BEYOND MASTERY:
A STUDY OF DIALECT ACQUISITION

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Beyond mastery: a study of dialect acquisition

by

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Abstract

Studies of dialect acquisition have revealed that certain phonological features may not be mastered by children whose parents are not native to a dialect area (Payne 1980; Trudgill 1982, 1986). Consequently, this study has examined the speech of younger female speakers in St. John's to determine whether or not parental origin plays a significant role in the acquisition and use of local phonological features.

The results of quantitative analysis indicate that with little exception, non-local-parent speakers appear to acquire local dialect features. However, these speakers tend to use more General Canadian features, especially when these are innovative, and fewer local features, than their peers with local parents do. These results indicate that in St. John's, dialect acquisition is not strictly a matter of mastering local phonological, morphological, and lexical constraints. Instead, the social evaluation of dialect features appears to be the critical factor. Moreover, the stylistic profiles of the two parental origin groups differ; local-parent speakers exhibit a greater degree of stylistic variation than do those with non-local-parents.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Dialect acquisition

In St. John's, Newfoundland, the local dialect differs from General Canadian English lexically, grammatically and phonologically (Clarke 1991; Kirwin 1993). One result of geographic mobility between the mainland and St. John's is contact between two Canadian varieties often viewed as autonomous: General Canadian English and Newfoundland English. When dialects come into contact with each other, the acquisition of features of one dialect by speakers of the other becomes a distinct possibility. In the case of children, acquisition of the new dialect is not only common, but in many cases, is complete. The principal aim of this study therefore is to investigate the influence of the parental dialect on the phonological patterns of younger speakers in St. John's, Newfoundland.

To date, studies of child dialect acquisition have had one of two focuses: the speech of different generations in dialect areas undergoing change (e.g., Roberts & Labov 1995; Roberts 1997) or the speech of children who have moved into a dialect area (e.g., Payne 1980; Trudgill 1982, 1986; Chambers 1992)[1]. This latter body of research has revealed an apparent critical age of dialect acquisition. When introduced to a new dialect under the age of seven, children will "almost certainly" acquire the new dialect perfectly, but if they are introduced to it over the age of fourteen, they "almost certainly will not" (Chambers 1992:689).

In some instances, however, anomalous results have been found which cannot be explained by age factors. Often these anomalies do not represent random differences; they represent instead a group of speakers belonging to what Chambers has labelled a "social sub-category" (1995:85), so called because it is not defined on the basis of any social characteristics of the speakers themselves. The findings of Payne (1980) and Trudgill (1982,1986), for example, suggest that particular dialect features may not be acquired if the speaker's parents do not themselves have a local accent.

In her research into the Philadelphia dialect, Payne (1980) has found that it is extremely unlikely, despite being locally born and raised, that children with non-local parents will acquire the short *a* pattern (174). This highly complex[2] pattern involves the tensing and raising of /æ/ to [e:ə]. Simplified here, /æ/ tenses and raises before the front nasals /m/ and /n/ as in *ham* and *man* (with the lexical exceptions of *ran, swam, began*) and before a front voiceless fricative as in *glass* and *laugh*. However, tensing and raising never occur before the velar nasal /ŋ/ as in *hang*, before a voiced obstruent (with the lexical exceptions of *mad, bad,* and *glad*), and in weak[3] words like *and, am* and *can*. As Payne points out (158-9), this pattern is further complicated by morphological constraints, some of which are absolute while others are variable. Of all the children investigated by Payne, the only ones who "consistently raise /æ/ in all and only the Philadelphia environments are precisely those whose parents themselves came from Philadelphia" (Trudgill 1986:37). In other words, unless their parents are native Philadelphians, children do not seem to acquire the

phonological, morphological and lexical constraints that constitute the Philadelphia short *a* pattern.

Trudgill (1982, 1986) uncovered a similar outcome when he found that speakers "who were born and brought up in Norwich and who otherwise have perfect local accents" (1986:35) do not fully master the /u:/-/ʌu/ distinction if their parents are not native to Norwich. This distinction is based on the historical one of Middle English $\bar{o}$ ([ɔ:]) and *ou*, preserved in Norwich English as /u:/ for $\bar{o}$ in the lexical set that includes *moan*, *nose* and *sole* and as /ʌu/ for *ou* in the lexical set that includes *mown*, *knows* and *soul*. The distinction is much more complex than it first appears, however, because it interacts with at least five other lexical sets (for details see Trudgill 1986:110-3). Of Trudgill's ten participants with non-Norwich parents, none distinguished between the *moan* and *mown* lexical sets. In test sentences such as *Norwich scored an own goal*, where the Norwich pronunciation is /ʌun gu:l/, speakers with non-local parents all produced /ʌun gʌul/ (36); these speakers do not appear to have acquired all the lexical constraints present in the Norwich phonological system.

If the role of parents in language acquisition is considered, it is not surprising that speakers with non-local parents may not master (i.e., acquire native speaker competency of) the linguistic constraints governing local variants, since it is "parental influence that is dominant in the learning patterns for the phonological variables" (Payne 1980:175). Research into the acquisition of the phonological and grammatical constraints of (-t,d) deletion by three and four year olds (Roberts 1994) indicates that the preschool years are the

"most active one[s] [...] for the acquisition of variable rules" (Roberts & Labov 1995:101). As a result, children are learning dialect features between the ages of three and four years (Roberts 1997:264), ages when their family ties are strong but ties outside the family are weak.

The parental dialect, however, cannot be a complete explanation for why speakers with non-local parents can appear (socio)linguistically anomalous. Children with non-local parents appear to fully master rules that do not display complex conditioning; as Trudgill (1982) points out, when the phonological modifications are "purely phonetic, there are no problems" (286) and the rules are readily acquired. Furthermore, the success reflected in the acquisition of phonetic features is "consistent with the observation that these variants can be added to the grammar by simple rule addition" (Payne 1980:153). Kerswill's (1996) research further supports this conclusion; he finds that "phonologically simple" rules[4] can be acquired at any age (191).

1.2 The shaping of Newfoundland English

Newfoundland English is typically viewed as an autonomous variety within Canada. It is also an autonomous variety within North America (Bailey 1982; Chambers 1991). Previously isolated, Newfoundland represents a linguistic relic area, its English reflecting many West Country and Irish English features (Clarke 1991:108). These features represent the two historical strands of the variety: one originating in the southwestern counties of England[5], and the other (referred to here as Irish English) in the southeastern counties of

Ireland. However, the increased focus on mainland North America in Newfoundland since the 1940s has had "a major linguistic impact" (110) in the province: many traditional features of Newfoundland English are levelling toward the norm of General Canadian English (113).

1.2.1 Settlement

Settlement was attempted on the island of Newfoundland as early as 1610, but was inhibited by two factors. One was Newfoundland's seasonal trans-Atlantic fishing economy and the other was her role during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as one of the main battlegrounds of the French and British Empires (Neary 1973a:10). With the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, however, sovereignty of the island settled in the arms of Great Britain.

Within the British Isles, Newfoundland's fishing industry was dominated by the counties of Devon, Dorset, and Somerset in England and by the port of Waterford in Ireland (Neary 1996:4). It was these areas, southwest England and southeastern Ireland, that provided the majority of immigrants to Newfoundland, which experienced its immigrational peak in the early nineteenth century. Irish immigration in particular was high during the years 1811-1816 and 1825-1833 (Mannion 1977:7). Hailing principally from the counties of Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny, and Tipperary (Kirwin 1993:65), the Irish settled primarily on Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula. Although Irish immigration has been traced to the late seventeenth century, Kirwin writes (67):

> [S]ince the major incursion of the Irish occurred in the first three or four decades of the 19th century, it was these people, bringing their varieties of

> English from the southeastern counties of Ireland, who established the basis of Anglo-Irish in Newfoundland.

As a result of impoverished linguistic contact with speech of the homeland since the 1830s, Newfoundland's Irish English has evolved as "an independent strain" (67).

1.2.2 St. John's

By 1827, the island's population had grown to 59,571, with St. John's, located near the north-eastern tip of the Avalon Peninsula, accounting for over twenty-five percent of the total population (Neary 1973a:11). Within thirty years, St. John's had replaced the English ports as the commercial centre of Newfoundland's fish trade (Neary 1996:4). Water Street was the pinnacle of Newfoundland's fishing economy and the city's Irish Catholic majority was a heavily entrenched in the island's politics (Neary 1973a:11). St. John's was clearly established as Newfoundland's capital city.

Within the city, a cultivated variety of Irish English evolved. This was the speech of the elite mercantile class composed of both Protestants and Catholics, and has been labelled "Upper Class St. John's Irish" (Clarke 1982:92). This cultivated variety was reinforced by the establishment of formal education when, in the mid-nineteenth century, the main religious groups like the Roman Catholic Church began the practice of denominational education (Kirwin 1993:69). Kirwin (1993) points out that as a result, children of each generation received "dialectal support" for their own variety from family, relatives, community children and school (70). He writes (70):

> It was only outside of the schools (or as a result of rare intermarriages between different faiths) that children in the crucial years of language acquisition had a chance of hearing the intonations, vocabulary, catch phrases, the pronoun and verb forms, or the consonant and vowels contrasts (and qualities) of the children in the other streams of denominational schools.

1.2.3 The impact of the 1940s

By the post World War I period, Newfoundland had become a recognized presence in both imperial and world affairs (see Neary 1996 for details). Despite her status within the British Empire and the operation of four Canadian banks in Newfoundland, however, the country remained largely isolated from outside contact until the mid-twentieth century. At that time, two events forever altered Newfoundland's political, economic, and social structures: World War II and Confederation with Canada.

At the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence and trade lanes to Europe, Newfoundland was of primary strategic importance when war again broke out in Europe in 1939 (see Lower 1946). With no local defence establishment in place, the construction of Canadian and American military bases on the island and in Labrador began in 1940 (MacLeod 1986:2).

The bases poured money into Newfoundland, with Canada spending an estimated $65,000,000 and the United States an estimated $112,000,000 in a five year period (MacLeod 1986:10). But money was not the only thing brought to Newfoundland by the bases: they also brought North American servicemen into direct contact with large numbers of Newfoundlanders. These Newfoundlanders had left their outport lifestyles for regular

wages in the urban centres, hastening urbanization in the country. By the end of the war, one-quarter of Newfoundlanders had been living "in close proximity" (44) to visiting troops.

Politically, the economic boom created by the foreign bases had a profound effect. For some time previous to World War II, Newfoundlanders had been desiring more control over their own affairs. They had grown critical of the Commission of Government, established in 1934 as a result of the island's economic crisis (for details see Neary 1996), a crisis alleviated during the war. Immediately following the end of the war, the National Convention was formed. Its purpose was to advise Great Britain on "possible forms of future government" (Neary & O'Flaherty 1983:161) for Newfoundland. Of the three suggestions made by the Convention, Confederation with Canada, Responsible Government, or a continuation of the Commission, voters chose Confederation in a narrow vote in July of 1948, and on March 31, 1949, Newfoundland became the tenth province of Canada (163-4).

The immediate effects of the union were economic, with benefits exceeding the expectations of many Newfoundlanders (Neary 1973b:174). Culturally the effect was profound, accelerating Newfoundland's integration into "the North American way of life" (ibid). As will be seen below in section 1.3, the linguistic effect continues and has only recently begun to be measured quantitatively (see for example Clarke 1991).

1.3 St. John's English

With a 1996 population of 102,000[6], the city of St. John's remains today the largest city in the province. The capital city sits near the north-eastern tip of the Irish-settled Avalon

Peninsula. Irish English features originating in southeastern Ireland that remain a part of the English spoken along the Avalon's southern shore, including that of St. John's (henceforth SJE), are fairly numerous, although many are stigmatized in that they are associated primarily with older, male and working class speakers as well as casual style. Phonologically, these features include (Clarke 1991):

1. clear, or palatalized, postvocalic /l/[7]
2. stop variants of the interdental fricatives, so that /θ/ is realized as [t] and /ð/ is realized as [d][8]
3. a voiceless alveolar slit fricative variant of postvocalic, non-preconsonantal /t/
4. monophthongal /e/ and /o/[9]
5. rounded and retracted /ʌ/
6. a tendency to neutralize /ɔj/ and /aj/ toward [aj]

The majority of these Irish English (henceforth IE) features are not included in the present study; they are unlikely to appear in the speech of the selected sample. In SJE, the stop variants of /θ/ and /ð/ are stratified by socioeconomic status and gender: they are primarily features of working class, male speech (Clarke 1991:116). Neutralization of /ɔj/ and /aj/, along with monophthongal /e/ and /o/, also display gender stratification, although for these variants gender interacts with age: they are predominantly used by older males, born in St. John's prior to World War II (113-4). Age, socioeconomic status, and gender all stratify clear /l/: it is predominant in the speech of older, working class males; its use in SJE appears to be "declining substantially" (Clarke 1986:70-1).

The only vocalic feature chosen from the above list is the caret vowel, represented in this study as the variable (ʌ). While research on SJE has revealed that the IE rounded and retracted variant is primarily a marker of older male speech (Clarke 1986:72), it continues to be used by other social groups (D'Arcy 1999) and for this reason has been included. The variable will be discussed in greater detail in section 2.3.1.

The only consonantal feature chosen from the above list is /t/. The IE voiceless alveolar slit fricative variant is symbolized by Wells as [t̻] (1982:429). This variant does not occur across the board in IE, but is restricted to postvocalic, non-preconsonantal environments as in *hit* or *jetty*. While most characteristic of older speakers in SJE, the slit fricative shows no socioeconomic stratification and is associated with female speakers in the city (Clarke 1986:73). Additionally, research on SJE has indicated that the slit fricative is "at least as characteristic of formal as it is of informal style"(ibid). As a result, it has been suggested that [t̻], unlike other IE features currently present in SJE such as monophthongal /o/ and rounded and retracted /ʌ/, is not stigmatized in SJE (ibid). The variable, represented in this study as (t), will be discussed in greater detail in section 2.3.2 of the following chapter.

A feature of SJE not listed above, but included in this study, is the merger of the low back vowels /*a*/ and /ɒ/ in words like *caught* and *cot*. Unlike the General Canadian merged realization, the SJE realization is a "low central vowel, [...] more fronted than the mainland Canadian backed [...] vowel" (Kirwin 1993:75). This central realization is "no doubt" an IE feature brought to Newfoundland by Irish immigrants (ibid), and distinguishes the phoneme

Canadian backed [...] vowel" (Kirwin 1993:75). This central realization is "no doubt" an IE feature brought to Newfoundland by Irish immigrants (ibid), and distinguishes the phoneme system of SJE (see Figure 1.1) from the General Canadian system shown in Figure 1.2. The Newfoundland merger of these vowels may be a fairly recent phenomenon, however, since in 1968 Seary, Story and Kirwin note that while the merger is "spreading among the younger generation," it is still variable in SJE (72). Results from the Survey of Canadian English suggest the same trend. While Newfoundland respondents claim the lowest incidence of rhyming of the *caught/cot* set across Canada, an increase of merger among younger speakers is indicated (Scargill & Warkentyne 1972:78).

Other features differing in their realizations in the General Canadian and the St. John's dialects are the diphthongs /aj/ and /aw/, also included in the present study. Newfoundland /aj/, like General Canadian /aj/, has conditioned raising before voiceless segments. In Newfoundland, this raising was inherited from the diphthong system brought by Irish immigrants (Kirwin 1993:75). Unlike IE /aj/, the realization of IE /aw/ is not "appreciably conditioned" by the voicing of the following segment; the onset is not raised before voiceless consonants (ibid).

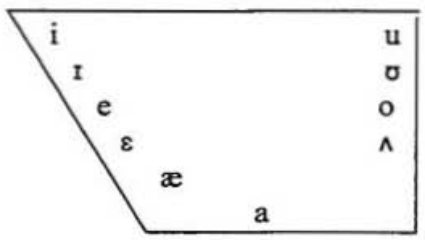

Figure 1.1 The vowel phonemes of SJE

Research indicates that the features responsible for the distinctiveness of SJE are beginning to level toward the Canadian norm: each of the six IE features of SJE listed above is being replaced in the phonologies of younger speakers by variants resembling those of the General Canadian dialect of English (Clarke 1991:113). Hampson's (1982) data also suggest that younger speakers in Newfoundland look to Toronto and "other mainland centres" (55) for their model of prestige speech. The pattern by which Canadian features seem to be entering SJE confirms this: research shows them entering through formal speech.

Clarke (1991) finds that age is the most important social variable in SJE, marking "significant differences in language use" (112). Interestingly, younger generations differ significantly from older generations not so much in casual speech as in formal style (119). Additionally, this change in SJE is led by the highest socioeconomic groups (120). Good examples of these trends are the rates of /æ/ Retraction and Lowering and (aw)-Fronting among younger upper class females in St. John's (116-7), two current changes in progress in General Canadian English (see section 1.4).

Labov (1994) defines change from above as being introduced "with full public awareness" by the dominant social class, appearing primarily in careful speech (78). The socioeconomic status of the initiators suggests that change in St. John's is proceeding from above, a suggestion which is strengthened by the stylistic diffusion of the changes. While change from below is more common, Clarke (1991) points out that the linguistic standard of St. John's is being increasingly defined in terms of a community external norm, a situation which to date has not been extensively documented in sociolinguistic research (120).

1.4 General Canadian English

This study assumes that General Canadian English is influencing the dialect spoken in St. John's. Consequently, the major phonological features of the former will be outlined here.

General Canadian English (henceforth CE) is an autonomous national variety, spreading from Ontario in the east to British Columbia in the west (Avis 1973a; de Wolf 1988,1990). Even the speech of the Maritimes is affected by CE (Avis 1986). It is this vast geographic span that renders CE's homogeneity surprising (Chambers 1991), although this is not to suggest that regional differences do not exist. Some of these differences are lexical, such as the preponderance of *bluff* in Manitoba and Saskatchewan for 'a group of trees' (Bailey 1982), while others are phonological.

Chambers (1991) categorizes these regional varieties according to the ethnicity of the founders. Examples include German enclaves like Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, many unstudied rural dialects founded by Polish and Dutch immigrants, and Scots-Irish and Irish enclaves like Cape Breton Island in Nova Scotia and Elgin county in south-western Ontario (94-5). Newfoundland English is considered an autonomous, albeit threatened, variety within Canada (92).

Despite such regional differences, however, CE persists as a national variety, "exhibiting much that is singularly Canadian" (Avis 1973a:43). Within World English, American English (henceforth AE) is CE's closest affiliate (Trudgill & Hannah 1985). While these two varieties are primarily distinguished at the level of the lexicon (Scargill &

Warkentyne 1972; Woods 1999), it is the phonology of CE that is responsible for the "greatest systematic difference" between the two (Woods 1999:26). CE and AE share the standard, "remarkably uniform and stable" twenty-four consonant system of English, the voicing of intervocalic /t/, the tendency to syllabify word-final /l,m,n/ with the insertion of an epenthetic schwa as in the pronunciation of *mail* as ['meiəɬ], the use of [æ] instead of [ɑ:] in the lexical *ask* class, and the placement of secondary stress on the penultimate syllable of words ending in *-ary* and *-ery* (de Wolf 1992:30-1).

The phonological variables which are considered characteristic of, but are by no means limited to, CE[10] and which tend to differentiate the Canadian and American varieties of English are:

1. (əj),(ʌw):	the raising (and centralizing) of the initial elements of the /aj/ and /aw/ diphthongs before a tautosyllabic voiceless consonant (see Chambers 1973,1989)
2. (a):	the more extensive merger of the *caught/cot* opposition in CE than in AE
3. (hw):	the age-related variable pronunciation of orthographic 'wh' as [hw]
4. (ju):	the tendency to retain the glide after syllable-initial /st/, /d/ and /n/, at least in formal style (for a discussion of stylistic stratification see Clarke 1993a)

As previously discussed, CE does not make a phonemic distinction between the two low back vowels. Instead, the phonetic realization of the CE (a) variable is in free variation, alternately realized as unrounded [ɑ] or as rounded [ɒ] (de Wolf 1992:34). The result is a distinct CE vowel system of ten vowel phonemes, illustrated in Figure 1.2 below, plus schwa

alternately realized as unrounded [*a*] or as rounded [*ɒ*] (de Wolf 1992:34). The result is a distinct CE vowel system of ten vowel phonemes, illustrated in Figure 1.2 below, plus schwa and three falling diphthongs, /aj, aw, ɔj/.

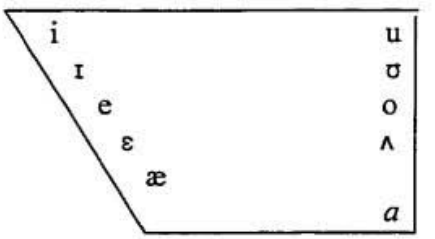

Fig. 1.2 The vowel phonemes of CE

The stability of the CE vowel system and its ensuing absence of chain shifts has resulted in Labov's (1991) classification of CE as belonging to a third dialect of North American English (33). This division of North American English into three major dialect types is based primarily on patterns of chain shift and merger. Labov's two pivot points for this division are the status of the low front position, which he refers to as short *a*, and the low back region. That is, whether or not short *a* remains a single phoneme and whether or not short open *o* and long open *o*, Labov's representation of the low back vowels, remain distinct or merge as a single phoneme determines the dialect type (12). The Northern Cities Shift and the Southern Shift of the United States are distinguished on the basis of movement in the short *a* pivot, with the low back vowels remaining distinct in both dialects (14;22). The Third Dialect, to which CE belongs, is differentiated from the first two by the merger of the low back vowels (discussed above) and the stability of short *a* (30)[1].

Clarke, Elms and Youssef (1995), however, show that not only is CE short *a* not stable, but that the whole CE lax vowel system is in fact shifting: /ɪ/ and /ɛ/ are lowering, /ʌ/ tends to lower and/or centralize, and /æ/, Labov's short *a* pivot, is backing in the direction of /a/ (212). Clarke et al. suggest that this last shift, /æ/ retraction, is possible because of the distinctive CE merger of the low back vowels, the merger having triggered the lowering and retraction of the entire CE lax front vowel system (212).

Completely unrelated to the ongoing shift in the CE lax vowel system, the diphthongs /aj/ and particularly /aw/ remain salient features of CE. This saliency is the result of Canadian Raising[12], a relatively recent phenomenon in CE (see Chambers 1989 for details). This process raises (and centralizes) the initial elements of the diphthongs in the environment preceding a tautosyllabic voiceless consonant, resulting in [əj] and [ʌw] respectively[13]. Elsewhere, before voiced segments and word-finally, the nuclei remain low.

The distinctive CE (aw) diphthong, however, is undergoing a change: the nucleus is being fronted by younger, particularly female, speakers (Chambers & Hardwick 1986; Davison 1987; Chambers 1989; Hung, Davison & Chambers 1993). While fronted nuclei occur more often in the 'elsewhere' environment, fronting is beginning to interfere with raising. Because the favoured nucleus is low [a], "regardless of the voicing of the following segment" (Chambers 1989:80-1), speakers are sometimes producing low nuclei before tautosyllabic voiceless consonants. Hung et al. (1993) refer to this tendency as (aw)-Non-Raising (248). Their examination of data from Vancouver, Victoria and Toronto, however, shows no coherent pattern for Non-Raising. Although too early to tell, it is

possible that Non-Raising may be becoming the younger speaker norm (255). This possibility is suggested by greater occurrences of Non-Raising by the younger females than by the younger males in all three cities, while the opposite is true of the adults. Should it be the case, however, that Non-Raising is on the increase, Chambers (1989) warns that the Canadian Raising rule for /aw/ could eventually be eliminated in CE (82).

Chapter 2

Methodology

2.1 Introduction

The theoretical framework within which this study has been conducted is Labovian. The data, elicited in both formal and informal contexts, has been quantified for the frequency of use of the linguistic variants by each of the sixteen participants. Statistical analysis has been employed in order to determine significant linguistic differences among the social groups as well as the effects of stylistic conditioning on the majority of the variables included in the study. The sampling procedure diverges from Labovian methodology. As explained below, a judgemental, rather than random, sample was obtained.

2.2 Sampling methodology

Traditional Labovian methodology emphasizes random sampling as a means of obtaining a representative account of language within a community, "without a bias toward any particular subgroup in the population" (Milroy 1987:18). It was exactly one of these subgroups, however, that this research aimed to study. Consequently, judgement sampling was ideal, particularly as previous research (Clarke 1986,1991) has established that gender, age and socioeconomic status all contribute to phonological patterns in St. John's.

The validity of judgement sampling in sociolinguistic research has only recently been recognized. In judgement sampling, however, sociolinguists join other social scientists who make use of field research (Chambers 1995:41), recognizing that sampling "on the basis of

specifiable and defensible principles" (Milroy 1987:28) may be more realistic than aiming for true representativeness. Milroy (1987:26) notes that:

> the principle underlying judgement sampling is that the researcher identifies in advance the *types* of speakers to be studied and then seeks out a quota of speakers who fit the specified categories.

The types of speakers sought for this research were determined by four categories: age, gender, socioeconomic status and parental origin. Only two of these, age and parental origin, function as independent social variables. These will be discussed in sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 below. Gender and socioeconomic status limit the sample to specific social groups.

The category of gender restricts the sample to females. As noted in Chapter 1, local features are not stable in SJE, but are being levelled toward the CE norm. As previously discussed (see section 1.3), the fact that the stylistic diffusion of CE features appears to be led by the highest socioeconomic group suggests that change in St. John's is proceeding from above. Labov (1990) has hypothesized that when change enters a community from above, it is women who favour the incoming prestige forms (213).

The category of socioeconomic status restricts the sample to middle-class informants. No socioeconomic index was devised. Rather, selection was based on the education of the parents. Non-local-parent speakers have at least one parent who is a university professor and local-parent speakers have at least one parent with a post-secondary degree. Additionally, a questionnaire was filled out by all participants to confirm the similarity of their backgrounds, thus further ensuring the homogeneity of the sample[1].

In order to ensure the anonymity of the participants, each chose an alias for herself at the time of her interview. Whenever reference is made to a particular participant, her alias is used.

2.3 Social variables

As mentioned above, the categories on which sample selection was based were age, gender, socioeconomic status and parental origin. While gender and socioeconomic status ensure homogeneity by restricting the sample to specific social groups, age and parental origin function as independent variables[2]. Table 2.1 shows the overall construction of the sample[3].

Table 2.1 The 16 subject sample

Age	Parental Origin	
	Local	Non-Local
Preadolescent	4	4
Adolescent	4	4

2.3.1 Age

The category of age restricts the sample to younger speakers and divides the participants equally into two cells: eight preadolescents and eight adolescents. At the time of the interviews the participants in the preadolescent cell ranged between the ages of 8 and 12[4]; those in the adolescent cell ranged between the ages of 16 and 17.

As touched on in section 1.1, children have more or less fully developed their phonologies by the age of six or seven years, having already acquired all of the "important rules" (Kerswill 1996:192). Labov (1964) argues that during preadolescence, children begin to acquire their local vernacular in accordance with peer group usage (91), a claim that holds according to Kerswill (1996:192), albeit with certain limitations such as those found by Payne (1980) and Trudgill (1986). Eckert (1988) suggests that during preadolescence, parental social class is the best predictor of vowel qualities (201) but that during adolescence, it is social identity that becomes the best predictor. Consequently, it was likely that a difference in usage might appear as a function of age in the current study. There was no way of predicting, however, whether or not age would interact with parental origin.

2.3.2 Parental origin

This category is critical to the principal aim of this study, which is to determine how the phonologies of speakers with non-local parents differ from those of speakers with local ones. As discussed in Chapter 1, this aim stems from the finding of Payne (1980) and Trudgill (1982,1986) that even when born and raised in the area, speakers are unlikely to master all local dialect features if the parents themselves do not have a local accent. The obvious implication, which has thus far not been stated, is that all participants must have been born and raised in, or around, St. John's. The sixteen participants were selected to fill one of two cells, based on the origin of their parents. Local-parent speakers have parents born in and around St. John's. Non-local-parent speakers have parents from away.

The definition "from away," however, is overly simplistic. Non-local parents are from mainland Canada, although this again is an oversimplification. Ideal non-local parents are from areas of Canada where CE is the linguistic norm, which implies that they speak the CE variety. In the preadolescent cell only the mothers fit this description: the fathers are all from other dialect areas, either of the United States or Great Britain (see Appendix B). However, this is unlikely to present a problem. Trudgill (1986) notes that in Norwich the ability to master the /u:/-/ʌu/ distinction depends, in some cases, solely on the mother's accent (35). This suggests that CE homogeneity is important in the instance of non-local mothers, while the linguistic origin of non-local fathers may be less crucial.

2.4 Linguistic variables

This study includes nine phonological variables. Eight of these are vocalic; these are discussed in section 2.4.1. The last variable, which is discussed in section 2.4.2., is consonantal. A summary of the nine variables and their variants is provided at the end of the section in Table 2.2.

2.4.1 Vocalic variables

1. (ar)

This variable represents the word-final and preconsonantal /Vr/ sequence of words like *star* and *start*. This variable is realized in CE with a low back vowel as [aɹ] ~ [ɒɹ] (de Wolf 1992:33), and with a low front vowel as [æɹ] in SJE[5] (Kirwin 1993:76). An

intermediate variant also occurs in SJE, realized with a low central vowel as [aɹ] (D'Arcy 1999:4).

A distinction has not been made between the two phonetic realizations of the CE variant; all CE tokens have been collapsed under the rubric of the unrounded variant [ɑ]. The analysis is ternary, based on the dimension of backness. The contrasts are SJE front [æɹ], SJE central [aɹ], and CE back [ɑɹ].

2. (ɛr)

This variable represents the raising of prevocalic /ær/ to [ɛɹ] in words like *marry* and *guarantee* in innovative CE. The maintenance of prevocalic [æɹ] is an historic feature of English shared by most varieties, including IE (Wells 1982:420) and conservative varieties of CE. This historic realization appears to be giving way to the innovative CE influence in Newfoundland, however, raising to [ɛɹ] in prevocalic position (Paddock 1981b:29).

The distinction is binary, contrasting innovative CE [ɛɹ] with the more conservative [æɹ] variant.

3. (a)

This variable represents historical, Middle English [ɔ] found in the Modern English *cot* lexical set. As discussed in Chapter 1, this vowel is realized in CE with a low back vowel as [ɑ] ~ [ɒ] (de Wolf 1992:34). In SJE the realization is a low central vowel, [a] (Kirwin 1993:75). Furthermore, an intermediate variant also occurs in St. John's. The

phonetic realization of this vowel is neither as central as [a] nor as back as [*a*] (D'Arcy 1999:4). This intermediate variant will be symbolized here as [a̠].

As with the variable (ar), a distinction has not been made between the phonetic realizations of the CE variant. Once again, all CE-like tokens have been collapsed under the rubric of unrounded [*a*]. The distinction, based on the dimension of backness, is ternary: SJE central [a] contrasts with SJE intermediate [a̠] and CE back [*a*].

4. (ʌ)

This variable represents the caret vowel of words like *cut*, *shut*, and *blood*. The CE realization is [ʌ], a low-mid back unrounded vowel. In SJE the vowel may be rounded and further retracted, realized as short lax [ɔ] (Clarke 1986:72). An intermediate variant also occurs in SJE (D'Arcy 1999:4). This variant is rounded, but not retracted, and is realized as [ʌ̟].

As such, the distinction is ternary, based on the dimensions of rounding and retraction. The variants are CE unrounded [ʌ], SJE rounded [ʌ̟], and SJE rounded and retracted [ɔ].

5. (æ)

This variable represents the vowel of words like *mad* and *mat*. The traditional CE realization of this vowel is higher-low front [æ]. As mentioned earlier though, CE /æ/ is currently involved in a shift, lowering and backing toward low central /a/ (Clarke et al. 1995:212). The SJE pronunciation of /æ/ is typically more raised than in CE, realized as [æ̟]

(Clarke 1991:116). Younger SJE speakers, and particularly upper class females, however, are beginning to approximate the CE lowered and retracted variants (Clarke 1991:116).

The distinction is ternary, based on height: SJE raised [æ̝] contrasts with CE low [æ] and CE innovative lowered and retracted [a][6].

6. (aj)

This variable represents the diphthong of words like *height* and *hide*. In CE, the nucleus raises to mid-central [ɵ] when the diphthong immediately precedes a tautosyllabic voiceless consonant; the 'elsewhere' realization is [*aj*]. As seen in section 1.3, the traditional St. John's pronunciation also has conditioned raising before voiceless segments (Kirwin 1993:75). A second, distinct variant exists in SJE, in which the nucleus is raised but also retracted. This variant is realized as [ʌj].

The distinction is ternary. The contrasts are CE/SJE [*aj*], CE/SJE raised [ɵj], and SJE [ʌj].

7. (aw)-1

This variable represents the diphthong of words like *house* and *out*. Discussed in Chapter 1, this diphthong undergoes Canadian Raising in CE when it occurs before a tautosyllabic voiceless consonant. The raised nucleus is realized as mid back [ʌ] and the 'elsewhere' realization is low back [*a*] (Chambers 1989:80). As also mentioned, the nucleus of Newfoundland IE /aw/ is not allophonically conditioned (Seary et al. 1968; Kirwin 1993). Unlike the CE diphthong whose traditional low nucleus is a back vowel, the traditional

Newfoundland nucleus may be more fronted[7]. Moreover, the CE innovation of (aw)-Fronting discussed in section 1.4 results in a fronted nucleus. Nonetheless, the sole focus for this variable is nucleic height in the raising environment; its degree of fronting is not relevant.

The analysis is binary; the variants are raised [ɛw ~ ɐw ~ ʌw] and low [æw ~ aw ~ ɑw].

8. (aw)-2

This variable also represents the diphthong of words like *house* and *out*. The focus of (aw)-2, however, is the dimension of backness. As discussed in section 1.4, this variable is undergoing (aw)-Fronting in CE, an innovation that fronts the nucleus in both the raising and the 'elsewhere' environments (Chambers 1989:80). The result is a proliferation of variants, which Hung et al.(1993:248) list as:

[ʌw], [ɐw], [ɛw] / ___ [- voice]
[ɑw], [aw], [æw] / ___ [+ voice]

The phenomenon known as (aw)-Non-Raising (Hung et al. 1993:248; see also 1.4 above), which interferes with (aw)-Fronting (Chambers 1989:81-2), has not been considered here. As a result of the lack of a coherent pattern for Non-Raising in Hung et al.'s extensive data, the analysis of (aw)-2 considers only Fronting.

As such, the variants are back [ɑw ~ ʌw], intermediate [aw ~ ɐw], and front [æw ~ ɛw].

2.4.2 Consonantal variable

1. (t)

This variable represents postvocalic, non-preconsonantal, word-final /t/. In CE, (t) is realized as [t$^{=}$] ~ [t^{h}] ~ [t], but in SJE it can be realized as a voiceless alveolar slit fricative, [t̪] (Clarke 1986,1991; Kirwin 1993; cf. Lanari 1994).

The distinction is binary: tokens are considered to be representative of either the CE stop variant [t] or the SJE slit fricative variant [t̪].

Table 2.2 Summary of variables and variants

Variable	Variants		
(ar)	[ɑɹ]	[aɹ]	[æɹ]
(ɛr)	[ɛɹ]		[æɹ]
(a)	[ɑ]	[a̪]	[a]
(ʌ)	[ʌ]	[ʌ̪]	[ɔ]
(æ)	[a]	[æ]	[æ̪]
(aj)	[ɑj]	[əj]	[ʌj]
(aw)-1	[ɛw ~ ɐw ~ ʌw]		[æw ~ aw ~ ɑw]
(aw)-2	[ɑw ~ ʌw]	[aw ~ ɐw]	[æw ~ ɛw]
(t)	[t]		[t̪]

2.5 Stylistic variation

In this thesis, the approach to style is based on traditional Labovian methodology: style is "measured by the amount of attention paid to speech" (Labov 1972a:208). Style is

thus viewed as a continuum, ranging from casual style in informal contexts where little or no attention is paid to speech, to increasingly careful styles in formal contexts which involve greater amounts of attention to speech.

Although this view of style has been questioned (see for example Bell 1984 and Milroy 1987), style here is intended purely as a methodological construct. Each style is intended to resemble, not imitate, speech in a specific context.

The stylistic context has been controlled to elicit two styles: careful and casual[8]. The methods used to obtain these are discussed below in sections 2.5.1 and 2.5.2.

2.5.1 Careful style

Careful style has been elicited via the reading of a word list, which is provided in Appendix C. While Labov (1972a) places minimal pairs at the outermost edge of the formal spectrum, where the attention given to individual phones is maximized (85), word lists follow shortly behind, allowing consideration of isolated pronunciations.

Labov (1982) notes that stylistic variation can be established with "a frequency set up by as few as 10 occurrences of a particular variable" (85). In order to make any generalizations about stylistic variation, therefore, no fewer than ten tokens of variables with binary contrasts have been included. For those variables realizing ternary contrasts, a greater number of tokens have been incorporated.

2.5.2 Casual style

The speech style traditionally elicited in an interview situation is careful (Labov 1982:61). In this study, however, the interview was designed to induce a more casual speech style. From the Labovian perspective, the careful/casual distinction is based on the formality of the context and the resulting attention paid to speech. Careful style is used when answering questions "which are formally recognized as 'part of the interview'" (ibid). Casual style, on the other hand, is "speech used in informal situations, where no attention is directed to language" (66).

Two settings which may elicit casual speech in the careful context are those which involve a third person and those which result in speech not given in direct response to questions (Labov 1982:68-9). Milroy (1987) points out that interviewing groups rather than individuals has the effect of 'outnumbering' the interviewer, thus decreasing the chances that interviewees will simply wait to answer directed questions (62). The success of this methodology was noted in Labov (1972b:210), when two interviewees spoke more often to each other than to the interviewer, providing richer data than in individual recording sessions. This behaviour does not imply that interviewees forget they are being observed, but it does suggest that the effect of the interviewer is counteracted by the operation of group dynamics (Milroy 1987:63). As such, the interview session in the present study was designed to take advantage of this in an attempt to elicit a casual speech style.

The participants were interviewed in pairs, consisting of one non-local-parent speaker along with a close friend who matched the criteria for local-parent speakers. While this

design was intended to reduce the constraints of the interview context, it was also aimed to facilitate generalizations about the similarities and differences in the speech of non-local and local-parent speakers. Because the participant pairs are friends and were interviewed together, their elicited speech can be assumed to more closely resemble their unmonitored vernacular usage.

2.6 Data analysis

The data used in this study were collected in two rounds of interview sessions. The first of these occurred in April 1999 when the preadolescent group interviews were conducted. The second occurred in February 2000. It was at this time that the adolescent interviews were conducted and that the preadolescents recorded a second, expanded word list. It is the data from this second reading that are analyzed herein[9].

The interviews, all of which were conducted in St. John's, were recorded using Sony TC-142 tape-recorders. Each lasted approximately one to one and a half hours. A total of 5393 tokens were collected, summaries of which can be found in Appendix D. The frequency of use of the individual variants on the part of each of the 16 subjects was ensuingly quantified.

When the data from the free conversation segments of the interviews were quantified, an upper limit per participant was set on the number of times any individual lexical item would be analyzed as a token of a particular variable. This limit was set at five occurrences, after which time the word was excluded as a possible token[10]. An upper limit was also set

on the number of tokens collected per variable per participant. This limit of 35 tokens reflects a number of factors and was motivated by a desire to keep the data as balanced as possible[11]. It was found that within the preadolescent group, a few of the participants were a little shy and quite a few minutes passed before they started to speak more often and in longer sentences. Other participants did not have this problem but simply did not produce as many tokens as others did. As a result, these participants provided less data. Moreover, because each cell contains only four participants, the results could easily have been skewed if highly uneven numbers of tokens were collected for each speaker.

Statistical analysis of the significance of the independent social variables of age and parental origin employed the ANOVA subroutine of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SSPS), version 8.0. A series of nine one-way ANOVAs was conducted for each phonological variable using one of the independent social variables, each procedure testing the effect of age or parentage within groups and styles[12]. For example, the effects of parental origin were tested within the preadolescent group in both careful and casual style, as well as across both styles. The same tests were also run for the adolescent group. A final series tested the effects of parental origin over the age groups to determine whether or not significant differences occurred between L and NL-parent speakers in either of the conversational styles or when both styles were considered simultaneously. The results for parental origin will be discussed in the following chapter, while those for age will be presented in Chapter 4.

The effects of style on the choice of linguistic variants have also been considered via a similar series of nine one-way ANOVAs. These results will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Chapter 3

Results: Parental origin

3.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is the interplay between each of the nine phonological variables and the independent variable of parental origin. It will be shown that in St. John's, the origin of a speaker's parents is significant for most of the phonological variables investigated.

The results indicate two patterns of phonetic differentiation between local (henceforth L) and non-local (henceforth NL) parent speakers. The first pattern is that NL-parent speakers tend to use more CE variants than L-parent speakers do. The second follows from this: L-parent speakers tend to use more SJE variants than NL-parent speakers do. A third result contradicts the findings of an earlier study: D'Arcy (1999) suggests that while NL-parent speakers use phonetically intermediate variants liberally, L-parent speakers prefer the CE and the SJE variants, largely avoiding the intermediate variants. The data presented here indicate that neither is the case: the parentage groups appear to use these variants similarly across contexts. Section 3.3.3 will examine this result in more detail.

3.2 Results

3.2.1 The variable (ar)

Quantification of this variable reveals parental origin to be a significant factor in the production of the CE back [*aɹ*] and the SJE fronted [æɹ] variants in words like *star* and *start*.

This is not true of the SJE intermediate [aɹ] variant. Figure 3.1 shows the mean percentage usage for each of these variants, according to the parental origins of the participants, regardless of age or conversational style[1].

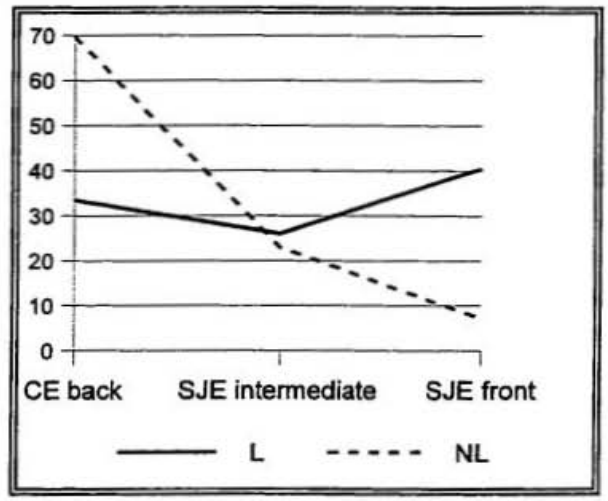

Figure 3.1 Mean usage for the variants of (ar) according to parental origin

As seen here, speakers with NL parents use the CE variant more than twice as often as their L-parent peers do. Statistical analysis reveals this difference to be significant ($p<.01$). Likewise, the difference in the means for the SJE fronted variant is significant ($p<.01$). Speakers with L parents use this local variant almost six times as often as do their peers with NL parents.

Differences between the parentage groups in the use of SJE [æɹ] remain significant when the results are broken down according to conversational style, as can be seen in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1 Results for fronted [æɹ] according to parental origin and style

Parental Origin	Style	
	Casual	**Careful**
L	34.04	48.01
NL	4.93	11.25
df	1/14	1/14
F-statistic	5.54	5.41
P-value	.034	.036

If the parentage groups are examined over both styles in terms of age, differences in the means for SJE [æɹ] between L and NL-parent speakers likewise prove significant for both adolescents and preadolescents, as shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Results for fronted [æɹ] according to parental origin and age

Age Group	Parental Origin	Mean	
Preadolescent	**L**	47.25	
	NL	13.4	
		df	1/14
		F-statistic	4.62
		P-value	.050
Adolescent	**L**	32.93	
	NL	2.4	
		df	1/14
		F-statistic	9.09
		P-value	.009

It is interesting to note that within each age group the difference between L and NL-parent speakers is remarkably parallel; L and NL-parent preadolescents differ by 33.85% in their use of [æɹ] while their adolescent peers differ by 30.53%.

Not shown in Table 3.2 are the results for CE [*aɹ*]. Although no significant differences occur between L and NL-parent adolescents, within the preadolescent group the greater use of the CE variant by NL-parent speakers is significant ($p < .05$)[2].

3.2.2 The variable (ɛr)

There are no significant differences between L and NL-parent speakers in St. John's for the variable (ɛr).

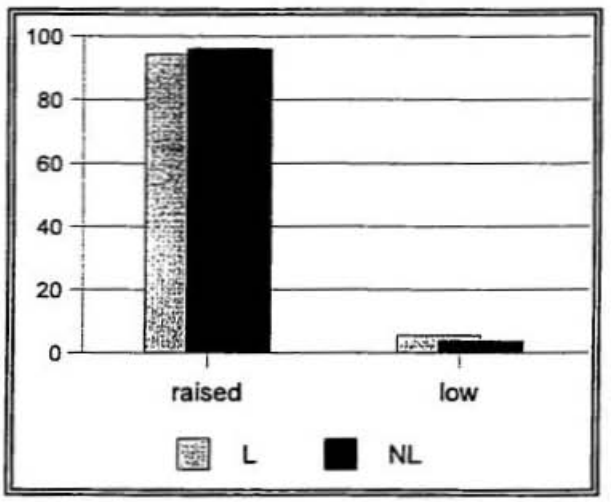

Figure 3.2 Mean usage for the variants of (ɛr) in careful style according to parental origin

As Figure 3.2 shows, in words like *marry* and *guarantee*, L and NL-parent speakers have virtually identical means for both the innovative CE raised [ɛɹ] variant and the conservative

low [æɹ] variant. The means displayed above account for the data collected in careful style; there were too few tokens produced in casual style to include data from the less formal style in any analyses[3].

3.2.3 The variable (a)

Examination of the results for the vowel in the *cot* lexical set reveals no significant differences between L and NL-parent speakers, with the exception of the results for casual style.

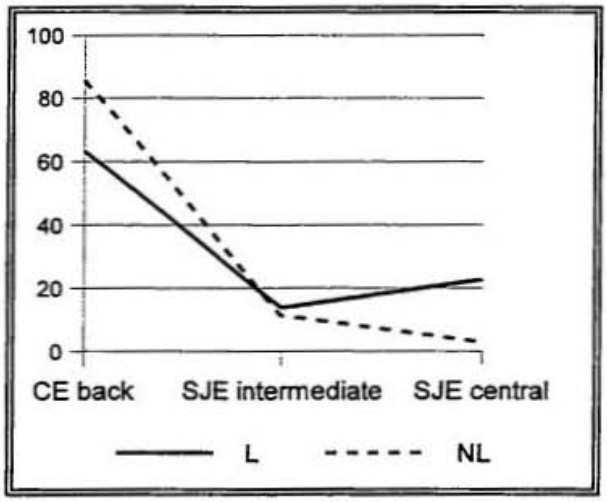

Figure 3.3 Mean usage for the variants of (a) in casual style according to parental origin

Figure 3.3 shows that, in free conversation, L-parent speakers use twenty percent less of the CE back [*a*] variant than NL-parent speakers do. This difference is just short of significance ($p = .053$). On the other hand, L-parent speakers produce the SJE central [a]

variant almost eight times more often than NL-parent speakers do in this informal context. This difference is significant at the .01 level ($p = .009$, $F = 9.07$, $df = 1/14$).

Further examination suggests that it is the younger L-parent speakers who are more responsible for this difference in means for [a] in free conversation. Table 3.3 shows the means for [a] in casual style according to age and parental origin. A comparison of the results for L and NL-parent preadolescents reveals a significant difference at the .01 level[3], while the difference between L and NL-parent adolescents is not significant.

Table 3.3 Results for SJE [a] in casual style according to parental origin and age

Parental Origin	**Age**	
	Preadolescent	**Adolescent**
L	29.67	17.6
NL	2.73	3.12
df	1/6	--
F-statistic	11.90	--
P-value	.014	--

Differences between the parentage groups in the use of the intermediate [a̱] variant never prove significant.

3.2.4 The variable (ʌ)

As seen in Figure 3.4, quantification of the variants of (ʌ) reveals that across styles, NL-parent speakers use more of the CE [ʌ] variant than their L-parent peers do (although this

difference is not significant). On the other hand, L-parent speakers use more of both the SJE rounded [ʌ] variant, as well as the rounded and retracted [ɔ] pronunciation, than NL-parent speakers do. Only the latter, however, proves significant ($p < .05$). In fact, the NL-parent speakers never used the SJE rounded and retracted [ɔ] variant, whether in casual or formal style.

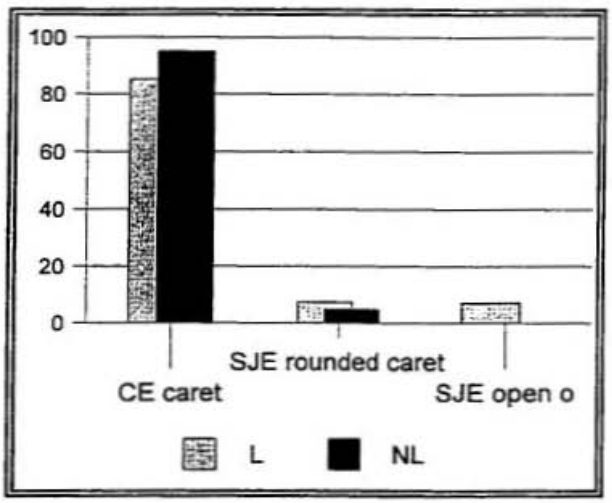

Figure 3.4 Mean usage for the variants of (ʌ) according to parental origin

Again it appears that it is largely the younger speakers who are more responsible for this difference between the L and NL-parent groups. The preadolescents of L parentage have an overall mean of 4.82% for the SJE rounded and retracted [ɔ] variant, which, while low, is significant in comparison to the mean of 0% of the NL-parent preadolescents ($p<.05$). It is interesting that despite L-parent adolescents having a higher mean usage for this variant

(9.18%) than their preadolescent peers, and the failure of NL-parent adolescents to use the [ɔ] variant, the difference between the adolescent parentage groups is not significant[5].

3.2.5 The variable (æ)

As discussed earlier (sections 1.4 and 2.4.1), the vowel of the *mad* lexical set is involved in a shift in CE, retracting and lowering toward low central [a]. Moreover, while the traditional CE variant is realized as front [æ], the SJE realization is slightly raised, produced as [æ̝]. This variation has resulted in some interesting differences between L and NL-parent speakers in St. John's.

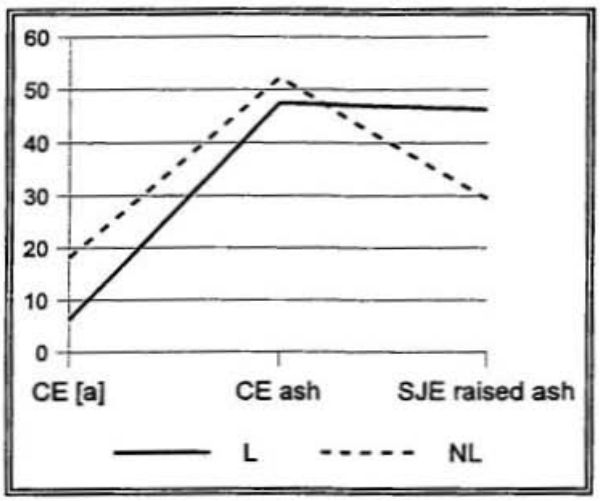

Figure 3.5 Mean usage for the variants of (æ) according to parental origin

As Figure 3.5 shows, across styles NL-parent speakers use the traditional CE variant more often than their L-parent peers do. This difference is not significant. Conversely, NL-parent speakers use the SJE variant significantly less often than L-parent speakers do

($p<.01$). Figure 3.5 also shows that the overall difference between L and NL-parent speakers for the CE innovative [a] variant is fairly large: NL-parent speakers use this variant almost three times as often as their L-parent peers do. This difference is significant at the .001 level ($F = 12.36$, $df = 1/30$).

Further examination of the results reveals that in spite of the fact that NL-parent speakers use the traditional CE [æ] variant more often overall than speakers of L parentage do, differences in the use of this variant as a result of parental origin are never significant, even when broken down according to age and conversational style.

For the raised SJE [æ̝] variant, division of the parentage groups according to age reveals that differences between L and NL-parent adolescents are never significant. However, the greater use of the SJE variant across styles by L-parent preadolescents (55.56%) than by their NL-parent peers (33.33%) does prove significant ($p = .01$). This difference between the preadolescent groups emerges primarily from casual style (where $p = .02$, $F = 9.86$, $df = 1/6$), since it is not significant in the more formal context of the word list. None the less, when the age groups are combined, the greater use of [æ̝] by all L-parent speakers proves significant in careful style ($p < .05$), yet not in casual style.

The results for the innovative CE variant [a] – which, as seen in Figure 3.5, speakers of NL parentage use much more often than do those of L parentage – show significant differences for parental origin within both the preadolescent group ($p < .01$) and the adolescent group ($p < .05$). As with the raised [æ̝] variant, the difference in the use of [a] between the preadolescent parentage groups is significant in casual style ($p < .01$) but not in

careful style. Also as was the case with [æ̱], significant differences surface only in careful style when the age groups are combined ($p < .01$). In this instance, the two adolescent groups also display a significant difference in usage in the formal context ($p < .05$).

These results will be discussed in more detail in section 3.3.2.1 below.

3.2.6 The variable (aj)

As discussed in sections 1.3 and 2.4.1, the traditional SJE pronunciation of the *height* and *hide* diphthong has conditioned raising of the nucleus before voiceless segments, just as the CE pronunciation does. However, in section 2.4.1 a distinct SJE variant was discussed in which the nucleus raises but also retracts, resulting in [ʌj]. The results for this variant indicate that [ʌj] is almost exclusively restricted to the raising environment. That is, [ʌj] rarely occurs in the elsewhere environment: there, out of 397 tokens, the SJE variant occurred only twice[6], accounting for less than one percent of the data. As a result, ensuing discussions of the (aj) variable will consider only the raising environment.

The results for (aj) in the raising environment, shown in Figure 3.6 below, reveal that NL-parent speakers use the CE variant more often than their L-parent peers do across styles. They also indicate that the former group uses less of the SJE variant than the latter group does. Not indicated in Figure 3.6 is the fact that an unraised variant never occurred in the raising environment. That is, before a tautosyllabic voiceless consonant, the nucleus of the /aj/ diphthong was always raised.

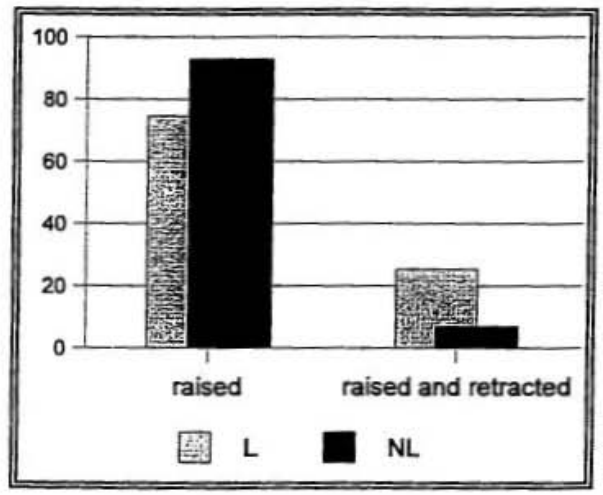

Figure 3.6 Mean usage for the variants of (aj) in the raising environment according to parental origin

Statistical analysis of these results reveals that although L-parent speakers use the SJE [ʌj] variant over three and a half times as often as do their NL-parent peers, this difference is not significant. The difference in means for the CE [əj] variant, however, is significant at the .05 level ($p = .027$, $F = 5.39$, $df = 1/30$). Further analysis reveals that the results from free conversation are primarily responsible for this significance.

Table 3.4 Mean usage for [əj] in the raising environment according to parental origin and style

Parental Origin	Style	
	Casual	Careful
L	69.75	82.43
NL	93.33	92.5

As shown by Table 3.4, the difference between L and NL-parent speakers in careful style is just over ten percent; this difference is not significant. The difference between the parentage groups in casual style, approximately 24%, is significant at the .05 level ($p = .031$, $F = 5.75$, $df = 1/14$).

3.2.7 The variable (aw)-1

The focus of this variable is the nucleic height of the *out* diphthong in the raising environment. As discussed in sections 1.3 and 2.4.1, Newfoundland IE /aw/ is not allophonically conditioned according to the voicing of the following segment; by the rule of Canadian Raising, CE /aw/ is. The results from this study suggest that in St. John's, the Canadian Raising rule is almost always employed by younger females. There were only six instances of a low nucleus when the diphthong occurred before a tautosyllabic voiceless consonant[7], accounting for less than 2% of the data. Of these six unraised nuclei, three were produced by L-parent speakers and three were produced by NL-parent speakers. All occurred in the informal context of free conversation. Accordingly, there are no significant differences between L and NL-parent speakers for this variable.

3.2.8 The variable (aw)-2

The focus of this variable is the degree of fronting undergone by the nucleus of the /aw/ diphthong, regardless of environment (e.g. *out*, *loud*). The results for the parentage groups are displayed in Figure 3.7.

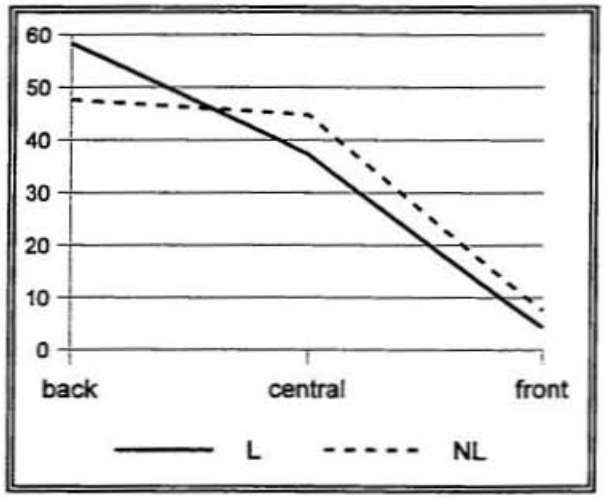

Figure 3.7 Mean usage for the variants of (aw)-2 according to parental origin

It can be seen that NL-parent speakers use fewer back nuclei than L-parent speakers do, but surpass their L-parent peers in their use of central and front nuclei[8]. None of these differences are significant. That said, further analysis reveals that it is only between the preadolescent parentage groups that no significant differences occur. Between the adolescents, significant differences are manifested in the use of back and central nuclei. These results are listed in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5 Results for (aw)-2 for L and NL-parent adolescents

Variant	Means: Parental Origin		Difference	Statistics		
	L	NL		p	F	df
back nuclei	58.06	41.24	9.82	.047	4.74	1/14
central nuclei	37.42	51.03	13.61	.023	6.54	1/14
front nuclei	4.52	7.73	3.21	--	--	--

When the results for the adolescents are broken down according to style it appears that it is again free conversation in which usage differences between L and NL-parent speakers are most apparent[9]. Figure 3.8 displays the means for L and NL-parent adolescents in casual style.

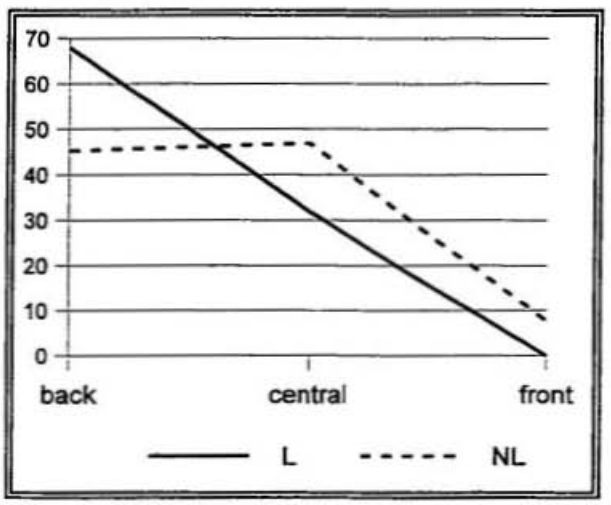

Figure 3.8 Means for the variants of (aw)-2 in casual style for L and NL-parent adolescents

Despite the lack of front nuclei in free conversation by L-parent adolescents, the difference between the groups for this variant is not significant. Both the greater use of central nuclei by NL-parent speakers and their lesser use of back nuclei are significant at the .05 level.

3.2.9 The variable (t)

There are no significant differences between L and NL-parent speakers for the variants of (t) in words like *height* and *cut*, although the results displayed in Figure 3.9 indicate that NL-parent speakers use the CE stop variant more often than L-parent speakers

do in both careful and casual styles. Conversely, NL-parent speakers use fewer of the SJE slit fricative variant in both styles than their L-parent peers do.

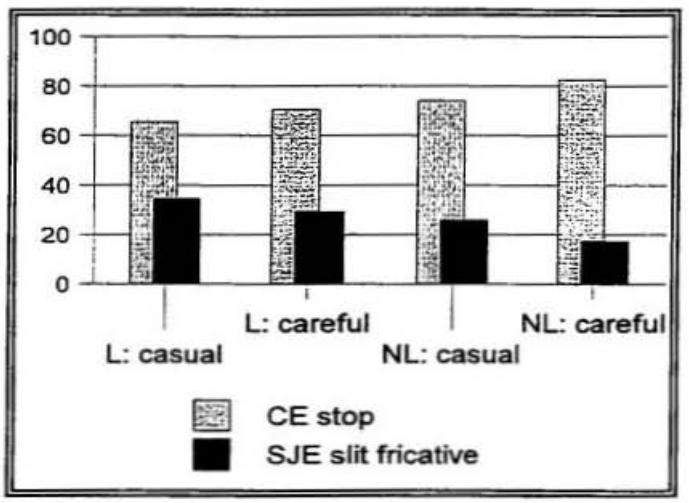

Figure 3.9 Mean usage for the variants of (t) according to parental origin and style

The means for free conversation in Figure 3.9 do not include instances of (t) in an intervocalic position. This study has revealed that the SJE slit fricative variant does not occur freely in this environment among younger female speakers. From the free conversation data 186 tokens of intervocalic (t) were collected; among these tokens a slit fricative occurred only once, accounting for less than one percent of the data. For this reason, only word-final and pre-pausal post-vocalic tokens of (t) have been quantified in this thesis.

3.3 Discussion

The results presented above indicate that parental origin is a significant factor in St. John's speech. They suggest that NL-parent speakers use more CE, and fewer SJE, variants

than their L-parent peers do. Although usage differences based on parental origin do not always prove statistically significant, this observation is true for all the phonological variables investigated.

Three of the variables have variants that are phonetically intermediate between CE and traditional SJE pronunciations. These are the [aɹ] variant of (ar), the [a̲] variant of (a) and the [ʌ̲] variant of (ʌ). Results indicate that differences between the parentage groups in the use of the three intermediate variants are never significant, indicating that the groups use these variants similarly. This will be discussed further in section 3.3.3 below; and, as pointed out in section 3.3.4, it sheds light on possible factors affecting dialect acquisition in St. John's.

3.3.1 The variables (ɛr), (aw)-1 and (t)

It has been shown that of the nine phonological variables investigated, the only three for which parental origin did not prove significant are (ɛr), (aw)-1 and (t).

In the case of (t), the similarity between the groups is not surprising considering the previous suggestion that as a female marker, the slit fricative is not a stigmatized feature of SJE (Clarke 1986:73). Social evaluation would account for the use of the slit fricative among both L and NL-parent female speakers in this study, where even in the more formal context of the word list it occurs an average of 23.39%, or almost one quarter of (t) tokens.

In the case of (ɛr), the results indicate that younger middle-class female speakers in St. John's are following the CE tendency by neutralizing prevocalic [æɹ] to [eɹ].

For the final variable, (aw)-1, similarity in the results for speakers of L and NL parentage, and the resulting lack of statistical significance for the independent variable of parental origin, is none the less significant in a non-statistical sense. It was seen that instances of unraised nuclei in the Canadian Raising environment account for less than 2% of the data. This result strongly suggests that younger speakers in St. John's have assimilated the Canadian Raising rule into their inventories, reminiscent of Lanari's (1994) findings off the Avalon Peninsula. Lanari observed that the raised variants of both /aw/ and /aj/ share with their CE counterparts the "characteristic preference for following voiceless obstruent environments" (138). She suggests that speakers in the Burin region may be:

> on their way to defining the raised variants of (aj) and (aw) according to the criteria of their Canadian raised equivalents, with the raised [əʊ] variant assuming the lead in this trend. (139)

The current findings in St. John's confirm Lanari's suggestion regarding the Canadian Raising rule in Newfoundland, and suggest that the redefinition process is almost complete among younger St. John's females. This is suggested not only by the high degree of adherence to the raising rule, but also by the parallel rates of adherence for both the /aj/ and /aw/ diphthongs.

3.3.2 Variables affected by parental origin

The six remaining phonological variables, (aj), (ar), (a), (ʌ), (æ), and (aw)-2, are all significantly affected by the independent variable of parental origin. The results for these variables suggest two patterns of phonetic differentiation between speakers of L and NL

parentage. First, although significant for only two variables, (ar) and (aj), NL-parent speakers consistently use more CE variants than their L-parent peers do. In the case of (ar), for example, NL-parent speakers use CE [*aɹ*] more than twice as much as L-parent speakers. Second, NL-parent speakers use fewer SJE variants than L-parent speakers do. This latter difference is significant for all but one of this set of six variables, namely, (aj); and even in the case of (aj) (see 3.2.6 above), NL-parent speakers use the distinct raised and retracted SJE variant of (aj) less than one-third as often as their L-parent peers do.

Perhaps the most striking effect of parental origin, however, is evidenced in the results for the variables (æ) and (aw)-2. These variables are undergoing change in CE and for both, NL-parent speakers are leading in the adoption of the innovative CE variant in St. John's.

3.3.2.1 (æ) Retraction and Lowering

The (æ) variable is like the other variables investigated in that it has a traditional CE variant and a traditional SJE variant. It behaves like the other variables in that NL-parent speakers use the CE variant more often, and the SJE variant less often, than their L-parent peers do. Unlike most of the other variables, (æ) has an innovative retracted CE variant, which has been shown in previous research to be especially prevalent among younger, particularly female, speakers of CE (Esling & Warkentyne 1993; Clarke et al. 1995)[10]. As such, the entire sample meets the requirements for (æ) Retraction but as seen in section 3.2.5, NL-parent speakers make significantly greater overall use of this variant.

What is striking about the (æ) variable is that the parentage groups are significantly differentiated in the formal context of the word list for both SJE [a̟] and CE innovative [a].

Table 3.6 Mean usage for [a̟] and [a] in careful style according to parental origin

Variant	Parental Origin		Significance
	L	NL	
[a]	4.0	22.17	$p < .01$
[a̟]	41.5	23.53	$p < .05$

As can be seen in Table 3.6, even in the formal context of the word list L-parent speakers make very little use of [a], suggesting that the CE innovation is not making strong inroads in SJE. It is possible that L-parent speakers are not conscious of the ongoing shift in CE, particularly since their use of the innovative variant decreases in careful style from a mean of 8.37% in casual style. In contrast, speakers with NL parents use the innovative variant more than 20% in careful style, a mean that drops to 14.58% in casual style. The significant difference in the means for [a] between L and NL-parent speakers in careful style raises an important issue: the NL-parent speakers are not behaving linguistically like their L peers. However, they may in fact be behaving like their parents. Meixner (1994), for example, documents considerable (æ) Retraction in the speech of Ontario residents in their early 40s. It is therefore possible that the NL-parent speakers are learning the CE shift from their parents, a source largely unavailable to their L-parent peers.

The role of careful style in differentiating L and NL-parent speakers becomes more apparent when the parentage groups are examined in terms of age, the results of which are presented in Table 3.7.

Table 3.7 Results for innovative [a] in careful style according to parental origin and age

Age	Parental Origin		Significance
	L	NL	
Preadolescent	1.14	17.27	--
Adolescent	6.25	27.03	$p < .05$

Both L and NL-parent adolescents have higher means for the innovative CE [a] variant in careful style than do their preadolescent peers; the age difference in the means for [a] between preadolescents and adolescents is greater in the NL-parent group (9.76%) than it is in the L-parent group (5.11%). As a result, the difference between the means for innovative [a] for L and NL adolescents in careful style is significant at the .05 level ($p=.013$, $F = 12.10$, $df = 1/6$), whereas that between L and NL preadolescents is not. In fact, L-parent adolescents display a mean of only 6.25% in careful style, supporting the suggestion that (æ) Retraction and Lowering is a marginal component of SJE. At the very least, it is less a feature of the speech of L-parent speakers than of NL-parent speakers, who appear more aware of the CE innovation.

Regarding the raised SJE [æ̝] variant, its high mean percentage usage by L-parent speakers in careful style suggests that for this group, contrary to NL-parent speakers, the

feature does not mark membership in the local speech community. Support for this suggestion increases when the results for /æ/ in the pre-nasal environment, an environment which most encourages raising, are removed from the analysis. The mean for L-parent speakers drops from 41.5% to 32.35%, while that of L-parent speakers drops from 23.53% to only 11.7%. Even in adolescence, where we might expect lower means for local features, L-parent speakers use [æ̝] over four times as often as do their NL-parent peers[11], averaging 28.13% in comparison to the NL mean of 6.32%.

3.3.2.2 (aw)-Fronting

Unlike (æ) and the rest of the variables investigated, (aw)-2 does not have distinct CE and SJE variants. The focus of this variable is the incursion of the CE innovation of (aw)-Fronting. As seen in section 3.2.8, the results for (aw)-2 reveal that differences between the parentage groups are only significant between L and NL-parent adolescents for back and central nuclei, particularly in the less formal context of free conversation. This is a striking result for two reasons. First, it is casual and not formal style that differentiates the parentage groups. Second, it is only in adolescence that significant differences occur between L and NL-parent speakers for (aw)-2. As Figure 3.10 demonstrates, L and NL-parent preadolescents use the variants of (aw)-2 at similar rates.

A comparison of the results in Figure 3.10 with the results for the adolescent parentage groups represented in Figure 3.11 (adapted from Table 3.5) suggests that as NL-parent speakers make the transition from preadolescence to adolescence, they begin to

assimilate the CE innovation into their phonologies much more so than L-parent adolescents do. As is the case with (æ), speakers of NL parentage appear to be conforming to CE norms, in this case increasing their use of central nuclei while decreasing their use of back ones. Unlike (æ) Retraction, however, it is unlikely that NL-parent speakers are conforming to the speech of their parents, since research has shown that (aw)-Fronting is a relatively recent innovation in CE, one which is clearly stratified by age (Chambers & Hardwick 1986; Davison 1987; Chambers 1989; Hung et al 1993). As Chambers (1989) points out, for speakers over 40, "the allophones of /aw/ remain essentially as predicted by the Canadian Raising rule: [ʌw] before voiceless segments, and [*a*w] elsewhere" (80).

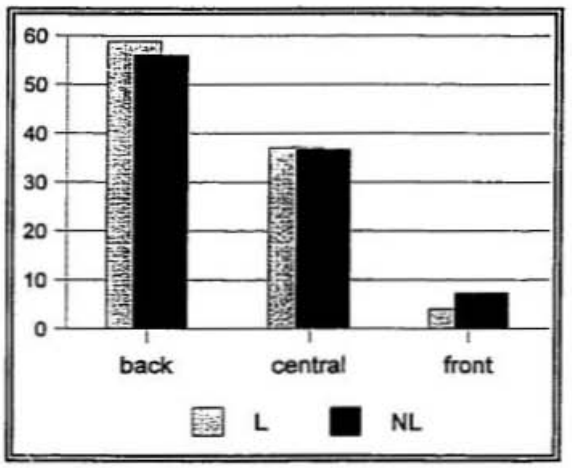

Figure 3.10 Mean usage for (aw)-2 for L and NL-parent preadolescents

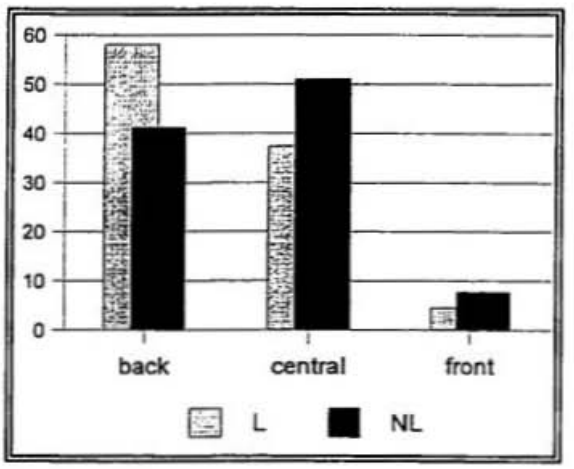

Figure 3.11 Mean usage for (aw)-2 for L and NL-parent adolescents

3.3.3 Intermediate variants

The variables (ar), (a) and (ʌ) are similar in that all three have distinct CE and SJE variants. They also have a third variant whose realization is phonetically intermediate to these but which is particular to SJE and does not typically occur in CE. The variables and their variants are listed again in Table 3.8 for ease of reference.

Table 3.8 Variants of (ar), (a) and (ʌ)

Variable	Variants		
	CE	SJE intermediate	SJE
(ar)	[ɑɹ]	[aɹ]	[æɹ]
(a)	[ɑ]	[a]	[a]
(ʌ)	[ʌ]	[ʌ̟]	[ɔ]

D'Arcy (1999) has suggested that L-parent speakers tend toward a dichotomy of variants for the (ar), (a) and (ʌ) variables, preferring either the CE or the SJE variant. It was also suggested that unlike L-parent speakers, NL-parent speakers consistently use a large proportion of intermediate variants. The results attained here reveal that neither is the case. Although NL-parent speakers use intermediate variants, their mean percentage usage is considerably less than the 25% which emerged from the earlier study. Also, as shown in Table 3.9, L-parent speakers tend to use the intermediate variants slightly more than do speakers of NL parentage.

These results indicate that the parentage groups use these intermediate variants similarly. This is interesting because it suggests that NL-parent speakers have mastered some local phonological patterns. Despite the low means, the parentage groups use the intermediate variants uniformly: both groups use these variants at comparable rates in both careful and casual styles and both groups slightly decrease their use of these variants in a formal context.

Table 3.9 Mean usage for the intermediate variants of (ar), (a) and (ʌ) according to parental origin and style

Variant	Parental Origin	
	L	NL
	Casual style	
[aɹ]	29.79	23.24
[a̠]	13.89	11.34
[ʌ̟]	7.89	5.13
	Careful style	
[aɹ]	21.52	22.5
[a̠]	8.38	8.95
[ʌ̟]	6.9	4.38

3.3.4 Evaluation

In a recent article Trudgill (1999) writes that the "conventional sociolinguistic wisdom" that children speak like their peers and not like their parents is "necessarily correct" because regional varieties persist despite increased geographic mobility (227-8). The results

presented here do not refute this statement, but neither do they support it. What must be kept in mind, however, is that the hypothesis of the current research is that differences will appear between peers as a result of parental origin. For the most part, this has been confirmed. NL-parent speakers use more CE variants than their L-parent peers do. Conversely, L-parent speakers use more SJE variants than their NL-parent peers do, a contrast that is significant for five of the nine phonological variables investigated. These quantitative differences in the phonologies of L and NL-parent speakers have qualitative repercussions. Many speakers of NL parentage are aware that they do not sound like their L-parent peers. Asked if she and Jessica, an L-parent peer, sound alike, Daisy responded:

> Everyone here is like, "You must be from away because you have a bit of an accent." But when I go to Ontario, they're like, "You're not from here are you? Because you have a bit of an accent!"

Can it be said, however, that these differences are the result of NL-parent speakers failing to master local vowel variants? If mastering a variant means acquiring a sound (along with its phonological, morphological and lexical constraints), then it would seem that but for one exception - the [ɔ] variant of (ʌ) - the answer is no. Regarding this exception, it seems clear that NL-parent speakers in St. John's have not mastered the local variant of (ʌ) since they never produced SJE [ɔ]. Although their L-parent peers used it at an overall rate of only 7.37%, the fact that speakers of NL parentage fail to use the variant at all is the critical point.

The problems raised by the notion of mastery are particularly evident in the results for the local SJE variants of (a) and (aj). While the participants of L parentage produced the SJE central [a] variant of (a) at a rate of 22.69% in free conversation, those of NL parentage

produced it at a rate of only 2.94%. Moreover, this figure represents only seven instances of [a], produced by three of the eight NL-parent participants. In terms of [aj], L-parent speakers produced SJE [ʌj] at a rate of 32.77% in free conversation; NL-parent speakers produced it at a rate of 6.67%, representing eight instances. Despite these figures, it would be difficult to argue that NL-parent speakers in St. John's have not mastered the local [a] and [ʌj] variants of (a) and (aj) since they do occur in the repertoires of at least a few of the participants. The difference between the parentage groups lies therefore not in mastery per se, but in frequency of use.

A conspicuous result, however, is that as seen in section 3.3.3 above, NL-parent speakers do speak like their L-parent peers in so far as the intermediate SJE variants are concerned. This result in itself is not remarkable, since there is no evidence that any of these variants are phonologically, morphologically, or lexically constrained. Since Kerswill (1996) has found that "phonologically simple"rules such as those that appear to govern the SJE intermediate variants can be acquired at any age (191), the acquisition of these variants by speakers of NL parentage in St. John's seems to be a conventional example of dialect acquisition. As such, this raises questions about the more phonetically "extreme" local variants.

As Labov (1994) points out, the "full acquisition of the Philadelphia variables refers not only to the phonetic forms used but also to their distribution" (340). Children who were deemed not to have mastered the short *a* pattern were not so deemed because they failed to produce the variant but because they failed to produce it "in all and only the Philadelphia

environments" (Trudgill 1986:37). However, while unable to master the short *a* pattern, children in Philadelphia with NL parents were nonetheless able to master local phonetic forms whose rules of distribution were "quite simple" (Labov 1994:340), sometimes subject to no linguistic conditioning factors. Rules of this type apply across the board, just like those appearing to govern intermediate variants in SJE. What is striking about this result is that like the intermediate variants, the traditional SJE variants do not appear to be conditioned and yet, they do not attain the relative frequency of usage by NL-parent speakers as displayed by their L-parent peers. The question remains as to why this is seems to be the case. While an in-depth examination of linguistic conditioning must be administered before any generalizations can be made, it appears that in St. John's, acquisition and use of local dialect features is not only subject to the complexity of the rules, but to some other factor(s) as well.

One such factor may be social evaluation. For example, research has shown that the [ɔ] variant of SJE is highly stigmatized (Clarke 1986). More generally, there is an indication that speakers of SJE feel a certain socioeconomic pressure to master another variety of English (Clarke 1982) and look to Toronto and "other mainland centres" (Hampson 1982:55) for their model of prestige speech. It is therefore likely that speakers with NL parents are aware of attitudes toward the two Canadian varieties and for this reason do not model their speech on the more phonetically "extreme" of the local variants.

Even more striking are the results for the CE innovating variables (æ) and (aw)-2. NL-parent speakers are following their mainland and not their local peers, conforming to the CE shifts to a much greater extent than L-parent speakers are. This is particularly true in the

case of (æ). These results raise two questions: where are NL-parent speakers learning the CE patterns for these innovative variants and why are their L-parent peers not accommodating to them at the same rate? This thesis is not in a position to answer the second question and can only hypothesize about the first.

It was suggested in 3.3.2.1 above that NL–parent speakers may be learning (æ) Retraction and Lowering from their parents, since research has shown that this CE shift is present in the speech of speakers in their 40s. However, given the progress of (aw)-Fronting in the grammars of NL-parent speakers in St. John's, an innovation they are unlikely to have learned from their parents, it is conceivable that there is another reason for the progress of these shifts in the speech of this group of speakers.

It was initially hypothesized that increased contact with mainland Canada, and Ontario in particular, was the cause for the linguistic behaviour of NL-parent speakers, especially in the case of the CE innovations. For instance, Daisy, an adolescent, spends all her summers in Ontario with family. Two in the preadolescent group, Suzie and Maddy, are sisters and frequently vacation in Ontario to visit family. However, the results for these participants are inconclusive. Admittedly, Daisy uses more central and front nuclei of the /aw/ diphthong in free conversation than does the rest of her adolescent NL-parent peer group. However, two of these peers, who have limited ties to the mainland, have similar means for central nuclei. In the preadolescent NL-parent peer group, Suzie has the lowest mean for central nuclei in free conversation and although her sister has the second highest mean for this variant, it is still well below the highest[12]. As for (æ) Retraction and Lowering,

Daisy has the second lowest mean for the innovative [a] variant. In the preadolescent group, Maddy and Suzie have the second and third highest means respectively for this variant, but it is Danielle who has the highest mean, using [a] an average of 17.86%. Unlike the sisters, Danielle has limited ties to the mainland. Thus, while it is possible that increased contact with CE is one explanation for the linguistic behaviour of the NL-parent group, there must be others.

Regardless, it is clear that in St. John's, the phonological patterns of L and NL-parent speakers are not the same. NL-parent speakers use more CE variants, especially in the case where these are innovative. L-parent speakers use more SJE variants. The exception is the intermediate variants, for which the results for both parentage groups are similar.

Chapter 4

Results: Age

4.1 Introduction

The results of this study reveal age to be a less significant social factor than parental origin in St. John's. Nonetheless, a pattern of age stratification is evident, indicating a growing awareness of CE phonological patterns in adolescence.

4.2 Results

4.2.1 The variable (ar)

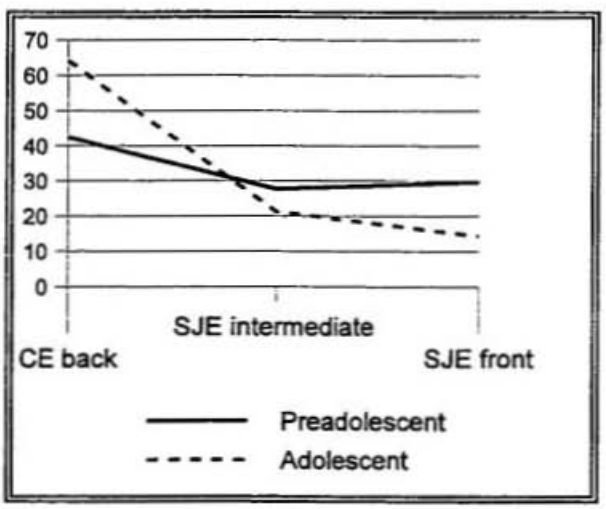

Figure 4.1 Mean usage for the variants of (ar) according to age

For the /Vr/ sequence of words like *star* and *start*, statistical analysis reveals age to be a significant variable for the CE back [ɑɹ] variant. As can be seen in Figure 4.1,

adolescents use this variant an average of over twenty percent more often than preadolescents do[1]. This difference is significant at the .05 level ($p = .046$, $F = 4.32$, df=1/30). Although, overall, preadolescents use the SJE front [æɹ] variant twice as often as adolescents, this difference is not significant. The higher use of the SJE intermediate [aɹ] by preadolescents is also not significant.

Within the parentage groups, these trends are maintained. That is, both L and NL-parent adolescents use more of the CE variant, and fewer of the SJE ones, than their preadolescent peers do (see for example Table 3.2). These differences are not, however, significant.

4.2.2 The variable (ɛr)

For the /VrV/ sequence of words like *marry* and *guarantee*, no significant differences occur between speakers as a result of age for the variable (ɛr). As can be seen in Table 4.1, the means of preadolescents and adolescents are almost identical; both age groups consistently neutralize /ær/ to [ɛɹ] in the prevocalic environment[2].

Table 4.1 Mean usage for the variants of (ɛr) in careful style according to age

Variant	Age	
	Preadolescent	Adolescent
[ɛɹ]	95.83	94.94
[æɹ]	4.17	5.06

4.2.3 The variable (a)

Figure 4.2 displays the mean percentage usage for the variants of (a) according to age. Although the differences between the age groups are minimal for the vowel of the *cot* lexical set, adolescents appear to use fewer SJE variants and more of the CE variant than preadolescents do. Again when subdivided according to parental origin, this pattern is consistent across the age groups. However, none of these differences between preadolescents and adolescents are significant.

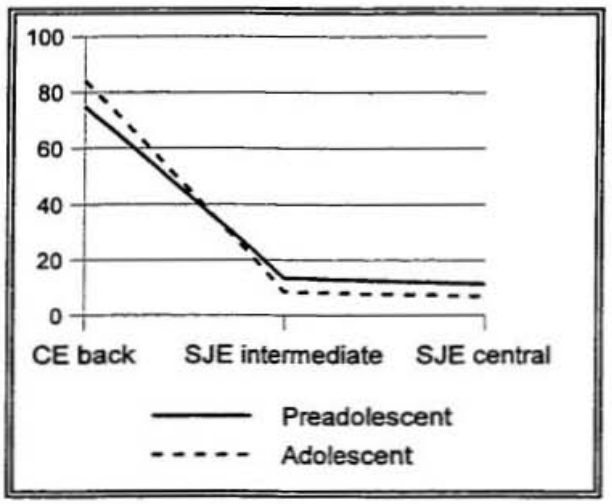

Figure 4.2 Mean usage for the variants of (a) according to age

4.2.4 The variable (ʌ)

Figure 4.3 shows the results for the variable (ʌ) according to age for words like *cut* and *shut*. Although the differences between the age groups are small, it is interesting that

contrary to the results for (ar) and (a), preadolescents appear to use more of the CE variant, and fewer of the SJE variants, than adolescents do.

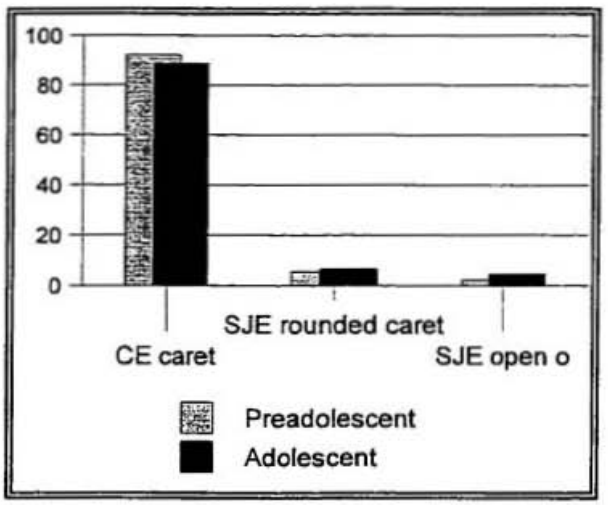

Figure 4.3 Mean usage for the variants of (ʌ) according to age

As can be seen in Table 4.2, a closer examination of the data reveals that it is the L-parent speakers who are responsible for this age reversal, which will be discussed in greater detail in section 4.3.2 below.

Table 4.2 Mean usage for the variants of (ʌ) according to age and parental origin

Parental Origin	Variant	Age	
		Preadolescent	Adolescent
L	CE [ʌ]	89.76	81.64
	SJE [ɐ]	5.42	9.18
	SJE [ɔ]	4.82	9.18
NL	CE [ʌ]	94.3	96.0
	SJE [ɐ]	5.7	4.0
	SJE [ɔ]	0	0

4.2.5 The variable (æ)

Figure 4.4 displays the means for the variants of (æ) according to age. As shown, for the *mad* vowel adolescent speakers use a greater number of both the traditional [æ] variant and the innovative CE [a] variant than preadolescents do. Conversely, preadolescents use the SJE raised [æ̝] variant more often than does the adolescent group. None of these differences are significant.

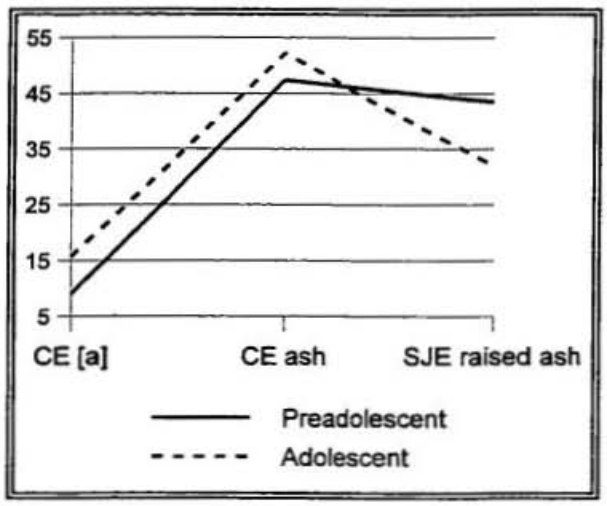

Figure 4.4 Mean usage for the variants of (æ) according to age

Further examination of the results reveals two interesting observations. First, in casual style, the means of the older L-parent speakers and the younger NL-parent speakers are almost identical for each of the three variants. This trend can be observed in Figure 4.5 below.

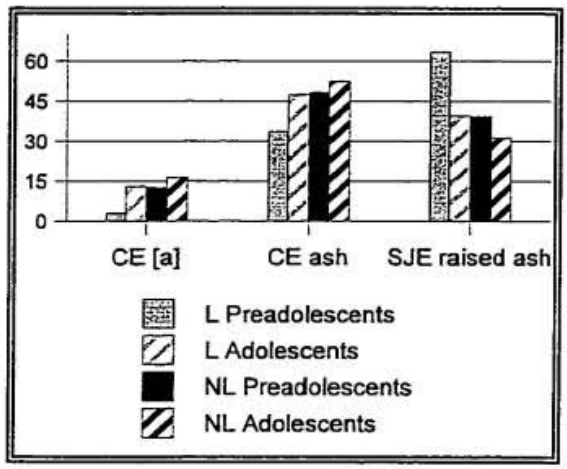

Figure 4.5 Mean usage for the variants of (æ) in casual style according to age and parental origin

The second observation is the degree of difference between the L-parent age groups. For each of the variants of (æ), the difference in the means of L-parent preadolescents and L-parent adolescents is greater than those between the NL parentage groups.

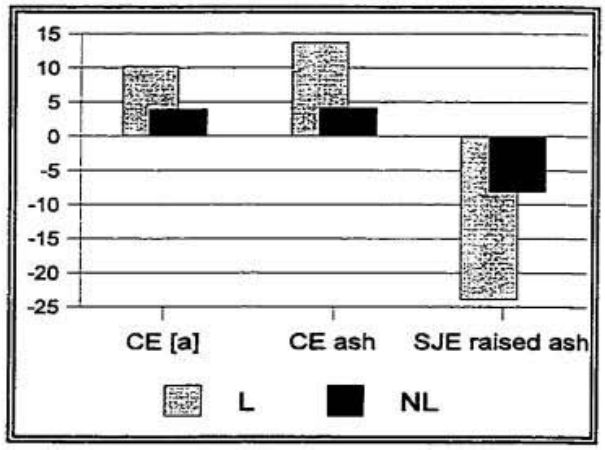

Figure 4.6 Differences in the mean usage of preadolescents and adolescents for the variants of (æ) in casual style according to parental origin

Figure 4.6 displays the difference in the means for each of the three variants between the adolescents of each parentage group and their preadolescent peers. The most drastic difference between the L-parent age groups is the mean of the SJE raised variant, which in the adolescent group is almost 24% lower than the preadolescent mean. Surprisingly, this difference is not significant.

4.2.6 The variable (aj)

The results for the variable (aj) in words like *height* and *life* are almost identical across the age groups[3]; overall, adolescents use just 0.18% less of the [əj] variant (and 0.18% more of the SJE [ʌj] variant) than the preadolescents do. Not surprisingly, the differences are not significant.

This lower overall use of the CE/SJE [əj] variant in the adolescent group results from usage in free conversation rather than in word list style. This can be observed in Table 4.3 below. In the formal context of the word list, both L and NL-parent adolescents produce [əj] more often than their preadolescent peers do. In the informal context of free conversation, however, the preadolescent groups use the CE/SJE [əj] variant more often (and the SJE raised and retracted variant less often) than the adolescents do.

While these differences in the informal context are not significant, they may be indicative of the shift toward CE phonological patterns in St. John's. That is, the higher use of [əj] in free conversation, the unmonitored speech style, by the preadolescent participants,

particularly those of L parentage, may be indicative of the general direction of sound change in SJE that sees younger speakers adopting CE norms.

Table 4.3 Mean usage for the variants of (aj) in the raising environment

Variant	Parental Origin	Age			
		Preadolescent		Adolescent	
		Casual style			
[əj]	L	76.79	85.19	63.49	78.63
	NL	94.23		92.65	
[ʌj]	L	23.21	14.81	36.51	21.37
	NL	5.77		7.35	
		Careful style			
[əj]	L	79.41	82.43	85	92.5
	NL	85		100	
[ʌj]	L	20.59	17.57	15	7.5
	NL	15		0	

4.2.7 The variable (aw)-1

No significant differences occur between preadolescents and adolescents for the variable (aw)-1, which represents raising of the nucleus of the /aw/ diphthong in words like *house* and *out*. Preadolescents use the CE raised variant an average of 97.45% and their adolescent peers use it an average of 98.81%. The SJE low variant is used by preadolescents in the raising environment an average of 2.55% and by adolescents an average of 1.19%.

4.2.8 The variable (aw)-2

Figure 4.7 shows the results for the variable (aw)-2, or (aw)-Fronting, according to age. A comparison of the mean usage for the preadolescent and adolescent groups reveals that use of central variants in the /aw/ diphthong is greater in the adolescent group while the use of the traditional back variants is less than among the preadolescents. The adolescents also use innovative front variants more often than do their preadolescent peers, although this difference is marginal.

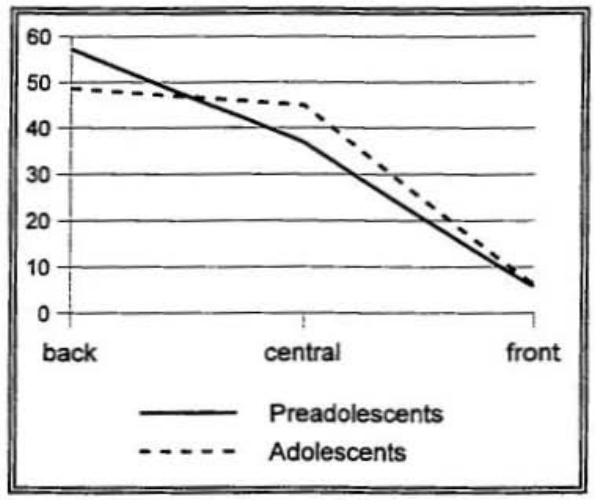

Figure 4.7 Mean usage for the variants of (aw)-2 according to age

Statistical analysis reveals that none of these differences between the age groups are significant. However, the results are not as uniform as this figure suggests.

When the results for casual style are separated from those for careful style, we find that in free conversation, significant differences in the use of back and central nuclei separate the two age groups. These results are given in Figure 4.8.

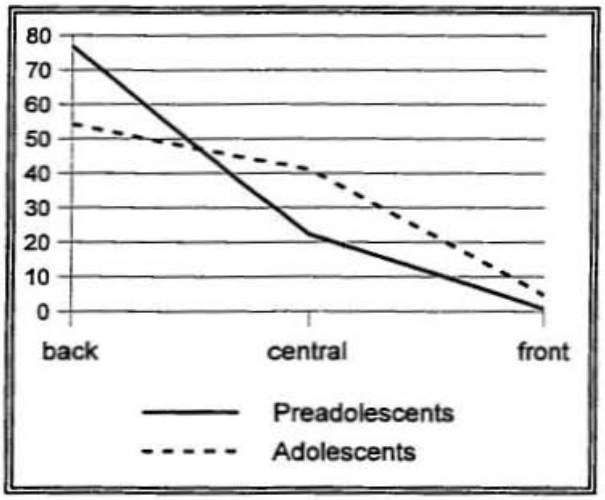

Figure 4.8 Mean usage for the variants of (aw)-2 in casual style according to age

The adolescents use traditional back nuclei almost 23% less than do the preadolescents, a difference which is significant at the .05 level ($p = .026$, $F = 6.19$, $df = 1/14$). Likewise, the almost 19% greater use of central nuclei by the adolescents is also significant at the .05 level ($p = .023$, $F = 6.57$, $df = 1/14$).

In the previous chapter (section 3.3.2.2), it was suggested that age plays a distinct role within each of the parentage groups for the variable (aw)-2. A comparison of the results in Figure 3.10 and in Table 3.5 indicates that over both styles, the means for each of the variants of (aw)-2 appear stable between preadolescent and adolescent L-parent speakers. This was

not the case for NL-parent speakers and as a result, it was suggested that the greater use of innovative variants by NL-parent adolescents indicates that this variable is mainly stratified by age for NL-parent speakers in St. John's. However, when the results for careful style are separated from those for casual style, we find that the means are not in fact stable within the group of L-parent speakers: in casual style, the means of L-parent preadolescents and adolescents exhibit a greater difference than in careful style. These trends can be observed in Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4 Mean usage of the variants of (aw)-2 by L-parent speakers according to age and style

Variant	Casual style		Careful style	
	Preadolescent	Adolescent	Preadolescent	Adolescent
back nuclei	80.36	68	41.18	48.75
central nuclei	17.86	32	52.94	42.5
front nuclei	1.78	0	5.88	8.75

The over 14% difference in the use of central nuclei between the L-parent age groups in casual style[4] is significant at the .05 level ($p = .035$, $F = 7.35$, $df = 1/6$).

These results suggest that (aw)-2 is therefore stratified by age for both NL and L-parent speakers; both groups shift toward the CE pattern for (aw)-Fronting in adolescence. Moreover, it is interesting that the L-parent age groups are significantly differentiated in casual and not careful style, suggesting that the trend away from the backed realizations is being unconsciously introduced into the local adolescent speech community.

4.2.9 The variable (t)

Analysis of the effects of age on the usage of the variable (t) reveals no significant differences between preadolescents and adolescents in St. John's. Table 4.5 displays the results for this feature. Although the differences are not significant, it is noteworthy that preadolescents use more of the CE stop variant, and less of the SJE slit fricative variant, than adolescents do.

Table 4.5 Mean usage for the variable (t) according to age

Variant	Age	
	Preadolescent	Adolescent
[t]	79.65	66.92
[t]	20.35	33.08

4.3 Discussion

The results presented here suggest that in St. John's, age is a less significant social variable than parental origin is. Statistical analysis has revealed age to be significant for only two of the nine phonological variables investigated here, namely (ar) and (aw)-2. For (ar), the greater use of the CE back [*aɹ*] variant by adolescents across styles is significant at the .05 level. For (aw)-2, it is differences in the use of back and central nuclei in free conversation that are significant. In casual style, adolescents use an average of almost 23% fewer back nuclei than preadolescents do ($p < .05$) but use almost 19% more central nuclei than their younger peers ($p < .05$).

Assuming the validity of the apparent time construct[5], the results for these two variables indicate a growing adherence to their CE patterns in adolescence. Such an indication is particularly interesting in the case of (aw)-2, since previous research (Colbourne 1982; Clarke 1991; D'Arcy 1999) has indicated a stylistic diffusion of CE features in both rural and urban Newfoundland, whereby CE features are incorporated into more formal speech styles. The results for (aw)-2, however, suggest that (aw)-Fronting may already be embedded in the adolescent speech community, since the L-parent age groups are differentiated not so much in careful style as in casual style.

For the seven remaining phonological variables, no significant differences were found between the two age groups. Of these seven variables, most show the tendency to follow the pattern of age stratification established by (ar) and (aw)-2 whereby adolescents use more CE, and fewer SJE, variants than preadolescents do. These are discussed in the following subsection, while four that do not follow this pattern – (ɛr), (aj), (t), and (ʌ) – will be discussed below in section 4.3.2.

4.3.1 Age stratification

Like (ar) and (aw)-2, the variables (a), (æ), and (aw)-1 all follow the same pattern of age stratification that sees adolescents using more CE variants, and fewer SJE variants, than preadolescents do. Although these differences are not significant for these three variables, it seems that as girls in St. John's cross the boundary from preadolescence to adolescence, they begin to curb their use of local SJE features and use more CE features.

Regarding the nature of this age stratification of dialect features in St. John's, age-graded changes are generally considered to "recur at a particular age in successive generations" (Chambers 1995:188). Such changes are regular, predictable, and reversible. Because the participants are middle class females, and because it is likely that the differences between the age groups are sociolectal in nature, in other words, are responses to social and economic pressures, it is unlikely that the age pattern established by (ar) and (aw)-2 in St. John's is an example of age grading. Additionally, Clarke (1991) found the apparent levelling toward CE norms in St. John's to be significantly correlated with age (112-3). There is therefore no reason to assume that the current age stratification of CE and SJE features in the city reflects anything other than the ongoing phonological change previously noted. The stylistic pattern established by the majority of the variables investigated, a pattern which will be discussed in the following chapter, supports this view. It will be shown that the use of local SJE variants decreases in formal style, while that of CE variants increases, indicating an awareness of the social evaluations of these features.

4.3.2 The variables (ɛr), (aj), (t) and (ʌ)

As discussed above, the variables (ɛr), (aj) and (t) do not follow the pattern of age stratification exhibited by (ar) and (aw)-2. That is, rather than using more CE variants (and fewer SJE variants) than the preadolescent group does, adolescents use fewer CE variants (and more SJE variants) than the preadolescents for these three variables.

It must be noted, however, that the results for (ɛr) are inconclusive at best. The difference in the usage of the two variants between the age groups is less than 1%, and as a result of too few tokens being collected in free conversation, only the word list data is available for analysis.

As for the (aj) and (t) variables, the results may suggest that they are actively involved in the process of levelling toward the CE norm (cf. Clarke 1991). That is, rather than the CE features being accommodated to in adolescence, a higher proportion of CE variants are already a part of the younger speakers' grammars. What is interesting about such a suggestion is the social status of the local SJE variants. Regarding (aj), there is thus far no indication that [ʌj] is stigmatized in SJE; it is not subject to overt comment. Regarding (t), previous research (Clarke 1986) has shown that [t̪] is not a stigmatized feature of SJE either. In fact, anecdotal evidence suggests that many speakers are not even aware of the local slit fricative variant. Empirical support for this suggestion comes from Clarke's (1986) research, which shows that the slit fricative does not behave like most local variants in that usage does not decrease in formal speech styles.

The (ʌ) variable patterns somewhat differently from the three just treated, in that the finding of greater overall usage of the CE variant by preadolescents rather than adolescents results from the behaviour of just one of the parentage groups. As discussed in section 4.2.4, it is the L-parent speakers who do not follow the general pattern of age stratification for this feature. Instead, L-parent adolescents use fewer CE variants, and more SJE variants, than their preadolescent peers do. As can be observed in Table 4.2, however, NL-parent

adolescents follow the pattern of age stratification established by (ar) and (aw)-2; they use the CE [ʌ] variant slightly more than their preadolescents peers do, and as well, use slightly less intermediate [ɐ] than the younger NL-parent speakers do[6]. Previous research (Clarke 1986) on SJE has shown that the local [ɔ] pronunciation is stigmatized in SJE. Moreover, younger speakers are shifting toward the CE [ʌ] variant. Considering the high mean percentage usage of CE [ʌ] by L-parent speakers (see for example Figure 3.4), it is possible that the levelling process may be almost complete in SJE.

4.3.3 Evaluation

As discussed in Chapter 2, Eckert (1988) suggests that during preadolescence, parental social class is the best predictor of vowel qualities (201) but that during adolescence it is social identity that becomes the best predictor. Consequently, it was hypothesized that a difference in the use of phonological features might appear as a function of age in the current study. This prediction has been borne out, although only two variables show significant differences between the age groups. It appears, however, that for the majority of the variables investigated, middle class female adolescents in St. John's wish to be identified with their peers on the mainland. The indication is therefore that changes in the use of local and CE features between preadolescence and adolescence are in fact sociolectal and do not represent examples of age-grading. Eckert (2000) writes that:

> [A]dolescence is not a magical beginning of social consciousness, but a license and an imperative to begin acting on certain kinds of social knowledge that the age cohort has been developing for years. (8)

The kinds of social knowledge that may be a factor in adolescent trends in St. John's will be considered in a discussion of stylistic stratification in section 5.3.2 of the following chapter.

Chapter 5

Stylistic conditioning

5.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter is the stylistic conditioning of phonological variables in St. John's. Examination of the results reveals style to be a significant factor for only three of the nine variables investigated, namely (ar), (a) and (aw)-2. The analysis reveals, however, a pattern of stylistic conditioning that is followed by all but one of the variables whereby the mean percentage usage of CE variants increases in careful style, while that of local SJE variants decreases in this formal context. The analysis also indicates that preadolescents are not "monostylistic" (Wolfram & Fasold 1974:92) speakers but exhibit a high degree of stylistic variation. Finally, in Chapter 3 it was seen that parental origin has a quantitative effect on a speaker's phonology. The current analysis of the results reveals this effect to be stylistic as well as phonetic, a finding which will be discussed in section 5.3.3. The following section, however, looks at the effects of style on each of the variables investigated.

5.2 Results

5.2.1 The variable (ar)

The stylistic results for the variable (ar) reveal an unusual pattern of stylistic conditioning, one that is unique among the phonological variables investigated here. As shown in Table 5.1 below, in words like *star* and *start*, mean overall[1] percentage usage of the CE variant decreases in careful style, while the usage of the SJE variant [æɹ] increases.

Table 5.1 Mean usage for the variants of (ar) according to style

Variant	Style	
	Casual	Careful
[ɑɹ]	57.63	48.43
[aɹ]	25.85	22.01
[æɹ]	16.53	29.56

Although this pattern of style switching occurs within both the parentage groups, it is most exaggerated within the group of younger L-parent speakers. Figure 5.1 displays the results for this group.

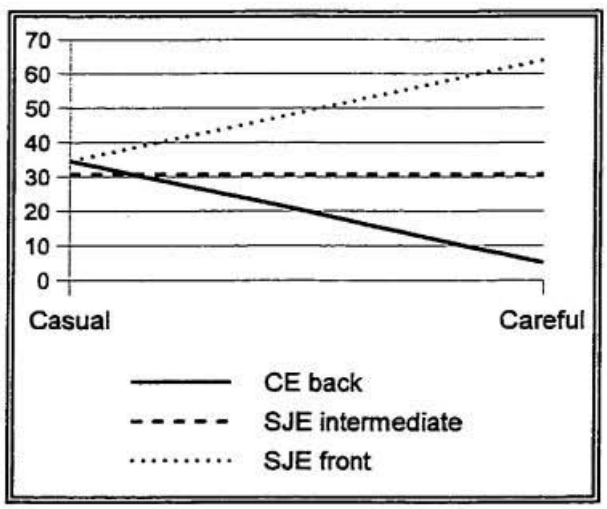

Figure 5.1 Mean usage for the variants of (ar) for L-parent preadolescents according to style

Between casual and careful style, the increase of 29.5% in the use of the SJE [æɹ] variant is not significant; however, the equal decrease in the use of the CE variant is ($p < .05$).

The variable (ar) is unusual for another reason. Although the overall means for each of the parentage groups indicate that use of the CE variant decreases in careful style, the stylistic behaviour of L-parent speakers is divided along age lines while that of NL-parent speakers is cohesive. That is, both NL-parent preadolescents and adolescents decrease their use of [*aɹ*] in careful style as do L-parent preadolescents, although this decrease in the adolescent group is minimal. L-parent adolescents, on the other hand, actually increase their use of the CE variant in careful style by 17%. This result will be discussed further in section 5.3.2.

5.2.2 The variable (ɛr)

The stylistic behaviour of (ɛr) has not been analyzed. Only 33 tokens occurred in casual style, compared to the 151 collected in careful style. Additionally, only 11 of the 16 participants produced tokens of prevocalic (ɛr) during the free conversation segments of the interviews, two of them producing only one token each. As a result of this combination of factors, no meaningful generalizations could be made regarding the stylistic behaviour of (ɛr).

5.2.3 The variable (a)

As seen in Table 5.2, the results for (a) indicate that in careful style, use of the CE [*a*] variant in the *cot* lexical set increases while that of the more fronted SJE variants decreases. This result is consistent across the parentage and the age groups; both L and NL-parent speakers have higher means for the CE variant and lower ones for the SJE variants

Table 5.2 Mean usage for the variants of (a) according to style

Variant	Style	
	Casual	Careful
[ɑ]	75.11	86.55
[a̲]	12.56	8.68
[a]	12.33	4.76

What is not consistent, however, is the degree of style switching within the parentage groups and the age groups. On average, NL-parent speakers shift 2.86% between careful and casual style. Their L-parent peers switch almost six times as much, shifting an average of 12.81%. Likewise, stylistic variation is greater within the adolescent group than within the preadolescent group.

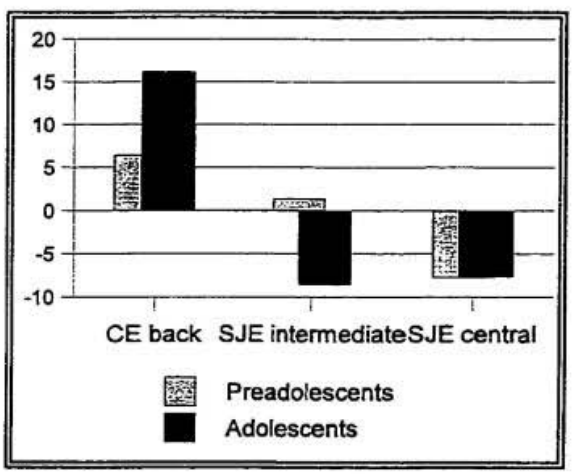

Figure 5.2 Percentage difference in the mean usage of the variants of (a) between casual and careful style according to age

As can be seen in Figure 5.2 (negative numbers represent a decrease in the mean percentage usage in careful style), the means of the preadolescent group fluctuate less than do those of the adolescent group. The adolescents' decrease in use of the intermediate SJE [a̲] variant from 12.25% in casual style to 3.7% in careful style is significant at the .05 level ($p = .025$, $F = 6.27$, $df = 1/14$).

5.2.4 The variable (ʌ)

No significant differences occur between careful and casual style for any of the variants of the *cut* vowel. However, as with the variable (a), three trends are indicated by the results. First, overall use of the CE variant [ʌ] increases while use of the SJE variants decreases slightly in the formal context. This can be seen in Table 5.3 below.

Table 5.3 Mean usage for the variants of (ʌ) according to style

Variant	Style	
	Casual	Careful
[ʌ]	88.53	93.11
[ʌ̲]	6.49	5.57
[ɔ]	4.98	1.31

Second, L-parent speakers style switch to a greater extent than NL-parent speakers do. Between careful and casual style, speakers of L parentage shift an average of almost 6%. Speakers of NL parentage shift less than 1% between the two styles.

Third, older speakers style switch to a greater extent than younger ones do. Fluctuations in the means of the adolescent group average just over 5.5% between styles while those of their preadolescent peers average less than 1%.

5.2.5 The variable (æ)

Statistical analysis of the results for the variable (æ) reveals that style is not a significant factor in the realizations of the *mad* vowel.

As is the case with (a) and (ʌ), mean percentage usage of the traditional CE variant is greater in careful style than in casual style. Likewise, use of the traditional SJE variant decreases in careful style. Unlike (a) and (ʌ), (æ) has an innovative variant, the use of which increases slightly in careful style. The overall means are listed in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Mean usage for the variants of (æ) according to style

Variant	Style	
	Casual	Careful
[a]	11.65	13.54
[æ]	45.93	54.39
[æ̝]	42.41	32.07

What Table 5.4 does not show is that it is again L-parent speakers who style switch to a greater extent, particularly in the case of the traditional CE variant. The use of [æ] by speakers of L parentage increases by 13.6% in careful style. In contrast, NL-parent speakers increase their use of this variant by only 4%.

5.2.6 The variable (aj)

As expected, use of the raised [əj] variant of the *height* diphthong increases in careful style while use of the raised and retracted SJE [ʌj] variant decreases. Neither of these differences is significant.

Notably, it is once again the group of L-parent speakers who style switch to a larger extent than NL-parent speakers do. Figure 5.3 displays the means of the L-parent group.

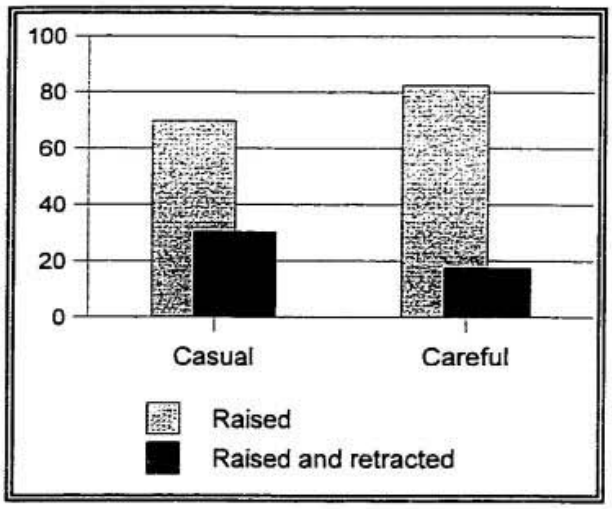

Figure 5.3 Mean usage for the variants of (aj) in the raising environment for L-parent speakers according to style

While the means of the NL parentage group change by an average of less than 1% between styles, those of the L parentage group change by an average of 12.68%.

What is particularly striking is the difference between the age groups. As shown in Figure 5.4 below, older speakers switch an average of five times the amount their younger peers do.

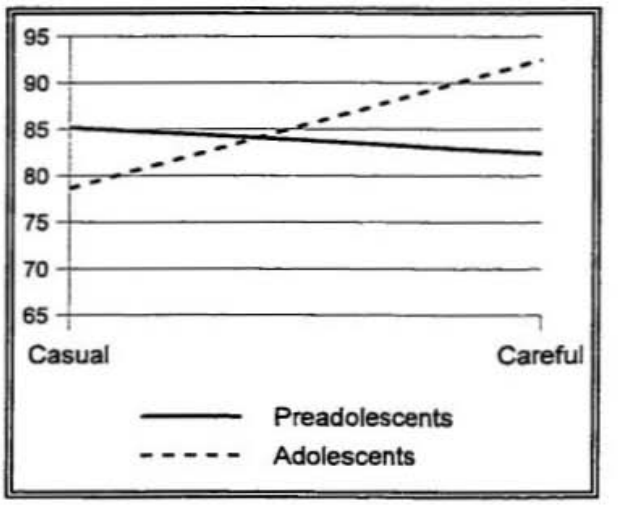

Figure 5.4 Mean usage for [əj] according to style and age

This distinct cross-over pattern indicates that in casual style, adolescents use the raised [əj] variant less often than preadolescents do, but in careful style they surpass the usage of younger speakers. Although no significance emerged from the stylistic difference between the age groups, the results suggest that this variant is more deeply entrenched in the phonologies of younger speakers in St. John's, while older speakers appear to be more conscious of the CE norm and attempt to incorporate it into their more careful speech style.

5.2.7 The variable (aw)-1

No significant differences occur between careful and casual style for the variable (aw)-1. Raised nuclei always occur in words like *house* and *out* in careful style, and in casual style they occur over 96% of the time. Despite being small, this decrease is just short of significance ($p = .078$, $F = 3.34$, $df = 1/30$).

5.2.8 The variable (aw)-2

Style is a highly significant factor in the use of the (aw)-2 variable in St. John's. Figure 5.5 shows the overall means for each of the variants in careful and casual style.

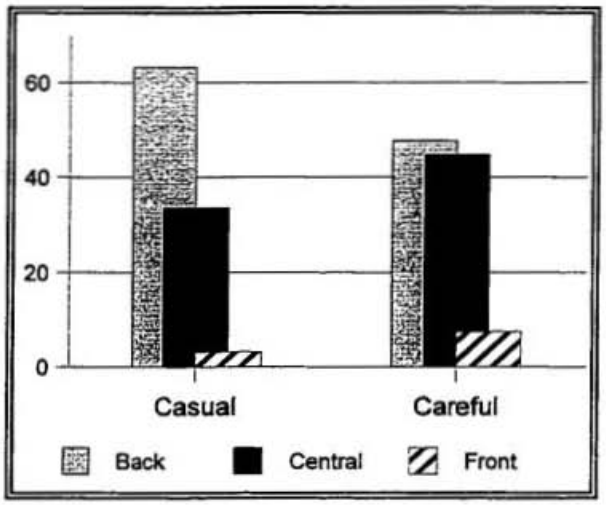

Figure 5.5 Mean usage for the variants of (aw)-2 according to style

As can be seen, the mean percentage usage of back nuclei in the /aw/ diphthong in words like *out* and *loud* decreases by 15.62% in careful style. In contrast, the means for central and front nuclei increase in the more formal context.

Table 5.5 Significance of style for the variable (aw)-2

Variant	df	F-statistic	Significance
back nuclei	1/30	15.02	.001
central nuclei	1/30	11.25	.002
front nuclei	1/30	8.32	.007

In the case of central nuclei, this increase is 11.23% and in the case of front, 4.4%; this represents a doubling in the use of both variants from casual style. The significance of these results is listed in Table 5.5 above.

Interestingly, when the age groups are examined separately, stylistic conditioning ceases to be significant within the adolescent group but remains so within the preadolescent group. The means for the preadolescents are shown in Figure 5.6, in which the stylistic pattern for (aw)-2 is exaggerated from that in Figure 5.5.

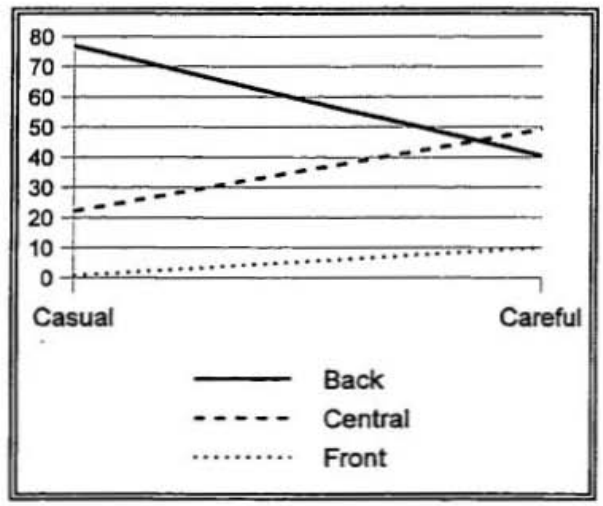

Figure 5.6 Means for the variants of (aw)-2 for preadolescents according to style

Table 5.6 lists the significance of the results displayed in Figure 5.6. The degree of style switching within the preadolescent group is striking, and combined with the fact that differences in the means for careful and casual style are significant at at least the .02 level,

suggests that younger speakers in St. John's are aware of the CE innovation of (aw)-Fronting and attempt to approximate it in careful styles.

Table 5.6 Significance of style for the variable (aw)-2 within the preadolescent group

Variant	df	F-statistic	Significance
back nuclei	1/14	15.97	.001
central nuclei	1/14	9.99	.007
front nuclei	1/14	7.44	.016

Closer examination of the data, however, indicates that the situation is more complex. When the parentage groups are considered separately, irrespective of age, stylistic conditioning remains significant within the L-parent group but mostly fails to be so within the NL-parent group. Both parentage groups decrease their use of back nuclei and increase their use of central and front nuclei in careful style; only the first of these is significant within the NL-parent group[2]. The results for L-parent speakers are displayed in Figure 5.7 below.

The increase in the use of front nuclei in careful style is significant at the .05 level ($p = .03$, $F = 5.82$, $df = 1/12$). The increase in the use of central nuclei ($p = .009$, $F = 9.04$, $df = 1/14$) and the decrease in the use of back nuclei ($p = .003$, $F = 13.31$, $df = 1/14$) in this style are both significant at the .01 level.

These results will be discussed in more detail in section 5.3.1 below.

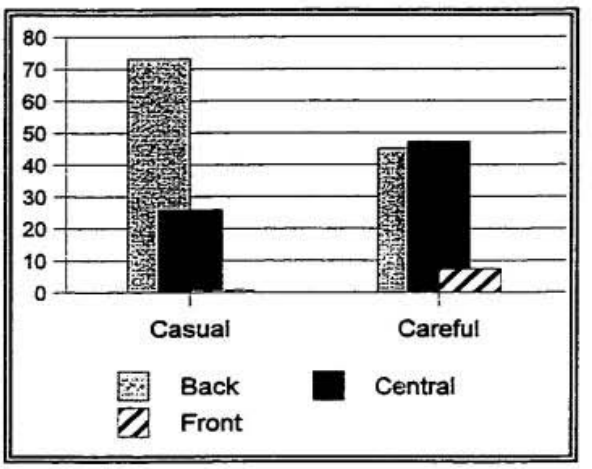

Figure 5.7 Mean usage for the variants of (aw)-2 for L-parent speakers according to style

5.2.9 The variable (t)

Table 5.7 lists the results for the variable (t) according to style. As can be seen, there is little fluctuation in the means between careful and casual style. Moreover, none of the differences are significant.

Table 5.7 Mean usage for the variants of (t) according to style

Variant	Style	
	Casual	Careful
[t]	70	76.88
[t]	30	23.12

Notably, this variable follows the established stylistic pattern whereby use of the CE variant increases in careful style while that of the SJE variant decreases. Such a result for this variable is not necessarily expected. Clarke (1986) found that the slit fricative is "at least

as characteristic of formal as it is of informal style" (73-4); in fact, contrary to the current findings, use of the slit fricative increased in careful style (see Table 6 of Clarke 1986:81).

5.3 Discussion

The analysis of style has indicated two major trends. The first of these is a pattern of stylistic conditioning in which the use of CE variants increases in careful style while the use of SJE variants decreases in this formal context. Second, parental origin has stylistic effects: speakers of L parentage appear to shift more toward CE norms than do those of NL parentage.

Prior to a discussion of these trends, a third finding will be discussed: the fact that the preadolescents in the St. John's sample exhibit a high degree of stylistic variation.

5.3.1 Preadolescent style switching

It is an established sociolinguistic fact that contrary to Labov's (1964) original proposal (see also Wolfram & Fasold 1974), the acquisition of stylistic variation begins well before adolescence (Reid 1978; Romaine 1984; Anderson 1990). The results presented here add further support to previous research demonstrating the stylistic abilities of preadolescent speakers, as well as to Eckert's (2000) claim that a "child's language is not simply a manifestation of an effort to develop 'real' language, but a fully mature linguistic form for that stage of childhood" (10). Not only do the preadolescents in the St. John's sample exhibit a high degree of stylistic variation, but for four of the eight phonological variables investigated they shift to a greater degree between styles than do the adolescents. This is best

illustrated by the differences in the mean percentage usages of CE variants between styles. These differences are shown in Figure 5.8.

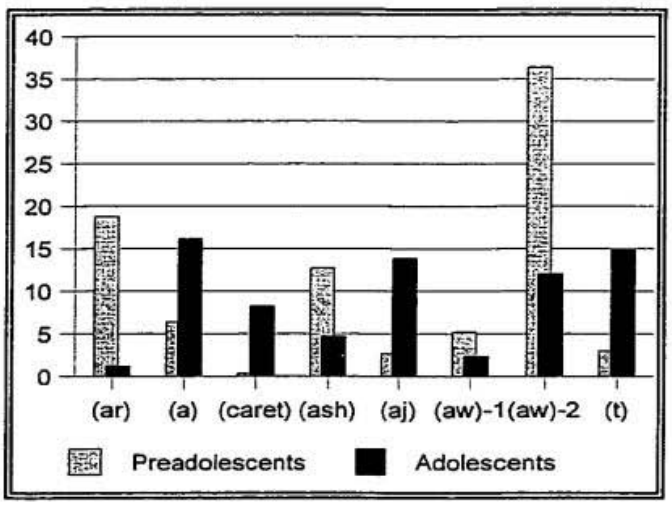

Figure 5.8 Differences in the mean usage of CE variants between careful and casual style according to age

These results also indicate that the preadolescents in the sample have a greater overall stylistic range than the adolescents do. As can be seen in Figure 5.8, the least the adolescents shift between styles is 1.22% while the most that their mean changes is 16.18%. The preadolescents on the other hand have a lower threshold of .36% but an upper shifting threshold of 36.44%.

This greater range does not, however, apply across the board: preadolescents do not exhibit a larger degree of style shifting for each of the variables investigated. A striking counterexample was seen in section 5.2.6, where adolescents use the [əj] variant of (aj) less

than preadolescents do in casual style, but make a dramatic shift in careful style where their use of this variant exceeds that of their preadolescent peers.

The examination of style has also shown that the preadolescents in the sample largely reflect the adultlike patterns of their adolescent peers. That is, while the means of the age groups are more disparate in casual style, they tend to converge in careful style. This tendency can be observed in Table 5.8 below, which lists the means for the CE variants of the eight variables investigated.

Table 5.8 Mean usage for the CE variants according to style and age

CE Variant	Casual style		Careful style	
	Preadolescent	Adolescent	Preadolescent	Adolescent
[*aɪ*]	50.46	63.78	31.65	65.0
[*a*]	72.14	77.47	78.57	93.65
[ʌ]	92.05	85.48	92.41	93.75
[æ]	41.31	50.0	54.04	54.71
[əj]	85.19	78.63	82.43	92.5
[ʌw ~ ɐw ~ ɛw]	94.74	97.62	100	100
[ʌw ~ *a*w]	76.98	54.21	40.54	42.14
[t]	80.92	61.01	77.89	75.96

Two glaring counterexamples of convergence in careful style are the means for [*aɪ*] and [*a*], which are more similar in casual style, although this result for [*aɪ*] is likely a result of the stylistic behaviour of L-parent adolescents noted in section 5.2.1 above and discussed in section 5.3.2 below.

What is interesting about the stylistic behaviour of the preadolescent group is that it adds to the growing body of research showing that children not only exhibit patterns of variation for stable linguistic variables, but also for those representing change in progress (e.g. Payne 1980; Roberts & Labov 1995; Roberts 1997). The most striking support for this was given in section 5.2.8, where stylistic variation within the preadolescent group for (aw)-2, representing (aw)-Fronting, was shown to be significant ($p = .016$). Unlike the changes in progress examined in previous research, however, (aw)-Fronting has largely been introduced to the community from an external source[3].

5.3.2 Stylistic stratification

As seen, seven of the eight[4] phonological variables investigated indicate a pattern of stylistic conditioning in which the use of CE variants increases in careful style while that of SJE variants decreases in this style. The only variable that does not follow this pattern is (ar).

5.3.2.1 The case of (ar)

As seen in section 5.2.1 above, use of the CE [*aɹ*] variant of (ar) decreases in the formal context while that of SJE [æɹ] increases. D'Arcy (1999) has suggested that this unusual stylistic behaviour may indicate that (ar) functions as a marker of membership in the local speech community. As such, speakers may aim for a more local pronunciation in formal speech. Support for this hypothesis comes from three sources. First, speakers of L parentage use SJE [æɹ] an average of 48.1% in careful style, more than any other SJE variant

investigated[5]. In casual style, where the mean usage of this variant drops, the reduced mean of 34% is equaled only by the mean for the [t] variant of (t). However, because previous research (Clarke 1986) has established [t] as both an unstigmatized feature of SJE and as a female marker in the community, the high mean percentage usage of the slit fricative by the young women in the sample in casual style is not surprising. The fact that the mean percentage usage of the SJE variant of (ar) is so high in casual style suggests that this variant remains strong in the face of levelling toward the CE norm. Positing (ar) as a marker of membership in the St. John's speech community explains why this feature has not levelled to the extent that other SJE features have.

Second, although NL-parent speakers do not use the SJE [æɹ] variant to the same extent as their L-parent peers do, they nonetheless follow the unusual pattern of stylistic stratification unique to (ar). This suggests that the stylistic behaviour of (ar) is an established community norm, indicating that speakers do not avoid more local pronunciations in formal contexts.

Third, as discussed earlier, L-parent adolescents reverse the unusual stylistic pattern of (ar) and increase their use of the CE variant in careful style. One interpretation of this behaviour supports the suggestion that local variants of (ar) mark membership in the St. John's speech community. This interpretation is based on the results of attitude studies in Newfoundland. Clarke (1982) found that in St. John's, speakers feel that for certain social settings there is a need to master "some standard form of English if they wish to advance in terms of socio-economic status" (103). Hampson (1982) found that speaker age is clearly

a factor in determining attitudes in Newfoundland toward different varieties of English. She found that while ten year olds exhibit a "flatter profile" (55), making "noticeably less obvious discriminations between standard and non-standard dialects" (53-4)[6], teenagers do not exhibit this profile. Additionally, Hampson's research suggests that speakers look to Toronto and "other mainland centres" (55) for their model of prestige speech. When these results are considered in conjunction with the perspective that adolescence is "a license and an imperative to begin acting on certain kinds of social knowledge that the age cohort has been developing for years" (Eckert 2000:8), it is quite possible that the reversal of the stylistic pattern by L-parent adolescents is triggered by the sociolinguistic knowledge that (ar) functions as a marker of membership in the local speech community. If this interpretation is correct, then the reversal is triggered by the association of CE norms with prestige speech and the perceived socio-economic benefits.

5.3.2.2 Innovative variants

As discussed in sections 5.2.5 and 5.2.8 above, mean percentage usage of the innovative [a] variant of (æ) as well as of fronted nuclei of the /aw/ diphthong increases in careful style. This result is consistent with the overall stylistic pattern emerging from this study, considering that these variants are being introduced into SJE from CE. It is therefore not surprising that use of these variants should increase in a formal context, as this is the general tendency associated with CE variants. However, the behaviour of the innovative variants is not as homogenous as it might appear. As was seen in section 5.2.5, use of the

innovative [a] variant of (æ) increases by less than 2% in careful style, an increase that is not significant. Increases in the use of central and front nuclei for (aw)-2 in careful style are much greater and as shown in Table 5.5, are highly significant.

Table 5.9 Means for the variants of (æ) according to style and parental origin

Variant	Style			
	Casual		Careful	
	L	NL	L	NL
[a]	8.37	14.58	4.0	22.17
[æ]	40.93	50.42	54.50	54.5
[æ̝]	50.70	35.0	41.80	23.53

Regarding (æ), results presented in Chapter 3 indicate that across styles, NL-parent speakers use the innovative [a] variant significantly more than do L-parent speakers[7] ($p=.001$). Moreover, it was noted in section 3.2.5 that when the styles are examined separately, the difference in usage between the parentage groups is significant in careful style ($p < .01$) but not in casual style. As a result, it was suggested that (æ) Retraction and Lowering is not making strong inroads in SJE (see section 3.3.2.1). This suggestion is further supported by the anomalous result that L-parent speakers actually decrease their use of [a] in careful style while that of NL-parent speakers increases. This result can be observed in Table 5.9 above.

Unlike (æ) Retraction and Lowering, (aw)-Fronting appears to be making strong inroads into SJE. As seen in section 5.2.8 above, however, the pattern of incursion of fronted

nuclei into SJE is by no means straightforward. There it was noted that the decrease in the use of back nuclei and the increase in the use of front nuclei are all significant in careful style – a result that suggests that speakers attempt to approximate the innovative CE value in formal contexts. It was also seen that when the age groups were examined separately, style differences in the adolescent group did not prove significant, unlike those in the preadolescent group – an indication that the style shift towards the innovative variant is more consistent among preadolescents. Finally, it was shown that stylistic conditioning was significant for all three variants within the L-parent group but not within the NL-parent group. What these results do not reveal is that the means for NL-parent speakers are consistently higher than those of L-parent speakers for innovative fronted nuclei and consistently lower than those of L-parent speakers for traditional back nuclei. Additionally, while both parentage groups exhibit stylistic variation, style shifting is greater within the L-parent group than within the NL-parent group. These trends can be seen in Table 5.10.

Table 5.10 Means for the variants of (aw)-2 according to style and parental origin

Variant	Style			
	Careful		Casual	
	L	NL	L	NL
back nuclei	45.27	37.73	73.28	56.22
central nuclei	47.30	51.57	25.95	38.92
front nuclei	7.43	10.7	.76	4.86

The sum of these results suggests that (aw)-Fronting is stylistically conditioned in St. John's. Fronted variants are more prevalent in careful style, and it is younger speakers and L-parent speakers who are consistently attempting to approximate them in their formal register. The results from Table 5.10 above suggest that NL-parent speakers have assimilated the CE variants further into their phonologies than L-parent speakers have.

5.3.3 The role of parentage

In D'Arcy (1999) it was suggested that while speakers with NL parents exhibit a certain degree of stylistic variation, those with L parents appear to make a more conscious effort to adjust their speech toward the CE norm in formal contexts. This same effort is indicated by the results of the current research and can be observed in Figure 5.9.

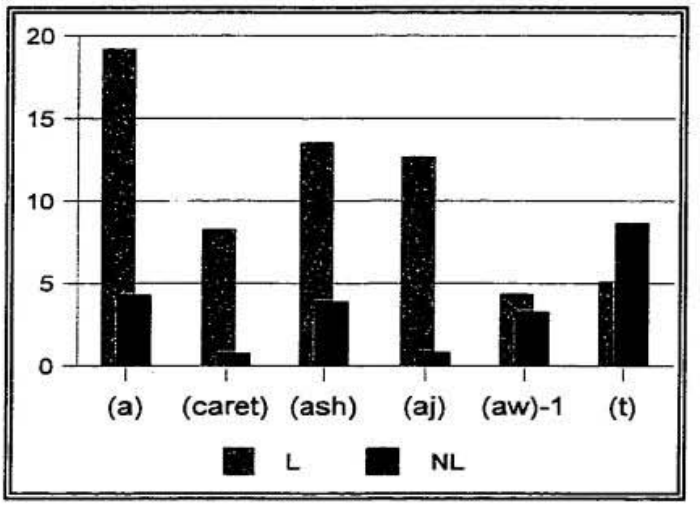

Figure 5.9 Differences in the overall mean usage of CE variants between careful and casual style according to parental origin

As shown earlier in this chapter, the only variable for which NL-parent speakers show a greater degree of style-shifting than their L-parent peers is (t). The variables (ar) and (aw)-2 are not listed because, as has been seen, the stylistic behaviour of (ar) is the opposite of that of the other phonological variables, and while (aw)-2 follows the pattern of stylistic conditioning for innovative variants, its traditional variant is forced to behave differently.

Additionally, while L-parent speakers rarely attain the mean percentage usage of CE variants that their NL-parent peers do in careful style, they come close to approximating it as demonstrated by Table 5.11.

Table 5.11 Mean usage for the CE variants in careful style according to parental origin

CE Variant	Parental origin	
	L	NL
[*a*]	82.63	90
[ʌ]	90.34	95.63
[æ]	54.5	54.3
[əj]	82.43	92.5
[ʌw]	100	100
[t]	70.53	82.69

As seen in Chapter 3, NL-parent speakers tend to use more CE variants than L-parent speakers do regardless of context and so that they should style switch to a lesser extent is a natural consequence of this result. However, while it follows that NL-parent speakers should show less stylistic variation than L-parent speakers as a result of the already high frequency

of CE variants in their speech, it does not necessarily follow that L-parent speakers should appear to make such consistent efforts to switch to CE norms in formal contexts. This tendency on the part of speakers of L parentage is, however, analogous with the previous findings in both rural and urban Newfoundland (Colbourne 1982; Clarke 1991; D'Arcy 1999) that CE features appear to be entering the community through careful speech styles. This "stylistic diffusion" (Clarke 1991:119) of CE norms in St. John's is evidenced by the tendency of L-parent speakers to switch toward CE variants in careful speech. Evidence for this tendency was also seen in Chapter 3 where significant differences between L and NL-parent speakers often appear in casual style while rarely occurring in careful style[8].

5.3.4 Summary

The results presented in this chapter have indicated two main stylistic trends. The first is that mean percentage usage of CE variants increases in careful style while the usage of SJE variants decreases. Regarding the CE variants, it was suggested that when a choice between innovative and conservative variants must be made in careful style, innovative variants take precedence. Second, L-parent speakers exhibit greater stylistic variation than NL-parent speakers do. It was suggested that this tendency of L-parent speakers is indicative of the stylistic diffusion of CE features in SJE.

It was also noted that the preadolescents in the sample are not monostylistic speakers but in fact exhibit substantial stylistic variation. This finding supports current sociolinguistic theory and is in itself unremarkable. What is interesting about this result is that it provides

further evidence that children use patterns of variation representing change in progress, a striking result in the St. John's context since the influence in the cases in question comes from an external source.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The principal aim of this thesis was to investigate phonological patterns in St. John's, Newfoundland, to determine the extent to which parental origin influences the ability of locally born and raised speakers to master phonological aspects of the local dialect. Previous research in this vein (Payne 1980; Trudgill 1982,1986) has indicated that when the parents do not themselves speak the local variety, individuals do not appear to learn complex rules of the local dialect which are phonologically, morphologically, and/or lexically conditioned. This apparent failure on the part of NL-parent speakers can presumably be attributed to the lack of early input, since it is during the preschool years that children most actively acquire variable rules (Roberts & Labov 1995). However, such children have little interaction with native speakers whose grammars include the local constraints during their preschool years. None of the local variants investigated here, though, appear to be subject to complex rules. In theory, therefore, according to the predictions of the literature (e.g. Trudgill 1982; Kerswill 1986), the NL-parent sample should have internalized the phonetic variants of SJE which occur variably in the speech of their L-parent peers. With one exception, these predictions appear to have been borne out. The exception is the rounded and retracted [ɔ] variant of /ʌ/ in words like *cut* and *shut*; and since it is a stigmatized feature of SJE, even L-parent speakers make little use of this variant.

Despite appearing to have acquired the remaining features of the local variety that were investigated, NL-parent speakers do not use them with the same frequencies as do their L-parent peers. Indeed, in cases where an intermediate variant is available, such as [aɹ], [a̠] or [ʌ̟], it is the

intermediate rather than the traditional SJE variant that is used with native-like frequency by NL-parent speakers (see section 3.3.3 above). These variants, which are phonetically intermediate between the traditional SJE pronunciation and that of CE, do not carry the phonetic salience that the more "extreme" local variants do. Their use does not appear to mark membership in the local speech community to the degree that does selection of the traditional local variants, variants which are more characteristic of the speech of their L-parent peers.

This difference in the use of traditional SJE variants appears to have a qualitative effect, as NL-parent speakers do not sound like their L-parent peers. As Daisy points out (see section 3.3.4), in both St. John's and Ontario she is judged as having "a bit of an accent," raising the question of why this should be so. It has been suggested (see section 3.3.4) that the explanation is primarily a social one. Hampson's (1982) research on language attitudes in Newfoundland suggests that speakers "look to Toronto and other mainland centres for their models of prestige speech" (55), since although St. John's upper middle class speech was preferred over other Newfoundland dialects, CE consistently received positive judgements, even scoring higher than the St. John's variety in terms of solidarity (53). Several results from the current research also lend support to a social explanation of the linguistic behaviour of NL-parent younger female speakers in St. John's.

The first result supporting a social explanation of the linguistic behaviour of NL-parent speakers in St. John's emerges from the pattern of age stratification discussed in Chapter 4. There it was shown that for the majority of the variables investigated, the adolescents tend to use more of the CE variants than do the preadolescents in the sample. This tendency suggests that CE variants are more highly valued in St. John's. Following Eckert (1988), social identity becomes the best predictor of vowel qualities during adolescence, since at this age, speakers begin to adapt "an already

robust sociolinguistic competence to a new set of social meanings" (2000:8). Accordingly, L and NL-parent adolescents alike use more CE variants, and fewer SJE variants, than their preadolescent peers do, to the extent that they appear to modify their speech. For example, recall Figures 4.5 and 4.8, which display results from the free conversation segments of the interviews. Here it can be seen that in the unmonitored speech style, the adolescents use more CE features than their preadolescent peers do.

Another result supporting a social explanation of the linguistic behaviour of the NL-parent sample is that, as seen in Chapter 5, for all but one of the local features investigated, namely [æɹ], use of the SJE variants decreases in careful style. This result supports Hampson's (1982) conclusion that speakers look to urban centres of the Canadian mainland for their model of prestige speech, since the decrease in the use of local features in the formal context is accompanied by an increase in the use of those of CE. This is also an intriguing result because it corroborates earlier indications of a "stylistic diffusion" (Clarke 1991:119) of mainland features in both rural (e.g. Colbourne 1982) and urban Newfoundland (e.g. Clarke 1991, D'Arcy 1999). Such findings suggest that sound change in SJE is proceeding from above the level of consciousness, entering the community through more formal speech styles.

This last finding raises an interesting point regarding the nature of linguistic change in St. John's. Following the claims of Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968) that changes move systematically through space (cf. Milroy & Milroy 1985), it appears that geographically, much ongoing phonological change in the community is moving in from the Canadian mainland. Socially, it appears to be being introduced from above, entering through careful speech styles. The current research sheds light on the actuation of linguistic innovation in the St. John's speech community.

It was seen in section 3.3.2 that the dissemination of two CE innovations, namely (æ) Retraction and Lowering and (aw)-Fronting, appears to be led by NL-parent speakers. Even in careful style, where, according to the general trend suggested by this research, we might expect speakers to aim for CE norms, the L-parent speakers in the sample use the innovative [a] variant of /æ/ significantly less often than do their NL-parent peers, managing a mean percentage usage of only 4% as compared to the 22.17% mean usage of the NL-parent speaker sample (see 3.3.2.1 above). Regarding (aw)-Fronting, significant differences occur between the adolescent parentage groups in their use of back and central nuclei, particularly in casual style (see section 3.3.2.2). The significance of these results is that they indicate that those in the vanguard of linguistic change in St. John's are precisely those predicted by Milroy and Milroy (1985), who have argued that close network ties result in a 'norm-enforcement mechanism', whereby innovations are resisted. The implication of such an argument is that loose network ties can be associated with linguistic change, since speakers with weak ties are most vulnerable to changes originating outside the network. This seems to be the case in St. John's; those whose social networks, as a result of their parents' background, include fewer long-term residents of the community and who accordingly, are less embedded in the local community, appear to be precisely those responsible for diffusing features originating outside the community.

Following Milroy and Milroy (1985), NL-parent speakers in St. John's are more likely to be innovators and not early adopters, since early adopters are "central members of the group, having strong ties within it" (367). Innovators, on the other hand, are peripheral members of the adopting group and have many weak ties to other groups (368). In order for the CE innovations to spread within the St. John's speech community and truly constitute examples of linguistic change, they must diffuse into the group from the innovators through early adopters and onward. For this to occur,

Milroy and Milroy (1985) assume that the innovations are associated with "some kind of prestige, either overt or covert" (368). Since previous research has shown that speakers look to urban Canadian mainland centres for their model of prestige speech (Hampson 1982) and that CE features are adopted in more formal speech styles in St. John's (Clarke 1991; D'Arcy 1999), it is likely that the innovations will be considered prestigious. The low mean percentage usage of the CE innovations by L-parent speakers may therefore constitute a rare glimpse of the early adoption of linguistic innovation.

In conclusion, the current research has shed further light on the process of linguistic innovation and change, suggesting that it is those whose ties to the local community are less deeply embedded who are responsible for introducing innovations in St. John's. Moreover, the results of this research indicate that dialect acquisition goes beyond mastery. That is, phonological differentiations between L and NL-parent speakers can be found at the level of performance and are not limited to competence issues as was the case in Payne's (1980) and Trudgill's (1982,1986) research. It has been shown that in St. John's, success in the acquisition of native speaker competency by speakers with NL parents does not appear to be primarily affected by the number of phonological, morphological, or lexical constraints their grammars can incorporate, since the local features investigated do not seem to be conditioned in these manners. Instead, the social evaluation of local dialect features seems to be play a major role in the acquisition of local phonological patterns.

Notes

Notes to Chapter 1

1 There have also been studies focusing on accommodation in the speech of adults in situations of dialect contact (e.g., Kerswill 1994). While the distinction between accommodation and acquisition is somewhat hazy, I understand acquisition in the sense of "nonephemeral acquisitions" that do not result from modifications of accent according to interlocutor (see Chambers 1992:675).

2 In this thesis, a complex phonological rule is one that is linguistically constrained, be it phonologically, morphologically and /or lexically.

3 Weak: "monosyllabic words whose nucleus may be reduced to schwa" (Payne 1980:158).

4 These rules have no "phonological, morphological, or lexical constraints" (Kerswill 1996:187).

5 For an account of English emigration to Newfoundland, see Handcock 1989.

6 The population of St. John's is relatively homogenous; the 1996 census data indicates that almost 88% is composed of native Newfoundlanders. Canadians from other provinces account for 6.46% of the city's population, while 5.76% of the population are immigrants (Statistics Canada 1999).

7 Palatalized /l/ is not a singularly Irish feature; it was also brought to Newfoundland by Scottish and French settlers (Paddock 1981a:618).

8 The alveolar stop variants are also a feature of some West Country English varieties, although their distribution in these varieties is more restricted and more complicated than in those of IE (Clarke 1986:69). Additionally, affricated variants and, although uncommon, post-vocalic labiodental fricatives also occur in areas of the island settled by the West Country English (Colbourne 1982:14).

9 The monophthongal variants of /e/ and /o/ also share a source with West Country English (Clarke 1986:69).

10 This is not to say that these variables are exclusive to CE, but simply that they have been noted by various scholars as distinguishing markers of Canadian English vis-à-vis the United States (de Wolf 1992:30). See for example Avis 1973b; Bailey 1982; Wells 1982; de Wolf 1988,1990,1992; Woods 1999.

11 Labov notes that the stability of short *a* is not absolute in the third dialect of North American English, since before a nasal consonant the vowel is raised (1991:30).

12 The designation of "Canadian" to this rule is misleading, since the raising process is not geographically limited to Canada, but also occurs in parts of the United States such as Virginia, South Carolina, and Martha's Vineyard (Chambers 1973; Trudgill 1985). Chambers remarks, however, that CE appears to be the only dialect in which pre-voiceless raising applies simultaneously to both the (aj) and (aw) diphthongs (1989:77).

13 Although Canadian Raising can also occur in the environment preceding the sequence /nC/ (Chambers 1973), the focus in this study is the pre-voiceless environment.

Notes to Chapter 2

1 A copy of the Background Questionnaire is provided in Appendix A.

2 As a result of the religious segregation of the denominational school system discussed section 1.2.2, previous studies of Newfoundland dialects have included religion (or ethnic origin) as independent variables (e.g. Paddock 1981b; Reid 1981; Clarke 1986). Clarke (1986), however, found that in St. John's, religion is only significant for the use of palatalized /l/. Consequently, religion has not been included in the current study. Participants were not asked their religion, and unless it came up during the Free Conversation segment of the interviews, this is unknown by the interviewer and has not been considered herein.

3 Please refer to Appendix B for a profile of each of the participants at the time of the interviews.

4 As will be discussed in section 2.6, two sessions of interviews were conducted. At the time of the first interviews, April 1999, the preadolescents were all between the ages of 8 and 11. A second interview session was conducted in February 2000, by which time one of the 11 year olds had turned 12. Appendix B lists the ages of individual participants.

5 Thomas (forthcoming) shows the phonetic realization of this variable in SJE to be slightly back of /æ/; this backing is due to coarticulation with [ɹ].

6 The [a] variant representing the CE innovative lowered and retracted variant of (æ) is intended to capture the phonetic continuum between higher-low front /æ/ and low central /a/. Short of spectrographic analysis, every effort toward consistency has been made when determining whether a token represents either [æ] or [a].

7 While fronting of the nucleus is found in Newfoundland as a reflex of southwest English varieties (Lanari 1994), it is most noticeable off the Avalon Peninsula. That said, SJE has not been without influence from these varieties.

8 Although it is generally the practice to include more than two stylistic contexts in sociolinguistic research, the unreliability of reading passages in the elicitation of an intermediate stylistic level (see for example Milroy 1980 or Davis 1983) was seen as sufficient motivation to examine only two stylistic contexts. Additionally, previous research (D'Arcy 1999) indicates that style-switching by local and non-local-parent speakers in St. John's can be captured by eliciting two contextual styles.

9 One of the 11 year olds did not wish to participate again; her original sample of careful speech was used in the analysis. For this reason, fewer tokens from the formal register were collected from the group of L-parent preadolescents than from the rest of the participant groups (see Appendix D, Tables D1 and D2).

10 In instances where the word in question occurs frequently in free conversation (e.g. *right*, *like*), occurrences in the first fifteen minutes of group conversation were excluded; only later occurrences were analyzed. This decision was based on the belief of the interviewer that as the interview progressed, the participants became more comfortable with both the context and with the interviewer, enabling the operation of group dynamics and the production of speech more resembling the vernacular of the participants.

11 As with the upper limit of five occurrences of a word, if more than 35 tokens of a variable were collected for a participant, the earlier tokens were excluded and only the tokens occurring later in the conversation were quantified.

12 For a summary of the ANOVAs run, please see Appendix E.

Notes to Chapter 3

1 Unless otherwise noted, results presented in this chapter refer to both styles simultaneously. Moreover, any discussion of the results for the parentage groups refers to both age groups concurrently unless explicit reference has been made otherwise.

2 NL-parent preadolescents use the CE [*aɹ*] variant an average of 61.86% across styles, while their L-parent peers use it an average of only 21.98% ($p = .017$, $F = 7.31$, $df = 1/14$).

3 For details see section 5.2.2 in Chapter 5.

4 The difference in the mean percentage usage of [a] between L and NL-parent preadolescents is also significant when the conversational styles are considered together ($p = .033$, $F = 5.63$, $df = 1/14$).

5 This lack of significance between the results for the adolescent parentage groups for the [ɔ] variant is most likely due to the dissimilar usage of this variant in casual style within the group of L-parent adolescents. Please refer to Appendix D, Table D3.

6 Both instances of SJE [ʌj] in the elsewhere environment were produced by L-parent speakers in free conversation. One was produced by a preadolescent and the other by an adolescent.

7 All six of these instances occurred before a tautosyllabic voiceless stop. Before a tautosyllabic voiceless fricative or affricate, raising of the nucleus always occurred.

8 The low means for front nuclei are not unusual. Hung et al. (1993) and Chambers & Hardwick (1986) found that the favoured fronted nucleus is a central, rather than a front, vowel.

9 When the age groups are collapsed and the results from free conversation for all L and NL-parent speakers are compared, the differences are not significant. It is interesting to note, however, that while insignificant, they are only marginally so: the significance of the results for back nuclei is .051, and for central nuclei, .052.

10 In the Esling & Warkentyne (1993) data, younger speakers are those under 40. The Clarke et al. (1995) sample consists of southern Ontario speakers in their 20s.

11 These figures do not include the pre-nasal environment. When this environment is left intact, L-parent speakers use the SJE [æ̝] variant almost twice as often as do their NL-parent peers, averaging 37.5% in comparison to the NL mean of 19.82%.

12 Maddy's mean for central nuclei with the /aw/ diphthong in free conversation is 31.58%; Aly's, the highest, is 50%. Admittedly, Aly's mean may be artificially inflated since she uttered only 8 tokens of /aw/ during her group interview.

Notes to Chapter 4

1 Unless otherwise noted, any discussion of preadolescents or adolescents refers to both parentage groups simultaneously. Furthermore, any discussion of the results for the age groups refers to both styles concurrently unless explicit reference has been made otherwise.

2 Recall from section 3.2.2 that only the results from careful style have been included in any analyses of (ɛr).

3 Recall from section 3.2.6 that only the results for (aj) in the raising environment will be discussed.

4 The difference of 12.36% between L-parent preadolescents and adolescents in the use of back nuclei in free conversation is not significant. Although differences between the NL-parent age groups have not been discussed here, it is worth noting that NL-parent adolescents use back nuclei an average of 29.07% less in free conversation than their preadolescent peers do, a difference which is just short of significance ($p=.057$).

5 For a discussion of the validity of apparent time as an analytical tool, see Bailey, Wilke, Tillery and Sand (1991).

6 Because the group of NL-parent speakers never used SJE [ɔ], no pattern of age stratification is possible for this variant.

Notes to Chapter 5

1 In this chapter, "overall" results are those of all participants irrespective of parentage and age groups, unless specified otherwise.

2 NL-parent speakers decrease their use of back nuclei by 18.49% in careful style. This difference is significant at the .05 level, although barely so ($p = .049$, $F = 4.66$, $df=1/14$).

3 Refer to note 7 of Chapter 2.

4 Recall from section 5.2.2 that the variable (ɛr) was not included in the analysis of style.

5 The only other SJE variant that comes close to approximating the mean percentage usage of [æɹ] by L-parent speakers in careful style is the [e̝] variant of (æ), which occurs an average of 41.5%. This figure is misleading, however, since the pre-nasal environment favours raising. If this environment is omitted, this mean for the raised SJE variant falls to 27.5%.

6 The terms *standard* and *non-standard* do not reflect this author's views of the Canadian varieties of English.

7 Across styles, the mean percentage usage of NL-parent speakers for the innovative [a] variant of (æ) is 18.22%, while that of L-parent speakers is 6.27%.

8 In Chapter 3, where parental origin functioned as the independent social variable, L and NL-parent speakers were significantly differentiated in casual style for five of the phonological variables (accounting for seven variants). Significant differences between the parentage groups in careful style appeared for only two of the variables (accounting for three variants).

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Appendix A

Participant background information form

Please fill in the following information as accurately as possible. If you are uncomfortable answering any of the questions, please leave them blank.

1. Your name: _____
2. Your age: _____
3. Your place of birth: city _____

   province _____
4. Have you always lived in Newfoundland? (circle one) Y N

   If NO: a) Where else have you lived? _____

   b) How old were you when you moved there? _____

   c) How old were you when you moved back to NF? _____
5. What is your first language? _____
6. What is your mother's first language? _____
7. What is your father's first language? _____
8. Mother's place of birth: _____

   If not Newfoundland, she moved here at what age? _____
9. Father's place of birth: _____

   If not Newfoundland, he moved here at what age? _____
10. Mother's occupation: _____
11. Mother's level of education: _____
12. Father's occupation: _____
13. Father's level of education: _____

Thank you very much.

Appendix B

Participant profiles at the time of the interview(s)

Preadolescents				
Code	**Age: Interview 1**	**Interview 2[1]**	**Mother's origin**	**Father's origin**
Sarah	8	9	Newfoundland	Newfoundland
Emili	9	9	Newfoundland	Newfoundland
Faith	10	11	Newfoundland	Newfoundland
Molly[2]	11		Newfoundland	Toronto
Aly	8	9	Churchill, Manitoba	Port Angeles, U.S.
Maddy	8	9	Toronto	Chicago, U.S.
Danielle	10	11	Montreal	London, U.K.
Suzie	11	12	Toronto	Chicago, U.S.
Adolescents				
Code	**Age**		**Mother's origin**	**Father's origin**
Jessica	16		Newfoundland	Newfoundland
Julie	16		Newfoundland	Newfoundland
Lori	17		Newfoundland	Newfoundland
Mary	17		Newfoundland	Newfoundland
Daisy	16		Toronto	Toronto
Jedssia	17		Saint John, N.B.	Middleton, N.S.
Alys	17		Montreal	London, U.K.
Ann	17		Montreal	Toronto

1 Please refer to section 2.6.

2 Molly elected not to participate in a second interview; her data from the preliminary word list were used for the analysis of careful speech. Although her father was born in Toronto, both of his parents were Newfoundlanders and he returned to the province at the age of two. As such, it is unlikely that his time in Toronto had any marked influence on his speech.

Appendix C

Word list

1. (ar) (n = 10)

/ ___ ##	car, star, bar, far, bizarre
/ ___ C	card, start, Bart, hard, park

2. (ɛr) (n = 10)

/ ___ V	Harry, marry, Gary, guarantee, barrel, caribou, arrow, marathon, maritime, parallel

3. (a) (n = 24)

top	rob	off	Oz	bomb	doll
pot	cob	loss	cosmic	blonde	collar
cot	odd	moth	bother	Don	follow
rock	frog	cloth	novel	song	hollow

4. (ʌ) (n = 20)

cup	cuff	blood	mother	some	dull
cut	stuff	mud	brother	fun	skull
luck	rough	rug	glove		
shut	nothing				
stuck	us				

5. (æ) (n = 28)

clap	laugh	grab	have	lamb	gal
mat	path	stab	Avalon	ham	pal
rat	bath	mad	has	van	Valerie
back	pass	sad	hasn't	candy	ballet
crack	crash	bag	gather		

6. (aj) (n = 20)

ripe height type write like	knife life wife spice twice	ride hide	knives surprise	lime fine	smile tile	lie die

7. (aw)-1 (n = 10)

/ ___ C [-voice]	out, pout, stout, doubt, about, south, mouth, house, mouse, couch

8. (aw)-2 (n = 20)

out pout stout doubt about	south mouth house mouse couch	loud crowd	houses mouths	pound round	owl scowl	cow now

9. (t) (n = 13)

/ ___ ##	pot, cot, height, write, out, pout, stout, doubt, about, cut, shut, mat, rat

Appendix D

Summary of tokens

Table D1 Tokens per variable

Parental Origin	Age	Careful style								
		Variables								
		(ar)	(ɛr)	(a)	(ʌ)	(æ)	(aj)	(aw)-1	(aw)-2	(t)
L	Preadolescent *	39	32	72	65	88	68	39	68	43
	Adolescent	40	40	95	80	112	77	45	80	52
	TOTAL	79	72	167	145	200	145	84	148	95
NL	Preadolescent	40	40	96	80	110	79	41	80	52
	Adolescent	40	39	94	80	111	78	39	79	52
	TOTAL	80	79	190	160	221	157	80	159	104
	TOTAL	159	151	357	305	421	302	164	307	199
		Casual style								
L	Preadolescent	52	12	91	101	101	107	33	56	89
	Adolescent	42	4	125	127	114	137	36	75	117
	TOTAL	94	16	216	228	215	244	69	131	206
NL	Preadolescent	57	10	110	113	112	108	44	70	101
	Adolescent	85	7	128	121	128	132	48	115	120
	TOTAL	142	17	238	234	240	240	92	185	221
	TOTAL	236	33	454	462	455	484	161	316	427

* For the explanation for the discrepancy in the number of tokens for L-parent preadolescents in careful style, please refer to Note 9 of Chapter 2.

Table D2 Tokens per variant: L-parent speakers in careful style

Variable	Variant	Preadolescents				Adolescents			
		Sarah	Emili	Faith	Molly	Jessica	Julie	Lori	Mary
(ar)	[aɹ]	2	0	0	0	1	3	8	10
	[aɹ]	5	3	1	3	2	2	1	0
	[æɹ]	3	7	9	6	7	5	1	0
(ɛr)	[ɛɹ]	10	7	10	3	10	8	10	10
	[æɹ]	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0
(a)	[ɑ]	23	22	5	4	19	21	21	24
	[a̱]	0	1	7	0	3	1	1	0
	[a]	0	0	10	0	2	2	1	0
(ʌ)	[ʌ]	18	19	16	6	18	14	20	20
	[ʌ̱]	1	1	2	0	2	4	0	0
	[ɔ]	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0
(æ)	[a]	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	4
	[æ]	20	16	8	2	12	10	20	21
	[æ̱]	7	12	20	2	16	18	5	3
(aj)	[aj]	10	10	10	4	10	10	10	10
	[əj]	9	9	5	4	9	5	10	10
	[ʌj]	1	1	5	0	1	5	0	0
(aw)-1	mid	11	11	12	5	11	12	12	10
	low	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
(aw)-2	back	15	4	5	4	5	11	13	10
	central	5	14	14	3	11	8	7	8
	front	0	1	1	2	4	1	0	2
(t)	[t]	10	5	13	2	6	5	13	13
	[t]	3	8	0	2	7	8	0	0

Table D3 Tokens per variant: L-parent speakers in casual style

Variable	Variant	Preadolescents				Adolescents			
		Sarah	**Emili**	**Faith**	**Molly**	**Jessica**	**Julie**	**Lori**	**Mary**
(ar)	[*aɹ*]	1	2	8	7	0	3	6	7
	[aɹ]	1	4	9	2	4	2	6	0
	[æɹ]	3	3	9	3	7	3	4	0
(ɛr)	[ɛɹ]	2	0	7	–	2	–	1	1
	[æɹ]	0	3	0	–	0	–	0	0
(a)	[*a*]	12	11	8	20	8	22	24	32
	[a̠]	2	2	5	4	7	5	5	0
	[a]	5	4	11	7	15	5	2	0
(ʌ)	[ʌ]	21	19	24	26	18	20	28	31
	[ʌ̠]	0	0	3	2	7	4	2	0
	[ɔ]	0	0	4	2	10	7	0	0
(æ)	[a]	1	1	0	1	0	0	8	7
	[æ]	10	9	6	9	14	9	13	18
	[æ̝]	17	10	24	13	12	21	7	5
(aj)	[*aj*]	10	15	16	9	17	16	20	20
	[əj]	9	12	12	10	7	7	16	10
	[ʌj]	0	0	8	6	11	10	1	0
(aw)-1	mid	7	7	11	7	7	5	12	10
	low	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
(aw)-2	back	8	9	19	9	14	12	13	12
	central	1	4	3	2	4	6	8	6
	front	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
(t)	[t]	16	16	27	15	19	17	22	26
	[t̚]	0	3	3	9	11	13	7	2

Table D4 Tokens per variant: NL-parent speakers in careful style

Variable	Variant	Preadolescents				Adolescents			
		Aly	Maddy	Danielle	Suzie	Daisy	Jedssia	Alys	Ann
(ar)	[ɑɹ]	0	6	7	10	7	7	8	8
	[aɹ]	1	4	3	0	3	3	2	2
	[æɹ]	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
(ɛr)	[ɛɹ]	10	10	9	10	10	10	7	10
	[æɹ]	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0
(a)	[ɑ]	11	23	22	23	22	23	23	24
	[a̟]	11	1	2	1	1	1	0	0
	[a]	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
(ʌ)	[ʌ]	17	20	18	20	20	18	20	20
	[ʌ̟]	3	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
	[ɔ]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
(æ)	[a]	1	9	1	9	9	4	7	10
	[æ]	16	16	17	12	13	17	16	13
	[æ̟]	10	3	10	7	6	7	4	5
(aj)	[ɑj]	10	9	10	10	10	9	9	10
	[əj]	4	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
	[ʌj]	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
(aw)-1	mid	10	11	10	10	10	10	9	10
	low	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
(aw)-2	back	5	6	8	13	3	13	6	6
	central	10	10	10	7	15	7	10	12
	front	5	4	2	0	2	0	3	1
(t)	[t]	13	13	6	12	13	12	5	12
	[t̪]	0	0	7	1	0	1	8	1

Table D5 Tokens per variant: NL-parent speakers in casual style

Variable	Variant	Preadolescents				Adolescents			
		Aly	Maddy	Danielle	Suzie	Daisy	Jedssia	Alys	Ann
(ar)	[ɑɹ]	1	10	15	11	11	10	20	24
	[aɹ]	1	5	5	5	5	6	5	1
	[æɹ]	4	0	0	0	1	2	0	0
(ɛr)	[ɛɹ]	--	4	5	1	--	--	1	2
	[æɹ]	--	0	0	0	--	--	4	0
(a)	[ɑ]	8	26	31	29	24	25	29	32
	[a̠]	5	4	1	3	7	4	3	0
	[a]	3	0	0	0	1	3	0	0
(ʌ)	[ʌ]	16	30	31	30	29	26	30	30
	[ʌ̟]	6	0	0	0	1	5	0	0
	[ɔ]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
(æ)	[a]	12	15	5	3	5	1	7	8
	[æ]	2	4	14	13	15	12	20	20
	[æ̟]	11	11	9	13	10	18	6	6
(aj)	[ɑj]	12	14	15	15	18	17	12	17
	[əj]	7	14	13	15	14	12	21	16
	[ʌj]	1	2	0	0	1	4	0	0
(aw)-1	mid	5	8	15	13	13	10	14	11
	low	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
(aw)-2	back	4	13	15	20	8	14	15	15
	central	4	6	6	2	14	9	17	14
	front	0	0	0	0	5	1	3	0
(t)	[t]	19	23	24	25	19	20	24	27
	[t̟]	0	2	6	2	11	10	6	3

Appendix E

Summary of One-Way ANOVAs

Independent variable	One-Way ANOVA
Parental Origin	Preadolescents: NL v L in careful style
	Preadolescents: NL v L in casual style
	Preadolescents: NL v L
	Adolescents: NL v L in careful style
	Adolescents: NL v L in casual style
	Adolescents: NL v L
	NL v L in careful style
	NL v L in casual style
	NL v L
Age	L-parents: Preadolescents v Adolescents in careful style
	L-parents: Preadolescents v Adolescents in casual style
	L-parents: Preadolescents v Adolescents
	NL-parents: Preadolescents v Adolescents in careful style
	NL-parents: Preadolescents v Adolescents in casual style
	NL-parents: Preadolescents v Adolescents
	Preadolescents v Adolescents in careful style
	Preadolescents v Adolescents in casual style
	Preadolescents v Adolescents
Style	L-parent preadolescents: Careful v Casual
	L-parent adolescents: Careful v Casual
	L-parents: Careful v Casual
	NL-parent preadolescents: Careful v Casual
	NL-parent adolescents: Careful v Casual
	NL-parents: Careful v Casual
	Preadolescents: Careful v Casual
	Adolescents: Careful v Casual
	Careful v Casual