

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF THE
BURIN REGION OF NEWFOUNDLAND

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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CATHERINE E. [REDACTED] LANARI



**A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF THE
BURIN REGION OF NEWFOUNDLAND**

by

Catherine E. Penney-Lanari

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in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the formal and informal speech of the Burin region, employing a traditional Labovian methodology utilizing a 2 x 2 x 2 ANOVA design (age x sex x socioeconomic class). Twenty-four residents of the Burin region (divided into eight cells) were interviewed. The interviews were recorded, and ten phonological variables were selected for quantificational analysis. The objective was to determine whether significant linguistic differences existed among the various social groups represented in the study.

Extensive variation was indicated in the speech of local residents. Variation was found across groups, as well as in individual speech. The most significant social factors determining dialect choice in Informal Style were social class, gender and then age. The majority of the linguistic features surveyed displayed minimal to moderate stratification across styles. Phonological conditioning did not appear to significantly affect pronunciation of variants of variables (E), (AY), (AW), (THETA) and (ETH):

Minimal stylistic stratification was displayed by features infrequently used by Burin region speakers, while those occurring more frequently displayed either moderate or considerable stratification. Some variants, while displaying the predicted stratificational patterns overall, exhibited internal anomalies. Males and the working class (particularly young working class females) were marked by their use of specific non-standard features.

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This thesis is dedicated to God, and to my father, Michael Joseph Penney Senior, who was born in the town of Burin September 29, 1913, and who died February 14, 1964.

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INTRODUCTION

1.1. Settlement of the Burin Region

The town of Burin is located on the south coast of the island of Newfoundland (see Figure 1 below). The town, incorporated in 1950, comprises a number of small settlements which dot the shores of Burin harbour: Burin Bay, Burin North, Ship Cove, Collins Cove, Kirby's Cove, Path End, Bull's Cove, Long Cove, Little Salmonier, Burin Bay Arm and Salt Pond (see Figure 2).

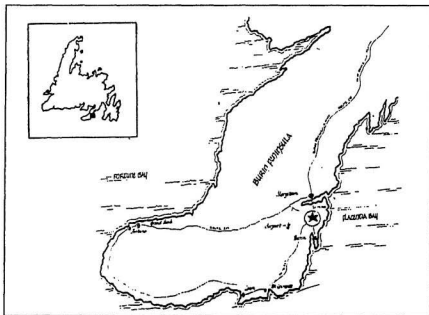


FIGURE 1 - BURIN PENINSULA
(from Decks Awash Vol. 19, No. 6, November-December 1990)

The Burin region, however, includes the communities of Fox Cove/Mortier, Port Aux Bras, Beau Bois, and Little Bay. The 1986 Census indicates a population of 2,892 for Burin Proper, 500 for Fox Cove/Mortier, 364 for Port Aux Bras, and 196

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for Little Bay. According to the 1991 census, there were 2,940 people residing in Burin Proper, 319 in Port Aux Bras, 464 in Fox Cove/Mortier, and 201 in Little Bay. The communities of Tide's Cove, Duricle and Corbin, referred to in censuses for the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, no longer exist.

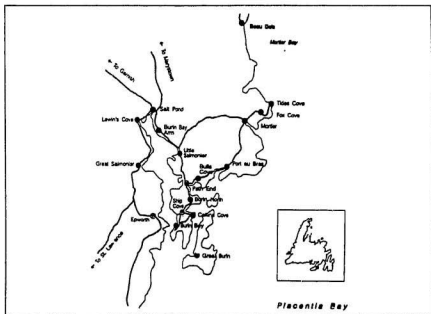


FIGURE 2 - BURIN REGION
(from Decks Awash, Vol. 19, No. 6, November-December 1990)

Fishermen from England, France, Portugal and Spain had been coming to the Burin region to prosecute a migratory fishery (a fishery conducted from centres in Europe or England) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Initially the region

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was used as a fishing station; men came to fish during the summer season, returning to home ports with their catches of salted cod in the fall of the year. By the early nineteenth century, however, only the English actually fished inshore, or used the shores of the many protected harbours to salt and dress their catches¹. The French had been pushed out as a result of war and treaty (e.g. the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713). They were awarded the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon in 1713, which were captured by the English in 1793, and returned again to the jurisdiction of France in 1814. These islands remain the only French colonies in North America to this day.

By 1832 Burin had become an electoral district, under the jurisdiction of England. However, actual settlement of the region was actively discouraged by the powerful English merchants until approximately the middle of the nineteenth century. Men had often wintered over, preparing vessels and premises for the continuing migratory fisheries; eventually these men settled, illegally at first, but later with the consent of both merchants and the English government.

The migratory fishery, executed from England, at first co-existed with a local, land-based fishery. With settlement, however, the migratory fishery declined. The economy fell under the jurisdiction of local merchants. The Burin region had come into its own.

The main influx of immigrants occurred after 1800 (approximately 30,000), with the peak periods between 1811-1816 and 1825-1831 (Handcock 1986:32). In 1825 62.5% of a population of approximately 2,500 in the Burin region were

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permanent (Handcock 1986:24). Another peak period quoted by Handcock is 1865-1874 (Handcock 1986:35). (Handcock does not give specific figures for migration to the Burin region for either period). Merchants and their employees came mainly from the Dorset region of southwest England, with some input from Devon and the Channel Islands. In-migration from Placentia Bay (most probably descendants of earlier Irish immigrants) contributed to the increasing population of the Burin region.

The 1857 census revealed that 1,732 of the inhabitants of Burin proper were born in Newfoundland, 185 in England, and 80 in Ireland. 11,467 of the residents of satellite communities were born in Newfoundland, 9 in England, and 48 reported Ireland as their place of birth. The census of 1869 lists 2,789 inhabitants of the region, 2,598 of whom were born in Newfoundland, 77 in Ireland, and 89 in England. In 1901 also, a vast majority of local area residents were born in Newfoundland. The 1901 census quotes Newfoundland as the place of birth for 2,543 of the inhabitants of Burin Proper, 252 for Port Aux Bras, 93 for Mortier, 140 for Fox Cove, 23 for Duricle and Tide's Cove, 67 for Beau Bois, and 172 for Little Bay. A total of 13 of the region's residents reported England as their place of birth in 1901; 5 reported Ireland.

While evidence exists for southwest England as the place of origin for English (Protestant) immigration to the Burin region (Handcock 1986:35-37), little is actually documented for the source of Irish (Catholic) immigration. It would seem likely, however, that many of the inhabitants of nearby Placentia Bay were either Irish or

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of Irish descent. It may be that the relatively high proportion of Irish found on the east coast of the Burin Peninsula were in-migrants from Placentia Bay. However, there is no hard evidence supporting this assumption. Very little research appears to have been done on Irish immigration to the south coast of Newfoundland.

1.2. The Traditional Economy

By 1853 Newfoundland had responsible government, and both the inshore and the deep sea fisheries of the Burin region were regulated by this governing body. The basis of the local economy, however, did not change: the means of production were still owned by the merchants prosecuting the fishery (vessels such as schooners and small craft, and 'gear'²), with fishermen employed on a 'share' basis. Thus emerged the 'credit' system, which was so typical of the rural Newfoundland economy. While profits from the fishery were shared among owners of the means of production and the fishermen, the fishermen typically found themselves indebted to either the local merchants, or the 'skippers' of the schooner from which they prosecuted their fishery. As one of my informants dryly observed, "ye sold yer fish, dey tuk out whatever you owed; whatever was lef' you got, which was very little...oh yeah, dey wanted to keep ye in the hole...wouldn' lose ye dat way, see."

In all fairness, local merchants did offer an important service. They provided gear, salt, food and other supplies. Both inshore and Banks fishermen often lacked sufficient capital to provide these, and gear such as seines and cod traps were indeed expensive. The main feature of this particular economy, however, was that it left a

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minority of the local population controlling cash, goods and services, while leaving a majority of the population cash poor. This remained true of the local economy until well into the twentieth century, and undoubtedly contributed to the emergence of cultural, class and linguistic features unique to Newfoundland.

Prior to 1875 inshore cod fishing was conducted from small craft, using either baited handlines, unbaited jiggers, or seines (these were large nets requiring several men to cast and retrieve³). By 1875 the cod trap had been invented, and became the primary means of harvesting inshore cod stocks. The inshore fishery was, primarily, a summer fishery, although a fall fishery was conducted from jack boats. The inshore fishermen constructed and maintained their own processing premises; gear and supplies were purchased from local merchants, on credit, in exchange for part of the cod catch.

The deep-sea fishery had always been conducted farther afield, on the many 'banks' (shallow areas of the off-shore where a plentiful supply of plankton and bait-fish attracted the schools of off-shore cod). Banking schooners, from which this deep-sea fishery had been conducted, first made an appearance in the early nineteenth century, and dominated the local fishery by the 1850s. Initially men had fished from the side of the vessels; later, the fishery was conducted from 'dories'⁴. Very few schooners were actually owned by Burin merchants. Holletts of Burin owned a fleet of more than six vessels in the 1920s and the 1930s, and Marshalls owned one or two. It was the town of Grand Bank which prosecuted the local Banks

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fishery; there is little evidence, however, of Burin region fishermen looking to Grand Bank skippers for employment in the Banks fishery. It was the Lunenburg skippers who employed local (Burin) fishermen, on a share basis.

The Banks fishery was very dependent on the supply of bait-fish, which was purchased in local communities, along with the ice needed to preserve it. This trade added significantly to the economy of the region. Local inshore fishermen supplied caplin in early summer, during the 'caplin scull' (the migration of caplin to the inshore to spawn). Later in the summer, herring were purchased. Squid supplied the fall fishery. Ice was purchased (mainly in Duricle and Burin) from entrepreneurs who cut ice in the winter from nearby ponds and kept it preserved in sawdust. This local industry disappeared with the advent of the 'frozen trade,' when the cod catch was iced and brought to the nearest fish plant to be processed and frozen.

The Banks fishery had initially supplied cod for the 'salt trade' (in the traditional fishery fish catches were gutted, split, and lightly salted on board; processing was completed when catches were delivered to merchants); toward the middle of the twentieth century, however, the innovative frozen trade made inroads, with resulting changes in actual fishing and delivery methods. Eventually the salt trade was eliminated, and the wooden schooners themselves, as the fishing technologies advanced, were replaced by iron vessels better suited to weathering the rough Atlantic weather. One of my informants commented: "Twas wooden vessels, and iron men; now 'tis iron vessels and wooden men."

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1.3. The Twentieth Century Economy

The largest communities on the Burin Peninsula during the first quarter of the twentieth century were Grand Bank, on the Fortune Bay coast, and Burin, on the Placentia Bay coast (see Figure 2). Burin had developed as the major commercial centre, and Grand Bank as the centre of a thriving Banks fishery.

Businesses in Burin were operated by merchants still remembered today: George A. Bartlett (who became a member of the Legislative Assembly), and, later, his sons; E.M. Hollett (Rhodes scholar, and, later, MHA for St. John's West); Thomas Shave; the Cheeseman family (Port Aux Bras); and the Inkpens. The Holletts and the Marshalls operated the only schooners actually fishing out of Burin. Smaller businesses were owned and operated by the Coadys, the Reddys, the Applebys, the Darbys, and many more enterprising families. Of these only Appleby's Supermarket remains in Burin proper; trade and commerce gradually moved to nearby Marystown in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Several major events affected the post-nineteenth century economy of the Burin region. The earliest of these were the great world depression of the 1930s, and a specifically local disaster: the Tidal Wave of 1929.

On Monday, November 18, 1929, at 5 p.m., an earthquake occurred off the east coast of North America; severe tremors were felt in Newfoundland, and in the Maritime provinces. The epicentre had been on a line south of the Burin Peninsula. Shock waves were followed by "a huge tidal wave all along the Newfoundland South

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Coast. Within two hours, destruction was general around the Burin Peninsula" (The History of Burin:154). The immediate effects were wide-ranging destruction of property - fishing vessels, fishing gear, fishing premises, and homes. Twenty-seven people from the region lost their lives. For many there was no compensation.

The long-term effects were even more devastating: the "inshore fish habitats were all but destroyed and the fishery took more than 10 years to recover" (Decks Awash 19.6:6). Traditionally, much of the male population had participated in a Banks fishery, but there had also been a significant inshore cod fishery, which now no longer functioned. Many more of the local male population consequently found it necessary to seek employment elsewhere. The situation did not ease until the beginning of World War II.

The effects of the depression were universal. The world economy was in decline, and Newfoundland, which had always been a relatively dependent colony of Britain (indeed, at times unable to sustain its own government), suffered along with the rest of the world. Many Burin region fishermen and their families knew well the consequences: unemployment and hunger. Fishermen, who had traditionally traded fish for staples, found they lacked sufficient goods for barter. By the 1940s, however, the Burin region economy stabilized. The region had again become prosperous, and remained so until the recent depletion of North Atlantic fish stocks.

When World War II began, in 1939, many young men of the Burin region joined the British forces - the Royal Naval Reserve, and an Artillery Regiment,

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mainly; a few joined the Air Force. In 1942 the United States of America joined the war effort; by that time several American bases were operating in Newfoundland (Argentia, in nearby Placentia Bay; an Air Force Base in St. John's; a base in Stephenville, one in Gander, and one in Goose Bay, Labrador). Many American facilities were also constructed along the DEW line in northern Canada. Newfoundland men had always been mobile, and willing to work wherever jobs were offered. Many of the young Burin region men found employment with the Americans, especially at the nearby naval base in Argentia. Some worked at DEW line bases until relatively recently. These jobs paid well, and the community cash flow significantly increased. The working class, traditionally cash poor, was now, along with the traditionally wealthy upper classes, economically secure. Security of income was further boosted by Confederation with Canada in 1949 (social benefits such as pensions ensured a steady cash income for all).

By 1929 Burin had electricity, and in the 1930s a cottage hospital was built, which was replaced by a large, modern regional hospital in 1988. In 1942 the traditional salt trade, as previously stated, was replaced by the frozen trade: Fishery Products International built a fish freezing plant in the community of Burin.

By 1981, Fishery Products operated six stern trawlers out of Burin, including the Zeeland, the first refrigerated stern trawler in Canada...species taken included codfish, salmon, lobster, herring, mackerel, perch, flounder and swordfish. In 1983...Fishery Products International...converted the Burin fish plant to secondary processing...buying fish from Grand Bank, Fortune, Marystown,

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Catalina, Trepassey, and Harbour Breton (from other FPI companies)
(Decks Awash 19.6:8).

Until the recent ban on the fishing of North Atlantic fish species, Fisheries Products remained the main Burin region employer. Both men and women worked in local fish plants (in Burin and Marystown), and 'trawlermen'⁵ regularly worked out of Catalina on the east coast of Newfoundland. Trawlers were overhauled in premises located in Burin proper. Other local employers are: i) a shipyard located in Marystown, subsidized by the Government of Canada; ii) the Community College (the former Burin District Vocational School, opened in 1960); iii) the Burin Peninsula Integrated School Board, and the Roman Catholic School Board; iv) the Burin Peninsula Health Care Centre in Salt Pond (the regional hospital, located approximately halfway between Burin proper and the community of Marystown); iv) Newfoundland Hydro, Newfoundland Telephone, and other support industries.

Until the 1950s, the primary link between South Coast communities had been the sea⁶. Burin, on the east coast of the Burin Peninsula, had been the main commercial centre along that coast. Since the advent of a paved highway system linking the Burin Peninsula with the rest of Newfoundland, however, trade and commerce moved from the community of Burin itself to the more central community of Marystown. Marystown is located nearer to the main highway, and to highways linking the various communities which dot the east and west coasts of the Peninsula. Commercial and social services, which in the past would have been located in the

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town of Burin, relocated either along the highway between Burin and Marystown, or in Marystown itself. The focus today is regional, in a wider sense, incorporating the entire populated Burin Peninsula, and the government has attempted to locate medical and educational services where they can be accessed by all. Individual communities on both the Fortune Bay and Placentia Bay coastlines compete for a fair share of service industries (and consequent economic advantages). These factors all combined to alter the status of Burin from that of a booming commercial centre to that of a quaint, residential community, albeit of historic significance.

1.4. Religion and Education

Three denominations principally affected the religious development of the Burin region: i) the Church of England; ii) the Methodist church; iii) the Roman Catholic Church. The Church of England (through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a missionary appendage) was the first to arrive in the region, in 1789. A Roman Catholic mission was established in 1809, and in 1820 the first Roman Catholic church was actually completed. The first Methodist minister arrived in 1817; a Methodist chapel was built in 1819. The Salvation Army arrived in the Burin region at a relatively late date. It seems that this denomination was never more than marginal in the community, and its power and influence were probably minimal.

Religious affiliation in the Burin region, as in other parts of Newfoundland, is significant with respect to this survey:

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The existing literature on Newfoundland immigrant origins may be said to assume two basic generalizations: firstly that immigrants stemmed from southwest England (Devon, Dorset, and Cornwall), southeastern Ireland (Wexford and Waterford), and the Channel Islands areas from which the English merchants drew their labour to conduct the Newfoundland fishery; and secondly, that the structure of the population by religious affiliation indicates the source areas of forbears...The Roman Catholics are Irish and descendants of Irish; the Episcopalians, Methodists and Congregationalists are English and the descendants of English and Jersey...there is little reason to doubt the validity of these generalizations (Handcock 1986:24).

The basic assumption, then, is that religious affiliation is a positive indicator of place of origin. In turn, this largely determines the linguistic features one is likely to find even today in the Burin region.

As we have seen already, many inhabitants of Burin, by the 1850s, did not list either England or Ireland as their place of birth. Religion, then, assumes significance: it seems likely that Catholic residents migrated in from Placentia Bay, as suggested previously, and were in fact descendants of earlier Irish immigrants. The largely Wesleyan population derived from earlier Southwest English seasonal merchants and their employees, who came from Dorset and adjacent counties of southwestern England. Handcock (1986:35-36) states that

Among the more important trends demonstrated...are regional variations in certain channels of emigration in the temporal pattern of Newfoundland...a Jersey/Dorset/South Coast of Newfoundland migration connection (is demonstrated)...we find some distinctive South Coast surnames such as Buffett, Le Moine, Farrell, Hickman, May, and Forsey.

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Census of Newfoundland - 1845

| COMMUNITY | ANGLICAN | METHODIST | ROMAN CATHOLIC | OTHER |
|-----------------------|------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| Burin Proper | 683 | 619 | 619 | 3 |
| Mortier Bay | 8 | 0 | 280 | 0 |
| Little Bay | Not listed | Not listed | Not listed | Not listed |
| Beau Bois | 0 | 0 | 113 | 0 |
| Tide's Cove & Duricle | 0 | 0 | 36 | 0 |
| Fox Cove & Mortier | 15 | 0 | 124 | 0 |
| Port Aux Bras | Not listed | Not listed | Not listed | Not listed |

Census of Newfoundland - 1874

| COMMUNITY | ANGLICAN | METHODIST | ROMAN CATHOLIC | OTHER |
|---------------|------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| Burin Proper | 456 | 1268 | 467 | 1 |
| Mortier Bay | Not listed | Not listed | Not listed | Not listed |
| Little Bay | 0 | 0 | 75 | 0 |
| Beau Bois | 0 | 0 | 106 | 0 |
| Tide's Cove | 0 | 0 | 16 | 0 |
| Duricle | 0 | 0 | 14 | 0 |
| Fox Cove | 1 | 0 | 105 | 0 |
| Mortier | 5 | 0 | 77 | 0 |
| Port Aux Bras | 129 | 0 | 25 | 0 |

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Census of Newfoundland - 1891

| COMMUNITY | ANGLICAN | METHODIST | ROMAN CATHOLIC | SALVATION ARMY |
|---------------|----------|-----------|----------------|----------------|
| Burin Proper | 477 | 1647 | 439 | 78 |
| Mortier Bay | 116 | 125 | 409 | 0 |
| Little Bay | 0 | 0 | 129 | 0 |
| Beau Bois | 0 | 0 | 62 | 0 |
| Tide's Cove | 0 | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Duricle | 0 | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Fox Cove | 0 | 0 | 129 | 0 |
| Mortier | 0 | 0 | 75 | 0 |
| Port Aux Bras | 180 | 1 | 18 | 0 |

The censuses (above) indicate the continuity of affiliation to the Anglican, Roman Catholic and Methodist religions. The censuses of 1986 and 1991 did not include this particular type of data.

One can see the extent of the Irish presence in the Burin region, a presence which accounts for the relatively extensive number of documented Irish linguistic features found in this survey, many of which in any case are shared with the dialects of southwest England (Trudgill and Chambers 1991:9).

Education, in part because of the significant role the various churches played in the Burin region communities, was always a valued commodity, at least at higher social levels. The area boasted a literacy rate comparable with the Eastern Avalon (particulary St. John's) and Conception Bay. David Alexander's 1980 article Literacy

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and Economic Development in Nineteenth Century Newfoundland reports that the "small and prosperous Burin district" was always a "pocket of high literacy" (Alexander 1980:19-20). The regional elite evidenced almost equal denominational representation.

From the beginning the Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic churches fostered education, and from the beginning there had been a degree of co-operation (among the Burin region elite) with respect to educational matters. Schools had existed in the region since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The 1845 census listed six schools representing the three major denominations. The 1901 census reported approximately 895 adults able to read, and approximately 591 able to write. At least 848 children were attending school at this time.

It is worth noting here the importance of the presence of both Irish Catholic and Protestant English among the educated elite of the Burin region.

1.5. Summary

The current survey will show that social class is the most significant factor determining dialect choice in the Burin region, and class is determined, it seems, by longstanding differences in lifestyle - involving education, and, particularly participation (or non-participation) in the traditional fishing economy. Traditionally, if one did not own the means of production, one fished, and exchanged fish for staples. Divisions were inevitable, and these are still reflected today by language use in the area.

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At a profound level, the class divisions have been maintained. The traditional fishing economy, once marked by a 'credit' system, is now marked by seasonal employment, and a lack of job security. The effect seems to be the same: in the Burin region one instinctively knows where one belongs, and this class loyalty is overtly expressed in the speech of the members of the various communities.

Another significant fact of Burin region life and history is religion, in that religion marks ethnic origins. It has been well documented that the Protestant English population of the area descended from immigrants from Southwest England, primarily Dorset. The current Catholic population, representing about forty per cent of area residents, apparently descended for the most part from Irish Catholic immigrants from established nineteenth century Placentia Bay communities; nineteenth century censuses indicate very little direct immigration from Ireland. The prosperous Burin region was a South Coast mecca for migrants, attracting Protestant and Catholic merchants, workers and fishermen. Current Middle Class and Working Class linguistic features reflect these migration sources.

METHODOLOGY

2.1. Introduction

A synchronic survey of the Burin region was conducted between June 15 and September 15, 1992, in search of a "consistent and coherent (language) structure" (Labov 1966:9). A traditional Labovian methodology was employed, using tape recorders to secure relatively large quantities of data. Ten phonological variables were selected for quantificational analysis. Because, in the Labovian framework, abstract linguistic patterns can be determined by studying relatively few informants, it was decided that twenty-four of the approximately four thousand residents of the Burin region would be selected. The objective was to determine whether significant linguistic differences existed among the various social groups represented in the study.

Regional dialect studies and sociolinguistic surveys conducted in Newfoundland (Seary, Story and Kirwin 1968; Noseworthy 1971; Paddock 1981; Reid 1981; Colbourne 1982; Clarke 1985, 1991; Lawlor 1986) have revealed which linguistic features are subject to variation in Newfoundland. Prior to the present survey, the only study conducted on the south coast of Newfoundland had been the Noseworthy 1971 dialect survey of Grand Bank. One could reasonably expect some of those features already documented in such surveys to occur in the Burin region, given the highly localized origins in England and Ireland of migrants to Newfoundland (Handcock 1986, Mannion 1977b). The sociolinguistic surveys have

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also revealed linguistic and social co-variation in Newfoundland communities, with sex, age, class, religion and style proving significant social variables.

In our study of the Burin region we decided to utilize a 2 x 2 x 2 ANOVA design (age x sex x socioeconomic class, hereafter referred to as SEC). It was also decided that: i) twenty-four formal and twenty-four informal tape-recorded, one-hour interviews would derive a data base to be subsequently analyzed; ii) the twenty-four individuals from the Burin region would be selected based on a personal network established by the interviewer (my father was born and raised in the Burin region, and I still had distant relatives residing in the area); iii) informant age, sex, and SEC profiles would determine selection. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was employed to analyze variance, using the ANOVA subroutine.

2.2. Selection of Linguistic Variables

Any sociolinguistic survey must necessarily restrict itself to analysis of a small set of the linguistic features occurring in any given speech community. Time, quantity of data generated, and analysis techniques preclude a broader scope; one must therefore establish criteria for the selection of variables:

It will be desirable to select a small number for intensive study. The most useful items are those that are high in frequency, have a certain immunity from conscious suppression, are integral units of larger structures, and may be easily quantified...By all these criteria, phonological variables appear to be the most useful (Labov 1966:49).

Ten phonological variables (seven vocalic and three consonantal) were thus selected. Other considerations were: i) the social significance of the variable; ii) documented

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occurrences of the variable in other Newfoundland surveys; iii) patterns indicating decline over time of the usage of particular, traditional non-standard (NS) Newfoundland features (e.g. NS raised pronunciations of / ϵ /, or the lowered variant of /I/, as documented in Colbourne 1982).

The conventions of notation which will be used throughout this study in the discussion of linguistic variables are those normally used. Parentheses will indicate variables (e.g. (AY), (T)). Phonetic notations (actual speech sounds heard) will be indicated by square brackets (e.g. [ɪ]), while slashes will indicate phonemic notation (e.g. /I/).

2.2.1. Vocalic variables

1. (E). The first phonological variable selected was (E), representing the / ϵ / of such words as pen, mesh, peg, and well. Typically this variable is analyzed in conjunction with (I), our second phonological variable since "these two variables are involved in similar or related linguistic processes" in Newfoundland dialects (Colbourne 1982:12). In addition to its standard (S) mid lax [ϵ] pronunciation, this vowel displays a non-standard (NS) raised [ɪ] variant in the Burin region, as it does in many other Newfoundland speech communities (e.g. Paddock 1981, Colbourne 1982, Clarke 1985, 1990). Both [ϵ] and [ɪ] pronunciations of this feature are (and were) found "especially in Cornwall, Devon and Soms (Somerset)" (Wakelin 1986:21). Kirwin and Hollett (1986:222), among others, define links between linguistic features

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found in Devon and the West Country (one of the island's principal migration source areas) and Newfoundland linguistic features.

NS variants of variables (E) and (I) have been noted for Grand Bank, on the west side of the Burin Peninsula (Noseworthy 1971:42-43), for Carbonear in Conception Bay (Paddock 1981:25), and for Long Island, Notre Dame Bay, on the northeast coast of the island (Colbourne 1982:12-14).

2. (I). The second phonological variable selected was (I), representing the /I/ of such words as pin, fish, will, and pig. Its usage is inextricably bound to that of (E): in the traditional Newfoundland vernacular [ɪ] and [e] are allophones of both /I/ and /e/. The first variant is S [ɪ]. The second is the lowered, lax NS [e]; the third is the historical NS variant tensed [i]. These variants are all noted features of the South West English region:

This is usually /ɪ/ ([ɪ]) throughout the SW, though there is a sporadic lowering to /e/, especially in Cornwall, Devon, and Soms (Somerset), among older speakers...The spelling een 'in' in the written texts reflects a close, and sometimes lengthened, variety of /ɪ/ (Wakelin 1986:21).

NS variants of (E) and (I), as we have previously stated, have been noted for Grand Bank (Noseworthy 1971:42-43), in Carbonear (Paddock 1981:25), and on Long Island (Colbourne 1982:12-14).

3. (UW). The third phonological variable selected was the high, back rounded vowel /u/ representing the /u/ of such words as school and too. The first variant is S [u/u̯]. The second, more fronted NS variant is [u(:)ʊ/u̯(:)ʊ], with

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optional lengthening of the nucleus (hereafter referred to as [u(:)ʊ]). The degree of fronting varies with mid variants [u(:)ʊ] occurring more frequently in the Burin area than fronted [ü(:)ʊ].

Historically, "in west Somerset, Devon and east Cornwall" /u/ has "been fronted (that is the highest point of the tongue is nearer the teeth), to give the well known [Y] sound as in school or do" (Trudgill 1984:17-18). Wakelin (1977:97) observes that

The great Vowel Shift shows, among other things, the constant tendency of English vowels to a forward and upward movement, and the dialectal forms equivalent to RP [u:] and [ʊ] often take this a step further by showing a fronting to [v(:)], etc. In the southwestern area..., words of the type food, spoon consistently show [v(:)]...The fronting evidently took place... somewhere between 1550 and 1650.

My survey indicates that NS variant [u(:)ʊ] must have been adopted by the descendants of Irish immigrants to the Burin region; local residents claim that people from Fox Cove have a markedly different pronunciation for words such as school. Current and prior research into Newfoundland dialects indicates no apparent Irish source for this pronunciation.

4. (AW). (AW), the fourth phonological variable, represents the /aʊ/ of words such as outhouse, cow, and bout. (AW) displays similarities with the (UW) variable. Wakelin traces the evolution of this diphthong from ME /ū/, which "began to diphthongize soon after 1400, and, developing via the stages [ou] and [əu], eventually (reaching)...[aʊ]" (Wakelin 1977:88). He notes the extreme variability of

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(AW), and includes monophthongal [a:] among its prolific variants. (AW), like (AY), may display a raised nucleus in all environments.

Historically, the nucleus of (AW) was fronted, and occasionally raised and rounded, again probably as a result of sixteenth and seventeenth century phonological processes, in NS dialects of Devon, east Cornwall, and Somerset. Wakelin (1986:28) notes:

W. Soms (Somerset), Devon and E. Cornwall thus have allophones of the (derived) diphthong /æv/ ([ε v]~[ε ʏ]~[ε ʊ]~[æv]~[œ]~[æ]~[æʊ]), etc.) peculiar to this area (cf. /u/, above, which probably arose in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries). W. Cornwall again has *i*εʊ/...

In the Burin region we found a S variant [aʊ], a raised pronunciation [əʊ], and two NS variants: i) [εʊ], and ii) a monophthongal variant [a(:)]. Kirwin (1993:75) notes that

The diphthong ou (/aʊ/), as in doubt, loud, for traditional Anglo-Irish speakers is not appreciably conditioned by whether the following consonant is voiceless or voiced. That is, in the environment before voiceless consonants, /aʊ/ does not (necessarily) have the raised first element reported for much of mainland Canada. Given this qualification, the Anglo-Irish diphthong may have a range of realizations among various speakers.

In Carbonear the distribution of (AW) variants included "more fronted allophones occurring after alveopalatal segments in words such as shout and chow" (Paddock 1981:26).

5. (AY). The fifth phonological variable selected was (AY), representing the /aɪ/ of such words as tie, ride, and tight. The initial element of this variable varies

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in height from mid [ə] to low [a], and in backness from central [ɨ] to back [ʌ]. The S variant is [aɪ]; the second variant found in the Burin region is the raised [əɪ/ʌɪ] (hereafter referred to as [əɪ]), which appears to be the regional compromise variant (since the initial element is not rounded as it is in the NS variant described below, this diphthong more nearly approximates the S variant). Kirwin (1993:75) notes that

In striking contrast (to /aʊ/), the -i- (/aɪ/) diphthong has conditioned raising before voiceless consonants; it is what Kurath called a "fast diphthong with centralized beginning" in his discussions of dialectal variation in the United States...This conditioned difference between "slow" diphthongs in the ride, line ([aɪ]) class and "fast" diphthongs in the write, mice, bike ([eɪ] or [əɪ]) class, an allophonic difference, occurs in the speech of Anglo-Irish adults...including the oldest speakers now alive, and thus was part of the diphthong system of the inhabitants before Newfoundland joined the Canadian Confederation in 1949.

The third Burin variant of (AY) is [ɔɪ], with a rounded initial element. The neutralization of the opposition between (AY) and the sixth of our phonological variables, (OY), is a feature of a number of NS Newfoundland dialects. Seary, Story and Kirwin (1968:63) note that, for dialects of the southern shoreline of the Avalon Peninsula spoken by descendants of Irish colonists

The diphthongs which glide to the high front position are at present apparently unstable. Depending on his contact with speakers of varieties of standard English, a resident...may consciously distinguish between [aɪ] and [ɔɪ]. Or he may have an intermediary vowel for the first element and sound as if he is exchanging the two standard diphthongs, seeming to say toy for tie, and vice versa. The diphthong /aɪ/ begins with some low back vowel and glides to a front and high position. The first element is very often lengthened and rounded. If a voiceless consonant follows, the diphthong may be shorter and somewhat raised.

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Neutralization of (AY) and (OY) is further verified: Clarke (1991:109-110) cites this as one of the phonological traits of "southern Hiberno-English origin still found in Newfoundland". Wells (1982:425-426) notes, however, that the situation is quite complex: although the stereotype holds that the Irish say 'noice toime' instead of nice time, in some Irish dialects at least the variants of (AY) - [ɛɪ], [ʌɪ], and [aɪ] - are phonologically and lexically conditioned.

6. (OY). (OY) is the sixth phonological variable selected, representing the /ɔɪ/ of words such as toy and void. The range of (OY) pronunciations replicates that of the (AY) variable. [ɔɪ/ʌɪ] (hereafter referred to as [ɔɪ]) is the S variant; the other variants are centralized, unrounded, somewhat raised [əɪ/ʌɪ] (hereafter referred to as [əɪ]), and centralized, unrounded, somewhat lowered [aɪ]. Notice that the feature [+round] is lost in all but the [ɔɪ] variant of this variable.

7. (orC). The final vocalic variable selected was (orC) representing the sequence of /or/ plus consonant in words such as horse, storm, and short. Paddock found that a small number of older informants for his Carbonear study used a lowered, fronted variant of (orC) (Paddock 1981:29). Colbourne (1982:11) also surveyed this variable in his study of Long Island; he notes that

In the environment before /r/ plus another consonant reflexes of Middle English short [ɔ] have been lowered, unrounded, and fronted in many words. Thus one gets [stɔrm], [ʃɔrt] for storm, short, and other -orC words. However, in the same environment reflexes of Middle English long [ɔ:] (in words such as hoarse) are less radically changed. In the latter words the vowel is shortened and unrounded only, to [ʌ], or is simply shortened to [ɔ]. So, again, we see that this

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(Newfoundland) dialect still shows a remnant of an earlier phonemic distinction where words with the -orC spelling were pronounced differently than those words with the -ore, or -oar spellings.

Only lexical items featuring orC spellings were selected. The S variant includes low-mid back rounded [ɔɹ], and low-mid slightly rounded back [ʊɹ] (hereafter referred to as [ɔɹ]); the two NS variants are low-mid unrounded back [ʌɹ], and low unrounded central [aɹ].

Non-standard variants of (orC) are traditionally found in the dialects of South West England. Kirwin and Hollett (1986:233) note that

...when r + C follows an -o-...the vowel is...lowered and centered. Devon informants consistently employ a half-open back vowel, and Somerset, Dorset, and Wiltshire speakers have a low front vowel...This fronting of o before the retroflex is a noticeable pronunciation in Newfoundland, so striking a feature that it can be imitated by speakers from other groups.

Unrounding of /ɔ/ in the sequence (orC) is also found in some dialects of Irish English (Hickey 1986:10).

2.2.2. Consonantal variables

1. (THETA). (THETA) was the first consonantal variable selected, representing the /θ/ of words such as thank, everything, and truth. (THETA) and its voiced counterpart (ETH) (the second consonantal variable selected) are well known in American English. These variables were analyzed by Labov in his 1966 survey of New York City, and in Newfoundland they were included in the following studies: Reid (1981); Paddock (1981); Colbourne (1982); Clarke (1986; 1991). The

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(THETA) S variant is interdental voiceless fricative [θ]. The affricate variant [tθ] is an intermediate variant between the S and NS variants. The voiceless stop variant [t] is more highly stigmatized than its voiced counterpart (NS [d/r]) in American dialects (cf. Wolfram and Fasold 1974:112), though not necessarily in those of Newfoundland.

2. (ETH). This variable represents the [ð] sound of words such as soothe, wither, and they. This sound commonly occurs in word-initial position in unstressed function words (e.g. the, this, that, etc.). Unstressed tokens are included in our analysis; we note, however, a resulting bias toward lenis stop variant [d], which is the most common variant realization in this particular environment. The S variant is the interdental voiced fricative [ð]; the voiced affricated variant [dθ] is our second variant. The third is the most NS variant: the voiced alveolar stop pronunciation [d/r] (hereafter referred to as [d]). This variable (in conjunction with its voiceless counterpart (THETA)), as we have previously noted, has been included in a number of previous linguistic studies in Newfoundland: Paddock (1981); Reid (1981); Colbourne (1982); Clarke (1986, 1991).

3. (T). The final phonological variable selected was medial /t/ after a vowel bearing primary stress, and before a [+sonorant], as found in words such as sputter and bottle. It has three variants in addition to the voiceless S variant [t/tʰ] (hereafter referred to as [t]). [d/r] is the first of these; it comprises either the flap variant characteristic of American English ([r]) or the voiced alveolar stop [d], a

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variant characteristic of much of NS Newfoundland English. For the purposes of this survey the two are treated together; [d] will represent both variants. [t̪], the slit fricative variant, occurs in post-vocalic environments, as well as in word-final position, and is characteristic of Irish dialects of English. The final variant is glottalized [ʔ/tʰ] (hereafter referred to as [ʔ]), a South West England NS variant.

Historical [d] (our [d] variant of variable (T)) is a regular NS feature of Newfoundland English. In the Newfoundland vernacular, intervocalic contoid /t/ is often voiced (Paddock 1981:22). This voicing occurs in "SW (South West) varieties (of English)...(where) /t/, /p/ and /k/ may be found voiced in medial and final position" (Wakelin 1986:29). The variant [t̪] occurs in Newfoundland dialects of Irish origin. Wells (1982:429) states that

In postvocalic position, and even sometimes prevocally...is a kind of voiceless alveolar slit fricative...It is one of the most conspicuous features of Irish English, and common at all social levels (in Ireland)...

Clarke (1991:109) notes that "Among the traits of Hiberno-English still found in Newfoundland (is) a slit fricative pronunciation of post-vocalic, non-preconsonantal /t/ in words such as hit or pity;" she investigated this variant in St. John's English, where it occurs especially among women. Historical [ʔ], a NS South West English feature, occurs in regions of the island where early migrants were of English origin. Wakelin notes the "well-known glottalization of /t/...in medial and final positions" (Wakelin 1986:29). Noseworthy, in his 1971 Grand Bank survey, states that glottal stop replaces [t̪] intervocalically in the speech of some informants, and in Carbonara

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a "glottalized stop...also occurs in this position especially when the following segment is one of the syllabic contoids as in little..." (Paddock 1981:22).

2.2.3. Linguistic variables not selected

The Minimal Pairs and the Word List incorporated more phonological features than were ultimately analyzed. It could not be determined with accuracy, prior to actual fieldwork, just which phonological features would be significant, or indeed, which range of features would actually occur, in the Burin region. The Noseworthy 1971 dialect survey of Grand Bank (situated on the west coast of the Burin Peninsula), where migration patterns differ to some extent from those of Burin, indicated at least some of the phonological features one might find. However, considerable in-migration of settlers of Irish origin from Placentia Bay, a situation unique to the east coast of the Peninsula, predicted the existence of features not found in Grand Bank. This, in fact, proved to be the case: certain phonological features found in Grand Bank were either minimally used or not found at all in our speech samples. We found, for example, that:

1. syllable-initial /h/ deletion, a highly stigmatized feature in the Burin region, simply did not occur. This feature was considered by local residents to be typical of the speech of residents of specific (essentially Protestant English) communities such as Grand Bank, Port aux Bras, etc.
2. initial fricative voicing, another southwest English feature, did not occur.
3. the clear variant of variable (l) (a Hiberno-English feature), quite unexpectedly, occurred quite infrequently.

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2.3. Non-linguistic (Social) Variables

Regular linguistic variation exists in all speech communities, variation determined by social and stylistic factors. In our survey of the Burin region three specific social factors were selected for analysis of co-variation: gender, age, and socioeconomic status.

Some differences based on gender roles seemed likely to occur in the Burin region, as they did in other rural Newfoundland communities (e.g. Bay de Verde (Reid 1981); Long Island (Colbourne 1982)). The current dragger fishery, which derived from the traditional Banks fishery, forms an integral part of the local economy. Thus younger working class men of the Burin region, like their counterparts in other rural Newfoundland communities, spend extended periods of time out of the community, often in the company of other males. This had always been the case: older working class men employed in the traditional Banks fishery typically worked out of Lunenburg, or the Eastern seaboard of the United States. Older working class male residents were also employed on American bases, or participated in logging enterprises in central Newfoundland. Inevitably women remained in the region, raising families. Today they may work in local fish plants, or in local support industries. Traditional divisions of labour are thus maintained, and traditional gender-related duties, values, and expectations are evident to this day. The prediction was that the immense differences in gender roles should be reflected in speech differences.

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It is important to note the disastrous decline in North Atlantic fish stocks, and the consequent implementation of a moratorium on fishing Atlantic species (July 1992). The Burin region fishermen are now at home; they are no longer actively participating in an industry traditionally held to be the domain of the male gender. One cannot safely predict how this will affect gender roles, and consequent speech differences. Future sociolinguistic research may well wish to address this particular result of years of unfortunate waste of North Atlantic resources.

Many small rural Newfoundland communities do not evidence obvious class stratification. However, Burin had traditionally been the main centre for trade and commerce on the south coast of Newfoundland from the middle of the nineteenth century until the 1960s. Since legal settlement of the region, the community of Burin had a distinct resident merchant class. Class differences were obvious, and obviously maintained. One was either upper class, or one was working class; the upper class merchants were better educated, they held power, and they actively influenced the political and social life of the community. The working class comprised: i) workers employed by local merchants as support staff in commerce or commerce-related activities, or else in ship building; ii) fishermen employed in an inshore fishery subsidized by local merchants, or in the Banks fishery (usually working out of Lunenburg). We predicted that such long-established class distinctions would maintain and co-vary with linguistic features, even though trade and commerce moved to nearby Marystown in the 1960s and 70s, and despite the emergence of a

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relatively new middle class comprising some members of the traditional upper class and upwardly-mobile members of the working class. This has evidently been the case: the new middle class has maintained at least some of the values and attitudes of the traditional upper class.

One should note here that SEC also displayed some linguistic co-variation in the community of Carbonear, another traditional commercial centre (Paddock 1981).

We predicted that age would be a third significant social variable in the Burin speech community. Other studies had shown age to be highly significant in Newfoundland (e.g. Colbourne 1982; and particularly Clarke 1985, 1986, 1991). Generational differences comprise more than time. Because of differences in employment patterns, the older male generation in Burin had travelled more, and farther afield, than the younger males. Men from the Burin region employed in the traditional Banks fishery fished out of Lunenburg or the Eastern United States, as we have already stated, and were absent up to eleven months of the year. Men looking for other employment went to New York, or Boston. However, young men employed on draggers fish exclusively out of Catalina, or other ports located on the east coast of Newfoundland; none of my three younger working class male informants had left Newfoundland in search of work. Further, the older generation enjoys greater economic security than the younger generation. The great influx of ready cash which marked the pre and post World War II period provided the older generation with real economic security. The younger generation, especially in recent

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years, have been subject to seasonal employment; they simply do not have money in the bank, and they fear for their future. Older women can afford to travel (visiting children living elsewhere in Canada, and in the United States), and often do. Younger women often cannot afford this luxury. It seemed likely that these social factors might be reflected in the speech of the Burin region.

2.4. Questionnaires

In order to evaluate formal speech style, a Word List and a Minimal Pairs list were carefully developed. Local linguistic surveys, as well as an extensive selection of the sociolinguistic literature, were consulted prior to finalization of these lists.

The Minimal Pairs and the Word List were designed with several factors in mind: all items selected were simple (allowing for a range of levels of literacy); all items selected were in current use; lists were arranged so that targeted linguistic features were not obvious to informants. The Word List and the Minimal Pairs are included in the Appendix.

2.5. Selection of Informants

The selection process presented problems, inevitably. The Burin region comprises a small population scattered throughout twenty communities. Of these, two were specifically targeted: Fox Cove/Mortier, with a population of 464 (1991 Census), and Burin Proper, with a total population of approximately 2,940 (1991 Census). It was not easy to find twenty-four individuals who were willing to be

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interviewed for a two-hour period, and some who might have been willing were uneasy about being tape recorded.

Twenty-four residents of the Burin region were selected for the interviews. It was decided that rather than obtaining a random sample, using the sampling techniques typically employed in larger sociolinguistic surveys, we would select our informants based on a personal network established in the field. We felt, given the low population density of the Burin region, that a sample thus selected would be representative, and that this was the most effective way to secure the required number of interviews, given limited research time.

Table 2.1 provides a social profile of the twenty-four Burin subjects. Twelve of the informants were of the male sex, and twelve were female. Twelve were sixty years of age or older, and twelve were between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five. These age groups were selected in order to permit a significant difference in apparent time, and because the twenty-five to thirty-five age group most accurately represented a committed, younger generation of residents of the region. Those under the age of twenty-five are fewer in number, many of them having left the region in search of employment or higher education. Twelve subjects were selected to represent the middle class, and twelve the working class. The operational definitions of middle and working class were less stringent than those of traditional, urban sociolinguistic surveys. The job base is much more restricted in the Burin region, and

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jobs that might be considered working class in a city may provide the only source of employment for a middle class individual wanting to remain in the region.

Table 2.1 - INFORMANT PROFILE

O = 60+, Y = 25-35; M = MALE, F = FEMALE; MC = MIDDLE CLASS, WC = WORKING CLASS

| CELL | INFORMANT | AGE | SEX | CLASS |
|--------|-----------|-----|-----|-------|
| CELL 1 | LA01 | O | M | WC |
| | JL02 | O | M | WC |
| | LB03 | O | M | WC |
| CELL 2 | MA04 | O | F | WC |
| | BK05 | O | F | WC |
| | MS06 | O | F | WC |
| CELL 3 | AM07 | Y | M | WC |
| | JP08 | Y | M | WC |
| | WR09 | Y | M | WC |
| CELL 4 | FL10 | Y | F | WC |
| | SM11 | Y | F | WC |
| | MK12 | Y | F | WC |
| CELL 5 | JR13 | O | M | MC |
| | LM14 | O | M | MC |
| | LK15 | O | M | MC |
| CELL 6 | AW16 | O | F | MC |
| | MP17 | O | F | MC |
| | MH18 | O | F | MC |
| CELL 7 | PP19 | Y | M | MC |
| | LA20 | Y | M | MC |
| | BL21 | Y | M | MC |
| CELL 8 | PP22 | Y | F | MC |
| | ML23 | Y | F | MC |
| | CR24 | Y | F | MC |

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Occupation therefore does not necessarily qualify as a determiner of class in a rural setting. Location/residence is not an accurate class indicator either; although more recently developed areas of the Burin region are undeniably upper middle class (e.g. newer sections of the community of Salt Pond), the tendency for Burin region residents to build and locate on family property (thereby reinforcing important kinship networks) tends to prevent widespread establishment of class-determined residential areas. All of my informants, with the exception of two younger adults who were still residing with their parents, either had owned their own home, and had subsequently passed it on to an adult child with whom they were residing, had built a home of their own on family property, or else purchased a house from a relative. Income is also an unreliable indicator of class. The working class men employed in the fishery (especially those who had been employed as trawlermen aboard draggers) earned an average wage of \$30,000 a year or better. One should note here, however, that employment on draggers (as well as in fish plants) tends to be more seasonal. As a Burin region resident once stated to me, if you were permanently employed, then you were middle class.

Our somewhat arbitrary operational definition of class attempts to take the above facts into account. Our class determiners are job type and security, income, type of housing (well-maintained, larger homes versus older or less well maintained residences), values (attitudes toward education, long-term goals, participation in formal community activities, etc.), and, to a limited extent, residence. A major factor

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determining class affiliation is occupation: whether or not our subjects participate in a traditional (fishery-based) economy seems to determine to a large extent whether or not a subject is working class. We again note here that those participating in the fishery tend to be seasonally employed, and enjoy less job security than our middle class informants, who are (or whose spouses are) securely employed in service industries. Our middle class informants exhibited most or all of the following characteristics: i) they owned a very well-maintained, large house and grounds; ii) they had job security (or a spouse with a secure income) and a total income over \$35,000 per annum; iii) they participated in organized community activities such as the Community Council, Seniors Club, or a church group, or, in the case of younger women, worked outside the home; iv) they had at least some post-secondary (academic) education; v) they had taken regular vacations involving travel outside the region or the province.

Our working class informants shared some characteristics with their middle class counterparts. However, all the working class informants were seasonally employed (on draggers, or in fish plants), and many were unemployed at the time of the interview. Some of them had completed high school, but none had pursued post-secondary education (other than job-related skills training). Some of the working class informants owned their own homes, but the homes were neither new, nor well-maintained, compared with those of their more middle class counterparts. The kinship network was the primary network for the working class male informants (who

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also participated in organized sports); it was the only functional network utilized by the working class women interviewed. We note here that younger middle class males, an anomalous group whose linguistic behaviours compare with those of younger working class males, also displayed very strong kinship ties.

Differences also existed with respect to use of leisure time, with our working class female informants preferring Bingo as a means of socializing. None of the middle class informants attended Bingo games at all (they perceived Bingo playing as something quite negative). Working class females (especially the younger females) tended to socialize more with friends and family members, and among this group there was a greater tendency to rely on or to support kin in times of need. Younger middle class females tended to stay at home more, when not working. They seemed to have less time to socialize than their working class counterparts overall, given the dual demands of working outside the home and caring for young children. Working class men preferred casual drinking with their mates after sports activities. None of the older working class informants were members of the Senior Citizens Club, and none of the working class informants participated in volunteer Church activities. Older middle class residents very actively participated in the Senior Citizens Club. Many of the middle class residents (excluding younger middle class females, who had less time to commit to volunteer activities) participated in volunteer Church and/or community groups as well (e.g. the Town Council). Overall our middle class informants seemed to have greater prestige in the community. They tended to

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influence local events more than did their working class counterparts, whose main focus seemed to be the family unit.

Only two of the middle class informants lived in Fox Cove/Mortier, which had been one of the traditional enclaves of Irish Catholic fishermen and their families. All but one of our working class informants were of Irish (Catholic) descent, and were (or had been) residents of Fox Cove/Mortier. Some middle class informants were Protestant and others were Roman Catholic, thus reflecting the mixed ethnic and religious backgrounds.

Cell 1 informant LB03 is something of an anomaly. The other two occupants of this cell had comparable backgrounds: both are Roman Catholic residents of the community of Fox Cove/Mortier; both participated in the traditional Banks fishery, and spent most of their working lives outside the region. LB03 is a Protestant resident of another community, Bull's Cove, and spent his working life in the Burin region, mostly employed in various support industries. His connections with the traditional fishing industry were minimal. An ideal informant to replace LB03 could not be found. Cell 3 informant AM07 and Cell 8 informant PP22 were not born in the region; however, for most of their formative years (after the age of eight) these individuals resided in small Burin region communities (PP22 in Burin, and AM07 in Little Bay). Because informants were selected based on established networks, there was an overall Irish Roman Catholic bias for the entire sample (nineteen RC informants, and six Protestant). A high percentage of linguistic features historically

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defined as Irish were found in this survey, which is not surprising. Approximately forty per cent of the ancestors of current residents of the Burin region were Irish Catholic, according to nineteenth century censuses; I was unable to locate comparable data in the censuses for 1986 and 1991. However, the most obvious Irish features, clear postvocalic /l/ and slit fricative /t/, are either not present or minimally present in our sample, and our most striking feature, the centralization/fronting of /u/, (historically a South West English feature), is more in evidence among residents of Irish Catholic descent.

2.6. The Interview

Each of the two components of the interview - formal and informal - took approximately one hour. The formal interview contained three components. The first was a semi-formal interview, which I conducted, and in which questions were designed to obtain information on the community. The second component involved a Word List and a Minimal Pair list which provided a basic corpus of tokens of selected linguistic variables. The speech elicited during the reading of the Word List and Minimal Pairs is considered the most formal of the speech continuum, and will also form the basis for comparison of styles, since speaker output is directed, and variables are controlled for. The third component involved the presentation of a questionnaire eliciting personal information, attitudes, etc. The informal interview comprised approximately one hour of tape-recorded conversation held between an informant and a second individual who was known by the informant, in order to elicit

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quality vernacular speech (which forms the base of any sociolinguistic survey). Labov (1966) notes an interview-related problem he encountered in his sociolinguistic surveys: the observer's paradox, where the presence of the interviewer creates an awareness of the speech act which effectively prevents the elicitation of the most informal speech. Milroy (1987) also notes this problem, and suggests that to some extent participant observation may alleviate the problem. Long-term residence of the interviewer in the community may assist in eliciting quantities of true vernacular, but one can never eliminate the problem of the presence of the observer, and, one might add, tape recording equipment. Milroy (1987:64) further states that

It should be noted in this context that the provision of an insider as fieldworker will not in itself necessarily encourage large amounts of talk. For example, an attempt to use as a fieldworker an eighteen-year-old man in Ballymacarrett, East Belfast...Given his inside status...was such an incongruous type of event that they (the informants) either refused to talk or, while attempting to be compliant, said very little; he was much less successful than a competent outsider.

A similar problem occurred with our informal interviews in this survey, in spite of the fact that someone known to the informant conducted the interview. The majority of my twenty-four informants reacted to the idea of tape-recording an hour of "talking", even with a local resident, with greater apprehension than the idea of tape recording a formal interview. It seems our attempt to divert attention away from the tape recording equipment, and the speech act itself, was not entirely successful. The traditional vernacular speech of the region was elicited, as the interview progressed; however, a shorter interview may have proved less daunting (and less obtrusive) in

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the long run. There does not seem to be a ready solution to the paradoxes of tape recording speech; ultimately, the very presence of tape recording equipment, and interviewers, whoever they may be, ensures aspects of observer's paradox never quite anticipated.

Portions of informal interviews were first transcribed from tape verbatim, using WordPerfect 5.1, and the phonological features were subsequently phonetically transcribed in context, as were items occurring in the Word and Minimal Pairs lists.

2.7. Analysis

In our study of the Burin region the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was employed to analyze variance, using the ANOVA subroutine. We decided to obtain results based on a 2 x 2 x 2 ANOVA design using the independent variables age, sex and socioeconomic class. Results for analysis of stylistic variation were based on comparisons of cross-style percentages, obtained by dividing the number of occurrences of a NS variant by the total number of occurring tokens of each linguistic variable across styles. Where more than two variants existed, S variants were also analyzed.

RESULTS

3.1. Results

Although both standard (S) and non-standard (NS) variants of the phonological variables examined have been analyzed for a range of styles (formal - MP and WL, and informal), the results of statistical analysis of NS variants of the linguistic variables (E), (I), (UW), (AW), (OY), (AY), (orC), (THETA), (ETH), and (T) in the informal register will be the focus of this chapter. We note, however, that the S/NS dichotomy represents an oversimplification; indeed, a single S-NS continuum cannot be said to exist in any given speech community (cf. Brouwer & van Hout 1984, Milroy 1987). Certain features found in the Burin speech community (e.g. the intermediate [\wedge (:r) variant of (orC)) cannot be readily defined as either S or NS, and still others, the status of which is somewhat unclear in Burin (e.g. the [$\text{ə}\text{v}$] variant of (AW), as well as the [$\text{ə}\text{x}$] variant of (AY)), function as S variants in Canadian English. Finally, some apparently NS variants may indeed function in a specific speech community as unstigmatized features (e.g. the [e] variant of (I)). Stylistic stratification of the linguistic features investigated will be dealt with in depth in Chapter 4.

For the vocalic variables investigated, our study indicates that in informal style social factors affect the pronunciation of the NS variants of variables (E), (I), (UW), (AW), (AY), and (orC). None of the social variables affect speaker selection of the raised [$\text{ə}\text{v}$] variant of (AW). Social variables affect selection of two variants of (THETA) - [$\text{t}\theta$] and [t], as well as the (ETH) variant [d]. None of the social

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variables investigated, however, influence the production of (ETH) variable [də], or (T) variants [d], [t] , and [ʔ].

3.2. Vocalic Variables

3.2.1. The variable (E)

The NS variant of variable (E) is [ɪ], which is used in the Burin region 13% of the time in casual speech. Table 3.1 demonstrates that for the non-standard variant [ɪ] the gender/SEC interaction approaches significance ($p=.066$). Although middle class and working class males do not differ much in their mean usage of this feature (.05 difference), working class females use [ɪ] considerably more than their middle class counterparts (.19 difference in mean usage). SEC, therefore is an influential social variable, but primarily for women.

| Table 3.1 | | |
|--|-----|-----|
| The [ɪ] variant of (E). Mean use, gender by SEC in informal speech style ($p=.066$). | | |
| GENDER | MC | WC |
| M | .11 | .16 |
| F | .03 | .22 |

Of further interest is the fact that the younger working class women are the least standard group in the sample, not only using the NS raised [ɪ] variant more than young middle class women, but also more than working class males (see Table 3.2).

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| Table 3.2 | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Mean usage by group, the [ɪ] variant of (E). | | | | |
| M | | | F | |
| | Y | O | Y | O |
| MC | .21 | .02 | .07 | .00 |
| WC | .25 | .06 | .30 | .13 |

Analysis reveals no other significant (or almost significant) interactions or main effects for the [ɪ] variant of (E).

3.2.2. The variable (I)

(I) has only one NS variant in the Burin region - [ɛ], which is used by regional speakers a mere 1% of the time overall in casual speech. Tensed [i], a possible second NS (I) variant, did not occur in the informal speech of informants. Colbourne notes that on Long Island this [i] was also "rare" (Colbourne 1982:10).

| Table 3.3 | | |
|--|-----|-----|
| The [ɛ] variant of (I). Mean use, gender by age in informal speech style (p=.059). | | |
| GENDER | Y | O |
| M | .00 | .01 |
| F | .01 | .00 |

For the [ɛ] variant of (I) the interaction between gender and age is nearly significant (p=.059), with only older middle class males and younger females making

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use of this feature (see Table 3.3). This older male-younger female similarity of usage pattern is replicated in the case of several other NS features to be discussed.

Of interest is the fact that, among males, use of this feature is restricted to older middle class speakers, whereas both younger middle class and working class women use [ɛ] (see Table 3.4). It is difficult to understand why apparently NS [ɛ] should be associated with two typically standard speech groups, and one typically NS speech group. The suggestion is that [ɛ] is not (and perhaps never was) a stigmatized variant in the Burin region.

| Table 3.4 | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Mean usage by group, the [ɛ] variant of (I). | | | | |
| Y | | | O | |
| | MC | WC | MC | WC |
| M | .00 | .00 | .02 | .00 |
| F | .01 | .02 | .00 | .00 |

It is also probable that [ɛ] usage is simply not noticed, given its infrequent use. Colbourne (1982:37) notes that, in his Notre Dame Bay sample, the NS variants of (I) were used only 32.5% of the time, overall, compared with 64.8% usage for the NS [ɪ] variant of (E).

The question which inevitably arises is whether or not apparently NS variants of (I) were in fact prevalent in the Burin region in the past, and if so, to what extent. The Irish have always accounted for nearly half the population of the Burin region.

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It may well be that NS variants of (I) never were as prolific in the Burin region as they were on the east coast of Newfoundland. All we can claim is that at the time of this survey, in casual speech, only one NS (I) variant, [ɛ], was quite infrequently used in the Burin region.

One must take into consideration the fact that this NS feature is used only 1% of the time overall, a fact which limits the validity of any generalizations that usage patterns may suggest.

3.2.3. The variable (UW)

The variable (UW) has one NS variant, fronted and rounded [u(:)ʊ] (the first element of which may be lengthened), which is used by the Burin sample 64% of the time in informal speech. Table 3.5 suggests that class and gender interact in the production of this non-standard variant. While working class males use the feature more than their middle class counterparts (with a .11 difference in use between the two groups), working class females use it considerably more (with a .46 difference in use between working class and middle class women).

| Table 3.5 | | |
|---|-----|-----|
| The [u(:)ʊ] variant of (UW). Mean use, gender by SEC in informal speech style (p=.05, F=4.51, df=1/16). | | |
| GENDER | MC | WC |
| M | .60 | .71 |
| F | .40 | .86 |

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Additionally, the interaction of gender and age approaches significance for this variant ($p=.067$). Younger males use this feature 37% more than their older counterparts (see Table 3.6). This does not suggest that (u)-fronting is on the increase; it may be that older men dropped this obvious NS feature, which serves to identify a specific region, because they spent so much time outside the community. Female usage does not settle the issue, as young and older women do not differ substantially in their usage.

| Table 3.6 | | |
|---|-----|-----|
| The [u(:)ʊ] variant of (UW). Mean use, gender by age in informal speech style ($p=.067$). | | |
| GENDER | Y | O |
| M | .84 | .47 |
| F | .65 | .61 |

A fronted variant of (UW) is widely used in the Burin region; in fact, according to local informants, it tends to identify inhabitants of such east coast Burin Peninsula communities as Fox Cove/Mortier. NS /h/ deletion/insertion fulfils a similar function, identifying residents of largely Protestant English communities such as Grand Bank, on the west coast of the Burin Peninsula (Noseworthy 1971), and Port aux Bras, a Protestant community located near the community of Burin. It is important to note here that Noseworthy does not include (UW) variants in his

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inventory of linguistic features found in Grand Bank. Nor did we encounter any incidence of /h/ deletion/insertion in our sociolinguistic survey of the Burin region.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, u-fronting is characteristic of West Somerset, Devon and east Cornwall. In our survey, although ANOVA was not performed for the social variable Region, my observations, and those of local residents, suggest that residents of Fox Cove/Mortier (exclusively Irish Catholic) were the speakers most readily identified by their use of fronted variants of /u/ ([ʊ(:)ʊ]), and even a very fronted [ü(:)ʊ]), especially in words such as school.

3.2.4. The variable (AW)

We examined three (AW) variants: raised [əʊ], fronted [ɛʊ], and monophthongal [a(:)]. [a(:)] is used 38% of the time by the Burin sample in informal style, and variants [əʊ] and [ɛʊ] 34% and 5% of the time respectively. Analysis indicates neither significant interactions nor significant main effects for usage of the raised [əʊ] pronunciation. For [ɛʊ] only one main effect is indicated, and that is age ($p < 0.05$, $F = 6.50$, $df = 1/16$). The mean usage of this feature is .10 for the younger group, while the mean usage for the older group is .00. Further examination of the data indicates that among our younger male subjects only the working class uses [ɛʊ] (.12 mean usage). However, it is used by both younger working class females (.16 mean usage) and their middle class counterparts (mean usage .12).

The [əʊ] variant of (AW) is a popular feature in the Burin region. In the Irish dialects of Newfoundland we find a generally raised [əʊ] variant which is not

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phonologically conditioned (cf. Seary, Story and Kirwin 1968:63); in Canadian English we find a raised variant which is conditioned by its following environment. Further investigation reveals that although the Burin pattern resembles the Canadian one, there are also similarities to the Irish pattern. For further details see Chapter 5 below.

As this feature is not linked with the social variables gender, age or SEC, the [əʊ] variant of (AW) is not indicative of particular group loyalties.

The nucleus of the [ɛʊ] variant of (AW) is slightly more fronted than the nucleus of [əʊ]. We note here that general (AW) fronting seems to be occurring in Toronto, Vancouver and Victoria, and more among younger subjects and females (see, for example, Hung, Davison and Chambers 1993). Significantly, this variant, which occurs only 5% of the time overall in the Burin region, is used exclusively by younger residents. It may be that the younger generation here, like their counterparts in other Canadian communities, are introducing an innovative (AW) variant. However, one cannot be certain that NS [ɛʊ] is not a traditional Burin region feature. Noseworthy (1971:59) does cite [ɛʊ] (but not [əʊ]) among the allophones of /aw/ found in Grand Bank, but notes that the [ɛʊ] of (AW) "occurs only in the word "down" in the idiolect of B. A. H."

The monophthongal [a(:)] variant of (AW) is used 38% of the time overall in the Burin region, and the manner in which it is used indicates an interaction between gender and SEC. Working class males use [a(:)] only slightly more than their middle

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class counterparts (see Table 3.7), while working class female mean usage of this non-standard feature is considerably greater than middle class female usage.

| Table 3.7 | | |
|--|-----|-----|
| The [a(:)] variant of (AW). Mean use, gender by SEC in informal speech style ($p < .05$, $F = 5.14$, $df = 1/16$). | | |
| GENDER | MC | WC |
| M | .38 | .41 |
| F | .25 | .50 |

Table 3.8 also indicates, for the use of [a(:)], an interaction between class and age that approaches significance. The younger middle class use this feature more than do their older counterparts (.14 difference of mean usage), while among working class subjects, older speakers use [a(:)] slightly more frequently than their younger counterparts (.06 difference of mean usage). Worthy of note is the fact that the effects for age are diametrically opposed for the middle and working class, with older middle class speakers using the monophthongal variant considerably less than other community residents.

| Table 3.8 | | |
|---|-----|-----|
| The [a(:)] variant of (AW). Mean use, SEC by age in informal speech style ($p = .063$). | | |
| CLASS | Y | O |
| MC | .38 | .24 |
| WC | .42 | .48 |

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The (AW) variants examined do not seem to identify Burin region speakers as readily as does the NS [u(:)ʊ] variant of (UW), according to residents of the region interviewed in this survey.

3.2.5. The variable (AY)

Three variants of this variable are found in the Burin region: [aɪ], raised [əɪ] and rounded [ɔɪ]. [aɪ], the S variant, is used 33% of the time. The raised variant [əɪ] occurs 60% of the time overall, and NS [ɔɪ] 7% of the time. Analysis reveals no significant interactions, yet two significant main effects, for the raised [əɪ] pronunciation - gender ($p < .05$, $F = 5.51$, $df = 1/16$), and age ($p < .05$, $F = 14.58$, $df = 1/16$). Males use [əɪ] significantly more than females (.66 M mean usage, .54 F mean usage; .12 mean usage difference). Younger speakers use [əɪ] significantly more (.70) than do their older counterparts (.50). This variable does not appear to be stigmatized, and is a popular feature overall. What we are finding here is an increase in raising which does not suggest the older Irish pattern of raised variants in all contexts (on this, see Chapter 5 below).

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| Table 3.9 | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| The [ɔɪ] variant of (AY). Mean use, SEC by gender by age in informal speech style (p = .059). | | | | |
| | Y | | O | |
| | MC | WC | MC | WC |
| M | .00 | .06 | .00 | .13 |
| F | .01 | .01 | .00 | .33 |

Gender, SEC and age interact, affecting [ɔɪ] usage. This feature is infrequently used overall (.07 mean usage), and is rarely found among younger speakers. The rounded [ɔɪ] variant of (AY) is one NS feature which is markedly the linguistic preference of older working class women, who are not typically the group displaying the greatest use of NS features. In this case they appear to express loyalty to a traditional feature of the Newfoundland vernacular, albeit to a limited extent. Worthy of note also is the fact that older middle class speakers among our sample do not use [ɔɪ] at all.

Noseworthy (1971:56), in his dialect survey of Grand Bank, notes [aɪ] and [əɪ] among the allophones of the variable (AY). He listed a total of twelve variants for this variable, greater attention being given to phonetic detail in the Grand Bank dialect survey. [əɪ] occurred rarely, and "usually in single words and strongly-stressed syllables" (Noseworthy 1971:57). The pronunciation [ɔɪ] only occurred once. Substitution or neutralization of (OY) and (AY) were not mentioned.

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3.2.6. The variable (OY)

The two NS Burin region variants of this variable are [əɪ] and [aɪ]. The more widely used of these is [əɪ], which is selected by subjects 70% of the time in informal style. [aɪ] is used only 5% of the time. For [əɪ] the interaction between gender and SEC is nearly significant. Table 3.10 indicates that middle class and working class male mean usage of (OY) variant [əɪ] is about equal (.03 mean usage difference). However, working class female mean usage of [əɪ] is .54 greater than that of middle class females. While the raised [əɪ] variant of (AY) does not seem indicative of any definite sociolinguistic trend, the centralized [əɪ] variant of (OY) marks working class affiliation for women. This 'compromise' variant seems to be a definite marker when it is used as the NS variant of (OY) by the women of the Burin region.

| Table 3.10 | | |
|--|-----|-----|
| The [əɪ] variant of (OY). Mean use, gender by SEC in informal speech style (p=.087). | | |
| GENDER | MC | WC |
| M | .76 | .79 |
| F | .36 | .90 |

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| Table 3.11 | | |
|--|-----|-----|
| The [aɪ] variant of (OY). Mean use, gender by age in informal speech style (p=.085). | | |
| GENDER | Y | O |
| M | .00 | .10 |
| F | .10 | .00 |

Among the Burin sample the unrounded [aɪ] variant of (OY), a stigmatized feature, is used only 5% of the time overall in casual speech. Gender and age interact in a manner nearly proving significant, with older men and younger women the only speakers using this feature, each at a rate of .10 (see Table 3.11). The usage pattern parallels that of the infrequently used NS [ɛ] variant of (I). Both middle and working class older men and younger women use (OY) variant [aɪ] (.10 Y-F MC mean usage, .11 Y-F-WC mean usage; .04 O-M-MC mean usage, .17 O-M WC), but older WC males do use [aɪ] considerably more than their middle class peers. Younger working class women use this feature slightly more than do their middle class counterparts.

The variants of the variables (AY) and (OY) overlap, as do the variants of variables (E) and (I). Apart from the S variants, the two relevant variants of (AY) are mid, unrounded [əɪ], a relatively unstigmatized variant, and back, rounded [ɔɪ]. The relevant variants of (OY) are mid [əɪ], again a relatively unstigmatized variant, and [aɪ], the lowered, more stigmatized variant. The intermediate variants of both

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variables are exactly the same, and for both variables (OY) and (AY) a preference is indicated for the 'compromise' variant [əɪ] in the Burin region. The [əɪ] variant of (OY) is used 70% of the time overall, and the [əɪ] variant of (AY) 60% of the time¹.

The old vernacular forms of variables (OY) and (AY) seem well on the way to being eliminated (the mean usage of the [aɪ] variant of (OY) in casual speech is only .05, and the [ɔɪ] of (AY) .07).

3.2.7. The variable (orC)

The non-standard variants of this variable are [ʌ(:)r] and [ar]. [ʌ(:)r] (the low-mid unrounded 'compromise' variant) is used 21% of the time in casual style. [ar], the more NS variant, is used 24% of the time. Thus Burin speakers use NS variants of (orC) about half the time overall in their casual style.

We note here that it is the middle class which primarily maintains the standard variant [ɔ(:)r]. Statistics indicate that SEC ($p < .05$, $F = 16.4$, $df = 1/16$) and gender ($p < .05$, $F = 6.8$, $df = 1/16$) yield significant main effects for [ɔ(:)r] (.42 M mean usage, .63 F mean usage; .75 MC mean usage, .35 WC mean usage).

Analysis reveals gender as the most significant social factor ($p = .01$, $F = 8.06$, $df = 1/16$) for the unrounded [ʌ(:)r] variant of (orC). Male mean usage is .33, and female mean usage is .09. Although gender did not interact significantly with SEC, the most frequent users of this feature are working class males (.41 mean usage). Younger and older speakers use [ʌ(:)r] about equally (see Table 3.12). Older

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working class men are more standard overall than their younger male counterparts, proving quite often to be the group displaying acceptable compromises between the S and the most NS options. For [ʌ(:)r], however, the younger males are slightly in the lead in the use of the 'compromise' variant. One should remember here that the [ʌ(:)r] variant of (orC) is selected in the Burin region less often than the [ar], the traditional, vernacular variant.

| Table 3.12 | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Mean usage by group, the [ʌ(:)r] variant of (orC). | | | | |
| Y | | | O | |
| | MC | WC | MC | WC |
| M | .26 | .44 | .22 | .38 |
| F | .05 | .11 | .07 | .13 |

As Table 3.13 indicates, the interaction between gender and age for the third variant of (orC) examined, NS [ar], approaches significance ($p=.094$). Older male mean usage of this feature is .36, which is considerably greater than .15, the younger male mean usage. Younger females use this feature slightly more often than older women (.26 Y-F mean usage, .19 O-F mean usage), and younger women use [ar] more than younger men (.15 Y-M mean usage, .26 Y-F mean usage). Again we find a pattern which typifies two other features, the raised [ɪ] variant of (E), and the unrounded [aɪ] variant of (OY): younger females and older males are using this NS feature more than are their respective counterparts.

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| Table 3.13 | | |
|---|-----|-----|
| The [ar] variant of (orC). Mean use, gender by age in informal speech style (p=.094). | | |
| GENDER | Y | O |
| M | .15 | .36 |
| F | .26 | .19 |

Further investigation indicates certain patterns worthy of note, if not significant. Among younger males, only the working class use the [ar] variant of (orC) (.29 Y-M-WC mean usage, .00 Y-M-MC mean usage). Younger working class females use this feature far more than do their younger middle class counterparts (.48 Y-F-WC mean usage, .04 Y-F-MC mean usage). Differences emerge among older women as well (.37 O-F-WC mean usage, .02 O-F-MC mean usage). In the Burin region, however, it is working class women, and older working class men, who are functioning as the principal guardians of this traditional NS feature of Newfoundland English.

3.2.8. Summary

For the vocalic variables investigated, our study indicates that in informal speech style social factors indeed affect the production of most of the variants surveyed. The pattern that often emerges is the interaction of gender with another social factor, particularly age. The raised [ɪ] variant of (E) is influenced to some extent by the interacting social variables gender and SEC; gender and age

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interactions affect selection of the lowered [ɛ] variant of (I). The choice of the NS fronted [ʊ(:)ʊ] variant of (UW) is influenced by the interacting social factors gender and SEC, as well as by interactions between gender and age. None of the social variables affect speaker use of the raised [əʊ] variant of (AW); however, age affects selection of the fronted [eʊ] variant, and interactions between gender and SEC, as well as SEC and age, affect speaker selection of the monophthongal pronunciation [a(:)]. Gender and age affect production of the raised [əɪ] variant of (AY), and interactions among the social factors gender, SEC and age influence production of rounded (AY) variant [ɔɪ]. The production of the [ʌ(:)r] variant of (orC) is influenced by gender, and the interacting social factors gender and age affect speaker selection of the NS variant [ar].

3.3. The Consonantal Variables

3.3.1. The variable (THETA)

(THETA) has two non-standard variants in the Burin region, [tθ] and [t]. The affricated variant [tθ] is more standard than [t], representing a linguistic compromise between the most and least standard variants. [tθ] is used in informal speech by the Burin sample 14% of the time. [t], the highly non-standard stop variant, is used 63% of the time in casual speech.

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| Table 3.14 | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Mean usage by group, the [ə] variant of (THETA). | | | | |
| Y | | | O | |
| | MC | WC | MC | WC |
| M | .06 | .10 | .35 | .05 |
| F | .65 | .05 | .52 | .04 |

It is interesting to note, prior to analysis of the intermediate and NS variants, that the interaction of gender, SEC and age approaches significance for production of the S [ə] variant of (THETA) ($p=.094$). As Table 3.14 indicates, middle class women use the S variant considerably more than men overall, although middle class older men do use [ə] substantially more than do other males. The use of the standard [ə] variant of (THETA) on the part of older middle class men sets them apart from their working class peers.

Analysis of the [tə] variant of (THETA) indicates a significant SEC main effect ($p<.01$, $F= 9.19$, $df 1/16$), with middle class speakers using this feature considerably more than working class speakers (.21 MC mean usage, .07 WC mean usage). There is also a main effect for age that approaches significance ($p=.07$). [tə] is used more by older speakers than by their younger counterparts (.10 Y mean usage; .18 O mean usage). This suggests an attempt, albeit infrequent, and principally by older speakers, to bridge the linguistic gap between the relatively few speakers using the highly standard [ə] variant of (THETA) and the many who favour

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the non-standard [t] stop variant. [tə], the 'compromise' (THETA) variant, is not widely used overall in the Burin region (.14 mean usage as noted above); the S variant [θ] is used only slightly more often (.23 overall mean usage).

| Table 3.15 | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| The [t] variant of (THETA). Mean use, gender by SEC by age in informal speech style ($p = .01$, $F = 8.16$, $df = 1/16$). | | | | |
| | M | | F | |
| | Y | O | Y | O |
| MC | .86 | .32 | .18 | .23 |
| WC | .87 | .89 | .85 | .86 |

The [t] variant of (THETA) is the usual one among Burin speakers. Both gender ($p = .001$, $F = 15.5$, $df = 1/16$) and SEC ($p < .001$, $F = 81.9$, $df = 1/16$) significantly affect use of the [t] variant of (THETA). Men are less standard overall than their female counterparts (.73 M mean usage, compared with .53 F mean usage). Working class speakers use [t] significantly more (.40 MC mean usage, .87 WC mean usage). The effect of age on usage of this NS feature approaches significance ($p = .070$); younger speakers use [t] more than do their older counterparts in the Burin region (.69 Y mean usage, .58 O mean usage). While this last result may appear surprising, a similar pattern has been noted for the interdental fricative variables in other Newfoundland communities (e.g. St. John's, as documented by Clarke 1991). The interactions among the social variables gender, SEC and age (see Table 3.15) also

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prove to be significant. [t] is favoured by all groups except older middle class speakers (both sexes), and younger middle class women. As Table 3.15 shows, both working class and middle class young males use the [t] variant of (THETA) to nearly the same extent. However, in all other age/gender groups, there is a considerable difference in use between middle and working class subjects. The suggestion is that (THETA) variant [t] is a class marker, identifying working class residents of the Burin region. Worthy of note is the fact that for this feature our older working class women are as non-standard as their younger counterparts; however, older working class women use fewer NS features overall than do younger working class women. Also, younger middle class men identify very strongly with their working class peers in their use of this feature, apparently ignoring linguistic patterns set by their older middle class counterparts.

One should note here that residence may be a factor affecting choice of variants of the (THETA) variable by young, middle class male speakers. Two of our younger middle class informants live in a small Burin area community (Fox Cove/Mortier) which is primarily working class, where they participate in voluntary activities and sports, largely ignoring class boundaries. There would be considerable pressure on the younger middle class males to conform to the linguistic patterns of the working class majority. It would logically be the highly perceptible variables (THETA) and (ETH) which might be most affected.

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The statistical analysis performed on our data did not yield results specific enough to support this claim. However, association between place of residence and conformity to a feature of the Burin regional vernacular is strongly suggested by percentage use of the NS (THETA) variant [t] by age/gender/SEC groups. Group 1, O-M-WC, uses [t] 89% of the time; two of the members of this speech group reside in Fox Cove/Mortier. Group 2, O-F-WC, whose members all reside in Fox Cove/Mortier, uses this feature 86% of the time. Group 3, Y-M-WC, whose members also reside in Fox Cove/Mortier, use [t] 86% of the time. All the members of Group 4 (Y-F-WC) live in Fox Cove/Mortier, and use [t] 84% of the time. Among group 5 (O-M-MC), 6 (O-F-MC), and 8 (Y-F-MC), use of the vernacular variant [t] ranges from 17% to 32%. All the members of both Group 5 and Group 8 live outside Fox Cove/Mortier, and only one member of Group 6 resides in this community. The remaining middle class group - Group 7, Y-M-MC - uses [t] 86% of the time. As previously noted, two of the members of this speech group reside in Fox Cove/Mortier, and the third has friends in the community with whom he hunts and plays softball.

3.3.2. The variable (ETH)

The second consonantal variable selected for our survey is (ETH), the voiced counterpart of (THETA). Two non-standard variants of (ETH) are found in the Burin region: voiced affricate [dʒ], and voiced stop/flap variant [d]. [dʒ] is used by the Burin region sample 19% of the time; again, the stop/flap variant [d] is the

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dominant one, occurring 58% of the time in casual speech. Analysis indicates that usage of the affricated [dʒ] variant of (ETH) does not significantly vary for gender, SEC or age. No significant main effects or interactions are indicated.

There are likewise no significant interactions for the usage of the [d] variant in the Burin region, but analysis reveals a nearly significant main effect for gender ($p=.076$). The mean usage for males is .67, with a corresponding mean of .50 for females. Age also affects, to some degree, selection of [d] in the Burin region ($p=.093$). Overall, older speakers use this NS feature more than do their younger counterparts (.67 O mean usage, .50 Y mean usage). SEC proves significant for [d] ($p<.01$, $F=10.80$, $df=1/16$), with .43 middle class mean usage of this feature, compared with .73 working class mean usage overall. Both middle class and working class younger males make comparable use of (ETH) variant [d] (.78 Y-M-MC mean usage, .86 Y-M-WC mean usage). Again, as in the case of (THETA), there is a considerable difference in middle and working class usage among the remaining three age/gender groups (see Table 3.16). We find younger middle class males strongly identifying with their working class counterparts through use of this NS feature. Usage of [d] more marginally serves as a marker of younger middle class male affinity with their working class counterparts than does the NS variant [t].

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| Table 3.16 | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| The [d] variant of (ETH). Mean use, gender by SEC by age in informal speech style. Not significant. | | | | |
| | M | | F | |
| | Y | O | Y | O |
| MC | .78 | .35 | .34 | .25 |
| WC | .86 | .69 | .68 | .71 |

3.3.3. The variable (T)

In the Burin region there are three non-standard realizations of variable (T), representing posttonic /t/ followed by a sonorant - that is, /t/ in environments in which flapping could occur. The variants examined are, specifically, the voiced or flapped variant [d], the slit fricative variant [t̪], and the glottal or glottalized [ʔ] variant. As noted in Chapter 2, our [d] comprises both the American flap [ɾ], which is gaining ground in Canada (de Wolf 1993:280), and the voiced stop variant [d], historically a feature of the Newfoundland vernacular of West Country English descent. Thus the [d] variant of (T) consists of both innovative and traditional realizations.

The social variables examined proved significant for none of these variants. The only nearly significant main effect is gender, for [d] ($p=.090$). In the Burin region the [d] variant of (T) is a popular feature, used 53% of the time in informal speech. Males use [d] more than females (.62 M mean usage, .45 F mean usage).

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Older middle class women appear to be the only speakers who fail to use this feature extensively (see Table 3.17). This may suggest resistance on the part of this group to the older vernacular feature - a resistance not found among younger groups who may be sensitive to the prestige of the phonetically highly similar North American flapped pronunciation.

| Table 3.17 | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| The [d] variant of (T). Mean use, gender by SEC by age in informal speech style. Not significant. | | | | |
| M | | | F | |
| | Y | O | Y | O |
| MC | .71 | .60 | .50 | .21 |
| WC | .67 | .49 | .54 | .56 |

[ɟ], the slit fricative variant of (T), has been investigated for St. John's, where it was preferred by older women (Clarke 1986:73). This "Irish" fricative is quite uncommon in the Burin region, where its limited use does not seem to be affected by gender, age, or social class. One notes that overall this feature is used a mere 2% of the time by regional speakers².

On the basis of Noseworthy's (1971) Grand Bank survey, one would have expected more extensive usage of the [ɟ] variant of (T) in the Burin region. This feature is characteristic of descendants of settlers from South West England. However, only six of my middle class informants are Protestant (implying ancestors

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who migrated from South West England); all but one of my working class informants were Roman Catholic.

(T) variant [ʔ] is infrequently used among Burin speakers overall (.11 mean usage). Younger and older speakers use this NS feature about equally, (.12 Y mean usage, .11 O mean usage), and women use [ʔ] slightly more than do men (.13 F mean usage, .09 M mean usage). [ʔ] is slightly more popular with middle class than with working class speakers (.14 MC mean usage, .08 WC mean usage). It seems likely that [ʔ] is not a particularly stigmatized feature, and one that is used primarily in appropriate phonological environments (e.g. before liquids and nasals, as found in words such as bottle, button).

3.3.4. Summary

For the consonantal variables investigated, our study indicates that in informal speech style social factors affect the production of some, but not all, intermediate and NS variants. Selection of the affricated [tθ] variant of (THETA) is influenced by the social factors SEC and age, and gender, SEC and age interact to affect production of NS (THETA) variant [t]. None of the social variables investigated influences the production of the affricated [dð] variant of (ETH), while gender, SEC, and age each affects speaker selection of the stop variant [d]. None of the social variables proved significant in the production of NS (T) variants.

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3.4. Burin Region Trends - Discussion

In the Burin region younger people have travelled much less than the older generation, and generally have a lower standard of living (owing to a rise in unemployment). Also, older working class men are more sophisticated than one might expect, and differences in education between the middle class and the working class are not as great now as they have been in the past, although very real differences in attitudes and social behaviours persist. The Burin region middle class essentially comprises an upper middle class as well as an aspiring lower middle class element; there does not seem to be a significant middle middle class. It is important to note that there has been a recent, accelerated decline in employment opportunities, income, and economic security in the Burin region, affecting the entire population, and the younger working class residents most of all.

Trends indicate SEC, gender, and then age, in that order, affect selection of the specific linguistic features analyzed in our survey. Interactions among social variables SEC, gender and age affect usage of the NS [ɔɪ] variant of (AY) and the NS (THETA) stop variant [t]. SEC and gender interact to influence usage of the raised [ɪ] variant of (E), the fronted [u(:)ʊ] variant of (UW), the monophthongal [a(:)] variant of (AW), and intermediate (OY) variant [əɪ]. The social factors SEC and age interact to affect production of the [a(:)] variant of (AW). The production of the lowered [ɛ] variant of (I), the [u(:)ʊ] variant of (UW), the [ɔɪ] variant of (AY), and (orC) variant [ar] are affected by interacting social variables gender and

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age. SEC affects production of the [tə] variant of (THETA). Age affects usage of fronted (AW) variant [ɛʊ], and gender affects usage of the intermediate [ʌ(:)r] variant of (orC), as well as the [d] variant of (ETH). Usage of the [əʊ] variant of (AW), the [də] variant of (ETH), and (T) variants ([t] and [ʔ]) are not affected by any of the social variables.

3.4.1. Young, working class women - anomalous linguistic behaviour

The most interesting finding for the Burin region is that the speech of younger working class women is less standard than one would expect. This finding reflects those for Bay de Verde (Reid 1981), where younger Roman Catholic women (among others) also proved less standard speakers than traditional sociolinguistic survey results would predict. Our younger working class women, we note here, are also exclusively Roman Catholic. Overall, younger working class women use the raised [ɪ] variant of (E) more than any other speech group in the Burin community. The monophthongal [a(:)] variant of (AW) is also used more by young working class women than by their middle class counterparts, as is the [d] variant of (ETH). Younger working class women use fronted (UW) variant [ɛ(:)ʊ] considerably more, and they use the [ar] variant of (orC) considerably more as well. Why are the young working class women setting themselves apart linguistically from their middle class counterparts³? What we observe is a relatively strong gender/class affiliation which perhaps reflects two social facts: the social distance existing between younger working class and middle class women, and the long-term absence of young working class

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males from the community because of the dragger fishery, in which they are the exclusive participants.

Younger working class women are chiefly employed seasonally at local fish plants, unlike their middle class counterparts; also, unlike their middle class counterparts, young working class women are avid bingo fans. Thus the working and social lives of these two groups allows for very little interaction between them. The younger middle class women focus on their nuclear families, when they are not working, and socialize less with their kin groups overall than do their working class counterparts. What the linguistic differences reflect, then, is different value systems for these two speech groups. It is the younger working class women who seem to identify more with traditional values, and who seem to express greater loyalty to traditional vernacular variants. We note too that younger working class women have spent very little time outside the Burin region.

Traditionally, working class men spent a great deal of time away from home. When the dragger fishery replaced the traditional schooner fishery, this did not change. Young working class males employed in the dragger fishery are at sea fourteen days, and at home two days, unless they 'take a trip off' for personal reasons (e.g. the impending birth of a child). Thus younger working class women, like their older counterparts, rely on the company and moral support of their peers to a great extent; they tend to form mutually-supportive social groups at the community level, and one set apart from the often-absent younger males.

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3.4.2. Other speech groups

Older women, whether working class or middle class, having raised their families, and having time, additional income, and children living either elsewhere in Canada or the United States, have travelled considerably more than their younger counterparts. It should not be surprising that older women are among the most standard speakers in the community. However, older working class females are substantially more non-standard than older middle class females for the [ɔɪ] variant of (AY), the [t] variant of (THETA), the [d] variant of (ETH), and (T) variant [d]. This group is a little more non-standard for the raised [ɪ] variant of (E) as well as for (orC) variant [ʌ(:)r]. The use of the NS [ɔɪ] variant of (AY) does mark the older working class female speech group, which uses [ɔɪ] 33% of the time. This feature is not much used by any other speech group, and is not at all used by middle class women. Working class female affiliation is also marked by usage of the [əɪ] variant of (OY).

Middle class speakers use standard and nearly standard variants more on the whole than do their working class counterparts. As we have already stated, SEC is the most significant social variable affecting the selection of linguistic features in the Burin region. Middle class speakers are best characterized by their more frequent selection of standard linguistic features. They are also characterized by their more frequent use of the [tə] variant of (THETA). They use the lowered [e] variant of (I) slightly more than other speech groups; the suggestion is that this NS variant is

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not highly stigmatized. We note here that the young male middle class speech group does not follow this pattern, and this will be commented on below.

Older working class males, being part of male, working class groups comprising men from other Newfoundland regions, the eastern seaboard, Nova Scotia, and the United States (through employment on American bases) seem to have made linguistic compromises, often involving the more stigmatized NS vocalic features (with the exception of the NS vocalic feature [ar], which is used most by older males). The older male residents of the Burin region tend to use fewer NS vocalic features which typify the Burin regional vernacular (e.g. the NS [ɔɪ] variant of (AY)), and more of the NS variants which are typically used by lower socioeconomic groups, regardless of location within Newfoundland (e.g. stop pronunciations of (THETA) and (ETH)). It seems likely that these older working class males would have experienced social pressure disfavouring marked, local NS features such as the rounded [ɔɪ] variant of (AY), and favouring (more significantly) NS features which tend to mark the Newfoundland working class, as well as the male gender. Male solidarity is, and traditionally has been, important in Burin, as in other rural Newfoundland communities, where the men are both frequently absent and often exclusively in the company of other males. Thus widespread NS English features such as the [t] variant of (THETA) and the [d] of (ETH) mark older working class males of the Burin region to a greater extent than do NS vocalic regional features.

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Younger working class Burin males are relatively NS speakers overall, although their speech is not specifically marked by any particular non-standard features. On the whole they are less travelled and less sophisticated than their older counterparts. They use the [u(:)ʊ] variant of (UW), and they are among the most frequent users of the NS [ɪ] pronunciation of (E). They frequently use the monophthongal [a(:)] variant of (AW), and they are the only young male speakers using the fronted [ɛʊ] variant. They tend to favour the raised [əɪ] variant of vocalic variable (AY). Similarly, they favour the 'compromise' [ʌ(:)ɹ] variant of variable (orC). Young working class males are frequent users of the popular working class stop pronunciations of (THETA) and (ETH); these are the most significant working class markers, as Tables 3.15 and 3.16 clearly indicate. For this group, also, male solidarity is important; NS (ETH) variant [d] also marks male gender affiliation.

In summary, in the Burin region middle class speakers are more standard than working class speakers overall. For older speakers the differences are not as great. With the exception of young middle class women, younger speakers are less standard than their older counterparts. These findings are not surprising. Our older middle class Burin region subjects are more educated than their working class counterparts, who were traditionally set apart because of occupation and values. However, both working and middle class older residents are economically secure; the older working class did well in the post-war economic boom, and the social distance between the classes diminished somewhat. Younger middle class informants are slightly more

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educated, more economically secure, and more upwardly mobile than their working class peers, and the social distance between these groups seems to be greater.

The pattern for gender is more complex: working class women are less standard overall than their male counterparts, and middle class women are more standard (specifically, for variables (E), (U)), (AY) and (OY)). We note that younger middle class males do selectively express solidarity with their working class counterparts (we have already observed that they participate with their working class peers in such essentially male activities as sports, hunting and fishing). Meanwhile, younger working class females, relatively isolated, and characterized by frequent use of a wider range of NS features, form a group quite distinct from both younger working class males and younger middle class women, being at the same time less standard speakers than are their older working class counterparts.

STYLISTIC VARIATION

4.1. Introduction

William Labov initiated a procedure for quantitative analysis of stylistic variation; the axiom underlying this procedure is that "styles can be arranged along a single dimension, measured by the amount of attention paid to speech" (Labov 1972b:208). In other words, the underlying assumption is that in casual speech least attention is paid to the speech act, and that along the continuum the speaker's consciousness of the speech act increases. More formal speech is characterized by increased usage of standard variants. Styles theoretically increase in degree of formality, as follows: i) Casual Style (free speech between individuals known to each other, presumably under relaxed circumstances), which should elicit the most vernacular variants; Formal Conversational Style (interview style speech elicited during conversation with an interviewer, involving answers to questions), which theoretically elicits relaxed speech, but with more attention paid to the speech act; iii) Reading Passage Style, in which a passage containing the features being analyzed is read by the informant; iv) Word List Style, in which the informant reads a list of individual lexical items containing the features being analyzed; v) Minimal Pairs Style, where the informant reads pairs of words in which paired items are "homophonous in the vernacular system" (Milroy 1987:174).

Modified versions of this basic research model are still widely used. Many sociolinguists, however (among them Hymes 1974; Milroy 1987), have criticized the basic premises underlying the research model. Milroy (1987:176) does not feel that style shifting necessarily relates to attention to speech "along a linear continuum

Chapter 4 - Stylistic Variation

towards a single norm." She feels that speaker strategies are not as uniform as the Labovian framework implies, and that other factors could equally account for style shifts. She cites her own research in Belfast, where intraspeaker variation does not always pattern according to the Labovian prediction, with respect to specific NS features. Indeed, for some speakers NS features occurred increasingly often in the more 'formal' styles than in the more casual styles, contrary to expectation; thus some of her informants failed to make distinctions in Minimal Pairs that occurred in the informal style. Milroy feels that factors other than "amount of attention paid to speech" (Milroy 1987:173) could better explain variation; among these are low-level spelling rules. Bell (1984:197) feels that "at all levels of language variability people are responding primarily to other people"; the critical variable in this type of analysis would be audience design rather than attention to speech, and the vernacular would be as self-consciously produced as the more formal speech styles. For Hymes (1974) stylistic choice is determined by situational factors such as whether one is engaged in informal conversation with peers, conversation with an employer, etc. However, the Labovian research framework does offer certain advantages. Style shifting can be analyzed with less overall data and within a much shorter time frame than in some of the other approaches. Style shifting remains an observable, measurable phenomenon, and the inevitable inadequacies of the basic premise can always be controlled for in the final interpretation of results through qualification and/or explanation of anomalies.

Chapter 4 - Stylistic Variation

For the sociolinguistic survey of the Burin region, a modified Labovian framework was used to elicit stylistic variation, as the study was conducted within a relatively short period of time. Only three styles were investigated: Casual (Informal) Style, Word List Style, and Minimal Pairs Style. An individual residing outside the community was used to collect Word List and Minimal Pairs data. A Reading Passage containing relevant features was not assigned since the processing that occurs when reading in context is unique; such reading is not a 'speech act' legitimately comparable with reading words in isolation, and has yielded some anomalous results in the sociolinguistic literature (Milroy 1987:173).

4.2. Stylistic Variation

4.2.1. Introduction

Our survey of the Burin region indicates interesting stylistic stratification patterns for some of the features surveyed. The speakers in the sample style shift, across a continuum of speaking styles ranging from formal to informal, indicating that speakers include S, intermediate and NS variants in their overall speech repertoire.

The S variants of variables having more than one NS¹ variant (variables (AW), (AY), (OY), (orC), (THETA), (ETH), (T)) have been included in this survey in order to clarify patterns for those variants not traditionally defined as S. As Table 4.1 indicates, the S variant (the first listed for the seven features just noted), was in most cases used least in the informal style by the twenty-four speakers surveyed, and increasingly in the more formal styles (Word List, and Minimal Pairs). We note

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| <p>Table 4.1 STYLISTIC STRATIFICATION - MEAN USAGE PER CONTEXTUAL STYLE</p> | | | | |
|--|---------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Linguistic Feature | | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
| (I) | [e] | 0.5 | 0.5 | 4.3 |
| (E) | [ɪ] | 12.9 | 5.6 | 3.4 |
| (UW) | [ʊ(:)ʊ] | 64.3 | 48.0 | 69.0 |
| (AW) | [aʊ] | 22.6 | 41.2 | NA |
| | [əʊ] | 33.8 | 55.7 | NA |
| | [eʊ] | 4.9 | 1.2 | NA |
| | [a(:)] | 38.2 | 1.6 | NA |
| (AY) | [aɪ] | 32.8 | 55.2 | 54.1 |
| | [əɪ] | 60.1 | 42.0 | 33.3 |
| | [ɔɪ] | 6.8 | 2.5 | 12.4 |
| (OY) | [ɔɪ] | 24.2 | 49.3 | 57.2 |
| | [əɪ] | 70.5 | 47.2 | 40.5 |
| | [aɪ] | 5.3 | 3.3 | 2.0 |
| (orC) | [ɔ(:)r] | 55.2 | 51.3 | 91.0 |
| | [ʌ(:)r] | 20.3 | 33.1 | 8.9 |
| | [ar] | 23.9 | 15.3 | 0.0 |
| (THETA) | [θ] | 22.5 | 54.5 | 46.1 |
| | [tθ] | 13.9 | 17.3 | 21.0 |
| | [t] | 63.2 | 27.1 | 32.9 |
| (ETH) | [ð] | 22.6 | 69.2 | 76.9 |
| | [dð] | 18.9 | 11.7 | 5.9 |
| | [d] | 58.3 | 19.2 | 17.1 |
| (T) | [t] | 33.3 | 39.0 | NA |
| | [d] | 53.3 | 29.9 | NA |
| | [t] | 2.9 | 8.3 | NA |
| | [ʔ] | 10.3 | 23.9 | NA |

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to say what may have caused greater production of NS variants of variables (I), (UW) and (AY) in Minimal Pairs Style than in Word List Style. Tokens do seem comparable for both instruments, with respect to following environments. However, only two tokens occur for the variable (AY) in Minimal Pairs, covering only two environments: word final, and (AY) preceding lateral /l/⁴.

| Table 4.3 TOTAL NUMBER OF VARIABLE TOKENS PER STYLE | | | |
|--|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Linguistic Variables | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
| (I) | 1118 | 224 | 185 |
| (E) | 994 | 268 | 182 |
| (UW) | 487 | 206 | 96 |
| (AW) | 555 | 164 | NA |
| (AY) | 645 | 229 | 44 |
| (OY) | 97 | 115 | 45 |
| (orC) | 219 | 140 | 113 |
| (THETA) | 490 | 220 | 69 |
| (ETH) | 881 | 260 | 115 |
| (T) | 212 | 117 | NA |

One should consider also, when examining the patterns of stylistic variation, all limitations imposed by the basic research tools used in this survey. Features generally occur less often in Word List Style and Minimal Pairs Style than in Informal Style, and (AW) and (T) variable tokens do not occur at all in Minimal

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here, however, certain anomalies: the S [aɪ] variant of (AY), as well as the S (THETA) variant [ə], was used less in the more formal Minimal Pairs Style overall than in Word List Style; also, the [ɛ] variant of (I), the [u(:)ʊ] variant (UW), (AY) variant [ɔɪ], and the [t] variant of (THETA) occur more frequently overall in the more formal Minimal Pairs Style than in Word List Style.

Table 4.2
AVERAGE NUMBER OF VARIABLE TOKENS PER STYLE²

| Linguistic Variables | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
|----------------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| (I) | 46 | 9 | 8 |
| (E) | 40 | 11 | 7 |
| (UW) | 20 | 8 | 4 |
| (AW) | 23 | 7 | NA |
| (AY) | 27 | 9 | 2 |
| (OY) | 4 | 5 | 2 |
| (orC) | 9 | 6 | 5 |
| (THETA) | 20 | 10 | 3 |
| (ETH) | 37 | 11 | 5 |
| (T) | 9 | 5 | NA |

These findings can perhaps partially be accounted for by the fact that the tokens for these variants were not fully comparable across the Word List and the Minimal Pairs: for example Word List style contains three times as many (THETA) tokens as does Minimal Pairs style³ (see Tables 4.2 and 4.3). It is otherwise difficult

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Pairs Style. Some features do not occur very often in every day speech (for example, the (OY) variants occur relatively infrequently in the dialects of English).

4.2.2. Overall stylistic stratification

Results for this section are based on mean percentages of occurrence of variants. The [ɛ] variant of (I), the [ɛʊ] variant of (AW), and (OY) variant [aɪ] exhibit very little usage difference across styles; these features occur quite infrequently, and say very little about Burin region speakers. The [u(:)ʊ] variant of (UW), (AW) variants [aʊ], [əʊ], and [a(:)], (AY) variants [aɪ] and [əɪ], (OY) variants [ɔɪ] and [əɪ], the [ɔ(:)r] variant of (orC), (THETA) variants [θ] and [t], (ETH) variants [ð] and [d], and (T) variants [t], [d], and [ʔ] exhibited considerable stylistic stratification. Such stratification was less apparent for the [aɪ] variant of (E), the [ɔɪ] variant of (AY), (orC) variants [ʌ(:)r] and [ar], the affricated [tθ] and [dð] variants of (THETA) and (ETH) respectively, and the [t] variant of (T). Stratification patterns for these variants reflect the formality of speech, some with qualification.

4.2.2.1. Features exhibiting minimal stylistic stratification

The S variant of (I) is used almost all the time in all styles in the Burin region. The [ɛ] variant of (I) is used only 0.5% of the time overall in Informal and Word List styles, and 4.3% of the time in Minimal Pairs Style (see Table 4.1). Although [ɛ] is used more often in Minimal Pairs Style than in Word List Style, contrary to expectation, the difference of mean usage between the two *more formal*

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styles is very slight (3.8%). Overall, stratification for the NS variant of variable (I) is limited, and of small importance, given the overwhelming preference among Burin region speakers for the S variant.

The raised NS [ɹ] variant of (E), like NS (I) variant [ɛ], is infrequently used, and fails to indicate or mark Burin region speakers, who overwhelmingly prefer the S variant of variable (E). For this feature, use does reflect formality of speech. The [ɹ] variant of (E) is used 12.9% of the time in Informal speech, 5.6% of the time in Word List Style, and 3.4% of the time in Minimal Pairs Style.

The fronted [ɛʊ] variant of (AW) displays only a limited amount of stylistic stratification across styles. As Table 4.1 indicates, this feature occurs infrequently, overall, but it is used slightly more in Informal Style (4.9%) than in the more formal Word List Style (1.2% of the time). (There are no Minimal Pairs tokens for this variable). The NS [aɹ] variant of (OY), another feature rarely used overall, occurs only slightly more frequently in Informal Style (5.3% of the time) than in the more formal styles (in Word List Style 3.3% of the time, and 2.0% of the time in Minimal Pairs Style).

The suggestion is that, even in informal speech, Burin region speakers infrequently use the [ɹ] variant of (I), the [ɛʊ] variant of (AW), and (OY) variant [aɹ]. Stylistic stratification is minimal, although [ɛʊ], as well as NS [aɹ], are to a very limited degree favoured in informal style.

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4.2.2.2. Features exhibiting a greater degree of stylistic stratification

The NS fronted [ʌ(:)ʊ] variant of (UW) exhibits an unusual pattern with respect to style shifting: [ʌ(:)ʊ] is used considerably less in Word List than in Minimal Pairs Style (for discussion of this phenomenon see section 4.2.1.). This feature is used most (69.0% of the time) in Minimal Pairs Style, an unusual stylistic pattern. (The feature occurs 64.3% of the time in Informal Style, and 48.0% of the time in Word List Style - see Table 4.1). Just why this atypical style shift occurs is difficult to explain. We note that pre-l environments occur in Minimal Pairs, but not in the Word List; it may be that the fronted variants are either phonologically or lexically conditioned (e.g. the lexical item school). It would seem that this particular NS feature functions as a social indicator in the Burin region. The stratification pattern suggests that the [ʌ(:)ʊ] variant of (UW) is not a stigmatized feature.

[aʊ], a S variant of the variable (AW), is used 18.8% more by Burin region speakers in the more formal Word List Style than in the Informal Style (see Table 4.1). This table also indicates that (AW) variant [əʊ] (the S variant in Canadian English in pre-voiceless-obstruent position; see, for example, de Wolf 1993:273) is used 21.9% more often overall in the Word List Style than in the informal style. The suggestion is that the [əʊ] variant of (AW) carries as much status as its [aʊ] counterpart. We note here that the [əʊ] variant under discussion is not the true equivalent of Canadian raised [əʊ], as raising of the initial element does not occur exclusively before voiceless consonants (see Chapter 5). [a(:)], the relatively popular

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monophthongal (AW) variant, is subject to style switching in the expected direction. It occurs only 1.6% of the time overall in Word List style, yet 38.2% of the time overall in the Informal Style. (As previously indicated, (AW) variables do not occur in Minimal Pairs Style).

The [aɪ] variant of (AY) displays the stylistic profile of a prestige variant: it is used 32.8% of the time in Informal Style, 55.2% of the time in the more formal Word List Style, and 54.1% of the time in the most formal Minimal Pairs Style. Thus this feature is used much more in formal speech in the Burin region than in informal speech. On the contrary, the raised [əɪ] variant of (AY) is used 60.1% of the time in Informal Style, and only 42.0% and 33.3% of the time respectively in the more formal Word List and Minimal Pairs styles. (AY) variant [ɔɪ], a NS feature infrequently used in the Burin region overall, is used, quite atypically, nearly twice as much in the most formal Minimal Pairs Style, compared with the Informal Style (6.8% in Informal Style, 12.4% Minimal Pairs Style). In Word List Style (2.5%) this feature occurs less often than in Informal Style.

The contradictory results for the [ɔɪ] variant of (AY) in each of the formal speech styles (in relation to the informal style) cannot be ignored. We duly note that only two (AY) tokens occur in Minimal Pairs, and that the oil/aisle token was not always recognized by informants in the Burin region sample. Thus a single toy/tie token often accounts for 100% occurrence of specific variants of variable (AY), a fact perhaps rendering results for Minimal Pairs Style less valid. Overall, however, our

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(AY) stylistic stratification patterns indicate that Burin region speakers use the lowered [aɪ]-like variant more often in their more formal speech, and raised, possibly rounded variants more often in their informal speech.

The style usage patterns for (OY) variants are similar to those displayed by the variable (AY). Again, style distinctions reflecting the degree of formality of speech are maintained, especially for the S [ɔɪ] variant of (OY), and the popular 'compromise' (OY) variant [əɪ]. As Table 4.1 indicates, S [ɔɪ] is used 24.2% of the time in Informal Style, compared with 49.3% and 57.2% usage in the more formal Word List and Minimal Pairs styles respectively. The [əɪ] variant of (OY) occurs 70.5% of the time in Informal Style, 47.2% of the time in the more formal Word List Style, and in Minimal Pairs Style, 40.5% of the time. The infrequently-used NS (OY) variant [aɪ] has already been discussed (see section 4.2.2.1.). Again we note that the existence of less than two tokens for a variant may result in skewed individual informant results.

Overall, stylistic patterns for the variants of variable (orC) are interesting. The [ɔ(:)r] variant of (orC) is used 55.5% of the time in Informal Style, slightly less often in the more formal Word List Style (51.3%), and 91.0% of the time in the most formal Minimal Pairs Style. The central, unrounded 'compromise' (orC) variant [ʌ(:)r] occurs 20.3% of the time in Informal Style, 33.3% of the time in the more formal Word List Style, and only 8.9% of the time in the most formal Minimal Pairs

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Style. We duly note the overwhelming popularity of the most S [ɔ(:)r] variant in the most formal style.

The suggestion is that both the [ɔ(:)r] and [ʌ(:)r] variants of variable (orC) are, for Burin region speakers, accepted S variants; that these variants overlap (in that they are interchangeably used as S features) seems to account for the seemingly contradictory results for the [ʌ(:)r] Word List and Minimal Pairs styles. That is, the increase in usage of (orC) variant [ʌ(:)r] in Word List Style seems to compensate for a slight decrease in this style in the use of the most S [ɔ(:)r] variant, when compared with usage in Informal Style. Overall results for (orC) variants [ɔ(:)r] and [ʌ(:)r], thus considered, balance, and stand in marked contrast with the obviously NS [ar] pronunciation. For this last feature, style shifting correlates directly with perceived formality of speech, with greatest use of the variant occurring in Informal Style, and least use in Minimal Pairs Style (see Table 4.1). Overall results are the converse of those for variants [ɔ(:)r] and [ʌ(:)r], a fact which seems to confirm our assumption that both variant [ɔ(:)r] and *compromise* variant [ʌ(:)r] are both accepted as S variants of variable (orC).

The S [ə] variant of (THETA) and the *compromise* variant [tə] are each used more overall in the more formal styles than in Informal Style. [ə] is the more popular of the two, but both variants appear to be treated as standard by Burin region speakers. The [ə] variant of (THETA) occurs 22.5% of the time in the Informal Style, and 54.5% and 46.1% of the time in Word List and Minimal Pairs

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styles respectively (see Table 4.1). We note that Burin region speakers use more of this variant in Word List Style than in Minimal Pairs; yet, once again, this may be partially clarified in terms of the corresponding increase of use of [tə] from Word List Style (17.3%) to Minimal Pairs (21.0%). [t], the only truly NS variant of (THETA), is widely used in Informal Style (63.2% mean usage overall); its decrease in use in the more formal styles is dramatic (36.1% difference of mean usage between Informal and Word List styles).⁵

Overall, the S [ð] variant of (ETH) is used significantly more in the formal styles than in Informal Style (22.6% mean usage in Informal Style, 69.2% mean usage in Word List Style, and 76.9% mean usage in Minimal Pairs Style - see Table 4.1). The [də] variant occurs fairly infrequently, and unlike its voiceless (THETA) counterpart [tə], patterns like a NS variant, decreasing in overall use from 18.9% in Informal Style to 11.7 % (Word List Style) and 5.9% (Minimal Pairs Style). NS [d] is by far the most popular casual style (ETH) variant; it is used 58.3% of the time in Informal Style, yet its use decreases to 19.2% in Word List Style and 17.1% in Minimal Pairs Style. In our survey, usage patterns for the (ETH) variants clearly reflect perceived formality of speech, with Burin region speakers using the S variant more in the more formal styles, and the vernacular variants more in Informal Style.

Tokens for the variants of variable (T) occur only in Informal Style and Word List Style. Table 4.1 shows that S variant [t] occurs 33.3% of the time in Informal Style, and in Word List Style somewhat more frequently (39.0%). [d], the most

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popular (T) variant, occurs 53.3% of the time in Informal Style, and 29.9% of the time in Word List Style. [ɹ] is infrequently used, and appears not to be a stigmatized variant; indeed, it patterns quite like a S feature, occurring 2.9% of the time in Informal Style, and 8.3% of the time in Word List Style. Results are similar in other Newfoundland communities in which this variant was investigated (see Clarke 1990:3-6). [ʔ] patterns like a S variant, being used by Burin region speakers 10.3% of the time in Informal Style, and 23.9% of the time in Word List Style. It would seem that our speech sample perceives only one (T) variant ([d]) as stigmatized.

4.3. Stylistic Variation - Group Patterns

In the previous section we examined overall stylistic stratification patterns for the variables surveyed in the Burin region. In this section we will examine this variation in detail, with reference to social groups. The focus will be how these groups differentially utilize S and NS features, and what this differentiation implies. We shall also consider the role individual features assume in the speech of the Burin region.

4.3.1. (I) - style switching by group

As previously noted, the lowered [ɛ] variant of (I) is infrequently used; in fact, it is not used at all by the older women or younger middle class men of the sample, and barely by the younger middle class women (see Table 4.4). It is notably present in the more formal styles of younger working class men and women, and to a lesser extent of older working class males. It is not at all obvious why this pattern occurs.

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The suggestion is that to a limited extent (given infrequent overall usage) the [ɛ] variant of (I) indicates young working class affiliation in the Burin speech community.

| Table 4.4 MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE THE [ɛ] VARIANT OF (I) | | | |
|--|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
| M-WC 55+ | 0.0 | 0.0 | 4.2 |
| F-WC 55+ | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| M-WC 25-35 | 0.0 | 4.2 | 13.8 |
| F-WC 25-35 | 2.0 | 0.0 | 16.6 |
| M-MC 55+ | 1.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| F-MC 55+ | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| M-MC 25-35 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| F-MC 25-35 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 |

This is partially confirmed by SPSS analysis of Minimal Pairs Style, where there is a nearly significant SEC/Age interaction in Informal Style (see Table 3.3). While no significant results emerge for Word List Style, there is a nearly significant Gender/Age interaction in Informal Style ($p=.085$) for the [ɛ] variant of (I).

4.3.2. (E) - style switching by group

As Table 4.5 indicates, the raised [ɪ] variant of (E) is used primarily in Informal Style by younger working class women, and by younger males of both classes. Older working class women use this variant more than do their working class

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male counterparts in all styles. Like younger working class men, older working class women use this variant about equally in Informal and Word List styles, but less in Minimal Pairs Style. This NS feature is used primarily by all working class groups, as well as by younger middle class males, who very often pattern with the working class in feature usage. Overall stratification according to style is sufficient among young working class speech groups to suggest that (E) variant [ɪ] is particularly a young working class male marker. However, among the older working class the [ɪ] variant of (E) is more closely associated with the female gender.

SPSS analysis reveals a nearly significant Gender/SEC main effect for the [ɪ] variant of (E) in Informal Style (as Table 3.1 indicates), a significant SEC main effect ($p < .01$, $F = 10.18$, $df = 1/16$), and a significant Age main effect ($p = .000$, $F = 19.05$, $df = 1/16$). A significant Gender/SEC/Age interaction is indicated in Minimal Pairs Style ($p < .05$, $F = 4.65$, $df = 1/16$), the result of the high use of this feature by younger working class males. In Word List Style, the interaction of Gender/SEC also proved significant ($p < .05$, $F = 5.11$, $df = 1/16$).

Table 4.5
MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE
THE [ɜ] VARIANT OF (E)

| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| M-WC 55+ | 6.0 | 3.0 | 0.0 |
| F-WC 55+ | 13.3 | 14.8 | 5.6 |
| M-WC 25-35 | 25.0 | 25.0 | 18.8 |
| F-WC 25-35 | 30.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| M-MC 55+ | 1.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| F-MC 55+ | 0.0 | 2.6 | 0.0 |
| M-MC 25-35 | 20.6 | 0.0 | 4.2 |
| F-MC 25-35 | 7.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |

4.3.3. (UW) - style switching by group

All social groups except younger middle class women considerably decrease usage of the [ʊ(:)ʊ] variant of (UW) in the more formal Word List Style, compared with Informal Style. However, a disturbing pattern emerges for the most formal Minimal Pairs style: except for older middle class females, fronted [ʊ(:)ʊ] usage in fact increases, compared with other styles. This inverse pattern was discussed in Section 4.2.2.2. One notes the popularity of the [ʊ(:)ʊ] variant of (UW) with all speaker groups, and the fact that this feature is used rather extensively in all styles. However, in all styles this feature is associated more with working class groups, as well as with younger speakers. The suggestion is that [ʊ(:)ʊ] is a working class

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marker, and that among middle class speakers it is particularly associated with young males.

| Table 4.6 MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE THE [u(:)ʊ] VARIANT OF (UW) | | | |
|--|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
| M-WC 55+ | 55.2 | 38.6 | 63.3 |
| F-WC 55+ | 83.6 | 65.8 | 100.0 |
| M-WC 25-35 | 86.6 | 71.3 | 91.6 |
| F-WC 25-35 | 88.2 | 54.6 | 100.0 |
| M-MC 55+ | 38.6 | 22.5 | 41.6 |
| F-MC 55+ | 37.3 | 24.0 | 25.0 |
| M-MC 25-35 | 80.6 | 41.1 | 83.3 |
| F-MC 25-35 | 42.0 | 50.0 | 50.0 |

SPSS analysis reveals a nearly significant Gender/SEC interaction for the [u(:)ʊ] variant of (UW) in Informal Style (see Table 3.5), as well as a nearly significant Gender/Age interaction. A significant SEC main effect is indicated in Word List Style ($p < .05$, $F = 6.66$, $df = 1/16$), as well as a nearly significant Age main effect ($p = .084$). Here, the fronted variant is clearly associated with working class and with younger subjects. In Minimal Pairs Style a significant Gender/SEC interaction is indicated ($p < .05$, $F = 5.66$, $df = 1/16$); middle class females, with a mean

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use of 37.5%, differ significantly from working class females, who use [ʌ(:)ʊ] categorically in this style.

4.3.4. (AW) - style switching by group

There are four variants of the (AW) variable: S [aʊ], raised [əʊ], fronted [ɛʊ], and monophthongal [a(:)]. The questionnaire did not elicit tokens for the (AW) variable in the most formal Minimal Pairs Style.

S (AW) variant [aʊ] is used by all speaker groups, and, as Table 4.7 shows, all groups except younger working class females and older working class males use this feature more in the more formal Word List Style than in Informal Style. We duly note that these two groups prefer the raised [əʊ] variant of (AW) in Word List Style (see Table 4.8). Both variants [aʊ] and [əʊ] seem to function as S variants for Burin region speakers. Given the fact that all speaker groups use the low central [aʊ] variant of (AW), with most groups appropriately style switching according to the formality of the speech act, one cannot conclude that [aʊ] serves to mark any particular speech group; however, among women, usage of the [aʊ] variant of (AW) in Word List Style characterizes older speakers (65.8 O-F mean usage; 19.9 Y-F mean usage).

Table 4.7
MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE
THE [aʊ] VARIANT OF (AW)

| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| M-WC 55+ | 21.5 | 13.0 | NA |
| F-WC 55+ | 4.8 | 40.0 | NA |
| M-WC 25-35 | 11.3 | 22.0 | NA |
| F-WC 25-35 | 15.0 | 14.5 | NA |
| M-MC 55+ | 41.3 | 73.1 | NA |
| F-MC 55+ | 42.6 | 91.6 | NA |
| M-MC 25-35 | 24.3 | 50.0 | NA |
| F-MC 25-35 | 20.0 | 25.4 | NA |

SPSS analysis confirms a nearly significant SEC/Age interaction for the [aʊ] variant of (AW) in Informal Style ($p=.061$). A nearly significant Gender/Age interaction is indicated in Word List Style ($p=.050$).

As we have already stated, all speech groups seem to perceive the raised [əʊ] variant of (AW) as non-stigmatized. All groups, with the exception of older middle class men and women (for whom this feature seems to constitute the dominant Informal Style variant), use this feature more in the more formal Word List Style. It is interesting to note that in Word List Style [əʊ] usage (29.5 O-F mean usage; 80.0 Y-F mean usage) characterizes younger females ([aʊ] usage being characteristic of older women in the more formal Word List Style).

Table 4.8
MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE
THE [əʊ] VARIANT OF (AW)

| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| M-WC 55+ | 38.3 | 87.0 | NA |
| F-WC 55+ | 38.6 | 50.8 | NA |
| M-WC 25-35 | 35.6 | 67.6 | NA |
| F-WC 25-35 | 29.0 | 85.5 | NA |
| M-MC 55+ | 29.0 | 22.2 | NA |
| F-MC 55+ | 38.3 | 8.3 | NA |
| M-MC 25-35 | 29.6 | 50.0 | NA |
| F-MC 25-35 | 33.3 | 74.5 | NA |

SPSS analysis reveals neither significant interactions nor main effects in Informal Style for the [əʊ] variant of (AW). A significant Gender/Age interaction is indicated in Word List Style ($p < .05$, $F = 5.42$, $df = 1/16$), as well as a nearly significant SEC/Age interaction ($p = .066$), no doubt resulting from the low use of [əʊ] by older middle class speakers.

The fronted [eʊ] variant of (AW) is infrequently used overall. The only speech groups selecting this variant at all (see Table 4.9) are older working class females, younger working class males and females, and, surprisingly, young middle class females. All three younger groups use this NS feature more in Informal Style; this distribution suggests the feature marks younger speakers in the Burin region.

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This leads us to speculate whether (AW)-fronting in the Burin region is in any way related to the fronting trend found among younger urban mainland Canadian speakers (on the latter, see Hung, Davison and Chambers 1993:249).

| Table 4.9 MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE THE [ɛʊ] VARIANT OF (AW) | | | |
|---|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
| M-WC 55+ | 0.0 | 0.0 | NA |
| F-WC 55+ | 0.0 | 4.6 | NA |
| M-WC 25-35 | 12.0 | 5.6 | NA |
| F-WC 25-35 | 12.0 | 0.0 | NA |
| M-MC 55+ | 0.0 | 0.0 | NA |
| F-MC 55+ | 0.0 | 0.0 | NA |
| M-MC 25-35 | 0.0 | 0.0 | NA |
| F-MC 25-35 | 15.6 | 0.0 | NA |

SPSS analysis reveals a significant Age main effect for the [ɛʊ] variant of (AW) in Informal Style (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.4.). Neither significant interactions nor main effects are indicated in Word List Style.

The monophthongal [a(:)] variant of (AW) is relatively popular in Informal Style (see Table 4.10). Variation is clearly determined by formality of the speech act by all speech groups; indeed, only three groups (older working class females, younger working class males and older middle class males) use this feature - albeit minimally

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- in Word List Style. In Informal style, this feature is particularly associated with younger middle class males, and all working class groups. Among middle class speakers, younger males and females both use this feature considerably more than do their older counterparts. The suggestion is that use of the [a(:)] variant of (AW), among middle class Burin region residents, particularly marks younger speakers.

| Table 4.10 MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE THE [a(:)] VARIANT OF (AW) | | | |
|--|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
| M-WC 55+ | 40.1 | 0.0 | NA |
| F-WC 55+ | 56.5 | 4.2 | NA |
| M-WC 25-35 | 41.0 | 4.6 | NA |
| F-WC 25-35 | 44.0 | 0.0 | NA |
| M-MC 55+ | 29.6 | 4.6 | NA |
| F-MC 55+ | 19.0 | 0.0 | NA |
| M-MC 25-35 | 46.2 | 0.0 | NA |
| F-MC 25-35 | 31.6 | 0.0 | NA |

SPSS analysis reveals a significant Gender/SEC interaction for the [a(:)] variant of (AW) in Informal style (as seen in Table 3.9); whereas the feature is used more among working class speakers by females, among middle class speakers it is associated more with men than women. As Table 3.8 indicated, in Informal Style there is also a nearly significant SEC/Age interaction, resulting from the relatively

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low use of monophthongal [a(:)] on the part of older middle class speakers. Neither significant interactions nor main effects are indicated in Word List Style.

4.3.5. (AY) - style switching by group

The overall usage pattern for the three (AY) variants ([aɪ], raised variant [əɪ], and NS rounded variant [ɔɪ]) varies according to social group. Generally, use of the low central (AY) variant [aɪ] increases in the more formal styles. The raised central [əɪ] variant of (AY) seems to be perceived by some Burin region speakers

| Table 4.11 MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE THE [aɪ] VARIANT OF (AY) | | | |
|---|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
| M-WC 55+ | 30.0 | 43.3 | 16.6 |
| F-WC 55+ | 18.6 | 35.6 | 16.6 |
| M-WC 25-35 | 22.0 | 40.6 | 50.0 |
| F-WC 25-35 | 30.3 | 62.3 | 66.6 |
| M-MC 55+ | 44.7 | 60.0 | 50.0 |
| F-MC 55+ | 59.6 | 86.6 | 100.0 |
| M-MC 25-35 | 17.3 | 46.6 | 66.6 |
| F-MC 25-35 | 40.3 | 66.6 | 66.6 |

as somewhat standard, and its stylistic stratification patterns vary accordingly. The (AY) variant [ɔɪ] is infrequently used overall. Two speech groups use this NS feature more in formal speech, quite contrary to expectation.

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In Word List Style use of the [aɪ] variant of (AY) increases considerably for all groups. However, unlike the other groups examined, older working class men and women use this feature much less in the most formal Minimal Pairs Style (see Table 4.11) than in Word List Style. We note here that our older working class groups favour raised (AY) variant [əɪ] in Minimal Pairs Style (see Table 4.12). For older working class speakers, then, both [aɪ] and [əɪ] function as non-stigmatized variants of variable (AY). Although [aɪ] is used by all speech groups, it is used more by middle class speakers in the Burin region. However, wide usage overall precludes any suggestion that (AY) variant [aɪ] marks any specific group in the Burin region.

SPSS analysis reveals a nearly significant Gender/SEC interaction for the [aɪ] variant of (AY) in Informal Style ($p=.091$). A significant SEC main effect is indicated in Word List Style ($p<.05$, $F=4.74$, $df=1/16$) (the working class mean of 45.4 contrasting sharply with the middle class mean of 64.9). Neither significant interactions nor main effects are indicated in Minimal Pairs Style.

Meanwhile middle class groups, as well as younger working class groups, seem to perceive the raised central [əɪ] variant of (AY) as stigmatized, and use it considerably less in more formal speech (see Table 4.12). Thus the stratification pattern for this feature is the expected one, with the majority of Burin region speakers using the intermediate (AY) variant more in Informal Style, and decreasingly in Word List and Minimal Pairs styles respectively. The [əɪ] variant of

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(AY) is used fairly extensively, but considerably more by males overall, as well as by working class speakers.

SPSS analysis reveals a significant Gender main effect for the [əɪ] variant of (AY) in Informal Style (as seen in section 3.2.5). Gender also proves nearly significant in Word List Style ($p=.090$). SEC is significant for [əɪ] ($p<.01$, $F=10.80$, $df=1/16$) in Minimal Pairs Style, and approaches significance in Word List Style ($p=.078$).

Table 4.12
MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE
THE [əɪ] VARIANT OF (AY)

| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| M-WC 55+ | 56.6 | 49.6 | 83.3 |
| F-WC 55+ | 48.0 | 57.3 | 66.6 |
| M-WC 25-35 | 71.6 | 50.3 | 50.0 |
| F-WC 25-35 | 68.5 | 34.0 | 33.3 |
| M-MC 55+ | 55.2 | 36.6 | 16.6 |
| F-MC 55+ | 40.3 | 13.3 | 0.0 |
| M-MC 25-35 | 82.6 | 53.3 | 16.6 |
| F-MC 25-35 | 58.8 | 33.3 | 0.0 |

The apparently stigmatized [əɪ] variant of (AY) is infrequently used overall in the Burin region. Its stylistic stratification pattern is interesting, if not easily explained. As Table 4.13 indicates, both older and younger working class males

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follow the expected pattern, using [ɔɪ] most in Informal Style, and decreasing usage respectively in Word List Style and Minimal Pairs Style. On the contrary, unexpectedly high use of this variant occurs in Minimal Pairs Style among three of the four middle class groups, and to a lesser extent, among older working class females. Indeed, with the exception of younger middle class females and older middle class males, middle class speakers use this feature only in the very formal Minimal Pairs Style. Such results are quite unexpected in formal speech for a feature usually considered NS. Phonological conditioning does not seem to account for this anomalous behaviour: none of the three Minimal Pairs (AY) tokens (dig, tig, and aisle) evidence a preceding labial (which might promote rounding of the /aɪ/ diphthong). It may simply be the case that for our middle class Burin region sample the raised rounded (AY) variant is not stigmatized. When all styles are taken into account, the usage of (AY) variant [ɔɪ] neither indicates nor marks particular speech groups in the Burin region.

SPSS analysis reveals a nearly significant Gender/SEC/Age interaction for the [ɔɪ] variant of (AY) in Informal Style (as seen in Table 3.9), with older working class females sharply differentiated from all other groups. Neither significant interactions nor main effects are indicated in Word List and Minimal Pairs styles.

| <p>Table 4.13 MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE THE [ɔɪ] VARIANT OF (AY)</p> | | | |
|---|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
| M-WC 55+ | 13.3 | 6.6 | 0.0 |
| F-WC 55+ | 33.3 | 7.0 | 16.6 |
| M-WC 25-35 | 6.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| F-WC 25-35 | 1.2 | 3.6 | 0.0 |
| M-MC 55+ | 0.0 | 3.3 | 33.3 |
| F-MC 55+ | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| M-MC 25-35 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 16.6 |
| F-MC 25-35 | 1.0 | 0.0 | 33.3 |

4.3.6. (OY) - style switching by group

The stylistic patterns associated with (OY) are the expected ones overall (see Table 4.14). Use of the S [ɔɪ] variant of (OY) increases in the formal styles for both middle class and working class speech groups. Younger working class males use this S feature slightly less often in more formal Word List Style than in Informal Style, but most often in the most formal Minimal Pairs Style. Younger working class females do not use (OY) variant [ɔɪ] at all in Informal Style, but use this feature slightly more often in Word List than in Minimal Pairs Style; the latter pattern is also found among older middle class females. Overall, the stylistic stratification pattern is regular enough; anomalies are slight, and do not seem to warrant further

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consideration. The S variant is strongly preferred by middle class speakers, although in the more formal styles it is moderately used by working class speakers. Style shifting is more extreme for middle class speakers, who for the most part use this feature considerably more in their formal than their informal speech. The suggestion is that the S [ɔɪ] variant of (OY) serves as a middle class marker in the Burin region.

SPSS analysis reveals a significant SEC main effect for the [ɔɪ] variant of (OY) in Informal Style ($p < .05$, $F = 5.88$, $df = 1/16$). SEC also proves significant in Word List Style ($p = .000$, $F = 20.22$, $df = 1/16$), as well as in Minimal Pairs Style ($p < .01$, $F = 10.93$, $df = 1/16$).

Table 4.14
MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE
THE [ɔɪ] VARIANT OF (OY)

| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| M-WC 55+ | 0.0 | 6.6 | 33.3 |
| F-WC 55+ | 8.3 | 21.6 | 25.0 |
| M-WC 25-35 | 25.0 | 20.0 | 33.3 |
| F-WC 25-35 | 0.0 | 40.0 | 33.3 |
| M-MC 55+ | 9.3 | 73.3 | 83.3 |
| F-MC 55+ | 66.6 | 73.3 | 66.6 |
| M-MC 25-35 | 34.4 | 73.3 | 83.3 |
| F-MC 25-35 | 50.0 | 86.6 | 100.0 |

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Nearly all speech groups use the [əɪ] variant of (OY) more in Informal Style, less in more formal Word List Style, and least in the most formal style, Minimal Pairs, as one would expect. However, slight anomalies occur in Word List Style for older and younger working class males (as was shown in Table 4.15). Among working class speech groups there is less stratification across styles overall for the [əɪ] variant of (OY) than among middle class speech groups; male middle class subjects in particular use this feature considerably more in their informal than in their formal speech. The suggestion is that (OY) variant [əɪ] serves as a marker of working class speakers in the Burin region, and that among middle class speakers, at least in Informal Style, it is associated with males rather than females.

Table 4.15
MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE
THE [əɪ] VARIANT OF (OY)

| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| M-WC 55+ | 83.3 | 93.3 | 66.6 |
| F-WC 55+ | 91.6 | 78.3 | 75.0 |
| M-WC 25-35 | 75.0 | 80.0 | 66.6 |
| F-WC 25-35 | 88.8 | 60.0 | 66.6 |
| M-MC 55+ | 86.5 | 26.6 | 16.6 |
| F-MC 55+ | 33.3 | 6.6 | 16.6 |
| M-MC 25-35 | 65.5 | 26.6 | 16.6 |
| F-MC 25-35 | 40.0 | 6.6 | 0.0 |

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SPSS analysis reveals a nearly significant Gender/SEC interaction for the [əɪ] variant of (OY) in Informal Style (see Table 3.10). A nearly significant Gender main effect is indicated in Word List Style ($p=.074$), plus a significant SEC main effect ($p<.001$, $F=38.77$, $df=1/16$), confirming the importance of class as a social factor affecting usage of this feature. In Minimal Pairs Style a significant SEC main effect is also indicated ($p<.01$, $F=12.55$, $df=1/16$).

The [aɪ] variant of (OY), a highly stigmatized NS feature, is rarely used overall, and primarily in Informal Style (see Table 4.16). However, older middle class women use this NS (OY) variant only in the more formal styles, quite contrary to expectation. Our data fail to indicate precisely why this anomaly occurs for a speech group normally displaying standard stratification patterns. We note too the relatively high usage of this variant by older middle class women and older working class males, compared with other groups. However, given the erratic usage patterns of the [aɪ] variant of (OY) across styles, one cannot conclude that this feature marks any particular Burin region speakers.

SPSS analysis reveals a nearly significant Gender/Age interaction for the [aɪ] variant of (OY) in Informal Style (this was indicated in Table 3.11). Neither significant interactions nor main effects are indicated in Word List and Minimal Pairs styles for this NS feature.

| <p align="center">Table 4.16 MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE THE [aɪ] VARIANT OF (OY)</p> | | | |
|--|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
| M-WC 55+ | 16.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| F-WC 55+ | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| M-WC 25-35 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| F-WC 25-35 | 11.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| M-MC 55+ | 4.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| F-MC 55+ | 0.0 | 20.0 | 16.6 |
| M-MC 25-35 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| F-MC 25-35 | 10.0 | 6.6 | 0.0 |

4.3.7. (orC) - style switching by group

The (orC) variant patterns are somewhat unusual. Linguistic behaviour of speakers is as expected in the most formal Minimal Pairs Style, yet does not necessarily pattern according to expectation in Word List Style. However, if one assumes that for Burin region speakers the [ʌ(:)r] variant is not stigmatized, and functions as a less formal standard feature, hence replacing more formal [ɔ(:)r] in the less formal of the two formal speech styles examined (Word List), the pattern becomes more meaningful.

Table 4.17 and Table 4.18 indicate that consistently, where speakers use the (orC) variant [ɔ(:)r] less in Word List Style, (orC) variant [ʌ(:)r] pronunciation is

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used more than in Informal Style. All speech groups except older working class males use the most formal (orC) variant [ɔ(:)r] categorically in Minimal Pairs Style; older working class males use this variant only 28.2% of the time, and (orC) variant [ʌ(:)r] 71.6% of the time. Likewise, most groups use the [ʌ(:)r] variant of (orC) considerably more in Word List than in Informal style. Across styles, women use the S [ɔ(:)r] variant considerably more than do the comparable male groups.

| Table 4.17 MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE THE [ɔ(:)r] VARIANT OF (orC) | | | |
|--|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
| M-WC 55+ | 23.3 | 12.3 | 28.3 |
| F-WC 55+ | 50.0 | 50.1 | 100.0 |
| M-WC 25-35 | 26.3 | 39.0 | 100.0 |
| F-WC 25-35 | 41.0 | 27.6 | 100.0 |
| M-MC 55+ | 45.0 | 41.1 | 100.0 |
| F-MC 55+ | 90.8 | 83.2 | 100.0 |
| M-MC 25-35 | 74.4 | 57.7 | 100.0 |
| F-MC 25-35 | 91.1 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

SPSS confirms the association of the [ɔ(:)r] variant with women and middle class speakers. In Informal Style, as previously noted in Section 3.2.7., a significant main effect emerges for Gender, as well for SEC. In Word List Style, likewise, significant main effects are indicated for Gender ($p < .01$, $F = 8.89$, $df = 1/16$), and SEC

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($p = .001$, $F = 16.85$, $df = 1/16$). SPSS analysis also reveals a significant Gender main effect for the $[\wedge(:)r]$ variant of (orC) in Informal Style (as was seen in section 3.2.7.), as well as a nearly significant Gender/SEC interaction in Word List Style ($p = .087$). SPSS analysis failed to produce significant results for any (orC) variants in Minimal Pairs Style.

| Table 4.18 MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE THE $[\wedge(:)r]$ VARIANT OF (orC) | | | |
|--|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
| M-WC 55+ | 38.3 | 53.3 | 71.6 |
| F-WC 55+ | 13.3 | 27.7 | 0.0 |
| M-WC 25-35 | 44.3 | 27.6 | 0.0 |
| F-WC 25-35 | 11.0 | 39.0 | 0.0 |
| M-MC 55+ | 22.0 | 58.8 | 0.0 |
| F-MC 55+ | 6.8 | 16.7 | 0.0 |
| M-MC 25-35 | 25.5 | 42.2 | 0.0 |
| F-MC 25-35 | 4.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 |

Table 4.19 shows that all groups without exception avoid use of the apparently stigmatized $[ar]$ variant of (orC) in Minimal Pairs style; all middle class subjects avoid it in Word List Style as well. Working class speech groups, overall, display a reduction in use of this variant as formality of the speech act increases; younger working class males are the only group exhibiting an unexpected pattern, by using the

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NS variant slightly more often in formal Word List Style than in Informal Style. The overall distribution of NS [ar] suggests that this variant marks working class affiliation for Burin region speakers. Such affiliation is confirmed by SPSS analysis in Word List Style, where SEC displays a significant main effect ($p < .01$, $F = 9.14$, $df = 1/16$).

| Table 4.19 MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE THE [ar] VARIANT OF (orC) | | | |
|---|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
| M-WC 55+ | 38.3 | 34.2 | 0.0 |
| F-WC 55+ | 36.6 | 22.1 | 0.0 |
| M-WC 25-35 | 29.3 | 33.3 | 0.0 |
| F-WC 25-35 | 48.0 | 33.3 | 0.0 |
| M-MC 55+ | 33.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| F-MC 55+ | 2.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| M-MC 25-35 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| F-MC 25-35 | 4.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 |

4.3.8. (THETA) - style switching by group

The S [θ] and NS [t] variants of (THETA) pattern fairly predictably; however, the intermediate affricated (THETA) variant [tθ] is used differently by different speaker groups. [θ] and [t] are selected according to the formality of the speech act by all Burin region speakers: the S variant is used more in both formal styles than in Informal Style, and the stigmatized NS variant is used less. However, there are

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two patterns of particular interest: the [ə] variant of (THETA) is used more in Word List Style than in Minimal Pairs Style by all groups except older working class males and older middle class females; and NS [t] is used more in Minimal Pairs Style than in Word List Style by all groups except younger working class males. This phenomenon cannot be attributed to the construction of the Word List or of the Minimal Pairs (see Endnote 4.3). We now examine the stylistic stratification of these two variants in greater detail.

| Table 4.20 MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE THE [ə] VARIANT OF (THETA) | | | |
|--|-----------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
| M-WC 55+ | 4.6 | 28.8 | 33.3 |
| F-WC 55+ | 3.8 | 28.3 | 8.3 |
| M-WC 25-35 | 10.3 | 16.1 | 8.3 |
| F-WC 25-35 | 5.0 | 61.7 | 44.4 |
| M-MC 55+ | 34.8 | 75.2 | 55.5 |
| F-MC 55+ | 52.3 | 89.6 | 91.6 |
| M-MC 25-35 | 6.3 | 69.0 | 61.1 |
| F-MC 25-35 | 64.6 | 66.6 | 66.6 |

As Table 4.20 shows, overall S (THETA) variant [ə] is preferred by middle class speech groups and younger working class females; the remaining working class groups make moderate use of this feature in the more formal styles. Stratification

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across styles is evident. The suggestion is that this (THETA) variant is a middle class marker in the Burin region, and that among working class groups it particularly characterizes younger females. NS (THETA) variant [t] is preferred across styles by working class groups, and by younger middle class males in Informal Style (see Table 4.21). The suggestion is that the [t] variant of (THETA) marks working class speakers, and among the middle class characterizes younger males, if only in their casual speech style.

| Table 4.21 MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE THE [t] VARIANT OF (THETA) | | | |
|--|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
| M-WC 55+ | 89.3 | 64.4 | 66.6 |
| F-WC 55+ | 86.3 | 47.5 | 66.6 |
| M-WC 25-35 | 86.5 | 83.8 | 63.8 |
| F-WC 25-35 | 84.6 | 3.6 | 11.1 |
| M-MC 55+ | 32.3 | 3.3 | 27.7 |
| F-MC 55+ | 23.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| M-MC 25-35 | 86.0 | 7.3 | 16.6 |
| F-MC 25-35 | 17.6 | 6.6 | 11.1 |

SPSS analysis confirms the above observations. It reveals a nearly significant Gender/SEC/Age interaction for the [θ] variant of (THETA) in Informal Style ($p=.094$); this three-way interaction achieves significance in Word List Style ($p<.05$,

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$F=4.90$, $df=1/16$). A significant SEC main effect occurs in both Word List Style ($p=.000$, $F=34.08$, $df=1/16$) and Minimal Pairs Style ($p<.01$, $F=10.60$, $df=1/16$). For [t], analysis reveals a significant Gender/SEC/Age interaction in both Informal ($p=.01$, $F=8.16$, $df=1/16$) and Word List ($p=.01$, $F=7.74$, $df=1/16$) styles, as well as a significant SEC main effect in Minimal Pairs Style ($p<.01$, $F=9.02$, $df=1/16$).

The stratification associated with the intermediate [tə] variant of (THETA) is more varied (see Table 4.22). Older working class males use [tə] infrequently, and comparably across Informal and Word List styles. Older middle class male and

Table 4.22
MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE
THE [tə] VARIANT OF (THETA)

| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| M-WC 55+ | 6.0 | 6.6 | 0.0 |
| F-WC 55+ | 9.8 | 24.2 | 25.0 |
| M-WC 25-35 | 3.0 | 0.0 | 29.4 |
| F-WC 25-35 | 10.3 | 34.6 | 44.4 |
| M-MC 55+ | 32.8 | 21.4 | 16.6 |
| F-MC 55+ | 24.6 | 10.3 | 8.3 |
| M-MC 25-35 | 7.6 | 23.6 | 22.2 |
| F-MC 25-35 | 17.6 | 26.6 | 22.2 |

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female groups use this feature more in Informal Style, and decreasingly across the more formal Word List and Minimal Pairs styles. All other groups use this intermediate variant less in Informal Style than in the more formal styles. We note some small anomalies: older working class males use [tə] less in Word List Style than in Minimal Pairs Style; younger middle class groups use this feature slightly less in Minimal Pairs Style, compared with Word List Style.

The implication is that in the Burin region the intermediate [tə] variant of (THETA) functions as a non-stigmatized feature for all subject groups except the older middle class. Among working class speakers this variant is preferred by women.

SPSS analysis reveals a significant SEC main effect for the [tə] variant of (THETA) in Informal Style, as we have previously seen in Section 3.3.1., as well as a nearly significant Age main effect. A significant Gender/SEC interaction is indicated in Word List Style ($p < .01$, $F = 11.98$, $df = 1/16$), in which working class women are the greatest users of this feature. In Minimal Pairs Style neither significant interactions nor main effects are indicated.

4.3.9. (ETH) - style switching by group

(ETH) variants [ə] and [d], like their (THETA) counterparts, pattern according to expectation, with minor exceptions. All speech groups use S (ETH) variant [ə] considerably more in the more formal styles than in Informal Style. We note (see Table 4.23) that younger working class males and older middle class

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females use this feature slightly less in Minimal Pairs Style than in Word List Style; however, the difference of mean usage between the two formal styles is so slight that further interpretation would derive little. Overall the S variant is used little in Informal Style by working class groups, and moderately in the more formal styles; across styles, this S feature is used considerably more by middle class groups. However, one notices that working class women use this feature considerably more in the two formal styles than do their male working class peers.

SPSS analysis confirms the significance of Gender, SEC, and to a lesser extent Age with respect to [ð]. It reveals a significant Gender main effect for the [ð] variant in Informal Style ($p < .05$, $F = 4.77$, $df = 1/16$), as well as a significant SEC main effect ($p < .01$, $F = 14.4$, $df = 1/16$). In Word List Style, three significant interactions emerge: Gender/SEC ($p = .001$, $F = 16.30$, $df = 1/16$), Gender/Age ($p < .05$, $F = 7.39$, $df = 1/16$), and SEC/Age ($p < .05$, $F = 4.52$, $df = 1/16$). In Minimal Pairs Style a significant Gender/SEC interaction is indicated ($p < .05$, $F = 7.32$, $df = 1/16$).

The [d] variant of (ETH) patterns largely according to expectation (see Table 4.24), although young working class males use this NS variant considerably more in Minimal Pairs Style than in Word List Style. Working class males, both young and old, are the greatest users of this variant, which is their dominant variant in formal as well as informal styles. Overall, middle class groups use this feature considerably less, and only in Informal Style, except that younger middle class males' usage rate

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of [d] in Informal Style resembles that of working class subjects. As working class males use this feature considerably more in the more formal styles than do their

| <p>Table 4.23 MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE THE [ɔ] VARIANT OF (ETH)</p> | | | |
|--|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
| M-WC 55+ | 5.0 | 24.0 | 40.0 |
| F-WC 55+ | 10.3 | 48.6 | 77.7 |
| M-WC 25-35 | 2.0 | 18.0 | 16.6 |
| F-WC 25-35 | 7.3 | 86.6 | 94.3 |
| M-MC 55+ | 36.7 | 97.0 | 100.0 |
| F-MC 55+ | 59.3 | 97.3 | 93.3 |
| M-MC 25-35 | 11.0 | 85.3 | 93.3 |
| F-MC 25-35 | 52.0 | 97.3 | 100.0 |

female peers, the suggestion is that the [d] variant of (ETH) variant functions as a male working class marker in the Burin region. We note here similar findings in another Newfoundland context, St. John's: "...the alveolar stop variant of /ETH/ (was)...used most often by SEC group 5" (largely unskilled labour)...(Clarke 1986:70); working class male mean usage of this variant in St. John's was .39, compared with .17 female mean usage (Clarke 1986:79).

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SPSS analysis for Informal Style corroborates the association of the [d] variant of (ETH) with male and working class subjects. As we have previously seen in Section 3.3.2, it reveals a significant SEC main effect, as well as nearly significant Gender and Age main effects. A significant Gender/SEC interaction is indicated both in Word List Style ($p < .01$, $F = 12.87$, $df = 1/16$) and in Minimal Pairs Style ($p < .01$, $F = 14.53$, $df = 1/16$).

| Table 4.24 MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE THE [d] VARIANT OF (ETH) | | | |
|---|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
| M-WC 55+ | 69.0 | 59.3 | 53.3 |
| F-WC 55+ | 70.6 | 24.3 | 0.0 |
| M-WC 25-35 | 86.3 | 58.3 | 77.6 |
| F-WC 25-35 | 68.3 | 3.3 | 5.6 |
| M-MC 55+ | 35.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| F-MC 55+ | 25.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| M-MC 25-35 | 78.0 | 9.0 | 0.0 |
| F-MC 25-35 | 33.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 |

The stylistic stratification pattern for the intermediate or affricated [dð] variant of (ETH) is somewhat complex (see Table 4.25). Only older middle class subjects style shift in the expected manner, using this feature decreasingly in the more formal styles; older working class males display somewhat similar behaviour.

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Working class female speakers, as well as younger middle class speakers, tend to use more of this variant in their formal than informal styles. There is no apparent reason for these discrepancies, other than different evaluation of the affricate on the part of different social groups - that is, whether (ETH) variant [dθ] is perceived by subject groups as either S or NS would explain whether this feature were used more in either informal or formal style.

Given the overall usage pattern for this feature, and despite anomalies, the suggestion is that the [dθ] variant of (ETH) is not perceived as a stigmatized variant in the Burin region, except by older middle class speakers. In light of the relatively widespread usage of affricated [dθ] by all speaker groups, in at least one style, one cannot conclude that this feature marks any particular subject group.

SPSS analysis reveals neither significant interactions nor main effects for the [dθ] variant of (ETH) in Informal Style and Minimal Pairs styles. A significant SEC main effect is indicated in Word List Style ($p < .05$, $F = 15.76$, $df = 1/16$), with middle class speakers using this feature significantly more (20.5 mean usage) than working class speakers (16.3 mean usage).

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Table 4.25
MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE
THE [dɒ] VARIANT OF (ETH)

| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| M-WC 55+ | 6.0 | 6.6 | 0.0 |
| F-WC 55+ | 9.8 | 24.2 | 25.0 |
| M-WC 25-35 | 3.0 | 0.0 | 29.4 |
| F-WC 25-35 | 10.3 | 34.6 | 44.4 |
| M-MC 55+ | 32.8 | 21.4 | 16.6 |
| F-MC 55+ | 24.6 | 10.3 | 8.3 |
| M-MC 25-35 | 7.6 | 23.6 | 22.2 |
| F-MC 25-35 | 17.6 | 26.6 | 22.2 |

4.3.10. (T) - style switching by group

The variable (T) (intervocalic /t/) has four variants: the voiceless variant [t], the voiced/flap variant [d], the slit fricative variant [ɬ], and the glottal/glottalized variant [ʔ]. Tokens for this variable do not occur in Minimal Pairs Style.

The stylistic stratification patterns associated with the voiceless [t] variant of (T) are somewhat unexpected (see Table 4.26 below).

Table 4.26
MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE
THE [t] VARIANT OF (T)

| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| M-WC 55+ | 51.3 | 31.6 | NA |
| F-WC 55+ | 37.4 | 33.3 | NA |
| M-WC 25-35 | 25.3 | 33.3 | NA |
| F-WC 25-35 | 22.3 | 51.6 | NA |
| M-MC 55+ | 16.3 | 26.6 | NA |
| F-MC 55+ | 53.8 | 53.3 | NA |
| M-MC 25-35 | 22.5 | 26.6 | NA |
| F-MC 25-35 | 36.1 | 60.0 | NA |

This variant should stratify according to the formality of the speech act, with formal speech favouring [t] use. Why voiceless (T) variant [t] is selected more often in informal speech by some speakers in the Burin region - particularly older working class males - is not at all clear. In the Burin region [t] is used relatively extensively across styles by all speech groups; however, among middle class speakers [t] seems to mark the female gender.

SPSS analysis reveals a significant Gender/SEC main effect for the [t] variant of (T) in Informal Style ($p < .05$, $F = 5.75$, $df = 1/16$), confirming that this feature characterizes middle class female speakers. Neither significant interactions nor main effects are indicated in Word List Style.

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Stop/flap (T) variant [d] is frequently used overall in the Burin region (see Table 4.27 below).

| Table 4.27 MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE THE [d] VARIANT OF (T) | | | |
|--|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
| M-WC 55+ | 48.8 | 51.6 | NA |
| F-WC 55+ | 55.3 | 13.3 | NA |
| M-WC 25-35 | 67.3 | 40.0 | NA |
| F-WC 25-35 | 54.0 | 20.0 | NA |
| M-MC 55+ | 60.3 | 40.0 | NA |
| F-MC 55+ | 20.7 | 6.6 | NA |
| M-MC 25-35 | 70.6 | 40.0 | NA |
| F-MC 25-35 | 50.0 | 26.6 | NA |

It is used considerably more in Informal than in Word List style by all groups except older working class men. Overall, this variant is used considerably more by males than by females. The suggestion is that [d] marks male gender in the Burin region.

SPSS analysis confirms a significant main Gender effect for the [d] variant of (T) in Word List Style ($p < .01$, $F = 9.54$, $df = 1/16$); in Informal Style, Gender approaches significance, as we have seen in Section 3.3.3.

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The slit fricative (T) variant [t̺] is not widely used; the only speech groups using this feature extensively are the older female groups, both working and middle class (see Table 4.28 below).

| Table 4.28 MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE THE [t̺] VARIANT OF (T) | | | |
|---|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
| M-WC 55+ | 0.0 | 0.0 | NA |
| F-WC 55+ | 7.3 | 26.6 | NA |
| M-WC 25-35 | 0.0 | 0.0 | NA |
| F-WC 25-35 | 4.6 | 0.0 | NA |
| M-MC 55+ | 0.0 | 6.6 | NA |
| F-MC 55+ | 12.0 | 33.3 | NA |
| M-MC 25-35 | 0.0 | 0.0 | NA |
| F-MC 25-35 | 0.0 | 0.0 | NA |

Both of these use [t̺] considerably more in the more formal Word List Style than in casual speech. Younger working class females use this feature to a very limited extent in Informal Style only. None of the remaining groups use [t̺] at all. It is clear that infrequently-used [t̺] variant of (T) functions as a marker for older female speakers in the Burin region. Interestingly, a similar pattern emerged in Clarke's investigation of St. John's speech (Clarke 1990:3-6), where this feature was used more by older subjects, and by females, in the formal styles.

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SPSS analysis reveals neither significant interactions nor main effects for the [ɰ] variant of (T) in Informal Style. A nearly significant Gender/Age interaction is indicated in Word List Style ($p=.062$).

The fourth (T) variant, [ʔ], is moderately used by all speech groups in the Burin region (see Table 4.29 below). Younger middle class females use this feature about equally in Informal and Word List styles, and older middle class women use [ʔ] less; all remaining speech groups use this feature more in the more formal Word List Style. This pattern is not the expected one, given that the [ʔ] variant of (T) is a NS feature. We note that the phonological environment for intervocalic variable (T) in Word List tokens bottle and button do tend to favour selection of the glottal stop variant [ʔ], thus accounting for moderate use of this variant in Word List Style. We further note, however, that among middle class speakers it is the male groups who select (T) variant [ʔ] considerably more often in Word List Style. Among working class speakers selection is comparable across groups. The suggestion is that among middle class speakers [ʔ] functions as a male gender marker in the Burin region.

Table 4.29
MEAN USAGE PER SOCIAL GROUP PER STYLE
THE [ɹ] VARIANT OF (T)

| Social Group | Informal Style | Word List Style | Minimal Pairs Style |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| M-WC 55+ | 0.0 | 16.6 | NA |
| F-WC 55+ | 0.0 | 26.6 | NA |
| M-WC 25-35 | 7.3 | 26.6 | NA |
| F-WC 25-35 | 18.6 | 28.3 | NA |
| M-MC 55+ | 23.3 | 26.6 | NA |
| F-MC 55+ | 13.3 | 6.6 | NA |
| M-MC 25-35 | 6.8 | 33.3 | NA |
| F-MC 25-35 | 13.8 | 13.3 | NA |

SPSS analysis reveals neither significant interactions nor main effects for the [ɹ] variant of (T) in Informal Style. A significant Gender/SEC interaction is indicated in Word List Style ($p < .01$, $F = 9.16$, $df = 1/16$).

4.4. Conclusion

Overall stratification patterns prove interesting for the Burin region, where six of the twenty-six linguistic features surveyed exhibit minimal stratification across styles, and eleven moderate to extensive stratification. The remaining nine features are of special interest, having displayed stylistic stratification patterns in which anomalies occur (see Table 4.1). Minimal stylistic stratification is displayed by the raised [ɹ] variant of (E), the NS [aɪ] variant of (OY), and the fronted (AW) variant

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[$\epsilon\bar{u}$]. Three consonantal variants likewise display little stylistic stratification: these are the [$t\bar{e}$] variant of (THETA), as well as the [t] and [t̥] variants of (T). We note here that with the exception of the [t] variant of (T) all the features displaying minimal stratification occur infrequently overall in Burin region speech. The eleven features displaying moderate to considerable stratification consist of: (AW) variants [$\bar{a}u$], [$\bar{o}u$], and [$\bar{a}(:)$], the [$\bar{e}\bar{x}$] variant of (AY), (OY) variants [$\bar{o}\bar{x}$] and [$\bar{e}\bar{x}$], the [ar] variant of (orC), all three (ETH) variants, and the [d] variant of (T). We observe that features displaying considerable stylistic stratification are also those which occur frequently in the formal and informal speech of our Burin region sample; those displaying moderate stratification occur less frequently.

Stylistic stratification of the remaining nine features surveyed pose a range of problems. Three standard features (the [$\bar{a}\bar{x}$] variant of (AY), the [\bar{e}] variant of (THETA), and the [$\bar{o}(:)\bar{r}$] variant of (orC)) do not display the expected increase in frequency of use as formality of style increases; both [$\bar{a}\bar{x}$] and [\bar{e}] occur more often in Word List than in Minimal Pairs style, and [$\bar{o}(:)\bar{r}$] occurs less often in Word List than in Informal style, yet considerably more often in the most formal Minimal Pairs Style than in either Informal or Word List styles. The non-standard [$\bar{\epsilon}$] variant of (I), the [$\bar{u}(:)\bar{u}$] variant of (UW), the [t] variant of (THETA), and the [$\bar{\wedge}(:)\bar{r}$] variant of (orC) likewise present anomalies. [$\bar{\epsilon}$], [$\bar{u}(:)\bar{u}$], and [t] for example, display slightly higher use in Minimal Pairs Style, compared with the somewhat less formal Word List Style, while [$\bar{\wedge}(:)\bar{r}$] occurs most frequently in Word List Style, and least

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frequently in Minimal Pairs. The NS [ɔɪ] variant of (AY) occurs most frequently in the most formal Minimal Pairs Style, but less often in Word List than in Informal style. As to the [ʔ] variant of (T), for which no tokens are available in Minimal Pairs Style, it behaves like a non-stigmatized feature, with greater use in Word List than in Informal Style.

Despite anomalies, the suggestion is that overall - albeit the fact that sometimes the range is minimal to moderate - the majority of features surveyed in the Burin region display a pattern of stratification across styles. The patterns usually reflect the formality of the speech acts involved in a fairly predictable fashion. It would seem that Burin region speakers are well able to manipulate standard features; however, at times the criteria used to select variants of the variables analyzed are not obvious to us.

Further analysis reveals how social factors affect the speech of the Burin region. Among the twenty-four subjects who comprise our survey, specific features are selected as markers of particular social subgroups or affiliations. The male gender is marked by its use of the [ɔɪ] variant of (AY), as well as (T) variant [d]; among middle class speakers the female gender is marked by its use of (T) variant [t]. Older women in general are marked by their use of the [ʔ] variant of (T). Use of the [ɪ] variant of (E) marks several working class groups, particularly younger working class males. The [ar] variant of (orC), the [t] variant of (THETA), the [d] variant of (ETH), the [ɔɪ] variant of (OY), and (UW) variant [u(:)ʊ] all mark the

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Burin region working class. Middle class speakers are marked by their use of the S (OY) variant [ɔɪ]. Most young Burin region speakers are marked by their use of the [ɛʊ] variant of (AW) and, finally, (AW) variant [əʊ] usage marks all groups except the older middle class.

PHONOLOGICAL CONDITIONING

5.1. Linguistic Conditioning

We have considered in some depth the effects of social factors such as SEC, gender, and age on the production of NS features in the Burin region. What we have not considered is how the linguistic environments in which these features occur further affect the likelihood of the occurrence of NS variants. The program used in the analysis of variation, SPSS, did not facilitate an in-depth analysis according to environment, and time did not permit the application of a computerized variable rules analysis program such as Goldvarb. However, linguistic environments promoting relevant variants of variables (E), (I), (AY), (AW), (orC), (THETA) and (ETH) will be analyzed by phonological environment in Informal Style.

5.2. Linguistic Conditioning - Vocalic Variables

5.2.1. The variable (E)

Previous research indicates that the raised lax NS [ɪ] variant of the variable (E) is favoured by a following labial (e.g. /p/, /m/) or alveopalatal fricative (e.g. /ʃ/). Colbourne (1982:93) indicates that

In general the farther front the lingual articulation is and the higher the lingual articulation is the greater the tendency to raise /E/ to /I/.

Colbourne also suggests that the manner of articulation of the following consonant can affect the rate of production of the NS [ɪ] variant of (E). He notes that following nasal stops "nearly always" promotes raising. Conversely, a following fricative, and even more so a following liquid (e.g. /l/, /r/), disfavour NS raising of (E). Voicing of a following consonant also plays a role:

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...it was also found that if the consonant following (E) lengthened the vowel as the voiced consonants did then there is a greater tendency to get NS raising because it provides the necessary time needed to make the extra articulatory gesture of tongue raising (Colbourne 1982:96).

In general, place of articulation, manner of articulation, and voicing of the following consonant affect whether a speaker will produce the raised NS (E) variant. High, front [ɪ] is promoted by a following consonant whose place of articulation is high and fronted rather than by a consonant whose place of articulation is back (e.g. velars, velarized laterals). When either manner of articulation or voicing of a following consonant allows greater time for raising of (E), the NS [ɪ] variant is more likely to occur.

Our survey of the Burin region partially confirms Colbourne's predictions. As Table 5.1 indicates, the raising of (e) to (I) is promoted by a following oral stop (in this environment, raising occurs at a rate of 30.5%), yet not by a following nasal stop, where raising occurs less frequently than in a pre-fricative environment (6.6% vs. 13.7% respectively). As predicted, a following liquid disfavours raising (2.2%). As to place of articulation, raising is promoted as predicted by a following alveolar (17.3%) and to a lesser extent by a following labial segment (4.2%). However, the [ɪ] variant of (E) only occurs 5.9% of the time when followed by a voiced consonant, compared with 31.7% when followed by voiceless consonants.

Table 5.1
PHONOLOGICAL CONDITIONING OF THE [ɪ] VARIANT OF (E)

| Following Environment | Occurrences of [ɪ] | Number of Tokens | % |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|------|
| Manner of Articulation | | | |
| Pre-oral stop | 79 | 259 | 30.5 |
| Pre-nasal stop | 24 | 366 | 6.6 |
| Pre-fricative | 31 | 227 | 13.7 |
| Pre-affricate | 0 | 4 | 0.0 |
| Pre-liquid | 3 | 137 | 2.2 |
| Place of Articulation | | | |
| Pre-labial | 8 | 192 | 4.2 |
| Pre-alveolar | 129 | 744 | 17.3 |
| Pre-alveopalatal | 0 | 9 | 0.0 |
| Pre-velar | 0 | 49 | 0.0 |
| Voice | | | |
| [-voice] | 96 | 302 | 31.7 |
| [+voice] | 41 | 691 | 5.9 |

Thus our results significantly contradict Colbourne's for the effects of voicing on NS pronunciation of (E). We duly note the possible role played by lexical items for the raised [ɪ] variant of (E) in the recorded informal speech of the Burin region. Our data indicate a higher occurrence of [ɪ] in the lexical item *get* or derived forms (e.g.

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getting, gets), as well as in the lexical item yes, which occur frequently in informal speech.

5.2.2. The variable (I)

According to Colbourne (1982:98), on Long Island,

...the highest percentage of occurrences of NS variants of (I) [would be] before velar or velarized consonants...followed by voiceless palatal fricative(s)...

Lateral /l/ would also promote the lowered (I) variant.

In our survey of the Burin region the lowered [ɛ] variant of (I) occurs so infrequently that the role of phonological environments cannot be legitimately interpreted (see Table 5.2). However, a slightly higher occurrence of [ɛ] is indicated when the following consonant is a nasal stop compared with other following environments. There are no occurrences of this feature in the following environments of oral stops, fricatives or affricates. The [ɛ] pronunciation of (I) occurs about equally in the following environments of labial, alveolar and velar consonants. There are no occurrences before alveopalatals. These results neither confirm nor contradict Colbourne's predictions. Similarly, results for the environment of a following [-voice]/[+voice] neither confirm nor contradict Colbourne (see Table 5.2).

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Table 5.2
PHONOLOGICAL CONDITIONING OF THE [ɛ] VARIANT OF (I)

| Following Environment | Occurrences of [ɛ] | Number of Tokens | % |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----|
| Manner of Articulation | | | |
| Pre-oral stop | 0 | 370 | 0.0 |
| Pre-nasal stop | 4 | 284 | 1.4 |
| Pre-fricative | 0 | 289 | 0.0 |
| Pre-affricate | 0 | 19 | 0.0 |
| Pre-liquid | 1 | 93 | 1.1 |
| Place of Articulation | | | |
| Pre-labial | 1 | 149 | 0.6 |
| Pre-alveolar | 5 | 713 | 0.7 |
| Pre-alveopalatal | 0 | 53 | 0.0 |
| Pre-velar | 1 | 143 | 0.7 |
| Voice | | | |
| [-voice] | 1 | 443 | 0.2 |
| [+voice] | 6 | 612 | 0.9 |

5.2.3. The variable (AY)

Our discussion of the (AY) variable is of interest primarily because of its raised [əɪ] variant. As Kirwin (1993:75) points out:

...the /aɪ/) diphthong has conditioned raising before voiceless consonants...This conditioned difference between "slow" diphthongs in the ride, line, (/aɪ/)class and the "fast" diphthong in the write, mice,

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bike, ([ɔɪ] or [əɪ]) class, an allophonic difference, occurs in the speech of Anglo-Irish adults (in Newfoundland)...and thus was part of the diphthong system of the inhabitants before Newfoundland joined the Canadian Confederation in 1949.

In a number of dialects of English, most notably Canadian English, a raised variant of both (AY) and (AW) is found in the environment of a following voiceless obstruent. In Irish English, on the contrary, raising occurs in all environments. Kirwin (1993:75) further observes that

The diphthong ou (/aʊ/), as in doubt, loud, for traditional Anglo-Irish speakers is not appreciably conditioned by whether the following consonant is voiceless or voiced. That is, in the environment before voiceless consonants, /aʊ/ does not (necessarily) have the raised first element reported for much of mainland Canada. Given this qualification, the Anglo-Irish diphthong may have a range of realizations among various speakers.

In the Burin region dialect, in Informal Style, we find that the raised [əɪ] variant of (AY) occurs almost twice as often in the environment of following voiceless obstruents (see Table 5.3). However, there is a significant 46.0% occurrence before following voiced obstruents, and a 23.6% occurrence word-finally.

The suggestion is that in the Burin region the raised [əɪ] variant of (AY) is not, in fact, a true Canadian raised variant, although speakers do indicate a distinct preference for [əɪ] in the environment of following voiceless obstruents.

Table 5.3
PHONOLOGICAL CONDITIONING OF THE [əɪ] VARIANT OF (AY)

| Following Environment | Occurrences of [əɪ] | Number of Tokens | % |
|-------------------------|---------------------|------------------|------|
| Pre-voiceless obstruent | 243 | 278 | 87.4 |
| Pre-voiced obstruent | 138 | 300 | 46.0 |
| Word final | 17 | 72 | 23.6 |

5.2.4. The variable (AW)

Among the (AW) variants examined in our survey of the Burin region, [əʊ], with its raised nucleus, is of particular interest, as we have already stated in the previous section. We find this feature occurring approximately 75% of the time in the environment of following voiceless obstruents, compared with a less than 20% occurrence either before voiced consonants or word-finally (see Table 5.4 below). In the Burin region, it seems, both the (AW) variant [əʊ] and the [əɪ] variant of (AY) are to some extent traditional Newfoundland variants which occur in a range of contexts, but which share meanwhile with the Canadian raised variants the characteristic preference for following voiceless obstruent environments. The latter is especially the case with the [əʊ] variant of (AW); [əɪ] is selected more often than its (AW) counterpart in the environment of following voiced consonants. It may be that Burin region speakers are on their way to defining the raised variants of (AY) and (AW) according to the criteria of their Canadian raised equivalents, with the raised [əʊ] variant assuming the lead in this trend.

| <p>Table 5.4 PHONOLOGICAL CONDITIONING OF THE [əʊ] VARIANT OF (AW)</p> | | | |
|--|---------------------|------------------|------|
| Following Environment | Occurrences of [əʊ] | Number of Tokens | % |
| Pre-voiceless obstruent | 138 | 183 | 75.4 |
| Pre-voiced obstruent | 29 | 230 | 12.6 |
| Word final | 15 | 146 | 10.6 |

5.2.5. The variable (orC)

The NS variants of (orC) include low-mid unrounded back [ʌ(:)ɹ] and low, unrounded, central [ər]. The most important phonological feature relating to production of these pronunciations is the post-vocalic, pre-consonantal /r/. /r/ alters the realization of all vowels, but the phenomenon considered here is the South West English - and to some extent Irish - lowering and unrounding of the vowel /o/ in a lexical set which excludes words with ore/oar spellings:

...we must not forget that the most important phonological feature here is the presence of /r/. It is this sound that causes the lowering, unrounding and fronting of Middle English lax [ɛ] (as in farm and barn) and the lowering, unrounding, and fronting of Middle English lax [ɔ] (as in form and horn in the dialect)...The preceding environment only serves to influence how often this lowering will occur...(Colbourne 1982:109).

Colbourne's analysis indicates that preceding environments minimally affect production of NS variants. However, Colbourne (1982:108) found that

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...82.2 percent of all the NS variants of (or) occur where there is no preceding sound or there is a sound that has the sonorant or continuant feature.

Table 5.5 indicates in the preceding environment of nasal stops there is indeed a significantly higher (58.9%) occurrence of the [ar] variant of (orC) compared with the preceding environment of oral stops in the Burin region. There is a 25% occurrence of this NS feature in the environment of preceding liquids and affricates. [ar] does not occur word-initially, and the occurrence is only slightly higher overall in a preceding [+voice] than in a [-voice] environment. Table 5.6 indicates a lower occurrence of the 'compromise' [ʌ(:)r] variant of (orC) in the preceding environment of nasal stops, when compared with oral stops, but a considerably higher occurrence in the preceding environment of liquids and fricatives. There are no occurrences of this feature word-initially, and, once again, this feature occurs slightly more often in the environment of a preceding [-voice] consonant. The Burin region results suggest that overall preceding environments affect the production of the NS [ar] variant of (orC) less (except for preceding [+continuant] nasal stop environments) than the Colbourne findings predict. The findings for the [ʌ(:)r] variant of (orC) suggest that preceding [-voice] and [-continuant] environments are more likely to promote the [ʌ(:)r] pronunciation of (orC). We note here that

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Colbourne's (1982) percentage figures represent occurrences of [ʌ(:)r] and [ar]; these variants were not analyzed separately in the Long Island survey.

| Table 5.5 PHONOLOGICAL CONDITIONING OF THE [ar] VARIANT OF (orC) | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------|
| Preceding Environment | Occurrences of [ar] | Number of Tokens | % |
| Manner of Articulation | | | |
| Post-oral stop | 22 | 90 | 24.4 |
| Post-nasal stop | 20 | 34 | 58.9 |
| Post-fricative | 17 | 62 | 27.4 |
| Post-affricate | 1 | 4 | 25.0 |
| Post-liquid | 1 | 4 | 25.0 |
| Word initial | 0 | 5 | 0.0 |
| Voicing | | | |
| [-voice] | 31 | 112 | 27.7 |
| [+voice] | 28 | 82 | 34.1 |

| Table 5.6 PHONOLOGICAL CONDITIONING OF THE [ʌ(:)r] VARIANT OF (orC) | | | |
|--|---------------------------|---------------------|------|
| Preceding Environment | Occurrences of [ʌ(:)r] | Number of Tokens | % |
| Manner of Articulation | | | |
| Post-oral stop | 14 | 90 | 15.5 |
| Post-nasal stop | 2 | 34 | 5.9 |
| Post-fricative | 14 | 62 | 22.6 |
| Post-affricate | 0 | 4 | 0.0 |
| Post-liquid | 1 | 4 | 25.0 |
| Word initial | 0 | 5 | 0.0 |
| Voicing | | | |
| [-voice] | 20 | 112 | 17.8 |
| [+voice] | 11 | 82 | 13.4 |

5.3. Linguistic Conditioning - Consonantal Variables

Realizations of the variables (THETA) and (ETH) are conditioned primarily by position within the word itself. Wolfram and Fasold (1974:175) note that the NS stop pronunciations for both variables (THETA) and (ETH) are least likely to occur at the "ends of words."

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5.3.1. The variable (THETA)

According to Wolfram and Fasold (1974:112) the [t] variant of (THETA) most often occurs word-initially and word-initially before /r/, as well as in pre-nasal or post-nasal positions. Colbourne (1982:111) notes that, for his Long Island data,

At the end of words NS (THETA) variants occur much less often than initially - 53.9 percent and 45.1 percent of the time when preceded by a vowel and a consonant, respectively...medially...when it ends a syllable the NS variants occur 42.9 percent of the time and when it begins a syllable they occur 77.5 percent of the time. We see that NS variants of (THETA) occur more often at the beginning of words and syllables than they do at the end of words or syllables.

Colbourne (1982:110) indicates a higher occurrence of [t] word-initially before /r/ than word initially before vowels (100% occurrence in the first instance, compared with 69.8% occurrence word initially before vowels).

In our survey of the Burin region, in Informal Style, we find that the [t] variant of (THETA) occurs most often word-initially before /r/, and then word-finally, medially, and word-initially before vowels (see Table 5.7). Our findings for medial and word-final production of the [t] variant of (THETA) contradict Colbourne's; however, we note here that our data for the Burin region do not discriminate medial production as finely as do the Long Island data, where syllable-

Table 5.7
PHONOLOGICAL CONDITIONING OF THE [t] VARIANT OF (THETA)

| Position | Occurrences of [t] | Number of Tokens | % |
|------------------|--------------------|------------------|------|
| Word initial | 89 | 155 | 57.4 |
| Word initial_/r/ | 75 | 101 | 74.2 |
| Medial | 74 | 115 | 64.3 |
| Word final | 87 | 129 | 67.4 |

initial/syllable-final distinctions were observed. We further note that the Colbourne percentages quoted above, unlike ours, do not represent separate analysis of the [tə] and [t] variants of (THETA). In Burin, as on Long Island, the [t] variant occurs considerably more word-initially before /r/ than word-initially before other sounds. However, word-final production of NS [t] is higher for Burin than for the Long Island sample. The suggestion is that the production of this NS (THETA) variant is not greatly influenced (except word-initially before /r/) by its position within the word in the informal speech of the Burin region.

Similarly, production of the affricated [tə] variant of (THETA) does not seem to be influenced by its position within the word (see Table 5.7), although this feature does occur considerably less often in word-final position. However, medial occurrence of [tə] is slightly higher than occurrence either word-initially or word-initially before /r/ in the informal speech of the Burin region (again we note that syllable position for medial (THETA) is not specified for our data). The [tə] variant

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of (THETA) occurs infrequently. The suggestion is that, except word-finally, position within the word does not significantly affect production of [tə] in the informal speech of the Burin region.

| Table 5.8 PHONOLOGICAL CONDITIONING OF THE [tə] VARIANT OF (THETA) | | | |
|---|---------------------|------------------|------|
| Position | Occurrences of [tə] | Number of Tokens | % |
| Word initial | 25 | 155 | 16.1 |
| Word initial _/r/ | 14 | 101 | 13.9 |
| Medial | 22 | 115 | 19.1 |
| Word final | 9 | 125 | 7.2 |

5.3.2. The variable (ETH)

Both the voiced affricate [dʌ] and the voiced stop [d] variants of (ETH) are, in theory, affected by their position with the word. Colbourne (1982:112), in his Long Island survey, found "... that NS variants of (ETH) occur more often word initially than in any other environment." Colbourne further observes that NS (ETH) variants are relatively infrequent in medial position, and "rarest in word final position" (Colbourne 1982:113). NS (ETH) is less stigmatized when word initial than NS (THETA) (Colbourne 1982:113); this is not surprising, given that variable (ETH) occurs rarely in lexical words. One rather finds (ETH) occurring word-initially in frequently-occurring unstressed grammatical words such as the, these, etc.; lack of stress increases the likelihood of the occurrence of the less salient NS voiced stop

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variant [d]. We note that grammatical words account for the extremely high occurrence of the NS [d] word-initially for the Long Island survey (89.2% occurrence, compared with 32.5% and 29.5% medially, and 26.3% word-finally (Colbourne 1982:112)).

Among the speakers of the Burin region, medial occurrence of the [d] variant of (ETH) was 11.1% greater (see Table 5.9 below) than word initial occurrence in Informal Style. The 100% word final occurrence of this NS feature can be ignored, as it represents the single occurrence of word-final (ETH) in the informal speech of Burin speakers. The affricated [dʒ] variant of (ETH), however, does occur considerably more in word initial than in medial position (see Table 5.10), and not at all word-finally.

Both stressed and unstressed tokens (including, as on Long Island, grammatical words) were analyzed for the (ETH) variable in the Burin region, although a restriction to a maximum of ten tokens of any given one lexical item per individual informant was imposed. Also, occurrences of both the affricated and the stop (ETH) variants are collapsed in the Colbourne percentages quoted above. In the Burin region, overall, position (whether word initial or medial) affects selection of the [dʒ] and [d] variants of (ETH) much less than on Long Island. However, occurrence in word initial position seems to have a slightly greater effect for the affricated (ETH) variant, promoting selection of this feature.

| Table 5.9 PHONOLOGICAL CONDITIONING OF THE [d] VARIANT OF (ETH) | | | |
|--|--------------------|------------------|-------|
| Position | Occurrences of [d] | Number of Tokens | % |
| Word initial | 433 | 773 | 56.0 |
| Medial | 100 | 149 | 67.1 |
| Word final | 1 | 1 | 100.0 |

| Table 5.10 PHONOLOGICAL CONDITIONING OF THE [dɔ] VARIANT OF (ETH) | | | |
|--|---------------------|------------------|------|
| Position | Occurrences of [dɔ] | Number of Tokens | % |
| Word initial | 167 | 773 | 21.6 |
| Medial | 7 | 149 | 4.7 |
| Word final | 0 | 1 | 0.0 |

5.4. Conclusion

It seems that phonological conditioning is less significant for the production of NS pronunciations in the informal speech of the Burin region than for Long Island general speech. The occurrence of the [ɪ] variant of (E) was affected by both place and manner of articulation; this feature occurs more frequently in the environment of the more fronted labial and alveolar consonants than for alveopalatals and velars. Contrary to prediction, this feature occurs more frequently in the following environment of voiceless (rather than the predicted voiced) consonants. The [ɛ]

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variant of (I) occurs infrequently, and occurrence does not appear to be influenced by phonological factors. The production of the raised [əɪ] and [əʊ] variants of (AY) and (AW) are influenced, as predicted, by the following environment of a voiceless obstruent, but to a lesser extent than in Canadian English. The raised variants of (AY) and (AW) occur 46.0% and 12.6% of the time respectively in the environment of following voiced consonants among Burin speakers. The production of the [ar] variant of (orC) is positively affected by preceding [+continuant] environments, and very minimally by preceding voiced environments. The NS (THETA) stop variant [t] occurs more frequently word-initially before /r/; otherwise, occurrence of this feature does not appear to be greatly affected by its position within a word. Similarly, except word-finally, occurrence of the affricated [tθ] variant of (THETA) is not affected by position within the word. Finally, among the Burin region sample, occurrence of the NS stop variant of (ETH) seems to be influenced by position, but in an unexpected manner: [d] occurs more often medially rather than word-initially. However, word-initial position favours occurrence of the affricated [dθ] variant of (ETH).

CONCLUSION

6.1. Conclusions - Burin Region

Our sociolinguistic survey of the Burin region indicates extensive variation in the speech of local residents. Variation is evident across groups, as well as in individual speech. The most significant social factors determining dialect choice in Informal Style are social class, gender and then age. Although the range is sometimes minimal to moderate, the majority of the linguistic features surveyed display a pattern of stratification across styles, usually reflecting the formality of the speech act. The effects of phonological conditioning on the pronunciation of selected variants of variables (E), (AY), (AW), (THETA) and (ETH) do not appear to be extensive, overall, in the informal speech of the Burin region; results for some of these contradict those for Colbourne's 1982 survey of Long Island.

Minimal stylistic stratification is displayed by features infrequently used by Burin region speakers. Those occurring more frequently display moderate to considerable stratification, while others, though displaying the predicted stratification patterns overall, correlating style with the formality/informality of the speech act, exhibit internal anomalies. Males, middle class females, and the working class (especially younger males) are all marked by their use of specific NS features; the working class is marked by use of a greater number of NS features overall. Middle class speakers are marked by use of S features. Phonological conditioning affects the selection of NS variants to some extent, but only for specific features.

SPSS analysis of the informal speech of the Burin region indicates that working class speakers are less standard than middle class speakers. However,

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among the working class it is the younger speakers (both male and female) who use NS features most in their daily speech. Younger working class women are surprisingly NS, and set themselves apart from both their younger male and older female counterparts (e.g. in their selection of NS variants like [ʌ(:)ʊ] variant of (UW)). This fact will be commented on further in the following section. Middle class speakers use standard and intermediate variants more, on the whole, than do the working class, and overall younger speakers are less standard than their elders. It seems that, at a profound level, class and gender divisions that marked the traditional economy of the Burin region have been maintained, and that these divisions have found expression in the speech of all groups - whether working or middle class, male or female, older or younger.

6.2. General Conclusions

Social factors across communities, and even within specific communities over time, vary to some extent. It is therefore not surprising to find at least some linguistic patterns in the Burin region not previously observed in other Newfoundland populations. The most interesting of these concerns the younger female group.

The speech of younger working class women, when compared with that of both their younger middle class and older working class counterparts, is more NS than expected. The Colbourne 1982 survey of Long Island, for example, did not indicate a particularly NS younger female group; similarly, Clarke's survey of St. John's (Clarke 1985, 1986, 1991) did not reveal specifically NS younger female

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speakers (although working class females were less standard than their male counterparts for several features). However, this anomaly is not without precedent: Reid (1981) noted a tendency among the younger, Catholic (working class) women of Bay de Verde towards higher usage of NS variants; Nichols (1983:62) similarly notes that

...among mainland adults from the poorer (black) socioeconomic group (living along the South Carolina coast), females have occupational patterns that lead to maintenance of older speech patterns...(these) women were much more confined to their immediate communities than were men...older mainland women (thus) use more than twice as many creole and nonstandard variants as older mainland men...

Feagin (1979) also indicates that the speech of urban, working class Alabama women was more NS than that of working class men.

The younger working class women in the Burin region have in common with the working class women in Nichols' survey that they are both socioeconomically disadvantaged and considerably more confined to the community than any other group. Younger working class males were participating in a dragger fishery - albeit executed from east coast Newfoundland communities - which absented them from the Burin region for extended periods; most other groups have travelled rather extensively outside the region, as well as outside Newfoundland. Older working class women, as previously stated, enjoy economic advantages comparable with those of their middle class peers; also, younger working and middle class women interact much less than their older counterparts. Respective speech patterns seem to reflect

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this greater social distance between the younger female groups. The speech of younger middle class women is, in fact, very S, in stark contrast to the highly NS speech of the younger working class females. Thus we find socioeconomic divisions strongly expressed in the language of the two speech groups who perhaps feel most affected by current economic change. It seems that the younger females, in their dual role as mothers and part-time bread-winners, and in the face of an uncertain future, have adopted largely dissimilar linguistic and social strategies. The younger working class females, who express strong loyalty to older Newfoundland vernacular forms, have focused inward on their community and kin, on whom they rely extensively. However, the younger middle class females focus more on the nuclear family, perhaps in anticipation of an eventual move out of the region. We note here that it is the working class who rely almost exclusively on the fishery as a source of income.

Patterns for other socioeconomic groups are worth noting as well. While the working class is generally less standard than the middle class overall (using more NS features such as the stop variants of (THETA) and (ETH)), the younger Burin region working class, both male and female, tends to be less standard in their speech than their older counterparts. It should be noted here that the younger working class are less economically secure than are the older working class, especially since the decline of a fishery that is, and has always been, the mainstay of the Burin region economy. Meanwhile younger middle class males identify with their younger working class male

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peers (expressing solidarity by their greater use of features such as the NS stop variants of (THETA) and (ETH), features universally popular with the working class as well as male speakers of Newfoundland English dialects). As we indicated in Section 3.3.1., our younger middle class males socialize extensively with their working class peers.

Previous sociolinguistic surveys (e.g. Labov 1966, Colbourne 1982, Clarke 1985, 1986, 1991) indicate such trends as greater use of NS features by the working class, and by males, as well as by older speakers. Results for the Burin region, however, are not as straightforward, rather indicating more unusual (and perhaps therefore more significant) trends such as those noted above. Overall, the suggestion is that, with respect to SEC, the pattern is the expected one: middle class are indeed more S than working class speakers. In fact, in the Burin region, SEC proves the most significant social factor. This is not necessarily the case for other Newfoundland communities surveyed (e.g. Colbourne's 1982 survey of Long Island, or Clarke's St. John's survey). However, Paddock's 1981 survey of Carbonear, an east coast Newfoundland commercial centre exhibiting many social and economic factors common to the Burin region, similarly suggests the importance of SEC as a factor determining dialect choice. The patterns for gender, while complex, indicate that (with the exception of the younger female working class) Burin males are more NS in their speech than are females. Finally, younger rather than the older Burin region speakers prove more NS in their speech overall, perhaps reflecting in their

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loyalty to an older Newfoundland vernacular their greater confinement to either Newfoundland or to the region, as well the economic disadvantages of a now insecure fishery.

ENDNOTES

Chapter 1

1. The passing of the French, the Spanish, and the Portuguese is not noticeably reflected in the local speech. However, place names serve as a monument to their contribution to the traditional fisheries: Port Aux Bras, Mortier, Duricle (residents have relocated to nearby Fox Cove), and Spanish Room (a 'room', in the early migratory fisheries, had been an area of a cove or harbour assigned to a specific nationality for processing and storing cod catches).
2. The term 'gear' refers to materials used in the prosecution of the fishery, especially nets, lines, and the like.
3. The seines, unlike their twentieth century counterparts, the drag nets, did not sink to the bottom of the fishing grounds. The subsequently-used cod traps were also 'environmentally friendly'; it was gill nets, and the more recent drag nets (both indiscriminate, with respect to species and size) which contributed so heavily to the disastrous decline of inshore and offshore Atlantic fish stocks.
4. Dories were flat-bottomed boats, small in size, with flaring sides and a sharp bow and stern, which accommodated, typically, two men.
5. These are fishermen employed on stern trawlers, operating the huge nets continuously dropped from the rear of vessels to the ocean floor. The nets are subsequently hauled in, emptied, and dropped again. The catch is stored in ice until delivery to fish plants for processing.
6. Most communities located on the south west coast of Newfoundland can only be accessed by sea to this day.

Chapter 3

1. In the more formal styles, the S variants of (AY) and (OY) are selected more frequently than the 'compromise' variants, and the NS variants extremely rarely (e.g. in Word List Style the mean usage for the [aɪ] variant of (AY) is .55, for the [əɪ] variant .42, and for [ɔɪ] .03; the mean usage for the [ɔɪ] variant of (OY) is .47, for [əɪ] .49, and for [aɪ] .03).

ENDNOTES (continued)

2. The ideal environment for a slit fricative seems to be word-final, or even better, pre-pause. The low occurrence of this feature may be accounted for by the fact that this is not the environment in which we have examined the /t/ variable.
3. Class distinctions among younger women are not as pronounced in the case of the NS raised [ɪ] variant of (E) as they are for some of the other phonological variables examined.

Chapter 4

1. We note that in this context that the term NS is, once again, a simplification: NS is in fact an umbrella term which includes intermediate and NS variants. Again, we note that the [əʊ] variant of (AW), as well as the [ɔɪ] variant of (AY), are S features in Canadian English.
2. The figures in this table have been rounded to the nearest whole number. This fact accounts for any inconsistencies between these figures and those found in Table 4.3.
3. The NS variants of variable (THETA) tend to occur most frequently in word-initial position, particularly before /r/, and least frequently in word-final position (Colbourne 1982: 110-11). Medially, NS variants occur less frequently at the beginning of syllables than at the end. In our Word List (see Appendix) we note that /θ/ occurs word-initially in two of our ten tokens, word initially before /r/ in three tokens, medially in two tokens (syllable-final), and word-finally in three tokens. Similarly, in our four Minimal Pairs sets (see Appendix), /θ/ occurs word-initially before /r/ in two, medially in one token (syllable-final), and word-finally in the remaining token. The Word List and the Minimal Pairs seem to be comparable in all respects, save that there are more tokens occurring in the Word List, as we have already noted.
4. NS lowered, lax variant [ɛ] is favoured when followed by the lateral /l/, and when the following consonant is not voiced (Colbourne 1982: 99). As the Word List indicates (see Appendix), there are three occurrences of (l) before lateral /l/, three in the environment of a following voiceless consonant, and a single occurrence before a voiced consonant. In our Minimal Pairs, there is a single occurrence of (l) in the environment of a following lateral /l/, three preceding voiceless consonants, and a single occurrence before a

ENDNOTES (continued)

following voiced consonant. The Word and Minimal Pairs lists are, apparently, comparable; it therefore does not seem likely that our instruments themselves can account for this anomaly. A more detailed analysis of the phonological environments for the listed items can be found in Chapter 5.

The NS variant of (UW), non-back variant [u(:)ʊ], occurs in all environments. Our Word List and Minimal Pairs (see Appendix) tokens cannot account for the apparent anomaly, unless certain lexical items rather than specific following environments might account for major difference (21% greater production of NS fronted variants in MP Style). Perhaps word final (UW) and (UW) followed by the lateral /l/ promote NS fronting (e.g. in Informal Style the lexical item school seems to promote NS (UW) variants).

Preceding labial consonants /p/, /b/, /m/, and /w/ promote rounding of (AY) (NS variant [ɔɪ]), as do labialized consonants such as /r/ and /ʃ/. In our Word List there are three occurrences of /aɪ/ in the environment of preceding labials, and two occurrences after labialized consonants. Nine /aɪ/ tokens occur in the Word List, and two in Minimal Pairs (neither of which feature preceding labial or labialized consonants). It seems the instruments themselves, in this case also, cannot account for the anomaly.

5. There is a corresponding 46.1% difference of mean usage between Informal and Minimal Pairs Style; in other words, Minimal Pairs usage is greater than Word List.

APPENDIX

Word List

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1. morning | 42. two fence posts |
| 2. pissabeds | 43. waffle |
| 3. boughs | 45. herself |
| 4. all Arabs | 45. hundred |
| 5. eighty-sixth | 46. fear |
| 6. ahead | 47. glitter |
| 7. wither and die | 48. thin |
| 8. milk | 49. bathroom |
| 9. far | 50. spoon |
| 10. button | 51. three horses |
| 11. thank you | 52. clothe the naked |
| 12. the end | 53. foggy |
| 13. water horse | 54. soon |
| 14. force | 55. although |
| 15. full | 56. Saturday |
| 16. one fence post | 57. herring |
| 17. bile | 58. chain |
| 18. effort | 59. great |
| 19. hen house | 60. twice |
| 20. St. John's | 61. fetch |
| 21. pull | 62. always |
| 22. hoof | 63. plough |
| 23. maid | 64. tie |
| 24. don't | 65. stranger |
| 25. stranger | 66. cheer |
| 26. to breathe out | 67. horse |
| 27. buy | 68. these |
| 28. guide | 69. five |
| 29. bout | 70. outhouse |
| 30. toy | 71. fence palings |
| 31. sunrise | 72. piles |
| 32. boil | 73. well |
| 33. hoar frost | 74. two fists |
| 34. short | 75. soothe the baby |
| 35. cleared | 76. bottle |
| 36. fog | 77. altar |
| 37. the act | 78. roof |
| 38. oar | 79. hard-boiled |
| 39. corn | 80. they |
| 40. head over heels | 81. otherwise |
| 41. bath | 82. pit |

APPENDIX (continued)

| | | | |
|-----|---------------------|------|--------------|
| 83. | truthful | 97. | saw |
| 84. | might | 98. | wool |
| 85. | perhaps | 99. | sill |
| 86. | his | 100. | loud |
| 87. | put off | 101. | one fist |
| 88. | thrill | 102. | wheel |
| 89. | toads | 103. | sputter |
| 90. | path | 104. | houses |
| 91. | bay | 105. | postal |
| 92. | drove | 106. | basement |
| 93. | boy | 107. | woke up |
| 94. | aisle | 108. | foam |
| 95. | thread | 109. | oil |
| 96. | here's your clothes | 110. | the letter h |

Minimal Pairs

| | | | | | |
|-----|--------|---------|-----|--------|--------|
| 1. | ether | eater | 25. | pig | peg |
| 2. | hold | old | 26. | father | fodder |
| 3. | pare | pear | 27. | ant | aunt |
| 4. | beat | bait | 28. | pick | peck |
| 5. | though | dough | 29. | do | due |
| 6. | don | dawn | 30. | had | add |
| 7. | other | udder | 31. | do | dew |
| 8. | thy | die | 32. | toy | tie |
| 9. | fat | vat | 33. | bill | bell |
| 10. | sip | zip | 34. | point | pint |
| 11. | tree | three | 35. | lone | loan |
| 12. | heat | eat | 36. | bag | bog |
| 13. | fag | fog | 37. | Pam | palm |
| 14. | huff | hoof | 38. | pull | pool |
| 15. | hearth | earth | 39. | bid | bed |
| 16. | wit | wet | 40. | oil | aisle |
| 17. | they | day | 41. | spun | spoon |
| 18. | thin | tin | 42. | full | fool |
| 19. | worthy | wordy | 43. | maid | made |
| 20. | boil | bile | 44. | main | mane |
| 21. | heal | eel | 45. | force | farce |
| 22. | wither | weather | 46. | pit | pet |
| 23. | rack | rock | 47. | born | barn |
| 24. | rut | root | 48. | but | boot |

APPENDIX (continued)

Minimal Pairs

| | | |
|-----|---------|--------|
| 49. | form | farm |
| 50. | forth | fourth |
| 51. | tore | tour |
| 52. | cheer | chair |
| 53. | pail | pale |
| 54. | beer | bear |
| 55. | groan | grown |
| 56. | beer | bear |
| 57. | through | true |
| 58. | pore | poor |
| 59. | sit | set |
| 60. | bath | bat |
| 61. | hand | and |
| 62. | tin | ten |

APPENDIX (continued)

Background Information

Informant: __ Code: __ SEC: __ Code: __ Age: __ Code: __

Place of Birth: _____

Date of Birth: _____

Married: Yes __ No __ Code: __ Gender: __ Code: __

Spouse Born in Burin Region: Yes __ No __

No. of Children: __ No. of Children Living in Region: __

__ children seen __ times per week/month

Father's Place of Birth: _____

Mother's Place of Birth: _____

Parents Living in Region: Yes __ No __ Deceased __

Parents seen __ times per week/month

Number of Siblings Living in Region: __

__ seen __ times per week/month

Informant's Education:

Never Attended School __
Elementary Started __ Completed __
High School Started __ Completed __
College Started __ Completed __
University Started __ Completed __

Informant's Religion: __ Code: __ Spouse's Religion: __

Mother's Religion: __ Code: __ Father's Religion: __

APPENDIX (continued)

Background Information

Informant's Work History: _____

Worked/Travelled Outside Burin Region: __

Where, and for how long? _____

Currently: Working __ Retired __ Unemployed __

Member of: Church Group __ Community Group __ Darts League __

History of Membership: _____

Interact with group members outside __ times per week/month

Interact with non-related neighbours __ times per week/month

History of non-kin interaction: _____

Place of Residence: _____

Own Your Home: Yes __ No __

Income: Below Average __ Average __ Above Average __

Play Bingo: Yes __ No __ No. times per week/month: __

Play Cards: Yes __ No __ No. times per week/month: __

APPENDIX (continued)

Background Information

Spouse's Life and Work History:

Spouse from region: __

Parent's Life and Work History:

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