: Younger speakers in both communities use more *have* than *got,* as *have* is the most frequent variant. Older speakers use less *got* than *have*. The middle group uses *have* least. What we see in both Corner Brook and Petty Harbour is a "u-shaped" curve. We also see middle class and post-secondary education informants opting for *have* to a greater degree than working class speakers. However, with such small ranges this effect is minimal. Linguistically, stative possession appears to work in similar ways in both communities. NPs, 2nd person and 3rd person plural pronouns favour *have.* The only measurable difference between the two communities is that Corner Brook women in the middle age group appear to use *have* more than their Petty Harbour counterparts. Newfoundland does not use *have got* for stative possession.

6.2 Summary: deontic modality

For deontic modality, we observe a big difference between the two communities. Petty Harbour youth are increasing their use of *have* over *got* and *must*. Corner Brook youth, however, are not. Older speakers use more *have* over *got* or *must.* The middle groups, except for middle Corner Brook women, use less *have*. This is the same group that did not decrease their use of *have* for stative possession. *Must* is decreasing over time for all speakers. Women are decreasing *must* use slower than men. This perhaps indicates that *must* is considered the "proper" and formal variant. The analysis did not find any statistically significant linguistic constraints; neither was socioeconomic status relevant. This appears to indicate that two different strategies are in place in these two different communities. It appears that Petty Harbour youth are replacing deontic *must* with *have* and *got* while in Corner Brook *must* is being replaced with *got* alone.

6.3 Got in Newfoundland

So one might wonder why there is so much *got* use in Newfoundland. Historically, *got* should not be in Newfoundland. For both stative possession and deontic modality we see *got* elsewhere becoming widespread in the 1800-1900s and mostly in American sources. Contemporary Canadian English British Englishes do not often use *got*. One route *got* might have made its way into Newfoundland English could be though *have got.* The non-existence of *have got* in

Newfoundland English could perhaps be explained by a phonological reduction of *have got* into *got.* However, given how recently *have got* arose in popularity in Britain, and with Newfoundland's settlement history in mind, I find it unlikely that *have got* made its way to Devon and Dorset and further on to Newfoundland before being reduced to *got* all in the span of a century or so. While *have got* is a popular variant in contemporary British English, this was not the case in the 1830s when the bulk of Newfoundland's European immigrants arrived.

Instead, I propose that *got* gained popularity due to the presence of the American military in Newfoundland. *Got* is the quintessential American variant for stative possession and deontic modality. This is not to imply that *got* was not used in Newfoundland before the 1940s, merely not as popular or accepted. *Got* for stative possession and deontic modality starts appearing in American literature first. There has probably been earlier uses of *got* There was a sizeable American presence on the island of Newfoundland in the years from 1940-1970. This corresponds with the decades our middle-aged group of speakers were born. And while it is unlikely that speakers born towards the end of the American military's presence on the island directly interacted with American soldiers, the sheer number of American soldiers who passed through the island must have left a cultural influence.

As mentioned earlier, *got* has historically been considered non-standard and American. This is not to say that *got* did not exist in NE at the time, but rather that *got* for either stative possession or deontic modality was not a popular variant. Perhaps one can draw parallels to the word *ain't*. *Ain't* exists in all varieties of English and most speakers of English would recognize the word but might rarely use it.

This interpretation is supported by the fact that rates of *got* in this study start low with the oldest generation and increase until recent times. If *got* was in fact an American variant, rates for *got* use would increase as the American presence on the island increased.

Details of *got* use in these corpora support this interpretation. The oldest speaker (PH101) uses very little *got* but most speakers in their 40s, 50s, and 60s use a fair bit of both stative possessive and deontic modality *got*. The timing appears to be off as American service people would not have interacted with Newfoundland toddlers to explain the higher rates of *got* in the middle group. However, the American presence did extend well into the 1970s. Perhaps speakers in the middle groups were influenced by Americans and American pop-culture in their adolescence. Although *got* is described as a low prestige variant elsewhere, it could easily have been an externally introduced prestige marker in Newfoundland. Before the American arrival in the early 1940s, Newfoundland was in an

economically desperate situation. Rampant poverty and failing government had driven up the debt and decreased wages. With the American arrival came high wages and job prospects.

6.4 Prestige in Newfoundland

While we usually think of prestige as a sociolinguistic force that drives speakers towards the standard due to economic influence, it does not seem too far-fetched that impoverished Newfoundlanders, already speaking a dialect that deviates from what is typically considered a standard English, would have been influenced by wealthier and culturally more powerful speakers from the USA. Prestige follows money and power. Prestige influences speakers to adopt features from those they deem to be in a better situation. Speakers who were in an economically better position at the time were the American soldiers stationed around the island. Socially mobile Newfoundlanders were influenced by American soldiers and the post-war American cultural boom. In other words, it was the strong *local* prestige of American variants that influenced Newfoundlanders' linguistic choices, not the more distant and abstract relative prestige of standard(izing) forms elsewhere. In other words, I see the adoption of a *got* in Newfoundland, as an example of covert prestige (Trudgill 1972). Covert prestige is a type of scenario in which nonstandard language features are regarded to be of high linguistic prestige by members of a speech community. This can be contrasted to the overt prestige, later

seen, when Petty Harbour youth are switching to *have* for stative possession. *Have* is the standard form in many varieties of English.

The dialect contact with the Americans seems to have left traces of American English. It is rather problematic to talk about American English as a single variety in this context, because the American soldiers stationed in Newfoundland came from all parts of the US. A traditional dialect contact situation would result in weakening in American patterns following transmission and diffusion but what do I compare it to? Patterns of stative possessive and deontic modality *got* appear not to be very socially salient. Newfoundlanders appear to not share the social meanings that *have* and *got* represent elsewhere.

6.5 What's Newfoundland-y in Newfoundland?

This subsection will discuss what appears to count as Newfoundland-y in Newfoundland. A sociolinguist might assume they would find that older men and more rural men are preserving traditional features, but *have* is the traditional form in Newfoundland, and *have* shows decline in the middle generations in these corpora. So, it appears that the middle generation is the odd one out. This would mean that the middle generation are not preserving the traditional Newfoundland pattern for stative possession or deontic modality. The younger and older people

are using the traditional variant but in different ways. Older speakers are using a Newfoundland *have* but younger speakers are using either a Newfoundland or a standard English *have*. The lack of statistically significant linguistic constraints makes it impossible to know which *have* younger speakers are using, are they using the traditional Newfoundland *have* or are they using an incoming *have*. So the question becomes who sounds Newfoundlandy? The answer is not the middle group. It's the younger speakers and the older speakers. And even among younger speakers we see that PH speakers use *have* more than their CB counterparts.

The literature has established changes in progress for stative possession and deontic modality in Toronto English, which we might assume to be the prestige variety of Canadian English. This change is nearly complete with the youngest speakers being near categorical *have* users. Is the Petty Harbour *have* a potential influence from Toronto? I do not think that the *have* increase in Petty Harbour is a Toronto inspired shift. The increase in use we see is probably a reaction against *got* and not influenced by Toronto despite the ongoing change in Toronto. We must remember that *have* is the traditional variant in Newfoundland. As *must* is losing popularity as a variant for deontic modality, it is being replaced by *have* in Petty Harbour. Corner Brook youth are replacing *must* with *got.* This could be an indication that future Newfoundlandiness will be manifested though the use of general non-standard features. Non-standard is rural and rural is becoming the new

Newfoundland. Maybe non-standard is starting to mean "Newfoundland English". Maybe the traditional features don't matter as much as we think they do. Maybe it's non-standard English that gives Newfoundlanders their identity?

Perhaps, an alternative explanation for the variation we see in this study, is that Newfoundland English is moving in the same direction as other varieties of English. This move would be one from *have* to *have got* to *'ve got* to *got* and finally to *have.* I do not find that this is a sufficient evidence for this to be the case in Newfoundland English, as we would have seen evidence of the use of *have got* and *'ve got,* two variants which do not appear in any significant numbers in either corpora. The near absence of *have got* would indicate the completion of this process back before the 1940s, which would make Newfoundland English uniquely innovative, or, as I find more plausible, that the process of using *have got* for stative possession and deontic modality was never widely implemented in Newfoundland.

Most of Petty Harbour's youth work and attend school in St. John's. St. John's is a very metropolitan city compared to anywhere else in Newfoundland. It could very well be that the division we see between Petty Harbour and Corner Brook is a result of how those two communities identify themselves. Petty

Harbourites are urban dwellers looking at speaking an urbanized English while Corner Brookites are urbanized Newfoundlanders. Both urban, both rural, both Newfoundlanders, but each in their own way.

7. Conclusion

In this thesis I have explored what prestige can mean to speakers of a lesser studied English. While prestige still operated towards money and power, the end result of prestige is not always what we expect. American working-class features have made their way into Newfoundland English through the tools that prestige offers. Even though "the outsider" is not the fanciest person in the world, he/she is still financially better off and provides incentives to adopt their features. We often think of prestige as a force that can pull speakers towards more standard varieties of language, but this is not true. What counts as prestigious is for speakers to decide. Language carries social utility. What this constitutes varies from society to society. As we have seen in Newfoundland with *got,* what might be considered working class non-standard features in one place, can play other roles elsewhere. Prestige means different things to different people.

Though much of language change stems from internal linguistic operations, change can come from contact with "the outsider". The "outsider" is this case is a large group of individuals whose presence changed a society in a dramatic fashion. It is partly due to the presence of these "outsiders" that we see the forces of de-isolation operate in Newfoundland in the 40s and 50s. Sometimes de-isolation is

caused by increased tourism (Martha's Vineyard - Schreier 2017, p.354), sometimes it's due to ferries and bridges connecting a community to the mainland (Ocracoke and Outer Banks – Schreier 2017, p. 354), and sometimes, like in Newfoundland, it is the presence of "outsiders".

I have also explored how concepts like "urban" might work differently in Newfoundland. While urban-ness is often defined by population, in Newfoundland urban-ness is perhaps better defined by distance to large centres. Petty Harbour is the smaller of the two communities in this study, but Petty Harbour is arguably more urban in the traditional sense than Corner Brook, simply due to its closeness to St. John's. Corner Brook is "urban" based on population but does not behave like the more urban variety sociolinguistically.

8. References

Bailey, G. (2002). *Real and Apparent Time*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Bell, A. (1984). Language style as audience design. *Language in society*, 13(2), 145-204.

Biber, D. (1993). Representativeness in corpus design. *Literary and linguistic computing*, *8*(4), 243-257.

Boberg, C. (2008). Regional phonetic differentiation in standard Canadian English. *Journal of English Linguistics, 36*(2), 129-154.

Boberg, C. (2009). The emergence of a new phoneme: Foreign (a) in Canadian English. *Language Variation and Change*, *21*(3), 355-380.

Bolinger, D. (1980). Wanna and the gradience of auxiliaries. *Wege zur Universalienforschung: sprachwissenschaftliche Beiträge zum*, *60*, 292-299.

Bourdieu, P. (1972). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Çev. Richard Nice.

Bucholtz, M. (1999). "Why be normal?": Language and identity practices in a community of nerd girls. *Language in society*, *28*(2), 203-223.

Chambers, J. K. (2002). Studying language variation: An informal epistemology. *The handbook of language variation and change*, 3-14.

Childs, B., De Decker, P., Deal, R., Kendall, T., Thorburn, J., Williamson, M., & Van Herk, G. (2010). Stop signs: The intersection of interdental fricatives and identity in Newfoundland. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics, 16*(2), 5.

Childs, B., Van Herk, G. & Thorburn, J.. (2011). Safe harbour: Ethics and accessibility in sociolinguistic corpus building. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory*. 7.

Clarke, S. (2010). *Newfoundland and Labrador English*. Edinburgh University Press.

Clarke, S., & Hiscock, P. (2013). *The Dialect Atlas of Newfoundland and Labrador*. Memorial University.

Crowell, T. L. (1959). Have got, a pattern preserver. *American Speech, 34*(4), 280-286.

Cutler, C. A. (1999). Yorkville crossing: White teens, hip hop and African American English. *Journal of sociolinguistics, 3*(4), 428-442.

Dailey-O'Cain, J. (1997). Canadian raising in a midwestern US city. *Language Variation and Change, 9*(1), 107-120.

Deal, R. S. G. (2016). *Performing" Up The Shore": a stylistic analysis of Newfoundland Irish English vowels in the Ferryland dinner theatre* (Doctoral dissertation, Memorial University of Newfoundland).

Denison, D. (1998). Syntax. *The Cambridge history of the English language, vol. 4, 1776-1997*, ed. Suzanne Romaine, 92-329.

Finch, R. (2009). *The Iambics of Newfoundland: Notes from an unknown shore.* Counterpoint Press.

Gal, S. (1995). Cultural bases of language use among German-speakers in Hungary. *International Journal of The Sociology of Language, (1995)*, 93-102.

Hill, T. E. (1886). *Hill's manual of social and business forms: A guide to correct writing*. Hill Standard Book Company.

Hopper, P. J., & Traugott, E. C. (2003). *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge University Press.

Jankowski, B. (2004). A transatlantic perspective of variation and change in English deontic modality. *Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics, 23*, 85-113.

Jespersen, O. (1961*). A Modern English Grammar: On Historical Principles*. G. Allen & Unwin.

Josey, M. P. (2004). *A sociolinguistic study of phonetic variation and change on the island of Martha's Vineyard* (Doctoral dissertation, New York University).

Kortmann, B., Schneider, E. W., Burridge, K., Mesthrie, R., & Upton, C. (2004). *A handbook of varieties of English. Vol. 1. Phonology*. Mouton de Gruyter.

Kortmann, B., Schneider, E. W., Burridge, K., Mesthrie, R., & Upton, C. (2004). *A handbook of varieties of English. Vol. 2. Morphology and Syntax*. Mouton de Gruyter.

Kortmann, B., & Szmrecsanyi, B. (2004). Global synopsis: morphological and syntactic variation in English. *A handbook of varieties of English*, Vol. 2, 1142-1202.

Kroch, A. S. (1989). Reflexes of grammar in patterns of language change. *Language variation and change, 1(*3), 199-244.

Krug, M. G. (2001). Frequency, iconicity, categorization: Evidence from emerging modals. *Typological Studies in Language, 45*, 309-336.

Labov, W. (1963). The social motivation of a sound change. *Word, 19(*3), 273-309.

Labov, W. (1966). The social stratification of English in New York city. In *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Labov, W. (ed), University Of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, PA: 43- 70

Labov, W. (1984). Intensity. Meaning, form, and use in context: *Linguistic applications, 70*, 43-70.

Labov, W. (1972a). *Sociolinguistic patterns (No. 4).* University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, W. (1972b). *Language in the inner city: Studies in the Black English vernacular (Vol. 3).* University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, W. (2007). Transmission and diffusion. *Language, 83*(2), 344-387.

LeSourd, P. (1976). Got insertion. *Linguistic Inquiry, 7*(3), 509-516.

Lightfoot, D. W. (1979). *Principles of diachronic syntax* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics London). Cambridge University Press

MacKenzie, D. (2004). A North Atlantic Outpost: The American Military in Newfoundland, 1941–1945. *War & Society, 22(*2), 51-74.

Meyerhoff, M., & Niedzielski, N. (2003). The globalisation of vernacular variation. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 7*(4), 534-555.

Milroy, J., & Milroy, L. (1985). Linguistic change, social network and speaker innovation. *Journal of linguistics, 21(*2), 339-384.

Montgomery, M. (1998). In the Appalachians they speak like Shakespeare. In L. Bauerand P. Trudgill (Eds.), *Language myths* (pp. 66–76). Penguin

Noble, S. (1985). *To have and have got*. Paper presented at NWAV 14, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

Palmer, F. R. (2014). *Modality and the English modals*. Routledge.

Paddock, H. J. (1966). *A dialect survey of Carbonear, Newfoundland* (Doctoral dissertation, Memorial University of Newfoundland).

Quinn, H. (2004). *Possessive 'have' and '(have) got' in New Zealand English.* Paper presented at NWAV 33, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI

Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., & Svartvik, J. (1985*). A comprehensive English grammar*. London and New York: Longman.

Rice, W. (1932). Get and got. *American Speech, 7*(4), 280-296.

Sankoff, D., Tagliamonte, S. A., & Smith, E. (2006). *GoldvarbX*. Department of Linguistics, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada.

Schilling-Estes, N. (1999*). Reshaping economies, reshaping identities: Gender-based patterns of language variation in Ocracoke English*. In Engendering Communication: Proceedings of the Fifth Berkeley Women and Language Conference (pp. 509-520).

Schreier, D. (2009). Language in isolation, and its implications for variation and change. *Language and Linguistics Compass, 3*(2), 682-699.

Schreier, D. (2017). Dialect Formation in Isolated Communities. *Annual Review of Linguistics,* 3(1), 347-362.

Story, G. M., Kirwin, W. J., & Widdowson, J. D. A. (Eds.). (1990). *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*. University of Toronto Press.

Tagliamonte, S. (2001, April). *Have to, gotta, must: Grammaticalisation, variation, and specialisation*. Corpus research on grammaticalization in English. Växjö, Sweden.

Tagliamonte, S. (2003). Every place has a different toll': Determinants of grammatical variation in cross-variety perspective. *TOPICS IN ENGLISH LINGUISTICS, 43*, 531-554.

Tagliamonte, S. (2006). *Analysing sociolinguistic variation*. Cambridge University Press.

Tagliamonte, S., & D'Arcy, A. (2004). He's like, she's like: The quotative system in Canadian youth. *Journal of sociolinguistics, 8*(4), 493-514.

Tagliamonte, S. A., & D'Arcy, A. (2009). Peaks beyond phonology: Adolescence, incrementation, and language change. *Language*, 58-108.

Tagliamonte, S. A., D'Arcy, A., & Jankowski, B. (2010). Social work and linguistic systems: Marking possession in Canadian English. *Language Variation and Change, 22*(1), 149-173.

Tagliamonte, S. A., & Smith, J. (2006). Layering, competition and a twist of fate: Deontic modality in dialects of English. *Diachronica, 23*(2), 341-380.

The National Atlas of Canada. 4th edition. Toronto, Ontario: McMillian Company of Canada, 1974

Thorburn, Jennifer & Marije van Hattum. (2016). *Modality, rurality, and emerging varieties: A case study of modal verbs of obligation and necessity in Labrador Inuit English*. Paper presented at NWAV 45, Vancouver, BC.

Traugott, E. (1992). SYNTAX. In R. Hogg (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language (The Cambridge History of the English Language*, pp. 168-289). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Trudgill, P. (1972). Sex, covert prestige and linguistic change in the urban British English of Norwich. *Language in Society 1(2),* 179-195.

Vance, T. J. (1987). " Canadian Raising" in some dialects of the northern United States. *American Speech, 62*(3), 195-210.

Van Herk, G., Childs, B., Sheppard, M., & Thorburn, J., & the MUN Intensifier Project. (2009). *Idol worshippers and Model citizens: Nationality, choice, and language change.* Paper Presented at Change and Variation in Canada III, Toronto, ON.

Visser, F. T. (1963). *An historical syntax of the English language.* Brill Archive.

Wix, E. (1836). *Six months of a Newfoundland missionary's journal: from February to August, 1835.* London: Smith, Elder.

Wolfram, W., & Schilling-Estes, N. (1995). Moribund dialects and the endangerment canon: The case of the Ocracoke brogue. *Language*, 696-721.

Wolfram, W., & Shilling-Estes, N. (1999). *American English. Dialects and Variation*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Wolfram, W., & Schilling-Estes, N. (2000). *Hoi toide on the outer banks: The story of the Ocracoke brogue*. Univ of North Carolina Press.