

DIALECT DEVELOPMENT IN NAIN, NUNATSIAVUT:
EMERGING ENGLISH IN A CANADIAN ABORIGINAL COMMUNITY

by

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Table of contents

| | |
|---|-----|
| Abstract | v |
| Acknowledgements | vii |
| List of tables | ix |
| List of figures | xii |
| 1 Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1 Indigenous English | 3 |
| 1.1.1 The development of Indigenous English | 6 |
| 1.1.2 Previous research on Indigenous English | 8 |
| 1.1.3 Characteristics of Indigenous English | 11 |
| 1.1.4 Perceptions of Indigenous English | 15 |
| 1.2 English in Labrador | 18 |
| 1.3 Newfoundland English | 20 |
| 1.4 Theoretical framework | 23 |
| 1.4.1 Variationist sociolinguistics | 24 |
| 1.4.2 Language contact | 26 |
| 1.4.2.1 New dialect formation | 30 |
| 1.5 Research questions | 38 |
| 1.6 Organization | 40 |
| 2 Description of the speech community | 41 |
| 2.1 The history of Nain | 41 |
| 2.2 Nain today | 53 |
| 2.2.1 Attitudes to Newfoundland | 58 |
| 2.3 A brief sketch of Inuktitut | 63 |
| 2.3.1 A phonemic inventory of Inuttitut | 66 |
| 2.3.2 The linguistic vitality of Inuttitut | 67 |
| 2.4 Summary | 71 |
| 3 Data collection and analysis | 73 |
| 3.1 Permission to research and ethics | 73 |
| 3.2 Data collection | 76 |

| | | |
|---------|---|-----|
| 3.3 | The sample | 81 |
| 3.4 | Data analysis | 84 |
| 4 | Interdental fricatives | 86 |
| 4.1 | Previous research on interdental fricatives | 87 |
| 4.1.1 | Interdental fricatives in Indigenous English | 87 |
| 4.1.2 | Interdental fricatives in Newfoundland English | 90 |
| 4.1.3 | Interdental fricatives in other varieties of English | 96 |
| 4.1.4 | Interdental fricatives in Inuktitut and second language acquisition | 98 |
| 4.2 | Methodology | 100 |
| 4.2.1 | Linguistic constraints on interdental stopping | 101 |
| 4.2.2 | Social constraints on interdental stopping | 102 |
| 4.2.3 | Extraction and coding of tokens | 108 |
| 4.3 | Results | 110 |
| 4.3.1 | Eth | 110 |
| 4.3.1.1 | Social factors | 112 |
| 4.3.1.2 | Linguistic factors | 114 |
| 4.3.2 | Theta | 119 |
| 4.3.2.1 | Social factors | 121 |
| 4.3.2.2 | Linguistic factors | 124 |
| 4.3.3 | Transfer effects | 129 |
| 4.4 | Discussion | 132 |
| 5 | Verbal -s | 135 |
| 5.1 | Previous research on verbal -s | 137 |
| 5.1.1 | General findings on verbal -s in English | 137 |
| 5.1.2 | Present temporal reference in Indigenous English | 142 |
| 5.1.3 | Verbal -s in Newfoundland English | 145 |
| 5.1.4 | Verbal -s and language acquisition | 154 |
| 5.1.5 | Temporal reference in Inuktitut | 155 |
| 5.1.6 | Summary | 156 |
| 5.2 | Data extraction and coding | 157 |
| 5.2.1 | Circumscribing the variable context | 157 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 5.2.2 Coding | 160 |
| 5.3 Results | 167 |
| 5.3.1 Investigating the Northern Subject Rule | 183 |
| 5.3.2 Considering transitivity | 186 |
| 5.4 Discussion | 189 |
| 6 Adjectival intensification | 193 |
| 6.1 Previous research on adjectival intensification | 194 |
| 6.1.1 Intensifiers in English-speaking communities | 194 |
| 6.1.2 Intensifiers in Newfoundland English | 206 |
| 6.1.3 Intensification and second language acquisition | 209 |
| 6.1.4 Intensification in Inuktitut | 211 |
| 6.2 Methodology | 212 |
| 6.2.1 Circumscribing the variable context | 212 |
| 6.2.2 Coding | 215 |
| 6.3 Results | 219 |
| 6.3.1 Distributional analysis | 219 |
| 6.3.2 Social factors | 224 |
| 6.3.3 Linguistic factors | 231 |
| 6.4 Discussion | 235 |
| 7 Co-variation | 242 |
| 7.1 Previous research | 243 |
| 7.2 Methodology | 247 |
| 7.3 Results | 249 |
| 7.3.1 The linguistic individual | 258 |
| 7.4 Discussion | 260 |
| 8 Conclusion | 264 |
| References | 274 |
| Appendix A: Certificate of informed consent | 315 |

Abstract

This dissertation is a case study of the English spoken in Nain, Nunatsiavut (Labrador), an Inuit community in northern Canada. Conducted within a variationist sociolinguistic framework, it offers a quantitative analysis of a majority language as spoken in an Aboriginal community, an understudied area of research. Nain is an ideal location for this type of study because Labrador Inuit are experiencing rapid language shift as the population becomes predominantly English speaking, with few people learning Inuttitut as their native language, creating an opportunity to examine an emerging variety of English.

In this dissertation, I contrast Nain Inuit English with the variety spoken in Newfoundland, the English-speaking region with which residents have historically had contact. I survey three sociolinguistic variables that typify Indigenous English and/or Newfoundland English—one phonological (the realization of interdental fricatives, e.g., *this thing* pronounced as *dis ting*), one morphosyntactic (verbal *-s*, e.g., *I loves it*), and one discourse (adjectival intensification, e.g., *very happy* vs. *really happy* vs. *so happy*)—to test notions of diffusion and transmission while also looking for evidence of transfer from Inuttitut. I also consider theories of new dialect formation and models of postcolonial English and how they apply to Nain. Complicating this comparison is the fact that some interviewees overtly self-identify as *not* being Newfoundlanders, raising the possibility that they may try to avoid Newfoundland English variants.

Results indicate that Nain Inuit English shares some traits with the English spoken in the rest of the province but has also developed in different ways, though few of these

differences can be attributed to influence from Inuttittut. This study also contributes to the growing body of work on majority languages in indigenous communities, in addition to deepening our understanding of English in Labrador.

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List of tables

| | |
|---|-----|
| Table 1.1. “Problems” for IndE speakers as described by Fletcher (1983). | 13 |
| Table 1.2. Features of IndE listed in Heit and Blair (1993). | 14 |
| Table 1.3. Contrastive properties of Indigenous English and Standard Canadian English in British Columbia (Fadden and LaFrance 2010:145, Table 1 (modified)). | 15 |
| Table 1.4. Trudgill’s stages of new dialect formation (Kerswill 2010:234, Table 11.1). | 32 |
| Table 1.5. The evolutionary cycle of postcolonial Englishes: Parameters of the development phases (Schneider 2007:56). | 35 |
| Table 4.1. Final linguistic factor groups for interdental stopping. | 109 |
| Table 4.2. Distribution of results for (ð). | 110 |
| Table 4.3. Social factors selected as significant in the selection of the stopped variant [d] over the standard realization [ð]. | 113 |
| Table 4.4. Social factors (revised) selected as significant in the selection of the stopped variant [d] over the standard realization [ð]. | 114 |
| Table 4.5. Linguistic factors selected as significant in the selection of the stopped variant [d] over the standard realization [ð]. | 116 |
| Table 4.6. Linguistic factors (revised) selected as significant in the selection of the stopped variant [d] over the standard realization [ð]. | 116 |
| Table 4.7. Factors selected as significant in the selection of the stopped variant [d] over the standard realization [ð] for each generation (separate runs). | 117 |
| Table 4.8. Separate multivariate analyses for factors conditioning the selection of the stopped variant [d] over the standard realization [ð] for speakers’ first language. | 118 |
| Table 4.9. Distribution of results for (θ). | 120 |
| Table 4.10. Social factors selected as significant in the selection of the stopped variant [t] over the standard realization [θ]. | 123 |
| Table 4.11. Social factors (revised) selected as significant in the selection of the stopped variant [t] over the standard realization [θ]. | 123 |
| Table 4.12. Linguistic factors selected as significant in the selection of the stopped variant [t] over the standard realization [θ]. | 125 |
| Table 4.13. Factors selected as significant in the selection of the stopped variant [t] over the standard realization [θ] for each generation (separate runs). | 126 |
| Table 4.14. Separate multivariate analyses for factors conditioning selection of the stopped variant [t] over the standard realization [θ] for speakers’ first language. | 128 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Table 4.15. Selection of [s] over the standard realization [θ] by L1 Inuttitut residents. | 131 |
| Table 4.16. Selection of [s,ʃ] over the standard realization [θ] by L1 Inuttitut residents. | 131 |
| Table 5.1. Final linguistic factor groups for verbal -s. | 167 |
| Table 5.2. Social factors selected as significant in the selection of nonstandard verbal -s over the standard realization. | 170 |
| Table 5.3. Linguistic factors selected as significant in the selection of nonstandard verbal -s over the standard realization. | 171 |
| Table 5.4. Separate multivariate analyses for linguistic factors conditioning the selection of nonstandard verbal -s over the standard realization for men. | 176 |
| Table 5.5. Separate multivariate analyses for linguistic factors conditioning the selection of nonstandard verbal -s over the standard realization for women. | 177 |
| Table 5.6. Separate multivariate analyses for factors conditioning the selection of nonstandard verbal -s over the standard realization for first language. | 180 |
| Table 5.7. Looking for the Northern Subject Rule in Nain. | 184 |
| Table 5.8. Separate multivariate analyses for linguistic factors conditioning the selection of nonstandard verbal -s over the standard realization by first language while testing for the Northern Subject Rule. | 185 |
| Table 5.9. Linguistic factors selected as significant in selection of nonstandard verbal -s over the standard realization when transitivity is included instead of aspect. | 187 |
| Table 5.10. Linguistic factors selected as significant in selection of nonstandard verbal -s over the standard realization for first language when transitivity is included instead of aspect. | 188 |
| Table 6.1. Rates of intensification in previous studies. | 220 |
| Table 6.2. Distribution of intensifiers by lexical item. | 222 |
| Table 6.3. Social factors selected as significant in the selection of <i>real</i> over <i>really</i> . | 230 |
| Table 6.4. Linguistic factors selected as significant in the selection of <i>right</i> over all other options. | 232 |
| Table 6.5. Linguistic factors selected as significant in the selection of <i>real</i> and <i>really</i> over all other options (separate runs). | 233 |
| Table 6.6. Linguistic factors selected as significant in the selection of <i>pretty</i> over all other options. | 234 |
| Table 6.7. Linguistic factors selected as significant in the selection of <i>very</i> over all other options. | 235 |
| Table 7.1. Rates of use for individual speakers for each variable. | 250 |

Table 7.2. Speakers' use of variants ranked according to the range of each variable's rates of usage. 259

List of figures

| | |
|---|-----|
| Figure 1.1. Nain, Newfoundland and Labrador (see indicator). | 2 |
| Figure 2.1. Map of Newfoundland and Labrador (Rompkey 2003:xxxiv). | 44 |
| Figure 2.2. Map of Nunatsiavut and Labrador (Andersen 2010:140). | 52 |
| Figure 2.3. The geographic range of Eskimo-Aleut languages (Dorais 2010:8). | 64 |
| Figure 3.1. Sample breakdown. | 82 |
| Figure 4.1. Port-aux-Basques cab. | 91 |
| Figure 4.2. Pattison billboard in St. John's, the provincial capital. | 92 |
| Figure 4.3. Map of Newfoundland (Clarke 2010:8). | 95 |
| Figure 4.4. The Avalon Peninsula, Newfoundland (Clarke 2010:6). | 95 |
| Figure 4.5. Rates of (ð)-stopping in Newfoundland and Labrador. | 111 |
| Figure 4.6. Use of the stopped variant [d] instead of standard [ð] by generation and sex. | 112 |
| Figure 4.7. Rates of (θ)-stopping across Newfoundland and Labrador. | 121 |
| Figure 4.8. Use of the stopped variant [t] instead of standard [θ] by generation and sex. | 122 |
| Figure 5.1. The Island Cove Artist (Clouston 1978:37). | 146 |
| Figure 5.2. Verbal -s on tourism merchandise. | 147 |
| Figure 5.3. Verbal -s in local advertising. | 147 |
| Figure 5.4. Use of nonstandard verbal -s in Nain according to speakers' age and sex. | 168 |
| Figure 6.1. Distribution of intensified tokens in the data set, by speaker age and sex. | 221 |
| Figure 6.2. Frequency of <i>very</i> , <i>really</i> , and <i>so</i> across select quantitative studies. | 223 |
| Figure 6.3. Frequency of <i>very</i> , <i>really</i> , <i>so</i> , and <i>right</i> across select quantitative studies. | 224 |
| Figure 6.4. Distribution of variants for each speaker group. | 225 |
| Figure 6.5. Men's intensifier use for the top five variants (Ns). | 226 |
| Figure 6.6. Women's intensifier use for the top five variants (Ns). | 227 |
| Figure 6.7. Distribution of top five variants according to speakers' first language. | 231 |
| Figure 6.8. Men's use of the five most frequent intensifiers. | 236 |
| Figure 6.9. Women's use of the five most frequent intensifiers. | 237 |
| Figure 6.10. Variants across semantic categories. | 238 |
| Figure 7.1. Correlations in Nain Inuit English. | 252 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Figure 7.2. Correlations for men. | 253 |
| Figure 7.3. Correlations for women. | 253 |
| Figure 7.4. Correlations for first-generation speakers. | 254 |
| Figure 7.5. Correlations for second-generation speakers. | 255 |
| Figure 7.6. Correlations for third-generation speakers. | 255 |
| Figure 7.7. Correlations for L1 Inuttitut residents. | 256 |
| Figure 7.8. Correlations for L1 English residents. | 257 |

1 Introduction

“Rest[ing] on the uneasy margin between language loss and language revitalization” (Ball and Bernhardt 2008:573), the Englishes spoken in Aboriginal communities are fertile ground for linguistic research. Despite this, most studies of language in North American Aboriginal populations have focussed on the indigenous languages, discussing a wide range of topics including the languages’ sound systems, structures, acquisition, and ethnolinguistic vitality, as well as attitudes toward and use of these varieties. While this work is of great importance, understanding the role non-Aboriginal languages play in indigenous communities is also imperative, as these majority languages are becoming more prominent in Aboriginal communities with every generation. Research on majority languages in these populations can offer insights into a variety of linguistic, educational, and cultural issues, in addition to deepening our understanding of language in Canada as a whole. Despite this, the topic remains understudied. With this dissertation, I contribute to the small body of work on majority languages in Canadian Aboriginal communities by documenting the English spoken in Nain, an Inuit community located in Nunatsiavut (northern Labrador), shown in Figure 1.1. Using variationist sociolinguistic methods, I will (i) describe aspects of the English spoken in the community, (ii) determine whether or not Nain Inuit follow regional linguistic norms, and (iii) examine their speech for possible transfer from Inuktitut, the local indigenous language.

In this chapter, I first discuss Indigenous English, explaining what this term means and summarizing the existing literature. Following this, I provide a description of English in Newfoundland and Labrador and the linguistic research that has been



Figure 1.1. Nain, Newfoundland and Labrador (see indicator).¹

¹ Based on http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Canada_Newfoundland_and_Labrador_location_map_2.svg (accessed April 23, 2012).

conducted in the province. These bodies of work will serve as points of comparison for Nain Inuit English and will allow me to situate the Nain variety within the frame of both English in other Aboriginal communities as well as English in the province. I then describe the theoretical framework of this dissertation, discussing the main tenets of variationist sociolinguistics and contact linguistics. This chapter concludes with a section outlining my research goals and the organization of this dissertation.

1.1 Indigenous English

In North America, the English spoken in Aboriginal communities has variously been referred to as *Indian English* (e.g., Fletcher 1983, Leap 1993), *Native American English* (e.g., Dubois 1978), *American Indian Pidgin English* (e.g., Leechman and Hall 1955), *American Indian English* (e.g., Wolfram 1980, Coggshall 2008), *Indigenous English* (e.g., Heit and Blair 1993; Sterzuk 2003, 2007, 2008, 2010), *Aboriginal English* (e.g., Fadden and LaFrance 2010), or *First Nations English* (e.g., Ball and Bernhardt 2008). Though the terms *Indian English* and *Aboriginal English* are still used to refer to the Englishes found in indigenous communities in the United States and Australia, respectively, the term *Indigenous English* has been adopted for this dissertation, following Heit and Blair (1993), Sterzuk (2003, 2007, 2008, 2010), and Wiltse (2011). The reasons for this are twofold: (i) this will distinguish the English spoken by North American indigenous peoples from (Australian) Aboriginal English (though this label has been applied in the Canadian context), and (ii) this term is more inclusive and can be used to refer to all North American indigenous communities, not just members of First Nations.

Indigenous English (henceforth IndE) has been defined in a variety of ways. Ball et al. (2006b:5) offer the broadest definition, stating that the term applies to “[d]istinctive varieties of English...spoken by Indigenous peoples in former British colonies around the world.” Other scholars focus on North American varieties of IndE and define the term accordingly. Penfield (1976:25), for example, states that IndE is “a non-standard language variety resulting from the influence of an American Indian language on English.” Ball and Bernhardt (2008) also posit that varieties of IndE arise, at least partially, through transfer from the Aboriginal language. As Thomason (2001) notes, transfer can occur on many levels, including the lexical, phonological, grammatical, and suprasegmental, depending on the duration and intensity of the contact; thus, there is a great deal of variety in what carries over to an IndE from the ancestral language (Leap 1993).

In fact, IndE is distinctive from Standard English on every level: phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon, pragmatics, and non-verbal language (Leap 1993). This parallels findings on Aboriginal and Māori Englishes in Australasia, where many scholars (e.g., Malcolm 1994, 2000, 2007a, 2007b; Eades 1995; Arthur 1996; Holmes 1997; Koch 2000; Page 2008; Starks 2008; McConvell 2010) have stated that these varieties have phonological, syntactic, discourse, and semantic features that distinguish them from the standard. This is not to say, however, that the English spoken in indigenous communities is the same across the globe; this would be a gross overstatement. As many scholars, including Leap (1977a) and Heit and Blair (1993), have noted, regional differences exist, as they do for most dialects crosslinguistically. And although “similar patterns exist

throughout native American language groups” (Flanigan 1987:181), there are still differences from community to community. Penfield (1976:25), for example, could “easily tell the tribe identity of an individual by the way in which he spoke English” while working on an Arizona reservation home to four Native American groups. Kuhlman and Kalecteca (1982:196) argue that there are probably “as many [Indigenous] English varieties as there are tribes.” Leap (1993) estimates that there are over 200 different varieties of IndE spoken in the United States, given that there are at least 200 different Aboriginal languages documented in that country. Despite these regional and ancestral language differences, there are some features that appear across varieties of IndE, helping to create what Walker and Newmark (2010) refer to as a “Pan-Indian” or “Native American-accented” English. (These features will be outlined in §1.1.3.)

Leap (1993) makes another important observation about IndE, one that is central to this study: IndE can be spoken as a first language, i.e., speakers of IndE do not have to be fluent speakers of an Aboriginal language. Ball and Bernhardt (2008:17) agree, stating that it is possible that “children may reproduce their parents’ foreign accents and grammar...even when children do not speak the ancestral language.” This point is echoed in other work, including Harvey’s (1974) study of Navajo English and Darnell’s (1985:63) work with the Cree, in which she argues “the native system does not depend on speaking a Native language...[because] Cree English retains a basically Cree semantic system and is used in Cree interactional contexts.” In fact, in communities where the ancestral language has been lost, IndE features can become associated with the ethnic identity of the Aboriginal population, as is the case for the Lumbee of North Carolina

(e.g., Dannenberg and Wolfram 1998, Wolfram and Sellers 1999). This is relevant to the present discussion because many younger Labrador Inuit are native speakers of English with varying abilities in the indigenous language (Andersen and Johns 2005), a topic that will be addressed in greater detail in the next chapter.

In the hopes of capturing the full spectrum of “Pan-Indian” Englishes, I assume the following definition of IndE: a dialect of English spoken by an Aboriginal population that does not require fluency in an indigenous language. I also assume that *IndE* acts as a blanket term for the wide range of varieties found in indigenous communities around the world. As a result, the variety of English spoken by Nain Inuit can be considered an Indigenous English, though the degree to which Inuktitut influences the dialect remains to be seen.

1.1.1 The development of Indigenous English

Historically, varieties of IndE have arisen in situations of colonization, with English often being imposed from without; as Leap (1993:151) observes, “European colonization affected every facet of tribal life in Native North America, including ancestral language skills and communication strategies.” Colonization not only introduced a variety of European languages to the continent but also changed the ways in which these ancestral languages were used. Some Aboriginal languages, for example, became lingua francas, as was the case with Ojibwe in the Great Lakes region and Hupa, an Athabaskan language, in southern California (Taylor 1981). In other situations, mixed languages emerged, such as Michif, a combination of Cree and Métis French spoken primarily in communities in Saskatchewan, Manitoba, North Dakota, and Montana (Bakker 1997).

In North America, Aboriginal languages have been in decline since Europeans came to the continent, in large extent due to population decline resulting directly from this contact (Kinkade 1991). Over time, European languages became the “languages of government, industry, and the law” (Nettle and Romaine 2000:143), threatening the viability of local indigenous languages, as they have in countries across the globe. Despite this, “Native Americans have maintained their languages despite extraordinary pressures from government, churches, and the mass of the American people” (Ferguson and Heath 1981:113).

This maintenance occurs with varying degrees of success. In Canada, indigenous languages display different levels of linguistic vitality; most of these languages are considered endangered. In his survey of the country’s indigenous languages, for example, Kinkade (1991:163) states that only four languages “can be considered truly viable”: Cree, Ojibwe, Dakota, and Inuktitut. In a later study, Drapeau (1998:149) notes that Inuktitut has the “greatest vitality,” followed by Algonquian, Athabaskan, and Siouan. Despite this, she concludes that Aboriginal languages are “in critical condition among the Métis and non-registered Indians, and in very poor condition among registered Indians” (Drapeau 1998:146).

Because of these sociohistorical factors, language loss is a critical issue in most Aboriginal communities. For these populations, language loss is a significant blow: “we do not merely lose a lexicon of words, but we lose our culture and the essence of who we are” (Kirkness 1998:94). Many communities and organizations are trying to combat this language attrition through a range of documentation, maintenance, and revitalization

initiatives, the nature of which “varies as greatly as the languages that are their targets” (Grenoble and Whaley 2006:1). The factors that can influence language retention and maintenance fall largely into four categories: institutional support, the prestige of the language varieties involved, demography, and community inclinations (Tabouret-Keller 1968; Gal 1979; Dorian 1980, 1981). The more successful efforts are rooted in the community, with higher degrees of local control and decision-making creating stronger results (e.g., Fishman 2001, Eisenlohr 2004).² The strategies employed in Nain will be discussed in §2.3.2.

1.1.2 Previous research on Indigenous English

In Canada, IndE has been discussed in the context of only a few communities (Scott and Mulligan 1951; Stobie 1968, 1971; Darnell 1979; Mulder 1982; Tarpen 1982; Toohey 1985; Blain 1989; Lanoue 1991; Heit and Blair 1993; Matsuno 1999; Sterzuk 2003, 2007, 2008, 2010; Bernhardt et al. 2007; Gold 2009; Ball and Bernhardt 2008; Fadden and LaFrance 2010; Genee and Stigter 2010; Peltier 2010; Wiltse 2011; Kinsey 2012). Most of these studies are descriptive, offering lists of features or basic descriptions of the varieties in question as opposed to discussing social variation and change or frequency of use of certain features. Some focus on issues related to IndE, such as education or speech language pathology, as opposed to the varieties themselves, while others provide descriptions with varying degrees of more formal linguistic content. (The exceptions are Matsuno’s (1999) sociophonetic analysis of chain shifts in Ojibwe English, Gold’s (2007)

² An in-depth discussion of language maintenance and revitalization is outside of the scope of this dissertation. Please see Grenoble and Whaley (2006) or Rehyner and Lockard (2009) for a recent discussion on these issues.

work of expanded progressives and *be* perfects in Bungi, and Kinsey's (2012) survey of linguistic features of English in a Wet'suwet'en community in northern British Columbia.)

Scholars of Canadian English occasionally comment on IndE, though they typically discuss the topic more broadly. In his recent book, for example, Boberg (2010:27) notes that Aboriginal people in northern Canada "speak varieties of English that are influenced to varying degrees by Aboriginal languages." Similar to Leap (1993), Boberg (2010:27) describes speakers of IndE as being influenced by an "Aboriginal substrate," regardless of their competence in the indigenous language(s) in their communities. He goes on to mention that the "isolation of many remote northern communities, in which there are relatively few native Canadian English models at hand, tends to perpetuate the influence of these substrates longer than it would survive in the speech of Aboriginal people in a more urban context" (Boberg 2010:27-28). Thus, in Nain, which is geographically isolated, we might expect to find stronger evidence of transfer effects than in more urban parts of the province with sizeable Inuit populations, such as Happy Valley-Goose Bay.

In terms of where this research has been conducted, much of the existing work examines varieties spoken in communities in western Canada, namely First Nations communities in British Columbia (Mulder 1982, Lanoue 1991, Bernhardt et al. 2007, Ball and Bernhardt 2008, Fadden and LaFrance 2010, Wiltse 2011, Kinsey 2012), Alberta (Darnell 1979, Genee and Stigter 2010), and Manitoba (Scott and Mulligan 1951; Stobie 1968, 1971; Blain 1992; Gold 2009), as well as First Nations and Métis students in

Saskatchewan (Heit and Blair 1993; Sterzuk 2003, 2007, 2008, 2010). Sterzuk (2008) notes that IndE is particularly salient in the Prairie provinces, primarily because of phonological differences. There has also been some work on IndE in Ontario (Matsuno 1999, Peltier 2010). In contrast, the English spoken in Aboriginal communities in eastern Canada has not been explored.

There is a longer tradition of both descriptive and theoretical research on varieties of IndE in the United States, with research spread across different Aboriginal communities and languages (e.g., Schuchardt 1889; Leechman and Hall 1955; Cook and Sharp 1966; Miller 1967, 1977; Young 1968; Mathiot and Ohannessian 1969; Nicklas 1969; Pedtke and Warner 1969; Holm et al. 1971; Zintz 1971; Cook 1973; Leap 1973, 1974, 1977a, 1977b, 1981, 1982, 1993; Mathiot 1973; Alford 1974; Harvey 1974; Dillard 1975; Kuhlman and Longoni 1975; Weeks 1975; Penfield 1976; Drechsel 1977; Goddard 1977; Dubois 1978; Wolfram et al. 1979; Canfield 1980; Wolfram 1980, 1984, 1996; Bartelt 1981; Flanigan 1981, 1985, 1987; Bartelt et al. 1982; Brewer and Reising 1982; Kroskrity 1982; Nelson-Barber 1982; Fletcher 1983; Liebe-Harkort 1983; Bartelt 1986; Craig 1991; Dannenberg and Wolfram 1998; Anderson 1999; Wolfram and Dannenberg 1999; Wolfram and Sellers 1999; Schilling-Estes 2000; Wolfram et al. 2000; Torbert 2001; Dannenberg 2002; Rowicka 2005; Coggshall 2006, 2008; Schneider 2007). None of the existing work has looked at English in Inuit communities, though there is one description of English in Kotzebue, Alaska (Vandergriff 1982), where the indigenous population speaks Inupiaq, a language closely related to Inuktitut (Dorais 2010). This

study is the best available benchmark for comparison for this dissertation; it will be discussed in subsequent chapters when relevant.

1.1.3 Characteristics of Indigenous English

As the preceding section illustrates, there was virtually no research on IndE in North America prior to the 1960s, although varieties of IndE have existed for centuries. Beginning with Leechman and Hall's (1955) research, however, some scholars have provided large-scale surveys of IndE, describing features common across communities, while others have focused on specific speech communities. In this section, I introduce the main characteristics of IndE, listing features that are frequently discussed in the literature.

In terms of phonology, scholars have frequently observed that the phonological differences between Indigenous and Standard Englishes tend to stem from speakers "equat[ing] the nearest sound found in one's dominant language with that of the second language being learned" (Dozier 1962:37; also Cook 1973, Leap 1982). This is particularly true for non-native speakers of English, and is an outcome often observed in second language acquisition (Ellis 1994); however, these nonstandard vowel sounds can be passed down and become fossilized in the speech of native speakers of IndE. For example, in her work with a Cree community in Alberta, Darnell (1979) observes that residents had phonology and semantic structure that were "heavily influenced by Cree, even for people who spoke only English" (Darnell 1979:14). Her research also shows that there is some intraspeaker variability since the children in her study typically spoke English with "a heavy Cree accent...[but] in social formulae, and memorized songs and games, they were able to speak almost totally without an accent" (Darnell 1979:14).

Other varieties of IndE, such as Mohave English (Penfield Jasper 1982), have few phonological differences from Standard English, which “gives the dialect less ‘accent’ quality” (Penfield Jasper 1982:26). The morphosyntax of IndE varieties shows a similar range. Speakers of IndE across North America show nonstandard verbal inflection, which some scholars (e.g., Fletcher 1983) attribute to tense/aspect differences between English and most Aboriginal languages. Speakers also exhibit nonstandard plural inflection and word order, in addition to nonstandard determiner and pronoun use.

There are several studies that provide lists of features found across Indigenous Englishes. In one of the earliest papers on IndE, Leechman and Hall (1955:164) examine written attestations of IndE from a variety of historical sources, with the caveat that “many writers make their Indians speak normal English, no matter what their actual speech may have been like,” resulting in a paucity of written data. Despite this limitation, they cite examples from as early as 1641 and argue that, over the 400-year period from which they have examples, IndE is “chiefly characterized by reduction in the phonemic inventory,” including interdental stopping (Leechman and Hall 1955:168). Other features listed by the authors include lack of plural marking on nouns, lack of pronominal gender distinction in third person singular, lack of verbal inflection, and lack of determiners.

Leap (1982) provides a more general summary of the characteristics of IndE in the United States, noting that varieties tend to retain the phonemic patterns and phonological constraints of the Aboriginal language, are influenced by the morphosyntax of the indigenous language, and show features that are characteristic of other nonstandard varieties of English, including paradigm levelling. In a later work, Leap (1993:45)

amends this generalization, stating that “the ancestral language sound systems may or may not predict the characteristic features of pronunciation for a community’s Indian English codes.” He also lists four main features shared by varieties of IndE, including word-final consonant deletion, unmarked past tense, copula deletion, and negative concord.

Fletcher (1983:4) provides another summary of features of IndE in an effort to “detail the problems American Indians in general, or (better) American Indians from particular language communities, have with English.” His list of “problems” is summarized in Table 1.1. This is, at present, one of the most exhaustive lists of features found across Indigenous Englishes.

Table 1.1. “Problems” for IndE speakers as described by Fletcher (1983).

| | |
|------------|---|
| Phonology | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Specific vowels: /ə, æ, ε, a/ (for some but not all varieties of IndE) • Specific consonants: /t, f, r, ɿ, θ, ɳ/ (for some but not all varieties of IndE) • Length, nasalization, and tonal pitch contrast carried over from the indigenous language(s) • Interdental stopping • Voicing contrast, typically for stops • Word-final consonants, particularly those in consonant clusters |
| Morphology | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Singular vs. plural inflection • Possessive inflection • Tense marking/verbal inflection • Gender of third person singular personal pronouns • Determiners • Juncture (<i>Mary was home sick</i> vs. <i>Mary was homesick</i>) • Prepositions |
| Syntax | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Word order: Subject-Verb-Object vs. Subject-Object-Verb • Passive voice • <i>Wh-</i> transformations |
| Semantics | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Idioms • Colour words • Words |

There have been two studies that list features of Canadian varieties of IndE. Heit and Blair (1993) observe many nonstandard features in the speech of First Nations (Cree, Saulteaux, Dene, Assiniboine, and Dakota) and Métis students in Saskatchewan, summarized in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2. Features of IndE listed in Heit and Blair (1993).

| | |
|--------------|--|
| Phonology | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nonstandard pronunciations of phonemes not found in the indigenous language No voicing contrast for stops Word-final consonant deletion |
| Morphosyntax | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nonstandard word order Nonstandard verbal inflection, including verbal -s, use of past participle for simple past Gender of third person singular personal pronouns |
| Prosody | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stress and intonation patterns carried over from the indigenous language Use of inflection rather than question format, e.g., <i>You'll lend me some money?</i> vs. <i>Will you lend me some money?</i> |
| Discourse | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Different turn taking strategies |

Heit and Blair also mention lexical challenges for native speakers of indigenous languages acquiring IndE, referencing issues with idioms and other concepts that are not directly translatable.

Fadden and LaFrance (2010:145) offer a useful summary table of the contrastive features that distinguish IndE in British Columbia from Standard Canadian English:

Table 1.3. Contrastive properties of Indigenous English and Standard Canadian English in British Columbia (Fadden and LaFrance 2010:145, Table 1 (modified)).

| | Canadian English | Indigenous English |
|-----------|--|---|
| Phonetics | [ð] (as in <i>these</i>) [θ] (as in <i>think</i>) [r] less retroflex [o] farther forward in the mouth [a] farther forward in the mouth | [d] [t] [r] more retroflex [o] (as in <i>open</i>) farther back in the mouth [a] (as in <i>father</i>) farther back in the mouth |
| Prosodic | wide intonation contour on declarative sentences intonation peak earlier in contour | narrow intonation contour on declarative sentences intonation peak later in contour |
| Discourse | turn overlap tolerated fewer pauses subject agreement on tag questions “John’s here, isn’t he?” “We’re not, are we?” | little or no turn overlap longer more frequent pauses no subject agreement on tag questions “init?” “John’s here, init?” (most often used by youth) |

A comparison of these lists showcases the range of features that distinguish IndE from standard Englishes, as noted by Leap (1993), among others. These studies also underscore the fact that Indigenous Englishes share some features but also have others that are derived from a variety of more local factors, including “cultural patterns of communication, …phenomena associated with languages in contact, and…the linguistic features of Indigenous languages” (Ball and Bernhardt 2008:573), and are thus not necessarily part of the “Pan-Indian” accent.

1.1.4 Perceptions of Indigenous English

Historically, the English spoken by Aboriginal peoples has been perceived negatively, particularly in the educational system. In Australia, for example, Aboriginal English is regarded by some educators as “second-rate, deficient, useless, and a long way below the standard” (Goodwin 1998:3, as cited in Epstein and Xu 2003). The speakers themselves

often have mixed attitudes toward Aboriginal English; some “feel like they are speaking ‘bad English’ while others are proud of their own distinctive ways of talking” (Eades and Siegel 1999:266). Like speakers of other nonstandard dialects, children who speak a variety of IndE are sometimes labelled as having a language delay or impairment and/or are told that their dialect is inferior, which can lead to a sense of marginalization (e.g., Heit and Blair 1993, Ball et al. 2006b, Wiltse 2011). Some scholars draw parallels between perceptions of African American English and IndE (e.g., Epstein and Xu 2003, Ball et al. 2006b, Wiltse 2011), and speech language pathologists sometimes use the assessment tools created for African American English when working with Aboriginal clients (Ball and Bernhardt 2008). Nonstandard dialects are sometimes perceived to be deficient in some way. Labov (1972a) confronts this notion with regard to African American English; his arguments can be applied to IndE as well.³

These negative perceptions are felt in indigenous communities. Speakers of IndE are often aware of the fact that their English is considered inferior, as exemplified in the following quotation from a Cree woman (Wiltse 2011:64):

Our older people, they feel so much more comfortable talking in Cree. If they have a really heavy accent of being a Cree speaker, they may be embarrassed about their accent. When people have a different kind of accent, like English (from England) or Scottish or Australian, people say that it sounds so nice, but when you have a Cree speaker with a really heavy accent people laugh. They have made fun of it for years and they still do. So, our Native people aren’t always that anxious to speak English.

³ See Affeldt (2000) or Wyatt et al. (2003) for discussions on the over-representation of African American children in classes for students with learning disabilities.

This discrimination experienced by non-native speakers of English pervades indigenous communities, in North America and further abroad.

Despite this, there is little research that overtly discusses attitudes toward majority languages in Aboriginal communities; instead, much of the existing literature focusses on speakers' attitudes toward the indigenous language or discusses how Aboriginal peoples were forced to use majority languages by outside institutions (e.g., Haig-Brown 1988, Chrisjohn and Young 1997, Milroy 1999). Nonetheless, in spite of the often negative associations that IndE carries, the variety plays an important role in the communities in which it has been studied. As Fadden and LaFrance (2010:146) point out:

Today, in conjunction with Indigenous languages, but more often disturbingly in the absence of these languages, [IndE] is the linguistic element that reflects and helps bind a community, synchronous with other elements of cultural identity such as history, spirituality, locale, and so forth.

This idea—that IndE is a significant and meaningful element in Aboriginal communities—is a newer one and is not often expressed in the older literature, though it has been discussed in the context of Aboriginal English in Australia (Eades and Siegel 1999). It builds on the idea that there can be native speakers of IndE, which contributes to the idea that use of IndE can be used by indigenous populations to do identity work, as is the case with the Lumbee of North Carolina, who have “no clear-cut ancestral Native American language vestiges evident in the[ir] language” (Wolfram and Sellers 1999:95).

More recently, IndE has increasingly been recognized as a valid dialect, a fact made particularly clear in the shifting attitudes found in the education system. In the past, as previously mentioned, speakers of IndE have been viewed as being disabled or as

speaking an inferior dialect. Now, researchers advocate a bidialectal or second dialect acquisition approach in Canada (e.g., Epstein and Xu 2003, Fadden and LaFrance 2010) and the United States (e.g., Adger et al. 2007), a practice that has been in place in communities in Australia for approximately 25 years (cf. Sato 1989, Eades and Siegel 1999, Epstein and Xu 2003).

1.2 English in Labrador

There is a paucity of research on English in Labrador, despite the relative abundance of studies on Newfoundland English. Studies in the province have focussed primarily on communities on the island, neglecting the continental portion of the province, even though Labrador offers linguists interesting opportunities. This part of the country, with “its extreme geographical isolation has become even more of a language museum than some parts of the island of Newfoundland” (Orkin 1970:100), a region of Canada typically viewed as a relic area (Clarke 1991). Furthermore, as Clarke (2010:4) observes:

Labrador shares with Newfoundland a common historic, geographic, economic and ethnic background, while at the same time maintaining a unique culture and character due to its diverse aboriginal population and its relative geographic isolation from the island. Labrador’s close relationship with Newfoundland as well as its association with the dominant culture of Canada and North America makes it a territory rich in possibilities for sociolinguistic research.

Given the close ties between Newfoundland and Labrador and the lack of research on English in Labrador, I will use Newfoundland English as the main point of comparison in the study.

There are, of course, important differences between Newfoundland and Labrador. One of the main distinctions lies in the ethnic and linguistic backgrounds of these two

areas. Newfoundland is the most homogeneously anglophone area in Canada (Statistics Canada 2012b); in contrast, Labrador has a significant Aboriginal presence. Consequently, “Labrador represents a more complex picture” than Newfoundland and there are “[l]inguistic residues of language contact...in the English spoken in Inuit coastal communities in the form of a small number of phonetic features, as well as some lexical borrowings...[though] the Newfoundland base of Labrador English is unmistakable” (Clarke 2010:15-16). Despite these influences, however, at least some of the younger, more urban residents of Labrador show signs of moving toward a more mainland standard, sounding more similar to their continental peers than their island counterparts (Clarke 2010).

To date, much of the scholarly discussion on English in Labrador has been confined to the lexicon, namely word lists (Cartwright 1792, Carleton 1924, Evans 1930, Strong 1931, Colbourne and Reid 1978), discussions of toponymy (Howley 1983, Greene 2006), and lexical surveys (Flowers 2007). Some earlier scholars describe the dialect as having a “quaintness...with its many picturesque and effective idioms” (Carleton 1924:138), a romanticized view of the dialect which disappears in more recent discussion. There have been two sociolinguistic works that focus on English in Labrador: Flowers’ (2008) undergraduate paper on some vocalic processes in Labrador English and Clarke’s (2010) book on Newfoundland and Labrador English. Flowers (2008) focusses primarily on speakers from Happy Valley-Goose Bay, one of the urban centres of Labrador, though he does include two speakers from Rigolet, an Inuit community on the

north coast. Similarly, Clarke's (2010) discussion is centered on English in non-Aboriginal communities; in fact, she states that her book:

...give[s] minimal coverage to contact varieties of English in the province, for the simple reason that these varieties have not yet been subject to systematic investigation. This is particularly the case for the English spoken in parts of Labrador, which at the levels of pronunciation and prosody...bears traces of its aboriginal language substrates.

(Clarke 2010:17)

The only work to explicitly comment on English on the north coast, where Nain is located, is MacDonald (2011:7), who notes that English on the north coast is "characterized by a particular cadence in the speech probably deriving from Inuktitut even amongst those who are not fluent speakers," as well as code-switching.⁴

Though the focus in the existing literature on Labrador English concentrates on the lexicon and more general discussions of English in the region, these studies provide a base upon which the present study can build.

1.3 Newfoundland English

Newfoundland English is perhaps the most well known nonstandard variety of English in Canada. The distinctiveness of this dialect stems in large part from its history of isolation and limited input varieties (from southwest England and southeast Ireland). In fact, the Irish and English roots of Newfoundland English (henceforth NE) remain obvious enough that Boberg (2010:26) makes the following statement in his book on English in Canada:

⁴ Labrador dialects of Inuktitut are variously referred to as *Inuttitut* (e.g., Andersen and Johns 2005, Dicker et al. 2009), *Inuttitut* (e.g., Smith 1975, 1977a, 1977b, 1978; Basse and Jensen 1979; Fortescue 1983; Johns 1993, 1995; Wharram 2003; Swift 2004), or the Nunatsiavut dialect (e.g., Dorais 2010) in the literature.

...that Newfoundland English is to be considered at all in a study of Canadian English is a result of purely political, not linguistic factors; linguistically, traditional Newfoundland English has more in common with the southwestern English and southeastern Irish varieties from which it is historically derived than with mainland Canadian English.

With such strict linguistic input, one might expect NE to be fairly uniform across the province; instead, this dialect is considered to be one of the most internally diverse varieties of English around the world (Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi 2004; Schneider 2004a, 2004b). As a result, there can be significant variation from community to community, despite Newfoundland's standing as the most homogenous anglophone province in the country (Statistics Canada 2012b). Nonetheless, there are common features that appear across communities and scholars have been able to discuss general trends in the province (e.g., Clarke 2010).

Given NE's distinctiveness, it is no surprise that there is an abundance of scholarly discussion on the variety.⁵ Prior to the 1950s, most of the work on NE was done by non-academics, such as Rev. Julian Moreton (1863), who typically commented on the lexicon. Early discussions of pronunciation tend to draw parallels between NE and its donor varieties, commenting on features such as interdental stopping, word-final consonant cluster reduction, metathesis of *-sp* clusters, use of an epenthetic vowel in syllable-final *-sts* and *-sks* clusters, *a*-prefixing, verbal *-s*, and nonstandard past tense verb forms (Clarke 2010, citing Moreton 1863, Patterson 1895, Thomas 1968 [1794], Kirwin 1991).

⁵ For a more comprehensive discussion of previous work on NE, see Chapter 6 of Clarke (2010).

More systematic analyses of NE began emerging in the 1950s. Since then, a significant amount of linguistic research has been produced, making NE the “best documented of any variety of Canadian English” (Clarke 2010:162). This body of work includes, among others, the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* (Story et al. 1990), general surveys of the features of NE (e.g., Story 1982; Wells 1982; Hickey 2002; Clarke 2004a, 2004b, 2008, 2010; Siemund and Haselow 2008), and research on the historical ties with British and Irish Englishes (e.g., Story 1965; Dillon 1968; Seary et al. 1968; Paddock 1988; Kirwin 1993, 2001; Clarke 1997b, 1997c, 2004c; Hickey 2002, 2004a). There have also been numerous sociolinguistic studies of communities across the island that either provide a qualitative description of the variety (e.g., Drysdale 1959, Widdowson 1968, Noseworthy 1971, Paddock 1981a, Lawlor 1986, Richards 2002, Harris 2006) or examine ongoing linguistic change quantitatively (e.g., Reid 1981; Colbourne 1982; Clarke 1986, 1991; Lanari 1994; D’Arcy 2000, 2004, 2005; Newhook 2002; Hollett 2006; Wagner 2006/2007, 2007, 2009; Van Herk et al. 2007; Childs et al. 2010; Childs and Van Herk 2010; Comeau 2011; De Decker 2011; Knee and Van Herk 2011; Power 2011; Thorburn 2011). Other topics of study include language attitudes in Newfoundland (e.g., Clarke 1981, 1982; Hampson 1982a, 1982b; O’Dwyer 1982, 1985; McKinnie and Dailey-O’Cain 2002), NE in education (e.g., Walker 1975, Clarke 1998), and Newfoundlanders’ language use online (Bulgin et al. 2008, Deal 2008), as well as some recent research on identity (e.g., King and Clarke 2002) and performance of NE (e.g., Clarke and Hiscock 2009, King and Wicks 2009).

Some of the more recent studies on NE show interesting trends. One is that young, more urban, upwardly mobile Newfoundlanders are shifting towards a more national norm, showing “convergence with many features of mainland Canadian English” (Boberg 2010:26) or, at the very least, movement away from regional variants. This is reflected in several studies, which have explored a range of variables (e.g., D’Arcy 2004, 2005; Hollett 2006; Van Herk et al. 2007; Bulgin et al. 2008). Another trend in more recent research is the exploration of performance, speaker agency, and identity work. Clarke and Hiscock (2009), for example, consider how dialect is used in a local hip-hop group’s performance, while Childs and Van Herk’s (2010) recent work in Petty Harbour considers local or non-local affiliation and Knee and Van Herk (2011) explore speaker aspiration and use of nonstandard variants.

Given the breadth of information available on NE and the lack of research on English in Labrador, I will use NE as my main point of comparison in this dissertation. Information on how the variables under investigation pattern in NE will be provided in subsequent chapters.

1.4 Theoretical framework

In this section, I describe the various theoretical underpinnings of this dissertation. First, I outline variationist sociolinguistics, the primary framework I will use in my research. Next, I describe the relevant background on language contact in §1.4.2, including discussions on transfer and new dialect formation.

1.4.1 Variationist sociolinguistics

This research will be conducted within the framework of variationist sociolinguistic theory, a paradigm that first came to prominence in Labov's (1963) Martha's Vineyard research and was continued in seminal works such as Labov (1966, 1969, 1972a, 1972b), Wolfram (1969), Cedergren (1973), Trudgill (1974), Feagin (1979), Guy (1981), and Rickford (1987a). Variationists regard linguistic variation as structured and seek to uncover the underlying patterns by using quantitative methodology to look at both linguistic and extralinguistic variables (Labov 1972b). These quantitative methods "have enabled us to propose socially based explanations for aspects of language variation in time, space, and social space" (Milroy and Milroy 1997:50). Some scholars have expanded models of variation to permit integration with broader theoretical streams of linguistics (e.g., Guy 1991a, 1991b).

The core of variationist sociolinguistics is the study of language variation and change. As Tagliamonte (2006a:5) notes, the "essence of variationist sociolinguistics depends on three facts about language that are often ignored in the field of linguistics": (1) language varies, a concept that Labov (1982a) calls 'normal' heterogeneity and that Weinrich et al. (1968) label 'orderly heterogeneity'; (2) language constantly changes; and (3) language has social meaning. This means that speakers make choices between "variable linguistic forms [that] are systematically constrained by multiple linguistic and social factors that reflect underlying grammatical systems" (Bayley 2002:117). By operating under these assumptions, scholars are able to quantify linguistic behaviours and determine what set of constraints govern sociolinguistic practices.

Central to these quantitative analyses are several methodological principles. Labov (1972b:72) states that the “most important step in sociolinguistic investigation is the correct analysis of the linguistic variable.” As such, decisions about variable selection, and token extraction and coding, must be linguistically principled (Wolfram 1993). Data are typically examined through multivariate analysis, which “enables the analyst to extract regularities and tendencies from the data” and eliminates any intuitive judgments on the part of the researcher (Poplack 1993:253). As the analyses in Chapters 4-6 will illustrate, the present study follows these guidelines.

An advantage of the variationist approach is the incorporation of external factors in the analysis. Descriptive studies report on the presence or absence of features but often do not consider frequency, speaker agency or motivations, or environmental variables; in contrast, studies that consider external factors such as sex, age, social class, ethnicity, or level of education consistently yield extra information about how languages behave in speech communities.

Previous studies on IndE conducted within a variationist framework (e.g., Wolfram 1980, 1984, 1996; Dannenberg and Wolfram 1998; Anderson 1999; Schilling-Estes 2000; Torbert 2001; Dannenberg 2002; Coggshall 2006, 2008) have revealed interesting age- and sex-based findings on language change in the communities under investigation; the non-quantitative works tend to describe features as being present or absent, without indicating the degree to which the listed features are observed. A variationist analysis will allow for a more precise description of language in Nain, with

the goal of identifying stable sociolinguistic variables and changes in progress (and the direction of this change).

1.4.2 Language contact

Because of Nain's complex linguistic situation, which will be outlined in §2.3, theoretical concepts from second language (or dialect) acquisition, contact linguistics, and bilingualism theory will also be considered in this dissertation, particularly work on transfer (also known as *interference* (cf. Lado 1957, Selinker 1972, Ellis 1985, Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Clyne et al. 2001) or *imposition* (cf. van Coetsem 1988, 2000) in the literature).

Language contact is “part of the social fabric of everyday life for hundreds of millions of people the world over” (Sankoff 2002:638). It arises from any number of interactions; while it must be substantive to lead to persistent effects, it “does not require fluent bilingualism or multilingualism” (Thomason 2001:1).⁶ As many scholars have observed, sustained contact between languages can manifest itself linguistically in a variety of ways, including code-switching, transfer, incomplete second language acquisition, grammatical convergence, and stylistic changes (Poplack 1993).

Central to the discussion of how contact manifests linguistically is the historical context of the speech community (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Odlin 1989). Adopting a sociohistorical perspective is useful because social factors play a significant role in determining the outcomes of language contact, though internal linguistic structures are

⁶ This contact can occur with or without face-to-face interaction; Thomason (2001) cites religious languages and the pervasiveness of English through media, including the Internet, television, films, radio, and music, as example of contact outside of a face-to-face dialogue.

also important (Sankoff 2002).⁷ Thomason (2001:22) argues that “the relevant factors here are language as a symbol of ethnicity and language loyalty...[which] ha[ve] to do with people’s attitudes toward the languages they speak...[and which] cannot be predicted with absolute confidence.” Similarly, some researchers who have examined the acquisition of English in indigenous communities, such as Kroskrity’s (1982) work with the Arizona Tewa, stress the importance of social factors over linguistic ones. A sociolinguistic approach is therefore an appropriate frame for this study.

Scholars such as Weinreich (1953), Thomason and Kaufman (1988), and Odlin (1989) propose that language contact leads to two main outcomes: borrowing and substratum transfer. They define *borrowing* as “the incorporation of foreign features into a group’s native language by speakers of that language...[such that] the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features” (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:37). Borrowing is thus “the influence a second language has on a previously acquired language (which is typically one’s native language)” (Odlin 1989:12). Borrowing occurs first at the lexical level, and can eventually have effects on lexical semantics, though the phonetics and phonology of the recipient language are less likely to be affected by transfer with this type of process (Odlin 1989). In contrast, *substratum transfer*, or *substratum interference*, “involves the influence of a source language (typically the native language of a learner) on the acquisition of a target language, the ‘second’ language regardless of how many languages the learner already

⁷ There are other scholars, such as Thomason and Kaufman (1988:36), who assert that linguistic predictors “do not make valid predictions.”

knows” (Odlin 1989:13). With this type of language transfer, “errors made by members of the shifting group...spread to the [transfer language] as a whole when they are imitated by original speakers of that language” and lexical borrowings from the group’s native language are rare (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:39). This heuristic has been adopted for this dissertation; any subsequent discussions of transfer refer to the latter type of contact-induced change because this is what we may see in Nain Inuit English, as the community transitions from being predominantly Inuktitut monolingual to being bilingual or English monolingual. Consequently, the remainder of this section will focus on this type of transfer, rather than on borrowing.

Language contact often results in language change, though the type and degree of change are subject to a variety of factors. These changes can occur at different linguistic levels, including phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and the lexicon.⁸ Phonological transfer is observed in most studies of second language acquisition (e.g., Ioup and Weinberger 1987, Major 1988, Nagy et al. 1996, Archibald 1998). Some sociolinguistic studies of second language acquisition such as Lee’s (2000) work with Korean immigrants in Philadelphia and MacDonald’s (1996) study of Cuban American high school students in Miami illustrate that substratum transfer is partially dependent on age. These studies also show that phonological transfer found in immigrant generations may not carry over to subsequent generations, particularly in communities experiencing rapid language shift. Other research, such as Fought (1999) and Santa Ana (1996),

⁸ Contact-induced change has been examined in both generative and non-generative frameworks (e.g., Odlin 1989, White 1989, Schwartz and Sprouse 1996, Jarvis 1998).

however, provide counterexamples, in which second-generation speakers retain transferred features. By the third- or fourth- generation of speakers, however, few transfer effects are observed (Sankoff 2002). There are also a handful of sociolinguistic studies that discuss the transfer of regional phonological features (Boretzky 1991, Lance 1993, Herold 1997), though these are much more rare.

Morphosyntactic transfer is not as widespread and is, in fact, a contested notion. Some scholars, such as Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and Campbell (1993), believe that syntactic properties can be borrowed or transferred while others, such as Lefebvre (1985), Prince (1988), and King (2000), argue that grammatical change is the result of “lexical or pragmatic interinfluence,” which leads to syntactic change (Sankoff 2002:652). Whatever the result, there are some grammatical features that can be transferred and others that cannot, due to factors such as lack of typological fit (Hickey 2010). In this study, I make no assumptions about whether or not morphosyntactic transfer is possible, though I do look for evidence of it in the data.

Language contact often leads to language shift, a term used to describe scenarios in which a community goes from being dominant in one language to having a different majority language. Language shift is particularly prevalent in minority language communities, where residents become bilingual, speaking their own language and the dominant language (Brenzinger 1997). Over time, the linguistic phenomena arising out of language contact “may become conventionalized and established in linguistic systems so that...their use is no longer dependent on bilingualism” (Romaine 2004:49).

Language shift and displacement can, in turn, lead to a generation of *semi-speakers*, which Dorian (1982:32) defines as speakers “with very partial command of the productive skills required to speak it, but almost perfect command of the receptive skills required to understand it.” These speakers “typically exhibit insecurity about their knowledge of the language” and their deviations are regarded as mistakes by more fluent speakers (Grinevald Craig 1997:259). In these situations, there are also speakers that can be categorized as *passive bilinguals*, people who are fluent in one language and understand but do not speak another (Andersen and Johns 2005). Similarly, some researchers use the term *rememberers* to describe members of the community who have lost their earlier linguistic abilities, whether they were fluent speakers or speakers with only some ability (Grinevald Craig 1997). Nain has undergone a dramatic language shift in living memory and many community members are semi-speakers or passive bilinguals (Andersen 2009). (More information on this topic will be provided in §2.3.2.)

Additionally, in my interviews, some speakers self-identified as rememberers (though they did not use this terminology). Thus, Nain is a speech community with a rich linguistic landscape, making an examination of the developing English in the community a layered and complex endeavour.

1.4.2.1 New dialect formation

Another important contact-related discussion concerns new dialect formation (Trudgill 1986, 1998, 2004; Trudgill et al. 2000) and immigrant koines (Siegel 1985). The term *new dialect formation* refers to the process by which new varieties arise in dialect contact

situations; *immigrant koines* is an analogous term for varieties that arise in areas with language contact.

Literature on this topic is relevant to the present discussion since Nain represents an instance of what Trudgill (2004:26) labels a “tabula rasa” situation, i.e., a community in which “there is no prior-existing population speaking the language in question, either in the location or nearby.” As will be discussed in Chapter 2, Nain has a long history of geographic isolation and has only experienced sustained contact with English since the mid-twentieth century. (Prior to this, contact was primarily with German-speaking Moravian missionaries.) Kerswill (2010:230) provides an insightful description of how new varieties emerge in either context:

The formation of a new variety (which may be a language or a dialect) involves more than just changes in norms. We need to envisage a prior period of relative absence of norms followed by *focusing* (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985) – the reduction in the number of variant forms and the increase in sociolinguistically predictable variation, that is, the (re-) emergence of norms. Importantly, new varieties lack the inherent continuity (looking backward through time) of slowly changing speech-community norms (Kerswill 2002: 695-8).

This quotation highlights the trajectory that new dialect formation follows. It also makes an observation that is key to the present study: the variety that emerges lacks the historical perspective found in more slowly changing speech communities.

Trudgill (2004) argues that new dialect formation is a deterministic model that occurs in roughly three stages, outlined in the table below:

Table 1.4. Trudgill's stages of new dialect formation (Kerswill 2010:234, Table 11.1).

| <i>Stage</i> | <i>Speakers involved</i> | <i>Linguistic characteristics</i> |
|--------------|--|---|
| I | Adult migrants (first generation) | Rudimentary levelling |
| II | First native-born speakers (second generation) | Extreme variability and further levelling |
| III | Subsequent generations | Focusing, levelling, and reallocation |

While there are scholars who dispute the deterministic nature of this model (cf. Kerswill 2010), the stages of new dialect formation do provide a frame through which language shift in Nain can be described; as Hickey (2010:4) notes, “the difference between language contact and dialect contact is more one of degree than of kind.”

Admittedly, this is a non-canonical application of new dialect formation theory; studies of new dialect formation typically focus on sustained dialect contact, not language contact. Nonetheless, there are parallels between Nain and speech communities in which new dialect formation has been discussed. These communities all have undergone, or are undergoing, koineization, which can be broadly defined as a “contact-induced process that leads to quite rapid, and occasionally dramatic, change” (Kerswill 2002:669). Unlike instances of dialect contact or “new town” formation, such as Høyanger (e.g., Omdal 1977, Solheim 2013) or Milton Keynes (e.g., Williams and Kerswill 1997, 1999; Kerswill and Williams 2000, 2005; Kerswill 2002), however, koineization in Nain includes language shift, in addition to the development of a new dialect. An added consideration here is that English has been imposed on Nain Inuit from without, due to sociopolitical changes in the region, as will be discussed in the next chapter. This may affect the degree to which English has been adopted by some speakers, though this would be challenging to quantify.

Similar to proponents of new dialect formation or immigrant koines, Schneider (2003, 2007) argues that new varieties of English develop in predictable phases that culminate in new dialect formation. He states, “despite all obvious dissimilarities, a fundamentally uniform developmental process, shaped by consistent sociolinguistic and language-contact conditions, has operated in the individual instances of relocating and re-rooting the English language in another territory” around the globe (Schneider 2007:5). Unlike Trudgill and Kerswill, however, Schneider’s model incorporates an identity component; in fact, “the entire process is driven by identity reconstructions by parties involved that are to some extent determined by similar parameters of the respective contact situations” (Schneider 2003:234). In fact, the “social identity and its construction and reconstruction by symbolic linguistic means” is the central tenet of Schneider’s Dynamic Model of the evolution of New Englishes (Schneider 2003:239).⁹ Citing Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982), LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985), Woodward (1997), Wodak et al. (1999), Eckert (2000), Norton (2000), Kroskrity (2001), and Hazen (2002), Schneider observes that identity creation and recreation is complex, dynamic, and constant, and thus cannot be discounted when examining the birth of new dialects.

In this model, there are five stages and four types of contributing factors, summarized in Table 1.5. Crucially, there are two “intertwined strands”—one from British emigrants and their settler descendants (STL) and one from the indigenous population (IDG)—that “share a common language experience and communication

⁹ Schneider (2003) uses the term *New Englishes* but he adopts *Postcolonial Englishes* in later works (e.g., Schneider (2007)).

ethnography, and result in dialect convergence and increasingly large shared sets of linguistic features and conventions” (Schneider 2007:32). These two strands influence each other in different ways throughout the process but the end result is the “emergence of an overarching language community with a shared set of norms” (Schneider 2003:243). Under ideal circumstances this would create a unified language and community; in practice, this is not often the case.

In his book, Schneider (2007:122) speaks specifically about several varieties of IndE. For example, he includes Aboriginal English in his case study of Australia, though the primary focus is on the non-indigenous population. He classifies this variety as an ethnolect found in the nativization phase (Phase 3), describing it as “an umbrella term for a range of IDG strand varieties, with internal regional differentiation” (Schneider 2007:122). Maori English is given a more cursory mention in the case study on New Zealand, listed as an emerging ethnolect during the final phase for the country—differentiation—in which the majority English dialect is considered stable (Schneider 2007:133).

The largest, and most relevant, case study is on the development of English in the United States, which includes some discussion on the English spoken by the indigenous populations. Schneider (2007:258) characterizes Native American English as “relatively weak” in the foundation phase (Phase 1), but also notes that indigenous speakers would sometimes learn English, leading to a pidginized English. According to Schneider, the Native American population began to see the utility of English during Phase 2, the exonormative stabilization phase, lending “a special status” to those who could speak the

Table 1.5. The evolutionary cycle of postcolonial Englishes: Parameters of the development phases (Schneider 2007:56).

| Phase | History and politics | Identity construction | Sociolinguistics of contact/use/attitudes | Linguistic development/structural effects |
|-------------------------------|--|---|--|--|
| 1: Foundation | STL: colonial expansion: trade, military outposts, missionary activities, emigration/settlement IDG: occupation, loss/sharing of territory, trade | STL: part of original nation IDG: indigenous | STL: cross-dialectal contact, limited exposure to local languages IDG: minority bilingualism (acquisition of English) | STL: koinéization; toponymic borrowing; incipient pidginization (in trade colonies) |
| 2: Exonormative stabilization | stable colonial status; English est. as language of administration, law, (higher) education,... | STL: outpost of original nation, “British-plus-local” IDG: individually “local-plus-British” | STL: acceptance of original norm; expanding contact IDG: spreading (elite) bilingualism | lexical borrowing (esp. fauna and flora, cultural terms); “-isms”; pidginization/creolization (in trade/ plantation colonies) |
| 3: Nativization | weakening ties; often political independence but remaining cultural association | STL: permanent resident of British origin IDG: permanent resident of indigenous origin | widespread and regular contacts, accommodation IDG: common bilingualism, toward language shift, L1 speakers of local English STL: sociolinguistic cleavage between innovative speakers (adopting IDG forms) and conservative speakers (upholding external norm; “complaint tradition”) | heavy lexical borrowing; IDG: phonological innovations (“accent,” possibly due to transfer); structural nativization; spreading from IDG to STL: innovations at lexico-grammar interface (verb complementization, prepositional usage, constructions with certain words/word classes), lexical productivity (compounds, derivation, phrases, semantic shifts); code-mixing (as identity carrier) |

| Phase | History and politics | Identity construction | Sociolinguistics of contact/use/attitudes | Linguistic development/structural effects |
|--------------------------------|---|--|---|--|
| 4: Endonormative stabilization | post-independence, self-dependence (possibly after “Event X”) | (member of) new nation, territory-based, increasingly pan-ethnic | acceptance of local norm (as identity carrier, positive attitude to it; (residual conservatism); literary creativity in new variety | stabilization of new variety, emphasis on homogeneity, codification: dictionary writing, grammatical description |
| 5: Differentiation | stable young nation, internal sociopolitical differentiation | group-specific (as part of overarching new national identity) | network construction (increasingly dense group-internal interactions) | dialect birth: group-specific (ethnic, regional, social) varieties emerge (as L1 or L2) |

STL strand: settlers' perspective

IDG strand: indigenous populations

language (Schneider 2007:266). He also states that there are few attestations of this pidginized Native American English, making it difficult for him to ascertain the precise degree to which this variety has developed. In the third phase of the Dynamic Model, which coincides with the time period of the American Revolution, the indigenous “strand” had “ongoing and intensifying” contact with American English, leading to higher rates of bilingualism and language shift across the nation (Schneider 2007:277). Schneider identifies unmarked past tense as a specific linguistic feature of this indigenous strand. Phase 4, the endonormative stabilization phase, is characterized by a “high degree of assimilation” and feelings of oppression for Native Americans (Schneider 2007:287). The final phase, differentiation, which began in 1898, is noteworthy for changes in identity construction, including an ethnic renaissance in indigenous communities, and for the “dialect diversification [that] is strongest with social groups that are marginalized” (Schneider 2007:295). Schneider specifically cites African Americans and Chicanos but his comments on the varieties spoken by these minority groups can be applied to Native American populations, though he considers these adstrate varieties and Native American English an indigenous strand. He notes, for example, that “only a relatively small number of features are selected as explicit identity markers” and that these minority groups have a “distinct new form of English” (Schneider 2007:295). He also observes the symbolic importance of Native American English means that fluency in the dialect has social and cultural value, citing Leap (1993). While this model is not a perfect fit for IndE since, for example, bilingualism in English and an indigenous language has not historically been

viewed as “elite” in Canada, it may still be possible to use Schneider’s Dynamic Model as another barometer for the development of English in Nain.

1.5 Research questions

I approach the discussion of the English spoken in Nain, Nunatsiavut (Labrador), with the following research questions in mind:

- Which varieties of English influence Nain Inuit English? Is it primarily Newfoundland English (the input variety) or does Canadian English also play a role in Nain Inuit English? Understanding which variety (or varieties) is most influential in Nain will contribute to the discussion on dialect diffusion and transmission.
- Is there evidence of transfer from Inuktitut to English? Nain offers a clear example of language contact. My goal is to determine if there is evidence of this contact in the dialect of English spoken in the community. The most likely place to observe transfer is typically in the phonology but I will also consider morphological and discourse variables in my analysis.
- Can this variety be considered IndE? If so, what does IndE look like in an Inuit community? Are features that appear across varieties of IndE found in Nain Inuit English? If these features are present in the community in question, it might provide further support for the idea that there are indeed “Pan-Indian” (or “Pan-IndE”) dialect features, so long as they are not already considered angloversals, i.e., features that tend to recur in nonstandard varieties of English. Conversely, if these features cannot be observed in Nain, it is possible that the existing

generalizations about IndE cannot be applied across *all* indigenous populations, and that they may, in fact, be restricted to the Englishes spoken in communities with indigenous languages from particular language families.

- What (additional) insights do we glean about IndE through a variationist lens? Which internal and external factors govern the development of this dialect?
- Can new dialect formation theory (Trudgill 1986, 1998, 2004; Trudgill et al. 2000) be applied in a language shift situation? Is Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes a more suitable model for this community?
- How does this research contribute to our knowledge of English in Newfoundland and Labrador? Little has been written about English in Labrador, and even less about that spoken along Labrador's north coast. This dissertation is an opportunity to document English in the area, increasing our understanding of language in the province.

Answering these questions is the main goal of this dissertation, though there are other topics of interest that have arisen over the course of the study.

To explore these ideas, I examine three variables: one phonological (the realization of interdental fricatives), one morphosyntactic (verbal *-s*), and one discourse (adjectival intensification). All three variables allow for the study of transfer effects, in addition to offering a first sketch of the variety of English spoken in Nain. Interdental stopping, for one, is characteristic of both IndE and NE; however, the conditioning factors for use of the nonstandard variants may be used to gauge the strength of NE's

influence on Nain Inuit English. This might also be the case for verbal *-s*, a variable commonly discussed in the literature on NE; however, nonstandard verbal inflection is often found in Indigenous Englishes, in the form of both verbal *-s* and unmarked present tense/temporal reference. The presence of the latter would suggest IndE influence. Finally, adjectival intensification has been discussed in the context of NE but has not been commented on in the literature on IndE; discourse variables are less frequently examined in these varieties even though these variables offer just as much insight into the varieties under investigation. Analyses of these variables will assist in determining the strength of NE's influence on English in Nain and the status of this dialect as a variety of IndE while also providing instances in which transfer from Inuktitut should be readily apparent.

1.6 Organization

This dissertation is structured as follows. The next chapter describes Nain, including its history and the state of Inuktitut and English in the community. Chapter 3 outlines the data collection methodology and describes the sample used for the present study. Chapter 4 discusses the realization of interdental fricatives, the first of three sociolinguistic variables under examination. Chapters 5 and 6 detail the other two variables: verbal *-s* and adjectival intensification, respectively. In Chapter 7, I examine co-variation in the community, to determine if speakers behave consistently across variables. Finally, Chapter 8 provides a discussion of the overall results of this study.

2 Description of the speech community

In this chapter, I provide an overview of Nain, describing first the history of the community (§2.1) and then its current state (§2.2). Much of the information in the latter section comes from interview data, as well as my own observations of the community.

The third section of this chapter offers a description of Inuktitut, the indigenous language still spoken by some residents of Nain. (Information on my fieldwork and data processing can be found in Chapter 3.)

2.1 The history of Nain

Nain is the northernmost municipality in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. The largest community on Labrador's north coast, Nain was established in 1771 by Moravian missionaries under the leadership of Jens Haven as the first Christian mission to the Inuit in the region (Hiller 2001).¹⁰ Kleivan (1966:25) describes the establishment of the Nain station as “the beginning of an activity which has continued without interruption for almost 200 years, and which has intervened decisively in the existence of the Eskimos – partly as a conserving and partly as a modifying factor as far as their culture is concerned.”

The Moravians’ primary goal was to proselytize Labrador Inuit (Grant 2003) and they established several missions along the north coast to further this goal. Learning Inuttitut was thus a priority for the Moravians, who used the language to educate and communicate with the Inuit, translating religious texts such as the Bible, liturgies, and

¹⁰ The Moravian Church, or Unitas Fratrum (United Brethren), is a Protestant denomination with a long history of missionary work that has taken its members to the West Indies, North, Central and South America, Greenland and Africa (Davis 1991).

devotional works, as well as hymns, to facilitate conversion (Davis 1991). They opened a school in Nain shortly after arriving to further this goal, teaching basic subjects, including arithmetic, history, and Scripture, in Inuttitut and promoting literacy in the indigenous language (Jeddore 1979, Borlase 1993, Brice-Bennett 2003). Under Moravian tutelage, “most of the Inuit of Labrador could read and write in their own language, using an orthography based on Roman letters, which was developed by the early missionaries” (Taylor 1984:512).

For the first few decades, however, the Moravians were only somewhat successful in their conversion efforts (Davis 1991); few Inuit lived permanently in the mission villages, though others came for the weeks surrounding Christmas and Easter. This changed with the “great awakening” at the turn of the nineteenth century, when “a growing religious movement spread from Hopedale to Nain and Okak...prompt[ing] a rapid growth in population at the Moravian stations” (Taylor 1984:520). Rompkey (2003:41-42) attributes this “awakening” to a variety of factors, namely “the prevalence of social conflicts, high mortality from European diseases, and food shortages.” The mission stations were soon trading centres, as well as year-round places of worship and education.

This close contact with Europeans had a major impact on the Inuit. The Moravians’ efforts to Christianize the Inuit meant “supplant[ing] the aspects of aboriginal culture that were contrary to Christian belief” (Rompkey 2003:39): the missionaries required “not only the absorbing of Christian doctrines and morality, in a more restricted sense, but also, if necessary, an alteration of social and cultural conditions which might

appear to be an obstacle to achieving the crucial goal” (Kleivan 1966:79). As contact between the two groups continued over time, the Inuit began incorporating aspects of the Europeans’ lifestyle into their lives. Specifically, before encountering the Moravians, the Labrador Inuit led a nomadic life, traveling in the warmer months and settling in one spot for the winter. Over time, however, the Inuit took up year-round residence at the mission stations, to the point that movement between Nain and the more northern communities of Hebron and Okak was rare after the 1830s (Kleivan 1966). This more permanent settlement caused social, economic, and cultural changes as the Inuit became increasingly dependent on the Europeans for food and goods and adopted some of the Moravians’ ways.¹¹

The “relative isolation of the Moravian mission stations and their growing Inuit congregations ended in the 1860s” (Taylor 1984:512), when the floater fishery, which began in the early 1800s (Borlase 1993), began to boom. Newfoundland fishermen began sailing and stopping along Labrador’s north coast in greater numbers than before, traveling as far north as Hebron, offering fishing and trading goods not available through the mission stores to the Inuit (Taylor 1984), eliminating the Moravians’ economic monopoly. This “mass invasion of the Newfoundland fishermen” (Kleivan 1966:42) came primarily from communities in Conception Bay (Lewis 1988). (The map in Figure 2.1 shows the route to southern Labrador but vessels also sailed further north.) This was only part of the contact the mission stations had with the outside world each summer; the

¹¹ Not all changes, however, were negative; for example, illiteracy was practically non-existent in the Inuit population by approximately 1840 (Kleivan 1966).

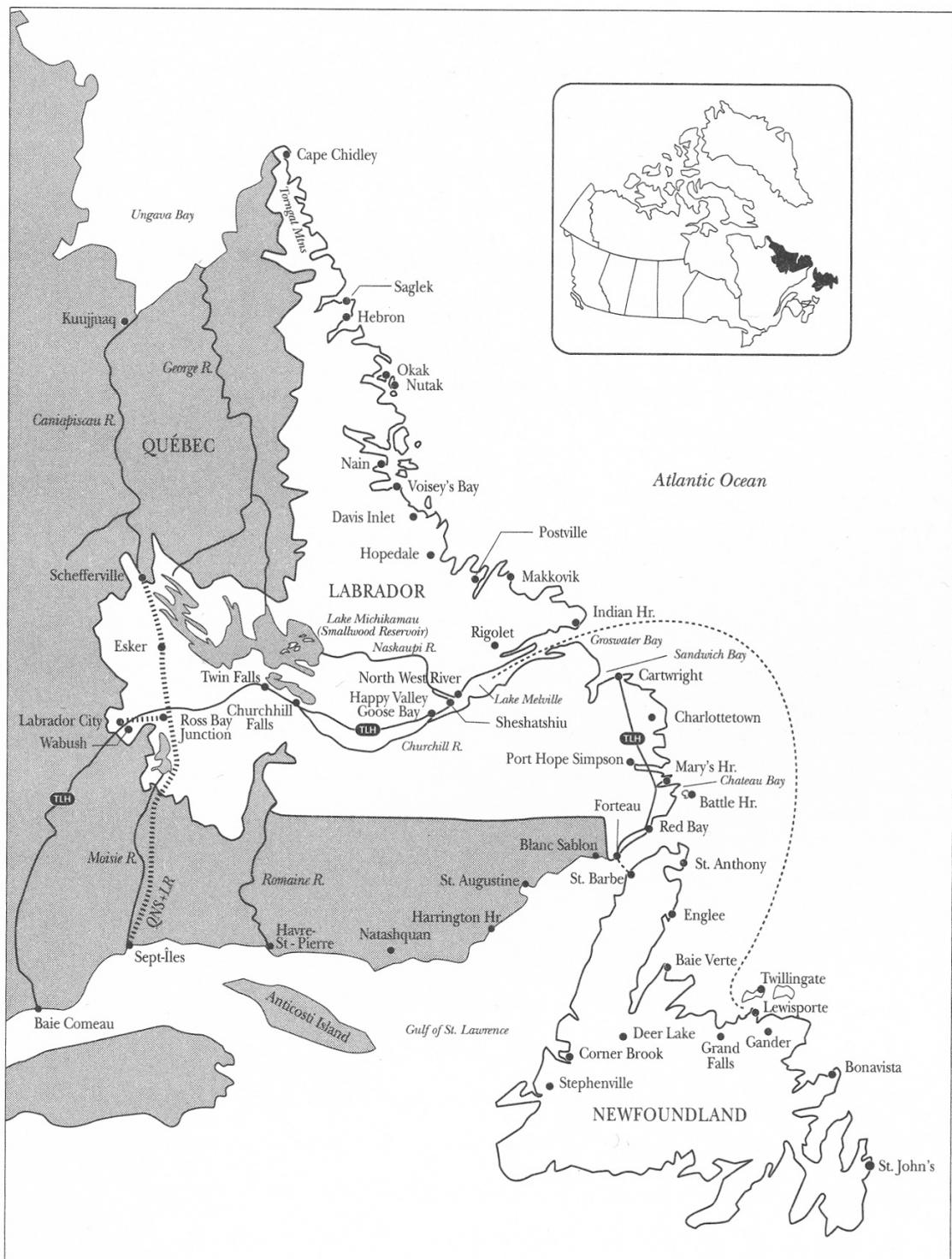


Figure 2.1. Map of Newfoundland and Labrador (Rompkey 2003:xxxiv).

missionary ship came every year from Europe, typically in July, and trading schooners came from the south (Kleivan 1966).¹² The Hudson's Bay Company also had trading posts along the Labrador coast, outside of the mission stations, offering competition to the Moravians' trading centres.

Interacting with these fishermen and traders was the first regular contact that Inuit living along Labrador's north coast had with English speakers; until the late 1800s most of the missionaries, and consequently most of the Inuit's European contacts, were German-speaking.¹³ Kleivan (1966:81) argues that these interactions with the Moravians are not strong evidence of language contact because:

...the contact of the Eskimos with the *language* of the Europeans (but not their ideology)...has been on a modest scale, because the mission tried to carry out all communication with the population in Eskimo, and to render new concepts in Eskimo without using loan-words.

In fact, linguistic preservation was a key component of the Moravians' enterprises in Labrador; up until the post-World War II period, Inuttitut had only a handful of loan words from European languages, such as German numbers and names for the days of the week (Kleivan 1966, Jeddore 1979).

Relations between the three main groups in the area—the Moravians, the Inuit, and the Newfoundland fishermen and traders—were generally non-violent but were not without conflict. The Inuit's growing dependence on goods acquired through trade with the Europeans put them in ever-increasing debt with the mission shops. At the same time,

¹² The missionary ship made its annual journey from 1771 to 1926, when trade was turned over to the Hudson's Bay Company (Kleivan 1966).

¹³ Some of the twentieth-century missionaries were of British origin after the British Moravian Church became responsible for all of the missions in British domain (Davis 1991).

relations between the Inuit and the Newfoundland fishermen were generally good, even though the missionaries discouraged fraternization because the fishermen encouraged activities that Moravians did not, such as trade between the Inuit and the Newfoundlanders, who brought goods not provided at the mission trading centres (Taylor 1984). This eventually led to tension between the Moravians and the Inuit, which continued to grow into the 1870s, particularly in Nain.¹⁴

Starting in 1878, a regular shipping connection ran between Newfoundland and Mannock Island (near Hopedale), the result of increasing transport requirements for the Newfoundland fishermen who came to the region each summer by the thousands (Kleivan 1966). This connection was extended to Nain by 1883, running twice monthly (Borlase 1993), providing another source of more regular linguistic and cultural contact between the Inuit and the Newfoundlanders.

At approximately the same time, other Europeans began settling along the Labrador coast. These Europeans were called Settlers, a term still in use today. Historically, “[a]ll Settlers, whatever their ethnic background, identify themselves with the white man and his culture” (Kleivan 1966:90). There are no records of Settlers in the Nain area before 1830; some Nain residents can trace their ancestry back to colonists who arrived in Labrador between 1830 and 1840, though no one is certain how much time these men spent near the Nain mission station (Kleivan 1966). The missionaries “long regarded the Settlers as the greatest danger to the Eskimos” (Kleivan 1966:101) and, as a

¹⁴ Kleivan (1966) recounts some particularly hostile encounters listed in the report for the period of 1873-1874.

result, the Settlers lived apart from the Inuit, outside the mission station. The first recorded instance of a Settler building a house in Nain was in the 1911-1912 mission report, with three more families building houses in the village ten years later (Kleivan 1966). Over time, relations between the Moravians and the Settlers became friendlier and an English-speaking missionary came to Labrador (Rompkey 2003) but the Settlers continued to maintain an identity separate from the Inuit (Kleivan 1966).

The twentieth century brought many changes to Labrador's north coast as the Moravians continued to lose some of their control of the region, ceding their trade operations to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1926 (Brice-Bennett 1977). They did, however, remain responsible for education in the region, establishing boarding schools in Nain and Makkovik in the early part of the century, bringing European schoolteachers to Labrador (Davis 1991) and offering instruction in English at some mission stations. Notably, these efforts "did not exercise a particularly great influence upon the general knowledge of English among the Eskimos" (Kleivan 1966:81). At the same time, the Newfoundland government also began taking over areas previously handled by the Moravians and a rural police force known as the Rangers was established in 1934 (Taylor 1984).¹⁵ Aside from this, however, the Newfoundland government had little to do with Labrador until the Hudson's Bay Company pulled out of northern Labrador in July 1942, "plagued by rising expenses and trade deficits" (Taylor 1984:512).

¹⁵ The Rangers, however, encountered little crime and ended up in a primarily administrative role (Jenness 1965).

Despite this increased government presence in Labrador and, consequently, in Inuit life, the Moravians were still central in terms of education and health care until Newfoundland and Labrador joined Canada in 1949. Post-Confederation, Labrador Inuit communities, including Nain, were subject to provincial government regulations and experienced significant social and linguistic change as a result. Up to this point, Nain Inuit maintained Inuttitut as their first language, thanks in large part to the missionaries' efforts. In the early 1950s, however, the provincial government took control of the education system, implementing an English-only curriculum (following provincial standards), an “abrupt change...with no accommodations made for those who did not speak the language” (Mazurkewich 1991:59). From 1953 until 1974, only English was used in the school system and children were “taught to think only in English and to develop negative attitudes towards the Inuktitut language and their culture” (Jeddore 1979:91).¹⁶ This had other social and economic implications, since it forced the integration of groups that had previously lived apart, and kept families in town for the school year (Mazurkewich 1991). On the linguistic front, this led to a generation of *passive bilinguals*: people who understand Inuttitut, having been exposed to the language in their home, but do not speak it (Andersen and Johns 2005). These passive bilinguals in turn raised a generation of Inuit who speak English as their first language with minimal or no understanding of Inuttitut. This change has been observed by many residents and experienced by some of the members of the sample being employed in this dissertation.

¹⁶ Jeddore (1979:87) states that the “Elders agreed to the change in language because not knowing English became a handicap and knowing Inuttitut became a handicap” based on personal communications she received from Martin Martin, the late Chief Elder of Labrador.

(This will be expanded upon in §3.3, which discusses sampling for this project.) This situation is not unique to Nain; rather, it is a shift found across Labrador Inuit communities (Andersen and Johns 2005). There has also been intermarriage between Inuit and people of European descent (Borlase 1993), which may have contributed to the attrition of Inuttitut in Nain.

In the 1950s, Nain experienced a population influx as a result of the forced resettlement of Nutak and Hebron, two Inuit communities north of Nain. First, the trading centre at Nutak was closed in 1956, forcing the Inuit population in the area to relocate, most of them to Nain. Three years later, the provincial government, the Moravian Mission, and the International Grenfell Association closed Hebron, relocating six of the families to Nain (Kleivan 1966).^{17,18,19}

For some of the Hebron families, at least, the move to Nain was quite difficult. In my interview with George and Suzanne, an older couple, they shared their memories of Nain after the Inuit were resettled from Hebron. Part of this discussion is shown in the examples below.²⁰ In (1), Suzanne, who was born in Hebron, recounts how her family was treated by Settlers.

¹⁷ The remaining Hebron families (approximately 50) were sent to Hopedale and Makkovik (Kleivan 1966).

¹⁸ The International Grenfell Association was the organization responsible for managing medical care along the coast.

¹⁹ Other mission stations north of Nain had been closed earlier for other reasons. The mission at Okak, for example, was shut down after an influenza epidemic decimated the population in 1918, while Zoar and Ramah were abandoned by the Moravians after failing to attract a substantial year-round population.

²⁰ All participants have been assigned pseudonyms to ensure their anonymity.

(1) Suzanne's account of her childhood interactions with Settlers²¹

Suzanne: Yeah, Settlers. Like, they would throw rocks at us and make us scared not to go school. And that was awfully bad. I remember that myself, that was scary. And that's hard on us, really hard. And even hard to say it, or say it again. It- it gets to me. I almost- I almost gets emotional. I-mean just it was really sad, really, really sad.

J.T.: That's awful.

Suzanne: Yeah.

J.T.: I wouldn't go to school if that happened to me.

Suzanne: (laughter) No. I- um, like- it's like not being welcome there and and to my parents, I think they were- they couldn't help it. And having to stay there, they didn't do anything or say anything to their parents. They might do something wrong or they make (inc: fun of them) or-something-like-that, hard to tell. So they- our parents couldn't do nothing. Weren't saying nothing.

In (2), George, who is from Nain, describes the physical separation between local residents and the incoming Hebron Inuit, for whom the government built houses (Kleivan 1966). He also makes reference to hostilities that used to exist between Inuit and Settlers, drawing parallels between how the Settlers treated the Hebron Inuit and how the Settlers were treated by the rest of the population in Nain.

(2) George and Suzanne on Nain in the 1950s and 1960s

George: I don't think there's any more of them old houses standing today but there were up to 10 houses down that way and we, from Nain, not- not me anyway, but some- more- more of the settlement like (inc) the ones Suzanne's talking about, they called them- they called that the Hebron side too.

Suzanne: Yeah.

George: Like I said, I was brought up not to be up-- like that kind of a person, so I tried not to do that. But I did hear the Settler people living in Nain back then when the Hebron houses were just built,

²¹ In all of the interview excerpts, participants are identified by the pseudonyms and I am identified by my initials (J. T.).

or afterwards, pretty well doing it- saying the same things to the Hebron people. Like, they were treating them like they were treated.

These quotations highlight the difficulties newcomers sometimes faced in Nain, as well as the physical separation between different groups in the community.²² This separation has also been observed by scholars, including Kleivan (1966:114), who describes the town's layout as follows, using the mission, which was fairly central at the time, as the main point of reference:

North and east of the mission, then, lie the Eskimo houses in rows running east to west, parallel to the shoreline. A conspicuous aspect with regard to the Settler houses in Nain, is that with only a single exception they are located in the western part of the village. A little brook, which runs from the north straight through the settled area, was interpreted by the Eskimos as a boundary which they must not cross when they wanted to build. One of the Eskimos said that "the Settlers wouldn't like it" if an Eskimo put up his house west of the brook.

She goes on to observe that "the tendency of the Settlers to build apart from the Eskimos is an older feature which has continued down to the present" (Kleivan 1966:114).²³

Since the 1970s, the Moravian Church has had less influence in its five Labrador communities: Nain, Hopedale, Makkovik, North West River, and Happy Valley (Davis 1991). In this same time period, the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) emerged as the main voice of the Labrador Inuit. Established in 1973, the goals of the LIA were to promote and protect Inuit culture and language, and to pursue the Labrador Inuit's land claims. The organization remained active until it was replaced in 2005 by the Nunatsiavut

²² This type of hostility was not documented after the influenza outbreak in Okak in 1919, which forced approximately one third of the 59 survivors to relocate to Nain when the mission at Okak was closed.

²³ Based on my own observations, this segregation (conscious or unconscious) does not appear to be maintained today; however, I have no statistical data to support or disprove this claim.

Government, a regional Inuit government that arose from the Labrador Inuit Land Claims Agreement, an accord between the federal and provincial governments and the Labrador Inuit that established the Inuit territory of Nunatsiavut, shown in Figure 2.2, and gave Labrador Inuit the right to self-governance. The LIA's affiliate organizations—the Labrador Inuit Development Corporation, the Labrador Inuit Health Commission, the Torngat Regional Housing Association, the Torngasok Cultural Centre, and Inuit Pathways—are now associated with the Nunatsiavut Government.

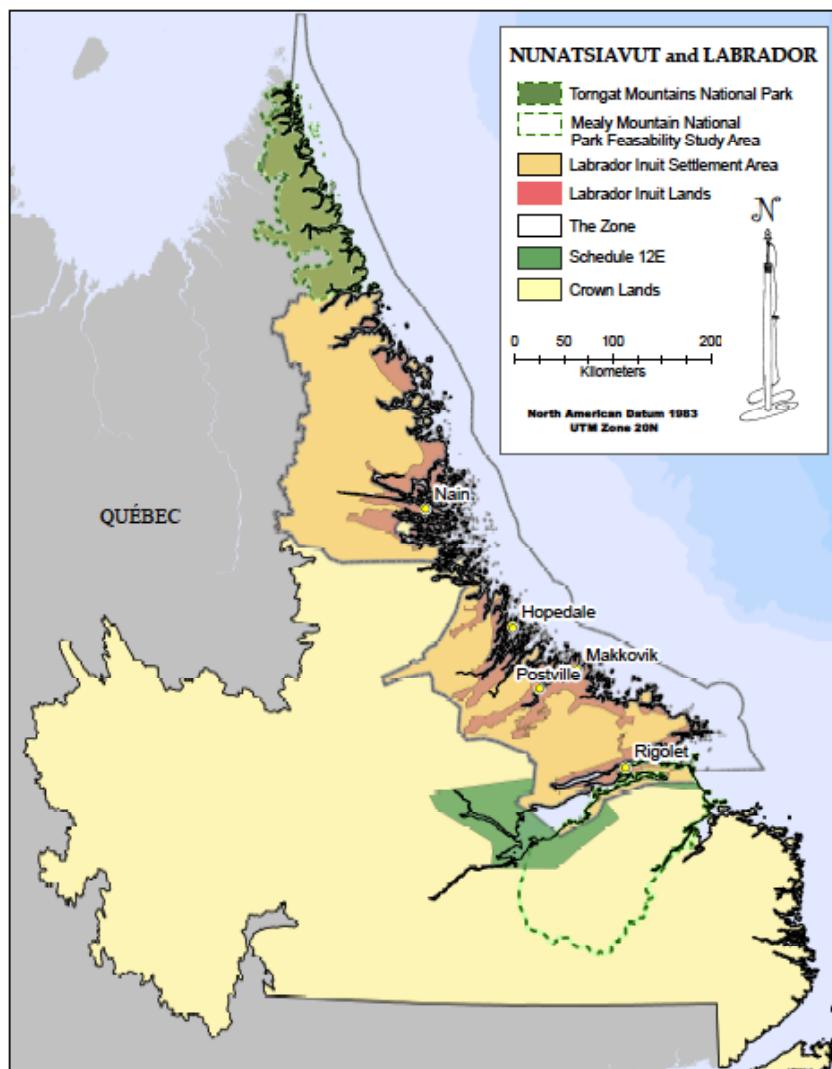


Figure 2.2. Map of Nunatsiavut and Labrador (Andersen 2010:140).

2.2 Nain today

Today, Nain remains relatively isolated, accessed primarily by plane; travel by boat in the summer and by snowmobile in the winter is possible but does not occur as frequently.

The community is, as previously mentioned, the largest on the north coast, with a population of approximately 1,200.²⁴ In the 2011 census, nearly all residents (91.8%) self-identified as Aboriginal (Statistics Canada 2012a); almost all of the Aboriginal residents are Inuit though there are some Innu as well. Nain's population is relatively youthful: only 180 residents (21.0%) were over the age of 50 when the 2011 census was undertaken and nearly half of the population (44.1%) was under the age of 25 (Statistics Canada 2012a).²⁵ Over half of the 750 community members over the age of 15 (52.7%) have not completed their high school education (or equivalent), in contrast to provincial rate of 33.5%, and approximately 40% of this group were between the ages of 15 and 24 (Statistics Canada 2013).²⁶ (While these statistics may seem somewhat misleading since the typical age of high school graduation in the province is 17, a report from the local school shows that, in 2006, they were retaining only 46% of their students through to graduation, attributing this high dropout rate to absenteeism and apathy (Jens Haven Memorial School 2006).) Few people move on to post-secondary training, though some residents go on to complete their Adult Basic Education (ABE), a provincial program to earn high school equivalency. This has created a situation that has been described as follows:

²⁴ In the 2011 Canadian Census, the population was listed as 1,188 (Statistics Canada 2012a) but local estimates place the current population at 1,200+.

²⁵ The median age in Nain is 28, in contrast with the Canadian average of 40 (Statistics Canada 2012a).

²⁶ The Aboriginal Population Profiles are not yet available for the 2011 census data.

Many of Nain's growing and predominantly youthful population question their own future and that of their community. Inuit communities boast modern schools and large teaching staffs, yet few Inuit complete high school and fewer still matriculate to post-secondary institutions...The dilemma the young face is reflected in alarming rates of substance abuse, family violence, accidental deaths and suicides.

(Kennedy 1998)

As this quotation suggests, life in Nain can be extremely difficult, particularly for the youth.

As a result of these factors and geographic isolation, there is little socioeconomic diversity in Nain. Everyone attends the same schools and frequents the same establishments: there are two grocery stores (the Northern Store and Big Land), a handful of convenience stores, a beer store (Dawe's), and a bar. There is one hotel, the Atsanik Lodge, which houses the bar and Nain's only restaurant. (There used to be a takeout restaurant but that had closed by the time of the current study.) Children and youth tend to spend their time at the community hall or the hockey arena while seniors gather in either the community hall or the *piguttuk*, the family resource centre.

Adding to this, there are few jobs in the community. Many of these jobs are seasonal (at the Ten Mile Bay anorthosite quarry, in construction, or as part of the dwindling fishing industry). Some residents are employed in various capacities at Voisey's Bay, Vale Inco's construction and operation of a nickel mine and concentrator, rotating out every two weeks. At the time I was in Labrador, however, members of the United Steelworkers union had been on strike since August 1, 2009; the strike was not resolved until January 2011. With such limited opportunities, Nain has an unemployment rate of 27.9%, much higher than the provincial average of 18.6% or the national average

of 6.6% (Statistics Canada 2013). Adding to this is the fact that many of these jobs will likely not be available 20 years from now. The fishing industry, for example, is barely viable. In the early 1980s, approximately 70 people were employed in the fish plant or as fishermen between June and October each year (Town Council of Nain 1983); in my interviews, I was told that fewer than 10 people worked in the plant in the summer of 2010, and they were only employed for two months. Similarly, the mine-life at Voisey's Bay is expected to be 14 years, suggesting the mine will close in 2019, as open pit mining began in 2005 (<http://www.vbnc.com/MineFAQ.asp>).

Subsistence hunting and fishing are a major part of community life, partially due to economic hardship and partially to the maintenance of a traditional way of life. Everyone who has the means and the time goes hunting. Those who are unable to leave town have stated that they would be out on the land if it were possible, as exemplified in the excerpts in (3). (3a) is a quotation taken from an interview with Bruce, an older man. (3b) is from my interview with a father (Robert) and son (Brendan), though only Robert's comments are included below.

(3) Comments on traditional life

a. Bruce: Our- our life, my traditional life, is um eating raw meat and get some uh sculpin (inc) and (inc) and rock cod. We always do that all the time and it's for survival.

b. Robert: Lot of- lot of issues here in Nain, eh, and it's good to get out of Nain.

J.T.: Yeah.

Robert: And go on the land.

J.T.: Yeah.

Robert: Make you feel a part of something? Like, I can't explain it, but it just feels good. In your heart.

Residents also spend a significant amount of time *wooding* (the local term for heading out on the land for firewood); nearly every house has a wood stove and most residents prefer to heat their homes in this fashion since oil is quite expensive. In the late spring and summer, people who have boats go fishing, though there are few who continue to do so as a commercial venture. In the summer, people go *rodding* (the local term for fishing with a rod from land, usually off the wharf, as opposed to deep sea fishing) along the shoreline near town or in nearby ponds or bays. Berry picking is also a common activity when in season.

In addition to contributing to the community's socioeconomic homogeneity, Nain's geographic isolation also limits access to public services such as health care. While there is a community clinic run by the Health Labrador Corporation, residents often travel to Goose Bay or Newfoundland for treatment, and many residents have commented on the difficulties that arise from such a situation. As Baikie (1990) notes:

Health is inextricably tied to social, economic, and environmental factors; unemployment statistics, housing conditions, and historical factors are as valid indicators of health as mortality rates or cases of active and reactive tuberculosis.

Regardless of the criteria health professionals choose to employ, the Inuit of Labrador end up with an unfavourable assessment; in fact, the statistics on social problems in northern Labrador have been described as a provincial and national disgrace...infant mortality rates and accidental deaths are higher than the national averages for Canadians and for native peoples; and the high rates of suicide, tuberculosis, and alcoholism have caused a great deal of concern.

Increasing levels of drug and alcohol abuse in Nain were mentioned by interviewees and in news reports; the local bar had the third-highest-grossing sales of alcohol in Newfoundland and Labrador (CBC News 2009). Many residents told me that they

thought life would improve if Nain were to become a dry community, i.e., one in which alcohol is prohibited. Two plebiscites have been conducted by the Nain Inuit Community Government on this topic, the first on November 19, 1991, and the second on August 16, 2010. In the first plebiscite, 29% of voters were in favour of a ban, 30% wanted more restrictions on alcohol, and 40% were in favour of no change (White 2010). In the more recent one, 38.9% of residents voted in favour of a ban and 60.1% in favour of no change (McCarthy 2010). Nain also has a high suicide rate; it was approximately ten times higher than the national average from 1980-1989, which experts attribute, at least partially, to “excessive alcohol use” (Gojer 1992:1212). There were 11 suicides in 2000, approximately 1% of the population, many of them youth, and suicide remains an unfortunately common occurrence.

Despite these factors, many residents are optimistic about the future of their community and would choose to remain in Nain for the rest of their lives, as illustrated in the interview excerpts in (4). Madeleine, the interviewee in (4a), is a young woman who has spent her entire life in Nain. The excerpt in (4b) is from my interview with Tom and Gabriel, two men who have spent most of their lives in the community.

(4) Residents’ desire to remain in Nain

- a. J.T.: Do you ever think about living somewhere else? Or do you love it here?
- Madeleine: I always want to stay here (inc: all my life). Like I never ever planned about moving away.
- J.T.: Oh okay.
- Madeleine: It's like this is where I grew up and likes it here so I'm going to stay here I-suppose for the rest of my life.
- b. J.T.: Do you want to stay here the rest of your lives?

Tom: Yeah.
Gabriel: I do. Yeah.
J.T.: Yeah? Even though it can be hard?
Tom: It's not hard, not really eh. I guess at times. It's good here.
J.T.: Yeah?
Tom: I wouldn't move anywhere else, no.
J.T.: No?
Tom: I wouldn't be happy anywhere else.

There are, however, some residents who are less attached to remaining in Nain, including Evan, a younger man, who offered the following statements in his interview:

(5) Residents' desire to leave Nain

Evan: If I can't get a job here, then I ain't staying somewhere where I can't get a job.
...
J.T.: So even if you got a job here, you don't think you would stay here forever?
Evan: Not forever, no. (clears throat) It will be just too- too unpredictable. I-mean, the-- yes, there is a lot of things here, your family and friends, but that's- they'll always be there, like I said. But why not just pick yourself up and go. I-mean, there's- you got to be adventurous. You got to be courageous. You got to be something, I-mean, you can't just stay in one spot. You got to get up and go.

In fact, Evan is the only person in the interviews I conducted who expressed the desire to move away from Nain. All of the other residents with whom I spoke said that they would leave only if absolutely necessary.

2.2.1 Attitudes to Newfoundland

Over the course of my time in Nain, an interesting ideology emerged: men and women of all ages typically self-identified as Inuit or Labradoreans, often with the caveat of *not*

being from Newfoundland. Defining oneself based on what one is not is an example of a *negative identity practice*, a concept first introduced in sociolinguistics by Bucholtz (1999). In her examination of how nerd girls create their community of practice, Bucholtz finds that nerd girls' phonological, syntactic, lexical, and discourse practices could be placed into a framework that classified these practices as either positive or negative. Positive identity practices are "those in which individuals engage in order to actively construct a chosen identity" while negative identity practices are "those that individuals employ to distance themselves from a rejected identity," i.e., practices that help speakers define themselves by what they are not (Bucholtz 1999:211). In Bucholtz's research, for example, white nerd girls distance themselves from other groups in the school by defining themselves as not cool. To this end, they avoid many nonstandard or trendy features and slang, instead using a variety of superstandard or hypercorrect speech features and more formal speech while also demonstrating keen metalinguistic awareness (Bucholtz 1998).

Similarly, in their work in the African American community of Texana, North Carolina, Mallinson and Childs (2007) used this framework to categorize the social and linguistic practices of two groups of women, who they identify as church ladies or porch sitters. In this paper, Mallinson and Childs apply the idea of positive and negative practices not just to speech but also to other areas of these women's lives: the church ladies avoid nonstandard African American English forms, go to church, and dress more formally while the porch sitters do the opposite, employing more nonstandard features, avoiding church, and dressing more casually.

In Nain, this not-from-Newfoundland stance is most clearly expressed by Shirley, a lifelong resident in her thirties, in (6).

(6) Shirley on identity

Shirley: Oh, I've- I've gone to, say, meetings out in Alberta and I've met people, say, from s-- northern Quebec, or from, say, Ontario and they say, "You've got a Newfoundland accent." And then we say, "No, we don't. We've got a- I'm from Labrador, so I can't have a Newfie accent." And- (laughter) but they say we speak a lot faster than most people, so I-don-t-know.

...

Shirley: Oh, ah- you- don't ev—that's a word f-- word of warning, don't ever say, "Okay, you're from Newfoundland." Somebody will turn, "No, I'm from Labrador."

J.T.: Okay. So people are passionate about being from Labrador.

Shirley: Yes. If you've- it's like a insult to call them from- say they're from Newfoundland.

Later in the same interview, Shirley makes the following statements, underscoring her belief that labeling someone from Labrador as a Newfoundland would be taken badly:

(7) Shirley on dialect

Shirley: And, say, even if you went to the s-- south coast of Labrador, you'd notice the accent is proper, ah, Newfoundlanders. They got the slang. They got the quick little- like say, they'll call you "duck" and whatever.²⁷ (laughter)

J. T.: My boyfriend's mom calls me that sometimes. (laughter)

Shirley: But yet if you say, "Oh, you sound just like a Newfoundland." They will get angry.

While Shirley was by far the most explicit on the subject, other participants also affiliate themselves with Labrador as opposed to Newfoundland. An older man, Arthur, expresses a similar ideology, in (8).

²⁷ *Duck* is a common term of endearment in the province.

(8) Arthur's self-identification

I'm, uh, Labradorean and Inuk, like, hundred percent on that.

In other interviews, residents are less overt in expressing their affiliation; rather than making explicit statements, they discuss their strong ties to Nain and to Labrador Inuit culture and tradition (discussed in §2.2). Unfortunately, I do not have information on the linguistic ideologies of all participants because my interviews did not initially include an identity component; however, no one in the community ever identified him- or herself as a Newfoundland. Instead, most participants referred to themselves first as Inuit, then as Labradoreans, and finally as Canadian, with this caveat of not being a Newfoundland.

Speakers also offered commentary on language in the community, describing the dialect differences between communities. Examples are provided in (9): (9a) is an excerpt from my interview with Kim and Greg, a married couple in their thirties; (9b), with Selena, a young woman; and (9c) with Shirley.

(9) Dialect differences between communities

- a. J.T.: Do you find, like people up here have different accent from other parts of Labrador, or do you think everybody sounds the same?
- Kim: Just about everybody s--
- Greg: (inc) up around here, just like everybody sounds the same, eh?
- Kim: Yeah.
- Greg: But in different communities, it's a whole different- whole different dialect, eh?
- Kim: Yeah.
- J.T.: Yeah?
- Greg: Whole different speech we have here. Yeah.

- b. Selena: Oh, and there was another thing I was going to say, too. There's all different accents- accents, like, here, Hopedale got their own accent, Postville, Rigolet, Makkovik, we're all different accents.
- J. T.: Yeah?
- Selena: Like, not accents, but, like- like, our slang.
- J. T.: Okay.
- Selena: And stuff. Yeah.
- J. T.: Yeah, because I-
- Selena: We all sound different.
- c. J. T.: Do you find young people speak differently?
- Shirley: They speak more slang.
- J. T.: Yeah.
- Shirley: But I also notice that, say, between here and Hopedale. We end our words properly. We say- say “running” or, ah- or “fishing,” “wooding,” “hunting.” And then I find go to Hopedale and visit my family, they’re not- they’re going to me and saying, “It’s not ‘running’ it’s ‘runnin’!”
- J. T.: Oh really?
- Shirley: They- everything that ends with a I-N-G, they just end it off with E-N.
- J. T.: So it’s- and they- that’s cool.
- Shirley: And then they’ll poke fun of you for speaking so proper. (laughter) But then say if you go to Goose-Bay, they’ll say that, “Oh, there’s your slang. There’s your accent,” and “You thinks you’re talking proper?” and-
- J. T.: So do you think people say that people in Nain have a different accent from other people in Labrador?
- Shirley: Uh, not- I don’t say, but other people say we do. (laughter) Like we don’t notice. So I wouldn’t know. (laughter)

Together, the quotations and interviews highlight a very local orientation in the community and also a degree of metalinguistic awareness.

The idea of negative (linguistic) identity practices will inform the present discussion of the sociolinguistic structure of the community: if residents identify as not being from Newfoundland, despite the ties between the two parts of the province and the strong Newfoundland English base of the Labrador variety, they may avoid variants typically associated with Newfoundland, such as interdental stopping or verbal -s, two of the features under investigation in the current study. This may be increasingly likely due to the importance of language in the community, particularly when coupled with the metalinguistic awareness displayed by at least some residents.

2.3 A brief sketch of Inuktitut

In this section, I describe Inuktitut, the indigenous language spoken in Nain, to provide a foundation for the discussion of possible transfer effects. I begin with a general description of Inuktitut. Next, I describe the phonemic inventory of Inuttitut, the Labrador dialect. This is followed by a discussion about Inuttitut's linguistic vitality. Note that this section is not intended to be an exhaustive discussion of the dialect; rather, it is an outline of some of the basic features of the dialect, meant to provide a general understanding of the language. Information relevant to the three variables under examination will be provided in subsequent chapters.

A member of the Eskimo-Aleut language family, Inuktitut falls under the Eskimoan branch, which is divided into three subgroups: (1) Inuit, spoken in northern Alaska, Canada, and Greenland; (2) Yupik, spoken in southwestern Alaska and Russia; and (3) Sirenikski, an extinct language that was spoken in Russia until the last speaker died in 1997 (Dorais 2010). Inuktitut is a member of the Inuit, or Inuit-Inupiaq, subgroup,

which is considered a continuum because the neighbouring dialects are mutually intelligible (Swift 2004). Within this subgroup, most scholars agree that there are four groups of dialects: Alaskan Inupiaq, Western Canadian Inuktun, Greenlandic Kalaallisut, and the variety relevant to this paper, Eastern Canadian Inuktitut (Fortescue 1983; Woodbury 1984; Dorais 1986, 1996a, 2003, 2010; Kaplan 1990; Swift 2004).²⁸ Figure 2.3 shows the geographic range of the languages in the Eskimo-Aleut family.

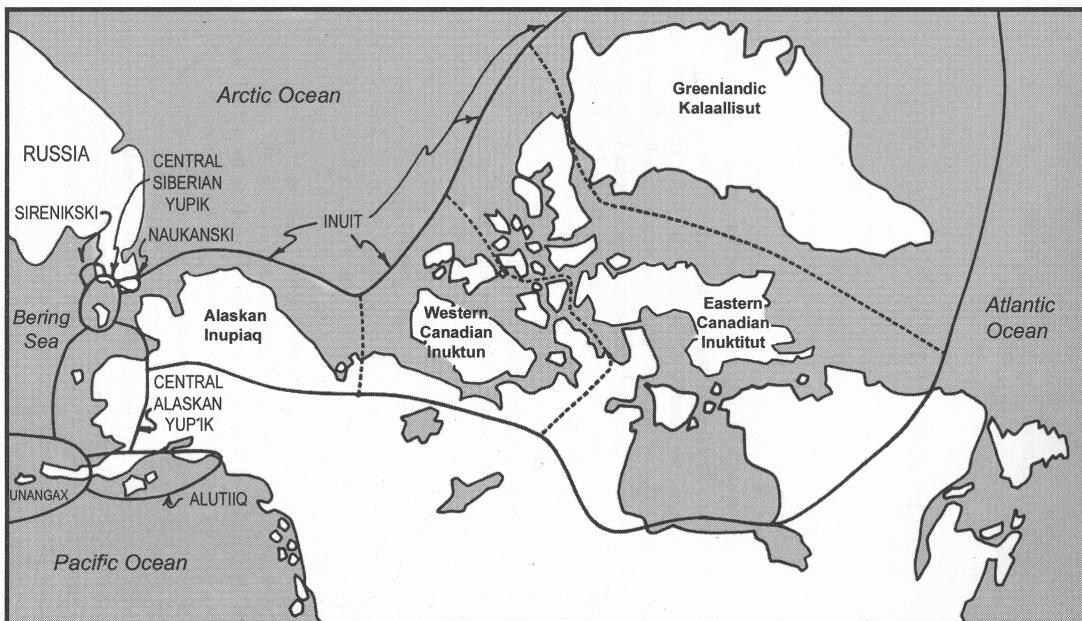


Figure 2.3. The geographic range of Eskimo-Aleut languages (Dorais 2010:8).

In Canada, there are approximately 29,000 native speakers of Inuktitut, making it the second most commonly spoken Aboriginal language in the country (Boberg 2010).

There has been disagreement about the number of groups of dialects within Eastern Canadian Inuktitut. Some scholars have proposed that there are three varieties within this sub-branch (e.g., Dorais 1990, 1996a) while others suggest there are two (e.g.,

²⁸ Western Canadian Inuktun is also known as Western Inuktitut (Dorais 1986) or Western Canadian Inuit (Goddard 1996a). Eastern Canadian Inuktitut is also known as Eastern Inuit (Goddard 1996a) or Central Eskimo (Dorais 1976).

Goddard 1996a). In his most recent work, Dorais (2010) states that there are four dialect groups: Nunavik (Quebec), Nunatsiavut (Labrador), and the Kivalliq and Baffin regions of Nunavut.²⁹ As noted in footnote 3, Labrador dialects of Inuktitut are referred to as *Inuttitut* (e.g., Andersen and Johns 2005, Dicker et al. 2009), *Inuttut* (e.g., Smith 1975, 1977a, 1977b, 1978; Basse and Jensen 1979; Fortescue 1983; Johns 1993, 1995; Wharram 2003; Swift 2004) or the Nunatsiavut dialect (e.g., Dorais 2010) in the literature. In this dissertation, the term *Inuttitut* will be used when referring to Labrador varieties because this is the term used by the Nunatsiavut Government, and in most of the more recent literature. Thus, *Inuttitut* describes:

...a complex of mutually understood dialects spoken by the Inuit (and sometimes Settler) inhabitants of the Labrador coast. Resettlement and generally increased mobility have brought distinct dialects into contact with five major centers where [Inuttitut] is actively used: Nain, Makkovik, Hopedale, Happy Valley and Northwest River. (Smith 1977b:1)

In addition to the five communities mentioned in the above quotation, Inuttitut is also currently spoken in two other north coast communities: Postville and Rigolet; however, of these seven communities, Inuttitut was originally the majority language in only Nain, Makkovik, and Hopedale (Andersen and Johns 2005).³⁰

²⁹ Both Dorais (1990, 1996a) and Goddard (1996a, 1996b) group the Quebec and Labrador dialects together; with Goddard (1996b) suggesting that this Quebec-Labrador subgroup is comprised of three or four dialects: Arctic Quebec (Northern Arctic Quebec Tarramiut, or Taqramiut), Itivimmiut (East Coast of Hudson Bay), Labrador, and, to some, Rigolet (a community on the north coast of Labrador). Dorais (2010) also separates Rigolet from the other Northern Labrador varieties.

³⁰ When describing Inuttitut, scholars often separate the dialect spoken in Rigolet from other Labrador varieties, because of its “distinct characteristics” (Andersen and Johns 2005:190), which include the realization of [h] for K (/q/) and the presence of conservative consonant clusters typically found in more western dialects (Dorais 1977).

2.3.1 A phonemic inventory of Inuttitut

Labrador Inuttitut has a slightly different phonemic inventory than other dialects of Inuktitut. The consonant inventory is shown in (10), with the orthographic representations in parentheses.

- (10) Consonants (based on Smith 1977b, Dresher and Johns 1996, Dorais 2010)³¹

| | LABIAL | CORONAL | VELAR/UVULAR | |
|-----------------------------|--------|----------------|--------------|---------------------|
| Voiceless stops | p | t | k | q (k) ³² |
| Voiceless fricatives | | s tʃ (tl) | χ (K) | |
| Voiced fricatives | v/β | l | ɣ (g) | |
| Nasals | m | n | ŋ (ng) | |
| Glides | | j | | |

This chart clearly illustrates that Inuttitut has a different set of consonants than English, which may impact non-native speakers' productions of some English sounds.

Furthermore, as (11) shows, Inuttitut has three vowels; vowel length is phonemic.

- (11) Vowels (Smith 1975, 1977b, 1978; Dorais 1986)

i u
 a

The Inuttitut consonant inventory will be important in discussions in Chapter 4; Inuttitut vowels will have less of an impact on the present study.

³¹ /l/ is listed as a fricative following source material.

³² Smith (1978) notes that, in Northern Labrador, morpheme final /k/ and /q/ are merged.

2.3.2 The linguistic vitality of Inuttitut

Goddard (1996a:3) lists Eastern Canadian Inuit as a language still spoken by a significant number of children but does not specify to which of the sub-varieties this statement applies. This generalization cannot be applied across Canada; Labrador Inuttitut, for example, shows extremely high rates of attrition (Mazurkewich 1991). Andersen and Johns (2005:189) build on this idea, stating that Labrador Inuit “are at a pivotal time in their history, especially with regard to their language” and assess the Inuit’s linguistic situation as follows:

The majority of fluent speakers of Labrador Inuttitut are over 35. Many younger Labrador Inuit today neither understand nor speak their language and many others understand but do not speak it, *i.e.* are passive bilinguals. The remaining younger speakers are somewhat fragmented in their language use, limited to using it only with older generations and not with their peers.

As this quotation suggests, Inuttitut is in a precarious position across Nunatsiavut. Language shift has been ongoing in Nain since the middle of the twentieth century, “resulting in a large population of Inuit with only receptive knowledge of their ancestral language” (Sherkina-Lieber 2009:352). As discussed in §2.1, this shift from Inuttitut to English has been attributed primarily to the changes implemented by the provincial government post-Confederation (Mazurkewich 1991).

The Language Committee of the LIA (now the Nunatsiavut Government) administered a questionnaire on language in 1999, to which almost half of its membership at the time (2,200 out of approximately 5,000) responded (Andersen and Johns 2005). The results of this survey showed definite signs of language attrition: only 15% of respondents spoke Inuttitut as their first language and were fluent in the language,

only 9.5% used Inuttitut at home, and only 10% used it in social situations. Of the 15% of respondents who self-identified as fluent speakers of Inuttitut, very few were under the age of 20; Andersen and Johns (2005:197) observe that “it is common knowledge that even in Nain, the location with the largest number of speakers, there are almost no teenagers who are fluent.”

More recently, Andersen (2009) surveys a justified sample of 50 Nain Inuit, asking them about proficiency, acquisition, and use of Inuttitut, in addition to items gauging language attitudes. A member of the community, Andersen (2009:27) possesses “a more intimate knowledge of what worked and what did not work in terms of both questions and administration” and was able to compile a sample balanced according to participants’ age, sex, level of education, and occupation. Her analysis shows a clear link between age and proficiency in Inuttitut, with older residents being more fluent and more comfortable in the indigenous language. There is also downgrading of younger community members’ use of Inuttitut, by both older residents and members of this younger generation.

In terms of language use, only 12.0% of Andersen’s participants use primarily Inuttitut in daily life, and 26.3% often speak Inuttitut at home; however, English dominates at work, school, and social events. The data “reveal some statistics that do not bode well for the natural intergenerational transmission of the language” (Andersen 2009:113): regular use of Inuttitut appears to be confined to conversations with elders while 75.0% of respondents use English (near) exclusively with children. She also

suggests that “the presence of receptive bilingualism is being projected onto younger generations where it might in fact not exist” (Andersen 2009:111).

Responses to the 2011 Canadian census offer a similar picture: 36.7% of the population state that they are native speakers of Inuktitut but only 11.0% of the community use Inuktitut most often at home and 12.6% use it regularly (Statistic Canada 2013). Note that the census does not demand fluency in one’s first language, which is likely why this statistic is much higher than the one reported by Andersen and Johns (2005).

Community members are aware of this language shift and loss of Inuittitut, as the excerpts in (12) illustrate. In (12a), Betty, a young woman in her twenties, self-identifies as a rememberer (Grinevald Craig 1997) and describes the language loss her community is experiencing, which Shirley, who is in her thirties, also discusses in (12b).

(12) Community comments about the linguistic vitality of Inuittitut in Nain

- a. Betty: And I grew up talking in Inuktitut. My- my dad’s parents, they, like, talk to me in Inuktitut every day. Like, I couldn’t understand it when I first start learning, when they first start learning me. I started understanding more when they kept talking to me more in Inuktitut. And, like, I understand really good and I could talk back in Inuktitut and-all-that, but since they passed away I found that, um, I don’t know much anymore.
- J. T.: Yeah.
- Betty: Mm-hm. I just know a little bit but not much as they taught me.
- J. T.: Yeah.
- Betty: So I kind-of think that I lost my language since they passed away.
- b. J. T.: So do a lot of people your age speak Inuktitut?

- Shirley: Uh, not too many. We- that like- we can unders-- there's a lot that can understand it, but to actually speak it is a whole different story. They may know basic words, or they may know enough to, say, speak in broken English to a older person to be able to let them know what they want to say, but there's not too many that are fluent.
- J. T.: No?
- Shirley: No.
- J. T.: Did your grandparents speak Inuktitut with you?
- Shirley: That's all I grew up with until I hit school. And then after that I learned English. And then after that I started losing it, because my grandparents started speaking English to me just- or broken English, just so that I had a better chance at school.
- J. T.: Yeah.
- Shirley: So by the time I hit teenage years, I had more or less lost it other than just to understand it, but not to be able to speak it.
- ...
- J. T.: How many fluent speakers do you think there are here?
- Shirley: I s-- I'd say there's maybe like 25 percent, and majority of that is the older- the elderly. There's not too much. It's, like, quickly dying off, I-think. And, I-think, honestly I don't know how they'll be able to save it if they don't start doing things now. Or they should have been doing things all along, but they got to start doing more, instead of more research into how to save it.

Like many other Aboriginal groups, Nain Inuit have become interested in maintaining and revitalizing their language. The local radio station, the OKâlaKatiget Society, broadcasts in both Inuktitut and English and an Inuktitut immersion stream has been implemented in the local school so that the some of the youngest generation in the community are learning English at home and Inuktitut in school (Grant 2003). The Inuktitut immersion programme (i.e., classes with Inuktitut as the language of instruction)

is available from Kindergarten through Grade 3 in Nain. In Grade 4, students must switch to an English-only stream in which Inuttitut is available as a subject, rather than the language of instruction, though materials for older students are not readily available (Andersen and Johns 2005). Nain is presently the only community in Nunatsiavut with this option up to Grade 4; Hopedale has immersion for Kindergarten and Grade 1 pupils. Many of the people I interviewed observed that students are expected to make this abrupt language switch with little transition or assistance, resulting in problems understanding curriculum materials. For this reason, some residents enroll their children in the English stream from Kindergarten, hoping that their children will avoid this problematic transition.

2.4 Summary

Nain is an ideal location for sociolinguistic research because of its geographic isolation, socioeconomic homogeneity, and rapid language shift. Historically, Nain has had little exposure to English until the twentieth century, when the Moravians' control over Labrador's north coast began to dwindle and the provincial government became more influential. In fact, Labrador Inuit maintained Inuttitut as a first language until Newfoundland and Labrador became part of Canada. Since then, Labrador Inuit have gone from having Inuttitut as their language of instruction and everyday life to speaking primarily English in their communities. This is true even in Nain, the largest Inuit community in the province and the seat of the regional ethnic government, where Inuttitut is the strongest. Residents are acutely aware of this language loss and are taking steps to

combat the attrition, such as immersion programmes at the local school and Inuittitut-language radio programmes.

3 Data collection and analysis

This chapter describes my time in Nain and outlines the preparations building towards my fieldwork. I begin with the steps taken to secure permission to carry out research in Nain, from both Memorial University’s ethics review board and the Nunatsiavut Government (§3.1). Next, I discuss the data collection (§3.2) and sampling (§3.3) methodologies. (The specific data extraction and analysis methodologies used for the variables under consideration will be discussed in their respective chapters.)

3.1 Permission to research and ethics

Entering a community with which one has few ties is always a challenge for a researcher, particularly when the goal of the project is to gather natural conversational data. Entering an Aboriginal community presents additional challenges for historical reasons, outlined in Chapter 9 (Research Involving the First Nations, Inuit and Métis Peoples of Canada) of the Government of Canada’s revised Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (Canadian Institutes of Health Research et al. 2010), which “acknowledges the unique status of Aboriginal peoples in Canada...[and] provide[s] guidance to researchers on the ethical conduct of research involving Aboriginal peoples”:

Research involving Aboriginal peoples in Canada has been defined and carried out primarily by non-Aboriginal researchers. The approaches used have not generally reflected Aboriginal world views, and the research has not necessarily benefited Aboriginal peoples or communities. As a result, Aboriginal peoples continue to regard research, particularly research originating outside their communities, with a certain apprehension or mistrust.

For these reasons, as well as others, the revised Tri-Council Policy Statement emphasizes the importance of respect for local authorities and cultural practices, community

engagement, and mutual benefit in research when working with Aboriginal communities or peoples.

As a result of the circumstances outlined in the above quotation, as well as other factors, authorities in many Aboriginal communities, including the Nunatsiavut Government, require scholars to apply for permission to research in their domain. The Nunatsiavut Government's research policy is clear: studies "conducted in Nunatsiavut or with Labrador Inuit should happen only with the full knowledge and participation of the Nunatsiavut Government, and first and foremost, the Labrador Inuit Community" (http://www.nunatsiavut.com/en/lnr_research.php, accessed January 23, 2010). Even without the mandates from the Nunatsiavut Government and the Tri-Council, permission to research would have been requested from the Nunatsiavut Government for both ethical and practical reasons, because the "presence [of a researcher] has an effect on the community," whether or not it is intended, and because permission from local authorities can facilitate the research process (Rice 2006:137).

To this end, an application was submitted to the Nunatsiavut Government in August 2009, outlining the nature of the project, as well as the possible benefits and implications of this study, for both the community and the Nunatsiavut Government. This was done out of respect for the local authorities and allowed me to determine how much involvement and reporting the Nunatsiavut Government would require, in addition to addressing some of the concerns outlined in the Tri-Council Policy Statement 2.

Although project approval was received shortly after submitting my proposal (in September 2009), it took three months to establish guidelines for data sharing. The

Nunatsiavut Government was supportive of my research project but wanted me to include questions about traditional Inuit knowledge and give them access to interview data so that it could be used for their own initiatives. Specifically, in their approval letter, the Nunatsiavut Government stipulated that “[a]ll of the Traditional Knowledge data, raw and processed, that is collected is to be shared with the Nunatsiavut Government. We require exact copies of all the raw and processed data, plus exact copies of any recording and transcripts.” While other university researchers have been able to follow this request, it is not in keeping with traditional sociolinguistic practice, which is to ensure participants’ confidentiality (Milroy and Gordon 2003), and might also have discouraged residents from participating, necessitating a compromise.³³ After much discussion about how to resolve this in a mutually agreeable and beneficial manner, we agreed that my report would include only excerpts containing discussion of traditional Inuit knowledge, with interviewees’ permission, and with their identities protected. A further stipulation was that the Nunatsiavut Government could only contact interviewees about quoting them in Nunatsiavut Government publications if participants agreed to this action on the consent form, which can be found in Appendix A, giving project participants more autonomy about how the interview data would be used. The Nunatsiavut Government also requested copies of all presentations and publications related to this project, a practice which has already been implemented and which will continue for as long as the

³³ There are some sociolinguistic studies in which participants are identified with their real names, at the participants’ behest. One of the best-known examples of this is Natalie Schilling-Estes’ (1998) work with Ocracoke resident Rex O’Neal.

data is used.³⁴ Neither the Nunatsiavut Government nor the Nain Inuit Community Government expressed interest in being further involved in the research project; this may be because my research focusses on English in the community, not Inuttitut. As a result, this dissertation falls into more of a linguist-focused framework, as opposed to the community-based (e.g., Gerdts 1998, Ball and Janyst 2008, Czaykowska-Higgins 2009) or advocacy (e.g., Cameron et al. 1992, Rice 2006) research models, though this was not my original intent.

Prior to applying to research through the Nunatsiavut Government, an application to the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR), Memorial University's ethics review board, was approved in June 2009 (ICEHR No. 2008/09-152-AR). In keeping with the guidelines outlined by the revised Tri-Council Policy Statement, Memorial University, and the Nunatsiavut Government, the research process was made as transparent as possible: participants were fully aware of the purpose of the interview and that they were being tape-recorded, and were promised confidentiality in exchange.

3.2 Data collection

As with many other sociolinguistic studies, the goal of this project is to describe how Nain Inuit use English in their everyday lives. To do so, data were gathered in sociolinguistic interviews, a commonly employed research technique geared toward eliciting natural conversation (Labov 1972a). These interviews were conducted in the

³⁴ The Nain Inuit Community Government does not have policies for researchers entering the community. They did, however, provide research space for my interviews.

community in February 2010 with residents who self-identified as Inuit and who had spent their formative years in Nain.³⁵

Participants were found in a variety of ways. Prior to my trip, I established connections with the community through friends who had previously lived in Nain or who had acquaintances living in the community. These contacts were able to provide me with information about how to advertise my project, and also put me in touch with a community youth worker who is well connected in the community. The woman with whom I billeted introduced me to some of the older residents. The project was also discussed three times by the local radio station, the OKâlaKatiget Society. While I was in Nain, they posted the information on the station's website, and I was interviewed on air to help promote the project and be transparent about the goals and potential outcomes of the study. I also posted information about my research on a community Facebook page. While all of these strategies resulted in interviews, the majority of the interviewees volunteered after hearing about the project on the radio or after hearing about a friend or family member's experience, i.e., the friend of a friend approach (Milroy 1987).

The majority of the interviews took place in an office in the Nain Inuit Community Government (more commonly referred to as the town council) building. Some interviews took place in people's homes, usually with people who were unable to come to the town council building during the workday, but most participants preferred to come to see me, as opposed to having me visit them in their home. This was unexpected

³⁵ I had hoped to speak with some native *Kallunât* residents (people with European ancestry) to create an additional point of comparison and to gather information on the community, but only one came forward.

because people tend to be more comfortable discussing personal matters in a familiar setting (Adler and Adler 2005); however, it is possible that participants were more at ease meeting in a neutral location. Community members were interviewed individually or with one other person, depending on their preferences, as both formats have proven successful in other studies and are equally effective in eliciting naturalistic speech (Labov 1972a, Milroy and Gordon 2003). During the interviews, participants were asked a variety of questions, on topics including life in Nain, their culture and identity, local stories and lore, traditional Inuit knowledge, language in their community, and culture and identity. The questions about language engaged people the most, as did those about traditional Inuit knowledge, though some of the younger participants were unsure about what traditional knowledge was and were consequently unable to discuss it. Generally, however, significant portions of the interviews discuss traditional ways of life and skills related to maintaining this lifestyle, such as hunting, wooding, fishing, creating handicrafts, and local holidays or celebrations.

Other researchers (e.g., Labov 1972a, Feagin 2002) have detailed the difficulties in eliciting natural conversational data without making participants feel uncomfortable or creating bias. The most common of these is the Observer's Paradox, which Labov (1972c:113) defines as follows: "To obtain the data most important for linguistic theory, we have to observe how people speak when they are not being observed." To combat this paradox, I adopted techniques used in participant observation, an ethnographic technique that "requires that researchers simultaneously observe and participate (as much as possible) in the social action they are attempting to document" (Hume and Mulcock

2004:xi). Participant observation has been successfully employed in other sociolinguistic studies such as Eckert (1989), Cukor-Avila (1997a), Shin (1998), and Childs (2005); while I was not able to fully adopt the role of participant observer since I was in Nain for only one month, I did become involved in the community by attending parties and sporting events, and participating in community-wide activities such as Friday night bingo. Billeting with a community member gave me access to community information and activities I might otherwise have missed. In this way, I kept abreast of local news, including updates about the Vale Inco strike and the annual Inuititut speak-off, and was able to introduce these topics into interviews. Though I retained my outsider status for the duration of my stay, involving myself in the day-to-day life of the community facilitated the interview process and gave me insights into the community's social structure.

Despite these measures, it was sometimes difficult to elicit longer stretches of speech from a few participants, though every effort was made to collect longer narratives. This may have been because they were nervous or uncomfortable, or because their expectations of the interview process were not met; some of the interviewees seemed to expect a strict question-and-answer format, as opposed to free conversation, possibly because there was another interview-based research project going on while I was in Nain.³⁶

Another factor that may have contributed to the difficulty in gathering longer narratives is that I tried to avoid direct questioning during the interviews, in part because

³⁶ Kirk Dombrowski, an anthropologist from the City University of New York, was conducting a social networking study called the Nain Networks Project, in which participants were asked to respond to a questionnaire, which may have created expectations in residents who spoke with me.

it can be “considered rude [in Aboriginal communities] because it places an obligation on the person to reply in a particular way” (Darnell 1979:11). In my experience, people were not offended by my questions, and were generally quite forthcoming once I found a subject they were interested in.

Overall, however, most of the interviews were quite conversational and participants seemed at ease, based on the nature and content of the recordings. Unlike some other sociolinguistic interviewers (e.g., Labov 1966), I did not include word list or reading tasks because of the potentially mixed levels of formal education, literacy, and English abilities in Nain.

As part of my agreement with the Nunatsiavut Government, and in keeping with other research in the community, participants were compensated for their time, receiving a \$30 honorarium for their interview. As Samarin (1967) notes, sometimes remuneration is necessary; Dombrowski and his research partner Josh Lucas offered community members the same amount for their participation in the Nain Networks Project. Payment for linguistic research has been discussed in the literature on fieldwork (e.g., Samarin 1967, Dimmendaal 2001, Rice 2006); many of these sources state that the researcher should offer remuneration only if this type of compensation is appropriate in the speech community, offered at a rate that is commensurate with other studies in the area. While this likely resulted in some individuals volunteering when they might not otherwise have participated, the interviews were generally successful, yielding interesting conversations and rich data.

Recordings were made with an M-Audio Microtrack II digital recorder and an external AudioTechnica AT831b condenser lavalier microphone. In total, 57 residents who met the research criteria—Inuit who have spent most of their lives in Nain—were interviewed. Thirty-six of these people were interviewed individually; the remaining participants were interviewed with a friend, family member, or partner. The average length of the eligible interviews is 54 minutes and 47 seconds.³⁷

3.3 The sample

This dissertation employs a justified sample of 25 lifelong residents of Nain, all of whom self-identified as Inuit.³⁸ (Settlers are not included in this study because I could not find enough lifelong Settler residents to build a representative sample.) The sample is stratified according to two social factors: generation (first generation (ages 45+), second generation (31-44), and third generation (19-30)) and sex (male, female).^{39,40,41}

The generational categories correspond roughly with first language (L1) and education: all participants in the oldest group are native speakers of Inuttitut and most left school by grade 8; the participants in the middle generation are a mixture of L1 English and L1 Inuttitut speakers (though there are more native speakers of Inuttitut), with education levels that range from grade school to college; and the third generation consists

³⁷ The shortest interview in the entire collection is 37 minutes and 14 seconds and the longest was 78 minutes and 47 seconds.

³⁸ Leap (1993) argues that non-Aboriginal people can be speakers of IndE but this is not a qualification shared by all scholars; as such, only residents who self-identify as Inuit are included in this study.

³⁹ The initial sample consisted of 24 people but the older women did not speak as much as other participants. An extra person was added to this group to ensure that token counts were more evenly distributed across groups.

⁴⁰ The youngest participants in the study were 19, the age of majority in Newfoundland and Labrador.

⁴¹ Interviews in which participants seemed uncomfortable or in which longer narratives did not emerge have been excluded from the current study. Other eligible interviews were not included in this study because the sample would have been less representative.

mainly of native English speakers, all of whom have at least some high school experience.⁴² Figure 3.1 shows the sample distribution in more detail and provides a visual representation of the language shift the community is experiencing. Speakers' actual ages are not provided to help protect their identities. Asterisks (*) are used to denote native English speakers who self-identified as passive bilinguals. Robert, for example, is a passive bilingual whose parents are native Inuttitut speakers and whose son speaks only a little Inuttitut. Josie, another member of this age group, is in a similar situation.

| | | 1st generation (45-62) | 2nd generation (30-44) | 3rd generation (19-30) |
|--------------|--------------|--|--|--|
| Men | L1 Inuttitut | Arthur George Patrick Tim | Clark Greg Shaun | |
| | L1 English | | Robert * | Doug Evan * Max Wes |
| Women | L1 Inuttitut | Bridget Jackie Lily Lois Sylvia | Melissa Shirley | Betty |
| | L1 English | | Grace Josie * | Madeleine Molly Selena |

Figure 3.1. Sample breakdown.

The age boundaries between generations are lower than one might find in other studies due to two factors: (i) elders are almost all Inuttitut monolingual, making it impossible to find enough English speakers over 60, and (ii) the population of Nain is

⁴² Speakers are classified as native speakers of Inuttitut if they self-identified as such during the interviews.

youthful, with a median age of 28, as opposed to the Canadian average of 41 (Statistics Canada 2012a). In fact, I was unable to find men over the age of 60 who were comfortable and/or able to speak English and so I did not include any female speakers over the age of 65 in my analysis to maintain a balanced sample.⁴³

Because these factors are so intertwined and confounding in nature, it is difficult to examine the data purely within an apparent-time construct. A mainstay in dialectology and sociolinguistics since it was first introduced by Labov (1963), this research paradigm compares the linguistic behaviour of successive generations at a single point in time, under the assumption that there is little change across the adult lifespan and is a “surrogate for the real-time examination of data at different points in history” (Bailey 2002:312).⁴⁴ As a result, scholars are able to see trajectories of linguistic development and change, according to social variables such as speaker age or sex, among others.⁴⁵ The data I am employing, however, capture something different: the emergence of a new variety of English as the community of Nain transitions from being Inuttitut dominant to

⁴³ I attempted to code for socioeconomic status using snowmobile ownership as a local measure, in lieu of a more traditional socioeconomic status indicator such as occupation. Occupation did not seem like a viable variable because unemployment is rampant in Nain: only six of my 25 participants have year-round (though not necessarily full-time) employment. However, since many people live in multigenerational households and having a snowmobile requires at least some income in the household, snowmobile ownership may be a more illuminating measure of socioeconomic standing. Snowmobile ownership thus refers to whether or not the participant’s household has a skidoo and was determined from either the interview content or my observations within the community. Unfortunately, this information was not available for all speakers and this social factor will not be included in the multivariate analyses. I hope to gather more data and include it in future studies.

⁴⁴ Real-time studies, while more ideal (Labov 1982b), are also less common because they require diachronic data that are not always available (Tillery and Bailey 2003).

⁴⁵ Although apparent-time studies are “anchored in the present [and] cannot capture slow, long-term processes of change” (Nevalainen et al. 2011:2), studies such as Bailey et al. (1991) have shown that analyses of apparent-time data are valid, though not identical to results yielded by an examination of diachronic data. In this case, since there are no older data available for Nain Inuit English, a real-time approach cannot be employed.

English dominant. Thus, following Trudgill's (2004) stages of new dialect formation (previously outlined in Table 1.4 from Kerswill (2010:234)), the older speakers in the sample are the first generation speakers, analogous to adult migrants. The middle group represents the transitioning generation, similar to the second stage of Trudgill's model: the first native-born, or second generation, speakers who are expected to show a high degree of variability, though this group does include some native speakers of Inuttitut. Finally the younger community members represent the most L1 English group and could be approaching Stage III, which is characterized by (the beginnings of) stabilization, though there is still one native speaker of Inuttitut in the group (Betty). Henceforth, the different age groups will be discussed in terms of their generation (first generation, second generation, and third generation, respectively).

3.4 Data analysis

Data have been extracted and coded impressionistically for the three variables under consideration: the realization of interdental fricatives, verbal -s, and adjectival intensification. Specific details about the extraction and coding process will be provided for each variable in subsequent chapters. Multivariate analyses were performed for all variables using Goldvarb X for Mac, a variable rule programme designed to handle discrete natural speech data (Sankoff et al. 2005). A variable rule analysis is the most appropriate tool for this type of data since the variables in question have discrete variants (Sankoff 1988/2005). Goldvarb is “widely used in variationist analysis over other statistical programs” for a variety of reasons, including the fact that it was designed specifically for analyzing variation in data that are not always evenly distributed across

factors and factor groups (Walker 2010:31). There are other statistical programmes that perform similar functions. Some scholars are avid proponents of these alternate programmes, e.g., Johnson (2009); however, recent work such as Roy (2013) shows that there is little difference between models for the ordering of linguistic constraints. There are, however, differences for external factors (cf. Johnson 2009, Roy 2013) but I have chosen to use Goldvarb because it has been the standard in the field for many years and because the variationist studies I will be using for comparisons all employ Goldvarb in their analyses, making the results more directly comparable.

In analyses using Goldvarb, the programme assigns a factor weight between 0 and 1 to each factor under consideration. Factor weights closer to 1 favour the use of the variant in question (i.e., the application value) while factor weights closer to 0 disfavour use of the variant. In the tables that follow in Chapters 4-6, favouring factors weights are bolded while factor groups that were not selected as significant are marked with square brackets [].⁴⁶ The range between these factor weights is another indication of significance: greater ranges indicate more significance and smaller ranges indicate less significance. Knockouts (KOs) indicate categories that could not be considered in the statistical analysis due to the distribution of tokens, or lack thereof. For each variable, the linguistic and social factor groups have been analysed in a single run, though they will be discussed in separate sections.

⁴⁶ Non-significant factors are listed but not included in tables (Walker 2010).

4 Interdental fricatives

The variable realization of interdental fricatives is frequently discussed in the literature on both IndE and NE because the stopping of /θ/ and /ð/ (e.g., *think* pronounced as *tink* and *this* as *dis*) is a salient feature of both varieties. In fact, this variable has been discussed in studies of varieties from across the globe, leading researchers to conclude that interdental stopping is common in “non-native and ethnolectal varieties around the world” (Bell and Gibson 2008:51) and that there is “considerable variation...in the realization of /θ/ and /ð/” in world Englishes (Melchers and Shaw 2003:19). This range of variation is due, at least in part, to the fact that interdental fricatives are challenging for both first and second language learners of English, in terms of both perception and production (Wester et al. 2007). Thus, analysing how Nain residents produce interdental fricatives in English may help to determine if they follow Canadian English norms or if they are more influenced by a supra-local variety (NE or IndE). This may also serve as a diagnostic for effects of second language acquisition in the speech of L1 Inuktitut residents since /θ/ and /ð/ are not part of the Inuktitut consonant inventory.

This chapter begins with a review of previous research on interdental fricatives (§4.1). The next section discusses the methodology specific to this variable (§4.2) and is followed by an analysis of the stopping of (θ) and (ð) in Nain (§4.3). Note that (θ) and (ð) will be discussed separately in this section because they show different significant factors, as will be explained in detail in §4.1. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the findings (§4.4).

4.1 Previous research on interdental fricatives

In this section, I begin by reviewing previous research on nonstandard realizations of interdental fricatives in varieties of IndE (§4.1.1). Next, I summarize the literature on interdental realizations in NE (§4.1.2) and Englishes worldwide (§4.1.3). Finally, I discuss interdental fricatives in the speech of non-native speakers of English and possible transfer effects from Inuttitut in §4.1.4.

4.1.1 Interdental fricatives in Indigenous English

The nonstandard realization of interdental fricatives is considered a hallmark of the English of North American Aboriginal communities. Leap (1993:47-48) states that interdentals “receive quite different interpretations in Indian English codes...regardless of the speakers’ tribe or ancestral language background.” The literature, however, shows two main trends, with /θ/ and /ð/ realized either as stops or as phones from the indigenous language(s) in the community.

Leechman and Hall (1955) and Cook (1973) list interdental stopping as one of the main characteristics of IndE, while Fletcher (1983:6) notes that nonstandard pronunciations of /θ/ and /ð/ “seem...to be a problem almost everywhere” in his work on IndE in the United States. In North America, interdental stopping has been documented in the English spoken in Cheyenne (Alford 1974), Hopi (Penfield 1976), Lakota (Flanigan 1987), Mohave (Penfield 1976), Navajo (Cook and Sharp 1966, Penfield 1976), Plains Cree (Ball and Bernhardt 2008), and Tsimshian (Mulder 1982) communities, as well as the varieties spoken by First Nations and Métis students in Saskatchewan (Sterzuk 2007). Examples can be found in (13); formatting follows the

source documents but I have bolded words with underlying interdental fricatives in the (a) and (b) examples below.

(13) Interdental stopping in varieties of IndE

- a. So it's real in'eres'in'—**tings dat dose** kids should know about. (Lakota English; Flanigan 1987:183)
- b. **Dey're** bigger, **dey** have kids already. (Saskatchewan First Nations English; Sterzuk 2008:108)
- c. *the* [d^dθ, dθ] (Hopi and Navajo Englishes; Penfield 1976:30)
- d. *northland* [nortlənd] (Tsimshian English; Mulder 1982:100)

The examples provided in Penfield (1976) and Sterzuk (2007) document only (ð)-stopping; Mulder (1982) and Flanigan (1987) are the only sources that contain examples of stopping of both voiced and voiceless interdentals.⁴⁷ In terms of rates of stopping, Sterzuk (2007) notes that this is not a categorical process; no other author comments on the frequency with which this process occurs. This process is not restricted to Aboriginal communities in North America; stopping is also found in Australian Aboriginal (Butcher 2008) and Māori (Holmes 2005) Englishes.

Studies of varieties of IndE spoken in other communities show that interdental fricatives can also be realized as phones from the indigenous language, usually when that language does not have interdentals. Cook and Sharp (1966:23), for example, report the use of the unvoiced, unaspirated, alveolar Navajo *d* for /θ/ both word-initially and word-

⁴⁷ Copies of Alford (1974) are no longer available for loan or purchase and I was unable to view the original document. As a result, I cannot discuss the types of examples provided within. However, Leap's (1993) *American Indian English* lists both voiced (*dem* for *them*) and voiceless (*tin* for *thin*) in his summary of Alford's findings (on page 49).

finally, though [f] is “commonly substituted in the word *with*.⁴⁸ This *d* may also be substituted for /ð/; Cook and Sharp (1966) note its presence in words such as *this*, *that*, *father*, and *mother*. Pedtke and Warner (1969) state that Holm reports slightly different substitutions by Navajo speakers; in Holm’s study, students substitute Navajo [h] and [s] and English [f] for word-initial /θ/, [?] for syllable-final /θ/, and Navajo *d* for syllable-initial and syllable-final /θ/.⁴⁹ In a different study of Navajo English speakers, Pedtke and Werner (1969:14) note that native Navajo speakers may have problems acquiring interdental fricatives because they are not found in the Navajo phonemic inventory, but state that “there are no close counterparts in Navajo” for these consonants. Speakers of Pima English are influenced by their native language: /θ/ can be realized as [t], as in *bath* [bæt], or Pima *d* [θd], as in *thumb* [θdʌm], and /ð/, which does not exist in Pima can be realized as [θd], as in *that* [θdæt] and *feather* [fɛθdər] (Nelson-Barber 1982:125-126).⁵⁰ Choctaw English uses [ɬ] for /θ/; /ð/ is also problematic since Choctaw does not have voiced consonants (Nicklas 1969). Similarly, participants in a forum on First Nations English posit that speakers of Kwak’wala English may not realize /θ/ and /ð/ in a standard manner because Kwak’wala does not have *th* (Ball et al. 2006a).

Some of the above observations are based on data collected from non-native speakers of English, including Cook (1973), Cook and Sharp (1976), Pedtke and Warner (1969), and Penfield (1976), while other researchers have not specified the first language of their participants, such as Flanigan (1987) and Sterzuk (2007). Others are based

⁴⁸ Cook and Sharp (1966) discuss several Navajo communities in their article, stating that some speakers have interdental stopping while others use phones from the heritage language.

⁴⁹ Pedtke and Warner (1969) do not provide a citation for Holm’s study.

⁵⁰ The potential effects of transfer from Inuititut will be discussed in §4.1.4.

primarily on native speakers of English, such as Nelson-Barber's (1982) work with Pima children in Arizona. There are also a few sources based on the work of non-Aboriginal writers, such as Leechman and Hall's (1955) analysis of attestations of IndE documented by "whites". Despite the range of populations sampled in the existing literature, these sources provide valuable discussion of the realizations of /θ/ and /ð/ across indigenous populations.

As all of the existing literature on interdental fricatives in IndE is descriptive, the present study will be the first to examine this variable quantitatively in IndE. This statistical analysis will provide added insight into who is using which variants and how interdental fricatives are being realized as Nain transitions from being Inuttitut dominant to English dominant, in addition to offering a basic description of how this variable behaves in the community.

4.1.2 Interdental fricatives in Newfoundland English

The stopping of interdental fricatives has often been described in the literature on Newfoundland English (NE). Story et al. (1990:xxvi) label stopping one of the "most common variations" in NE in their introduction to the second edition of the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*, with Kirwin (2001) attributing this feature to NE's Anglo-Irish origins. Stopping is, in fact, one of the more salient features of this variety (Pringle 1985, Van Herk et al. 2007, Clarke 2010), to the point where it is "eminently 'performable' in contexts which, for whatever social reason, require overt indexing of Newfoundland identity" (Clarke 2010:45). This enregisterment (in the sense of Agha 2005) is

exemplified in the following excerpt from a poem by Harold Paddock (1981b:14); words with stopping have been bolded.

- (14) '*Ow I knows I'm A Newf*
 (a pome fer Ray Guy)

Because of my laingwich:
 h'In my case
 h'I comes from **dat** Far Greatest Bay
 And can't 'andle h'aitches,
 And 'aves **dis** h'irresistible h'urge
 To write h'onreadable pomes.

Examples of the enregisterment of interdental stopping can also be found in advertisements and tourist merchandise, such as the taxi signage from Port-aux-Basques (M. Ford, personal communication, February 6, 2007) shown in Figure 4.1, in which the threes in the phone number 695-3333 are depicted as trees.



Figure 4.1. Port-aux-Basques cab.
(<http://webby.com/humor/blog/index.php?m=10&y=07>)

Another example of the enregisterment of this NE feature is a billboard put up in St. John's by Pattison Outdoor, the largest Out-of-Home advertising company in Canada

(Pattison Outdoor Advertising 2009), shown in Figure 4.2 in which the word *the* is represented as *da*.



**Figure 4.2. Pattison billboard in St. John's, the provincial capital.
(Photo taken August 2010 on Ropewalk Lane.)**

The salience of this feature carries over to other forms of language; stopping can also be heard in many performances of NE, including those by local personalities like hip hop group Gazeebow Unit (Clarke and Hiscock 2009); Donnie Dumphy, a rapper who describes himself as someone who “doesn’t take nudding from nobody nowhere unless he wants it” on his website (<http://www.donniedumphy.com/characters.html>); or comedian and native Newfoundland Shauna Majumder, when he performs in character as a Newfoundland, as in his Newfie Directions skit (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vxR6YPW24X0>). These examples are a small sampling of the use of interdental stopping in the popular consciousness and mainstream media in the province, illustrating that stopping is a salient feature of the dialect.

The existing body of research on NE draws from communities across the island. Some of the sociolinguistic studies of interdental stopping in NE are primarily descriptive

in nature (e.g., Dillon 1968, Paddock 1981a, Harris 2006): they state which variants appear, they provide examples (but not rates of usage), and they sometimes discuss interdental stopping with reference to social variables such as age, sex, religious affiliation, and socioeconomic status. Other researchers have adopted a statistical approach when examining the effects of social variables on rates of stopping, including Reid (1981), Colbourne (1982), Clarke (1986, 1991), Lanari (1994), Van Herk et al. (2007), Kendall (2009), Childs et al. (2010), Williamson (2010), and Knee and Van Herk (2011). While all of these studies are of interest, I will be comparing the Nain data primarily against these quantitative analyses rather than the qualitative ones.

In all of the Newfoundland communities in which the realization of interdental fricatives has been investigated, both (θ) and (δ) are regularly stopped (Dillon 1968; Riach 1969; Seary et al. 1968; Noseworthy 1971; Paddock 1981a; Reid 1981; Colbourne 1982; Hampson 1982a; Clarke 1986, 1991, 1997, 2004b, 2010; Kirwin and Hollett 1986; Lanari 1994; Halpert and Widdowson 1996; Kirwin 2001; Hickey 2002; Newhook 2002; Melchers and Shaw 2003; Harris 2006; Van Herk et al. 2007; Kendall 2009; Childs et al. 2010; Williamson 2010; Knee and Van Herk 2011). (δ) is typically stopped more frequently than (θ) (Reid 1981, Colbourne 1982, Van Herk et al. 2007, Childs et al. 2010; Clarke 2010); Clarke (2010:45), among others, attributes this to the fact that (δ) is frequently found in unstressed and grammatical or function words, in which the “stop realization is phonetically less prominent.”

Several variants other than standard [θ , δ] and stopped (alveolar) [t, d] have been documented in the literature on NE. Some scholars of NE observe a dental variant [t̪, d̪]

(Wells 1982, Kirwin 1993, Shorrocks 1997) but most researchers have focussed on the alveolar realization (Dillon 1968, Riach 1969, Reid 1981, Colbourne 1982, Clarke 1986, 1991, Lanari 1994, Van Herk et al. 2007, Kendall 2009, Williamson 2010, Knee and Van Herk 2011). An affricated variant [tθ, dð] has been noted in the Burin region, though this realization is “not widely used” (Lanari 1994:61). This affricated realization is also present in Bay de Verde, a town on the Avalon Peninsula (Reid 1981), and in Long Island, Notre Dame Bay, an island off the northeast coast of Newfoundland (Colbourne 1982). The labiodental fricatives [f, v] have been observed in parts of Notre Dame Bay (Colbourne 1982, Halpert and Widdowson 1996) and along the south coast of the island, in communities like Burgeo (Payne and O'Reilly 1997). The retroflex affricate [tʃ] has been observed in Notre Dame Bay before [r], in words like *three* (Colbourne 1982). The nonstandard realization [s] has been documented in Burnt Islands, a community on the southwestern coast of Newfoundland (Newhook 2002). This highly stigmatized variant is not found word-initially and has no voiced counterpart for (ð) (Newhook 2002; Clarke 2004b, 2005, 2010); Clarke (2010) states that this feature is found in regional enclaves originally settled by migrants from southwest England, where this realization is more common. Harris (2006) observes the use of the flap variant [ɾ] in Bonavista Bay but does not offer examples. Finally, zero realizations are also possible. The exact location of the communities under discussion can be seen in the following maps, with the exception of New-Wes-Valley, which is located on the northern shore of Bonavista Bay.



Figure 4.3. Map of Newfoundland (Clarke 2010:8).



Figure 4.4. The Avalon Peninsula, Newfoundland (Clarke 2010:6).

The social and linguistic factors that condition variant choice will be discussed in §4.2.

4.1.3 Interdental fricatives in other varieties of English

Nonstandard realizations of interdental fricatives have been documented in varieties of English worldwide, including dialects spoken in the following regions (though the variants differ from speech community to speech community): the United Kingdom (Wakelin 1977; Wells 1982; Milroy and Milroy 1978; Trudgill 1988, 1990; Stuart-Smith 1999; Willis 2002; Melchers and Shaw 2003; Milroy 2003; Altendorf and Watt 2004; Melchers 2004); Ireland (Wells 1982, Hickey 2004b, Upton 2004); the Caribbean (Gilman 1978, Wells 1982, Avram 2001, Cutler 2003, Melchers and Shaw 2003, Williams 2003, Aceto 2004, Patrick 2004); India (McArthur 2002, Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008); Southeast Asia (Gupta 1995, Moorthy and Deterding 2000, Lim 2004, Le 2007); the Philippines (McArthur 2002); Australasia (Horvath 1985, Campbell and Gordon 1996, Wood 2003, Kennedy 2006, Starks and Reffell 2006, Bell and Gibson 2008); Africa (Gilman 1978, Wells 1982, Jibril 1986, Wood 1987, Eböt 1999, McArthur 2002, Finn 2004); and the United States, including Cajun Louisiana (Rubrecht 1971; Walton 1994; Dubois and Horvath 1998b, 2003, 2004; Oetting and Garrity 2006), Appalachia (Wolfram and Christian 1976), the Eastern Seaboard (Labov 1994), and German (Rose 2006), Chicano (Penfield and Ornstein-Galicia 1985, Mendoza-Denton 2008), and African American speech communities (Wolfram 1969, Bailey and Thomas 1998, Rickford 1999, Wolfram and Thomas 2002).⁵¹ In fact, Wolfram (1974:66) notes that

⁵¹ Aceto (2004) notes that [tʃ] appears before /r/ in onset clusters in some Eastern Caribbean varieties.

interdental stopping is “common to many nonstandard varieties of English in the United States.”

These studies have found the following variants, all of which are also found in NE: standard (interdental) [θ, ð], stopped [t, d], aspirated [t^h], stopped dental [t̪, d̪], fronted [f, v], affricates [tθ, dð], and [tʃ] (before [r] in onset clusters). In addition, the variants [s] and [z] have been found in Englishes spoken in East Africa (Jibril 1986, McArthur 2002, Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008); [s] has also appeared as a variant for (θ) in New York City Puerto Rican English, as well as a zero realization (Wolfram 1974).^{52,53} Nonetheless, although common, the use of non-interdental fricatives for (θ) and (ð) tends to be stigmatized across dialects (Wells 1982).

Melchers and Shaw (2003) assert that many outer circle varieties of English, i.e., English spoken in ex-colonial countries with diglossic linguistic situations (Kachru 1985), are often characterized by interdental stopping. Referencing Peng and Ann’s (2001) notion that some linguistic distinctions are dispensable based on the internal logic of English, Melchers and Shaw (2003:131) suggest that (ð)-stopping occurs because /ð/ “very rarely distinguishes words from one another and substitution of /d/ causes little communicative difficulty.” Finally, Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008:126) note that “*all* New English varieties treat /θ/ and /ð/ as something other than an interdental fricative.”

⁵² Wolfram (1974) only looks at (θ) but notes that there is some variability for (ð).

⁵³ Recall that [s] alone has also been observed in NE (Newhook 2002; Clarke 2005, 2010).

4.1.4 Interdental fricatives in Inuktitut and second language acquisition

Labrador Inuittitut has a smaller phonemic inventory than Newfoundland or Canadian English, as previously described in §2.3.1. There are 14 consonants; the interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are notably absent from this inventory (Smith 1977b, Dresher and Johns 1996, Dorais 2010). In fact, interdental fricatives are rare crosslinguistically (Ruhlen 1975, Maddieson 1984, Bell and Gibson 2008) and are highly phonologically marked (Maddieson 1984, Dubois and Horvath 1998b, Wester et al. 2007, Eckert 2008).⁵⁴ Thus, they are acquired later than other consonants, even in studies of children learning English as their first language (Dubois and Horvath 2004, Hansen 2006). As a result, it seems plausible that they might be acquired later, or not at all, in the L2 acquisition process, making this variable a good way to explore transfer from Inuittitut to English in Nain.

The literature on second language acquisition shows that only a small set of consonants are substituted for English interdental fricatives, perhaps because realizing /θ/ and /ð/ as alveolar stops or labiodental fricatives is a natural sound change (Blevins 2006). Francophone Canadians, for example, often substitute dental plosives for interdental fricatives (Rvachew and Jamieson 1995, Teasdale 1997, Brannen 2002), to the point that this is one of the most salient features of the Franco-Canadian accent (Gatbonton 1978). Similarly, Vietnamese learners of English often produce interdental fricatives as [t^h] and [d] since Vietnamese does not have /θ/ and /ð/ in its consonant inventory but does contain alveolar stops (Le 2007). The same observation has been

⁵⁴ Marked segments are less frequent than unmarked segments (Maddieson 1984).

made for Russian speakers (Weinrich 1953, Weinberger 1997). Thai speakers also have similar, though more varied, substitutions: stops [t, d] and labiodental fricatives [f, v] for /θ/ and [t, d, θ] for /ð/ (Burkardt 2005).

Like speakers of IndE and NE, non-native speakers also produce nonstandard realizations other than alveolar stops or labiodental fricatives. L1 speakers of European French produce /θ/ and /ð/ as [s] and [z], respectively (Hyman 1970). Native Czech and Slovak speakers substitute [s] for /θ/ and [dz] or [d] for /ð/ since interdental fricatives are not part of their native languages (Soudek 1977). First language speakers of Cuban Spanish substitute [s] and [t] for /θ/ (Anrrich 2007) as do native Hungarian speakers (Nemser 1977). Hindi speakers tend to substitute dental, as opposed to alveolar, stops (Bansal 1969, 1972); Hancin-Bhatt (1994) attributes this to speakers' perceptions of /θ/ and /ð/. Dutch speakers learning English primarily substitute stops for both targets; they also show some fronting to [f] for /θ/ as well as the use of alveolar fricatives [s] and [z], though these are more frequent in syllable-final position (Wester et al. 2007). Similarly, L1 Cantonese speakers from Hong Kong use [f] for /θ/ (Weinberger 1994, Peust 1996) while those raised in Canada use *s* or *z* for /θ/ and /ð/ in written work (Wang and Geva 2003). Weinberger (1994) reports that English L2 learners from mainland China and Taiwan favour a palatalized [s]; Peust (1996) observes the use of [s] in Taiwan, in addition to [t] in Singapore and Malaysian Chinese. Similarly, native speakers of Japanese tend to realize /θ/ as [s] (Weinberger 1997, Picard 2002).

To summarize, there are many possible realizations of interdental fricatives across dialects: standard [θ, ð], stopped [t, d], aspirated [t^h], stopped dental [t̪, d̪], fronted [f, v],

affricates [tθ, dð], sibilants [s, z], and [tʃ] (before [r] in onset clusters). In Indigenous Englishes, speakers tend to produce alveolar stops instead of standard [θ, ð], as do speakers of NE. Non-native speakers of English also employ the stopped variants but also display a variety of phones from their first languages. As /θ/ and /ð/ are not part of the phonemic inventory of Labrador Inuttitut, this variable provides an opportunity to look for phonological transfer in Nain Inuit English, in addition to exploring which English dialects influence the variety spoken in this community. Specifically, use of Inuttitut consonants or realizations not predicted in the NE literature will be interpreted as evidence of transfer. The use of the stopped variants will be treated as support for the influence from IndE or NE in the speech of L1 English residents (listed in §3.3), provided there are similar sociolinguistic constraints.

4.2 Methodology

In this section, I outline the methodological considerations of my analysis of interdental fricatives in Nain. As the main focus of this chapter is interdental stopping, the realization common to both IndE and NE, the linguistic and social factors described in this section are drawn from studies on this topic; moreover, previous variationist analyses tend to focus on this nonstandard realization above others. As such, I begin by describing the linguistic (§4.2.1) and social (§4.2.2) constraints on interdental stopping in other varieties of English. Next, I explain the guidelines used for the extraction and coding of tokens (§4.2.3).

4.2.1 Linguistic constraints on interdental stopping

The linguistic constraints on stopping in NE have been explored in several of the studies mentioned earlier in the chapter (§4.1.2). Quantitative analyses show three main influencing factors: word class, position in the word, and stress. All three of these factors will be considered in the analysis of the Nain data.

Word class is significant in Van Herk et al.'s (2007) study of interdental stopping in Petty Harbour, for example. In this community, the stopped variant was found more frequently in function words (60.5%, factor weight .60) than non-function, or lexical, words (38.7%, factor weight .34). Williamson's (2010) recent analysis of (ð)-stopping in the Battery, an enclave community in St. John's that was once a small fishing village, also finds [d] favoured in function words (55%, factor weight .52 versus 46%, factor weight .23). This is true of (ð)-stopping in other regions as well, such as Cajun English (Dubois and Horvath 1998b) and Creole African American Vernacular English (Dubois and Horvath 2003).

Williamson's (2010) Battery study also reveals the importance of word position, with stopping favoured word-initially.⁵⁵ This study also shows that both place and manner of the preceding segment impact the selection of the stopped variant over [ð], with stops, vowels, and liquids favouring [d] for manner and non-coronals favouring [d]

⁵⁵ There may be interactions in Williamson's (2010) data since her Goldvarb run included both word class (function vs. lexical) and word position (initial vs. medial); there are no function words that have a word-medial /ð/.

for place.⁵⁶ The latter of these results suggest word-initial position also favours the selection of [d] in the Battery variety of NE.

Similarly, Wood's (2003) analysis of New Zealand English illustrates that interdentals are most likely to be fronted word-finally. Bell and Gibson's (2008) research on New Zealand Pasifika English also highlights the importance of word position, through their analysis of preceding phonological environment. In this study, (ð)-stopping was favoured after pauses, and disfavoured after vowels, suggesting that [d] is preferred in word-initial position. Their data also show that this is not a lexical effect, since there was no "structured variation according to specific lexical items" (Bell and Gibson 2008:47). Syllable position was also significant in the study of New Zealand Pasifika English for (θ), with stopping [t] or affrication [tθ] occurring more frequently in onset position, and fronting [f] more frequently in codas; only onsets are considered in their analysis of (ð) because word-medial (ð) was categorically [ð] (Bell and Gibson 2008).

Finally, only one study shows that stress significantly affects interdental stopping. In New Zealand Pasifika English, the stopped realization of (ð) is favoured in stressed syllables (Bell and Gibson 2008). This is different from the NE studies, in which [d] tends to be favoured in function words (Van Herk et al. 2007, Clarke 2010, Williamson 2010).

4.2.2 Social constraints on interdental stopping

As stated in §3.4, sex and generation are the two social factors employed in the multivariate analyses in this dissertation. Previous research on NE shows that sex and age

⁵⁶ The Goldvarb results shown in Williamson (2010) suggest that these two factor groups may be interacting with one another so these findings may not be as robust as her discussion suggests.

(somewhat analogous to generation) must be considered in any study of interdentals, since older men are the most productive users of interdental stopping across the island (Reid 1981, Colbourne 1982, Lanari 1994, Van Herk et al. 2007). There is, however, “little agreement on the place of other social groups in the hierarchy” as it varies from community to community (Van Herk et al. 2007:86). What remains true across communities is that interdental stopping, particularly (ð)-stopping, is a change in progress, as younger speakers tend to be more standard than their older counterparts.⁵⁷ The exception to this trend is Clarke’s (1986:71) study of St. John’s, which shows that “the usage of an alveolar stop variant of /ð/ does not seem to be declining substantially” in the community. There is also a “higher than expected degree [of stopping] with younger working-class males” in St. John’s and the Burin region (Clarke 2010:145-146). In other communities, such as Bay de Verde, however, there is little change in the usage of the stopped variant for both (θ) and (ð) across generations, with less than 1% difference in rates of usage (Reid 1981), though the younger women in this community also showed an intensification of interdental stopping, which Clarke (2010:146) likens to Schilling-Estes and Wolfram’s (1999) notion of concentration in their discussion of moribund dialects, in which regional features are maintained or heightened for some speakers.

Another trend is that men tend to be more nonstandard than women, a traditional sociolinguistic finding (Labov 1994, Chambers 2003). In Petty Harbour, older men have

⁵⁷ There are some communities, such as Petty Harbour (Van Herk et al. 2007), in which some of the younger men are showing higher rates of (ð)-stopping than their parents’ generations but this is not true across the island.

the highest overall rate of (θ)-stopping (81.5%), though a traditional pattern of decline in the use of [t] is observed in apparent time, with women moving toward the standard more quickly than men. For (ð)-stopping, men are again more likely to use the stopped variant across age groups: men’s use of [d] is in decline while women in this community level out, at a rate of stopping of approximately 30% for middle-aged and younger speakers. Van Herk et al. (2007:89, 92) posit that (θ)-stopping is not only more marked but also “a salient (though perhaps not fully consciously deployed) marker of traditional Newfoundland identity” while (ð)-stopping is a community-wide phenomenon that is “less salient and thus less suppressed.” This assessment is reinforced by Kendall’s (2009) discussion of (ð)-stopping in a subset of the sample used by Van Herk et al. (2007). He analyses the stopped and standard realizations of five function words—*that, the, these, this, and those*—in the speech of three older men and four young women. His work supports the idea that (ð) is “grammaticalized differently for the young females than the old males” (Kendall 2009:228) and that young women are using stopping for identity work (Van Herk et al. 2007).

Outside of Newfoundland, age and sex continue to play an important role in the selection of the stopped variant over [ð]. For Cajun Vernacular English, for example, older men are the most nonstandard (Dubois and Horvath 1998b). Male speakers show a V-shaped distribution of [d], with young men using the stopped variant more than any other group, a process Dubois and Horvath (2003) label *recycling*. When a variable is recycled, the middle generation uses a vernacular variant less than the older generation, and the younger group uses the vernacular realization at least as frequently as the older

generation. In Cajun African American Vernacular English, age is the single significant social variable, with older speakers being the most frequent users of [d] (Dubois and Horvath 2003).

Other social factors have been considered in the literature, though they will not be used in the present analysis due to factors outlined in the previous chapter.

Socioeconomic status, for example, has proven significant in studies of interdental stopping both in and outside of the province. In her study of the Burin region, Lanari (1994) observes that working class speakers are more likely to use nonstandard features. Clarke (2010) notes that (ð)-stopping is found across socioeconomic groups in unstressed grammatical and function words in Newfoundland and Labrador English. More generally, Labov (1994:97) argues that social class has “the most powerful effect” on (ð)-stopping, with groups with lower socioeconomic standing using [d] more frequently, a finding echoed in Clarke’s (1986) study of St. John’s, which shows that unskilled labourers employ [d] most often. As discussed in §2.2, Nain is relatively flat in terms of socioeconomic status; this variable has consequently not been included in the present analysis.

Ethnicity is another social factor employed in other studies. It was significant, for example, in both Starks and Reffell’s (2006) and Bell and Gibson’s (2008) studies of New Zealand Pasifika Englishes but has been excluded from this study because all the included Nain residents are Inuit.

In the same vein, religious affiliation was significant in some Newfoundland communities, such as Bay de Verde, in which Catholics were generally less standard than

Protestants (Reid 1981). It is not possible to consider this variable in Nain, however, because the town is predominantly Moravian, though I was informed that there is a small Protestant group who hold services in a member's basement.

Speakers' aspirations or affiliations have also been explored in some studies of interdental stopping. Van Herk et al. (2007) discuss speakers' orientation, noting that young petty Harbour men show an ideological split: those who maintain high rates of local forms orient toward vernacular culture and working-class occupations while young men who are less locally oriented are moving away from traditional variants. Similarly, Knee and Van Herk (2011) consider the educational aspirations of teenagers from New-Wes-Valley, a rural community on Bonavista Bay. They also discuss whether or not participants wanted to live in a small town in Newfoundland (like New-Wes-Valley) or planned to move away. They find higher rates of stopping in the speech of the participants who intend to remain in town and who do not plan to go to university. This type of analysis was not possible in the present study because nearly all of my participants are locally oriented.

Social network is another variable that has been considered in other sociolinguistic studies of interdental stopping, for NE (e.g., Williamson 2010) as well as other varieties of English, including Cajun Vernacular English (Dubois and Horvath 1998b) and Belfast English (Milroy and Milroy 1978). Just as Dubois and Horvath (1998b) observe that people with closer ties to the community are more likely to use the stopped variants for both (θ) and (ð), Williamson (2010) finds that participants in similarly closed networks were less likely to employ [d] for (ð). An analysis based on

social networks is not possible in the current study since the sample is based on people volunteering and some of the people who came forward did not want to discuss their social networks.

Dubois and Horvath (1998b) also consider initial language learning experience in their work on Cajun English since all of their participants were bilingual to a certain degree. In fact, the linguistic situation of Cajun Louisianans is similar to that of Nain Inuit; both communities have an older generation with a non-English L1 and a younger generation who are almost all L1 English speakers. Although first language was not significant for speakers of Cajun Vernacular English (Dubois and Horvath 1998b), this factor will be considered in the analyses that follow in Chapters 4-6 since the community is in the midst of a language shift. It will be considered separately from sex and generation, however, to avoid interactions.

Finally, style has been considered in several NE studies. In all of the Newfoundland communities in which style was considered, standard realizations tend to be found in formal speech (e.g., McConnell 1978, Paddock 1981a, Lanari 1994, Newhook 2002, Williamson 2010), a finding expected based on other sociolinguistic work (e.g., Labov 1966, 2001; Trudgill 1974). Similarly, Wood's (2003) analysis of interdental fronting in New Zealand English shows higher frequencies of nonstandard [f, v] in casual speech. This variable cannot be considered in the Nain data because different levels of formality were not tested in the interviews. (Recall from §3.2 that I did not include word lists or reading tasks due to potentially mixed levels of formal education and English abilities in the community.)

In sum, speaker sex, generation, and first language are the social variables being used in the analyses of the Nain data, due to limitations in the data and to appropriateness for the community.

4.2.3 Extraction and coding of tokens

Tokens were extracted from the 15-minute point of each interview, to a maximum of 100 tokens per speaker ((θ) and (ð) combined).⁵⁸ A type/token ratio of 5 was used to control for word frequency; contracted forms are included with non-contracted forms in the analysis, e.g., *they'll* is counted as one of five instances of *they*.⁵⁹ To avoid assimilation effects, tokens were not extracted when the preceding or following phonological environment was underlyingly an interdental fricative, e.g., *They were both thinking about cake*. Other exclusions are word-final tokens when the following segment was one of the variants (if no contrast could be heard), e.g., *I was with two friends*, and word-initial tokens when the preceding segment is one of the variants (if no contrast could be heard), e.g., *He shoved the door shut*, to avoid any potential neutralization.

Data were coded impressionistically, as one of eight realizations of (θ) and (ð): standard [θ, ð], plosives [t, d], fronted fricatives [f, v], the alveolar fricative [s], affricates [tθ, dð], retroflex affricates [ʈʃ, ɖʒ], zero realization [ø], and other. In cases where it was not possible to make a confident coding decision about the realization, tokens were examined acoustically in Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2010), a software programme designed for the acoustic analysis of speech samples. Following Bell and Gibson (2008),

⁵⁸ This is the same maximum number of tokens used in Van Herk et al.'s (2007) study of Petty Harbour.

⁵⁹ Knee and Van Herk (2011) do not combine contracted and non-contracted forms when the vowel quality or syllable type is changed by the contraction, e.g., *they're* does not count as an instance of *they*.

tokens have been considered stops if there was a visible closure and burst, or affricates if there was evidence of stopping followed by frication. This secondary method was employed for only three tokens; in cases where the realization was unclear, the token was not included.

To test the reliability of my coding decisions, a subsample of tokens were blind-coded by another linguistics student. She examined roughly 20% of the tokens extracted for each interview she reviewed and our judgments aligned 86% of the time. In cases where there was disagreement, Praat was used to make a final judgment; in all but two of these instances, my judgment was upheld.

To summarize, the social variables considered in this analysis are generation (first generation, second generation, third generation), sex (male, female), and first language (Inuitut, English). The linguistic variables under consideration are drawn from the literature on interdental stopping, primarily Dubois and Horvath (1998b), Van Herk et al. (2007), Bell and Gibson (2008), and Williamson (2010). They are listed in the Table 4.1:

Table 4.1. Final linguistic factor groups for interdental stopping.

| Factor groups | Factors |
|--|--|
| Preceding phonological environment ⁶⁰ | consonant, vowel, pause |
| Following phonological environment | consonant, vowel, pause |
| Position in the word | initial, medial, final |
| Position in the syllable | onset, coda |
| Number of syllables | monosyllabic, polysyllabic |
| Word class | function, lexical, number |
| Stress | primary stress, secondary stress, unstressed |

⁶⁰ Preceding and following phonological environments were coded across word boundaries.

The results of the analyses are discussed in the next section.

4.3 Results

Data on (θ) and (ð) have been run separately, since previous studies (e.g., Reid 1981, Lanari 1994, Dubois and Horvath 1998b, Van Herk et al. 2007) have shown that they can behave differently, with different conditioning factors and rates of use. As stated in §3.4, all multivariate analyses were performed using Goldvarb X (Sankoff et al. 2005). Linguistic and social factors were run together but will be discussed separately for both (θ) and (ð).

4.3.1 Eth

A total of 1,251 tokens were analysed for (ð). Table 4.2 shows the distribution of realizations for the sample; well over half of the tokens (63.0%) were realized as stops.

Table 4.2. Distribution of results for (ð).

| Realization | % | N |
|----------------------------------|-------|-------|
| Standard [ð] | 30.5 | 382 |
| Stopped [d] | 63.0 | 788 |
| Fronted [v] | 0.0 | 0 |
| Affricates [dð] | 0.6 | 7 |
| Retroflex affricates [dʒ] | 0.2 | 2 |
| Sibilant [s] | 0.1 | 1 |
| Zero realisation [ø] | 5.4 | 67 |
| Inuitut (non-English) consonants | 0.0 | 0 |
| Other English consonants | 0.3 | 4 |
| Total | 100.0 | 1,251 |

As this table demonstrates, the stopped and standard variants account for over 93% of the data, and that most of the remaining tokens are zero realizations.

From this point onward, this paper deals only with the standard and stopped realizations of eth, eliminating 81 tokens realized as one of the other variants. This was

done because stopping is the nonstandard variant typically found in both IndE and NE and because the Ns for the remaining variants are too low to be analysed quantitatively.

The rates of (\emptyset)-stopping in Nain are compared against rates found in other communities in the province in Figure 4.5. In this chart, communities are listed according to their proximity to Nain: communities in the western and central parts of the island (Notre Dame Bay, the Burin Peninsula, and New-Wes-Valley) are on the left and communities on the Avalon Peninsula (Bay de Verde, St. John's, the Battery, and Petty Harbour), the eastern part of Newfoundland, are on the right.⁶¹ The communities to the left are also more rural while St. John's, the capital and main urban centre, is on the right.

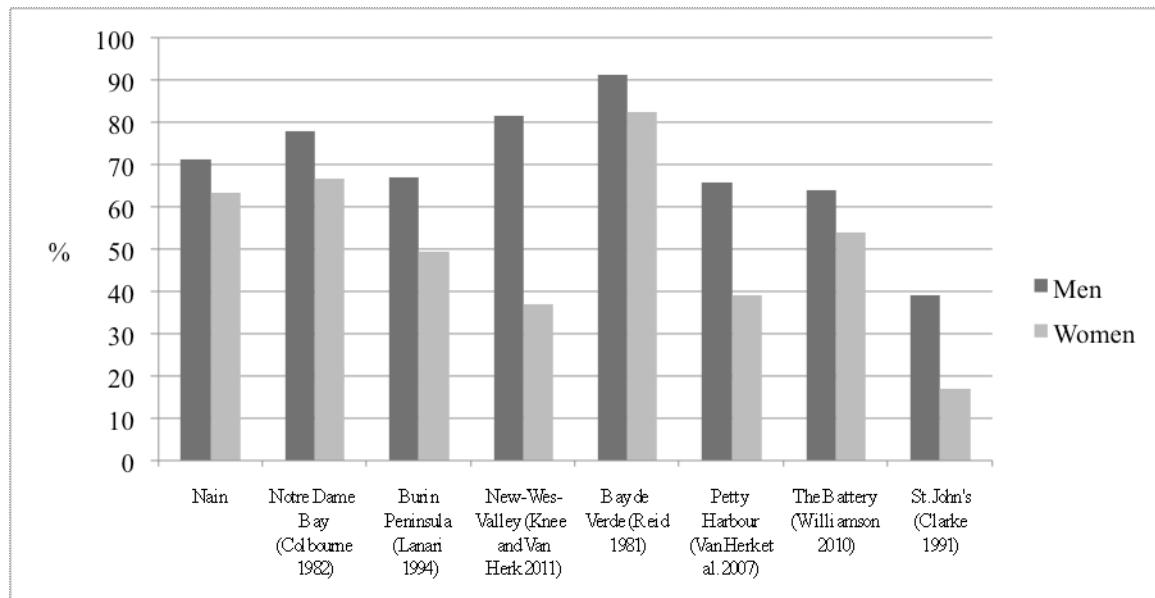


Figure 4.5. Rates of (\emptyset)-stopping in Newfoundland and Labrador.

As Figure 4.5 illustrates, rates of (\emptyset)-stopping in Nain are similar to those found in rural areas of Newfoundland, though one must bear in mind that the Notre Dame Bay, Burin

⁶¹ Rates of stopping for New-Wes-Valley are extrapolated from the individual rates of use presented in Knee and Van Herk (2011). Note that this study includes only younger speakers so these numbers may not be representative of the community as a whole.

Peninsula, Bay de Verde, and St. John's studies occurred between fifteen and thirty years prior to the current project; present-day rates might be lower in these communities. The results for Nain are also comparable to those found in the Battery, an enclave community in St. John's, which Williamson (2010:15) describes as an “isolated, low status, economically impoverished, tight knit” fishing community, allowing parallels between the Battery and outport communities in the province. One-sample t-tests show that the differences between communities are significant for both men and women (one-sample $t(7) = 12.487, p < .001$ for men and one-sample $t(7) = 7.753, p < .001$ for women).

4.3.1.1 Social factors

Figure 4.6 shows rates of (ð)-stopping in Nain according to speaker sex and generation:

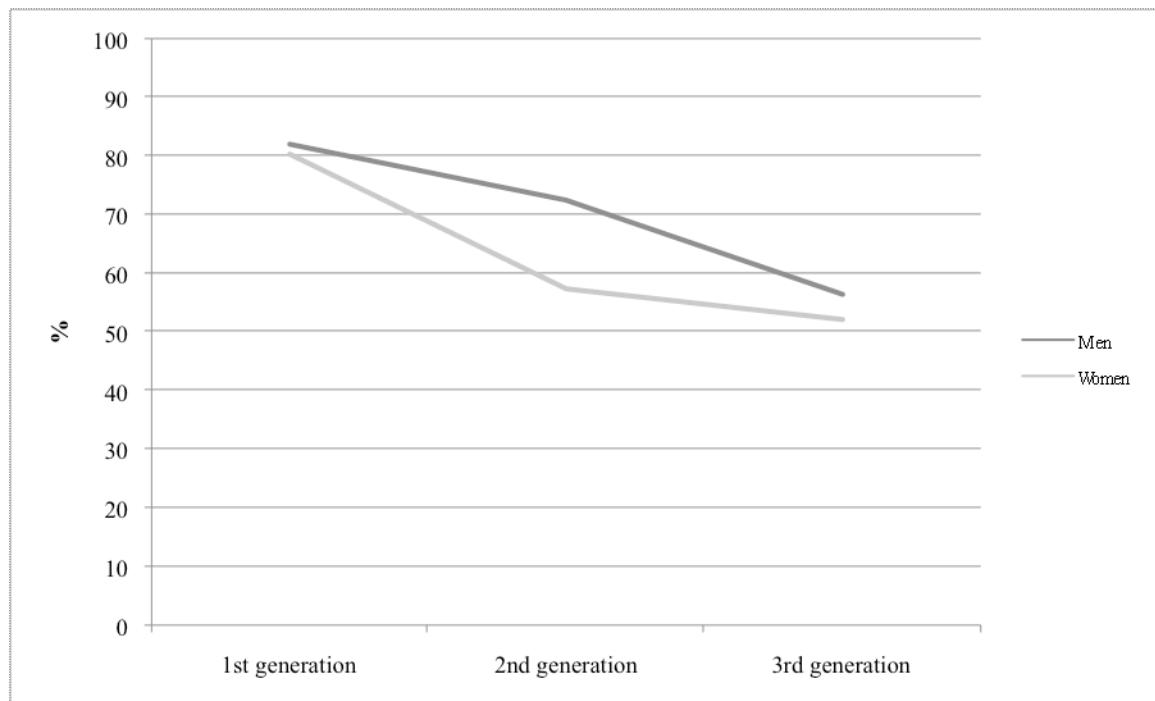


Figure 4.6. Use of the stopped variant [d] instead of standard [ð] by generation and sex.

While men in each generation stop more frequently than women, the speakers in the older and younger groups show similar rates of stopping for both sexes (82.0% vs. 80.3% for

older speakers and 56.4% vs. 52.1% for younger residents). In the transitional generation, however, there is a greater discrepancy between men and women, with men stopping at a rate of 72.5% and women at a rate of 57.3%. Overall, however, women are leading the change toward the standard (or at least away from the traditional nonstandard variant), as illustrated by the drop in usage between the women in the first and second generations; this is in keeping with Labov's (1990) Principle I, the generalization that men tend to be more nonstandard than women. In this community, it is also possible that this is the result of a shift from Inuttitut as a first language to English as a first language. One-sample t-tests show that the differences between generations are significant for both men and women when the sexes are analysed separately (one-sample $t(2) = 9.409, p < .05$ for men and one-sample $t(2) = 7.298, p < .05$ for women).

The results of the Goldvarb analysis are displayed in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3. Social factors selected as significant in the selection of the stopped variant [d] over the standard realization [ð].

| Total N: 1,170 | Corrected mean: .723 | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|------|-----|
| | FW | % | N |
| Generation | | | |
| 1 st generation | .73 | 82.0 | 401 |
| 2 nd generation | .46 | 65.7 | 364 |
| 3 rd generation | .31 | 54.3 | 405 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 42 | | |
| Sex | | | |
| Male | .58 | 71.2 | 591 |
| Female | .42 | 63.4 | 579 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 16 | | |

As this table illustrates, both generation and sex are significant in the selection of [d] over [ð] in Nain, with age being the more significant factor. As mentioned in §4.1.2, one or both of these factors has affected rates of stopping analyses of (ð)-stopping in other

communities in the province, including the more recent studies in Petty Harbour (Van Herk et al. 2007) and the Battery (Williamson 2010).

When the two social factors are combined into a single group, the hierarchy that emerges mirrors the results shown in Figure 4.6. The results for this new social factor, henceforth *speaker group*, are displayed in the following table:

Table 4.4. Social factors (revised) selected as significant in the selection of the stopped variant [d] over the standard realization [ð].

| Total N: 1,170 | Corrected mean: .726 | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|------|-----|
| Speaker group | FW | % | N |
| 1 st generation men | .79 | 83.7 | 203 |
| 1 st generation women | .65 | 80.3 | 198 |
| 2 nd generation men | .61 | 72.5 | 200 |
| 3 rd generation men | .31 | 56.4 | 188 |
| 2 nd generation women | .31 | 57.3 | 164 |
| 3 rd generation women | .28 | 52.5 | 217 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | <i>36</i> | | |

Although there is a slight mismatch in ordering for the younger men and second-generation women, Table 4.4 illustrates that combining speaker sex and generation reinforces the significance of generation, as well as highlighting how women are leading the change toward the standard in each generation.

First language will be discussed after the linguistic factors.

4.3.1.2 Linguistic factors

Although I initially coded for seven linguistic factors, several of these factor groups had to be combined due to knockouts and interactions in the initial Goldvarb runs. Word class was recombined into a single factor group with syllable position and word position. This was necessary because tokens fell into two categories: (i) function words, such as *the*, which always have (ð) in word-initial (onset) position; and (ii) lexical words, such as

together, which have (ð) in word-medial onset position. In the initial run, function words were broken into two groups, the first containing the eight words used in Van Herk et al.'s (2007) Petty Harbour study—*the, this, that, these, those, them, their*, and *there* (including their contracted forms)—and the other containing any remaining function words, such as *they, though, than*, and *then*. Other studies, such as Knee and Van Herk (2011), have included other lexical items, such as *though*, as function words; this has been done in the second stage of the analysis. Following phonological environment was excluded because all of the instances of (ð) were prevocalic. (This is an artifact of the data set since (ð) appears either word-initially in function words or word-medially.) Stress was excluded from the analysis because cross tabulations reveal that none of the function words in the data set are stressed and because there are so few stressed tokens (N=17, or 1.5% of tokens). Number of syllables was dropped as a factor group because function words are monosyllabic, and the number of syllables in lexical words has been incorporated into the position + word class factor group. As a result, the initial multivariate analysis includes the following two linguistic factor groups: position + word class and preceding phonological environment.

This initial analysis, in Table 4.5, shows that the use of the stopped variant [d] is constrained by position + word class.⁶²

⁶² All of the multivariate analyses reported from this point forward for (ð) come from the run in which speaker group was used to account for speakers' generation and sex. In both this run and the previous one, in which generation and sex were analysed as separate variables, the ordering of the significant factors was the same, though the factors weights varied slightly.

Table 4.5. Linguistic factors selected as significant in the selection of the stopped variant [d] over the standard realization [ð].

| Total N: 1,170 | FW | Corrected mean: .729 % | N |
|---|-----------|---------------------------|-----|
| Position + word class | | | |
| Function words – word-initial (ð) | .71 | 83.9 | 745 |
| Other function words – word-initial (ð) | .51 | 70.3 | 101 |
| Lexical words – word-medial (ð) | .11 | 28.4 | 324 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | <i>60</i> | | |

Factors not selected as significant: preceding phonological environment

As this table demonstrates, the restricted set of function words used in the Petty Harbour analysis has a strong favouring effect in Nain. The remaining function words show a much weaker effect while lexical words, as expected, disfavour the use of [d].

A second run was performed with the two function word groups combined, to allow for comparisons to studies other than Van Herk et al.'s (2007) analysis of English in Petty Harbour. The results for this run are shown in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6. Linguistic factors (revised) selected as significant in the selection of the stopped variant [d] over the standard realization [ð].

| Total N: 1,170 | FW | Corrected mean: .723 % | N |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|---------------------------|-----|
| Position + word class | | | |
| Function words – word-initial (ð) | .69 | 82.3 | 846 |
| Lexical words – word-medial (ð) | .11 | 28.4 | 324 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | <i>58</i> | | |

Factors not selected as significant: preceding phonological environment

As before, stopping is favoured in function words, or with word-initial (ð) while preceding phonological environment remains non-significant. The strength of the effect for position + word class is only slightly muted by combining the two groups of function words.

Other studies have found an effect for word class, with function words favouring the use of the stopped variant, e.g., Van Herk et al. (2007) and Williamson (2010). Given

that it is impossible to separate word class and word position, however, it is possible that these results may be an epiphenomenon of function words always having /ð/ word-initially. At present, there is no way to definitely determine which factor group is more influential, or if it is a combination of both.⁶³

When each generation is run separately, however, there is some variation from group to group, as illustrated in Table 4.7. For both the first and second generations of residents, speaker sex is significant. This reflects the earlier finding for speaker group (shown in Table 4.4). Speaker sex is no longer significant for third generation residents, as both men and women in this group show near equal rates of use.

Table 4.7. Factors selected as significant in the selection of the stopped variant [d] over the standard realization [ð] for each generation (separate runs).

| | 1 st generation (N=401) | | | 2 nd generation (N=364) | | | 3 rd generation (N=405) | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------|-----|---------------------------------------|------|-----|---------------------------------------|------|-----|
| | Corr. mean: .870 | | | Corr. mean: .870 | | | Corr. mean: .510 | | |
| | FW | % | N | FW | % | N | FW | % | N |
| Position + word class | | | | | | | | | |
| Function words – word-initial (ð) | .66 | 92.3 | 298 | .70 | 81.9 | 259 | .72 | 72.3 | 289 |
| Lexical words – word-medial (ð) | .14 | 52.4 | 103 | .12 | 25.7 | 105 | .09 | 9.5 | 116 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 52 | | | 58 | | | 63 | | |
| Sex | | | | | | | | | |
| Male | .58 | 83.7 | 203 | .64 | 72.5 | 200 | [] | 56.4 | 118 |
| Female | .42 | 80.3 | 198 | .34 | 57.3 | 164 | [] | 52.5 | 217 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 16 | | | 30 | | | | | |

Factors not selected as significant for 1st generation: preceding phonological environment

Factors not selected as significant for 2nd generation: preceding phonological environment

Factors not selected as significant for 3rd generation: preceding phonological environment, sex

⁶³ Williamson (2010:70) notes that there were interactions between word position and word class in the Battery study, stating that she consequently “expected that the results of these two variables would be relatively equivalent” and that “no significant changes” were found when one of these factor groups was not included in her analysis.

As expected, position + word class is significant for each generation, with the range between function and lexical words becoming greater with each subsequent group. This may indicate that this distinction is more salient for native speakers of English in Nain, who make up the younger generation. By examining each generation individually, we are able to glean extra insights into the use of this variant as English moves from being residents' second language to their first.

To test this, I divided the sample according to residents' first language. As Table 4.8 demonstrates, native speakers of Inuttitut have more factors conditioning their use of interdental stopping than L1 English residents.⁶⁴

Table 4.8. Separate multivariate analyses for factors conditioning the selection of the stopped variant [d] over the standard realization [ð] for speakers' first language.

| | L1 Inuttitut (N=697) | | | L1 English (N=473) | | |
|---|----------------------|------|-----|----------------------|------|-----|
| | Corrected mean: .824 | | | Corrected mean: .531 | | |
| | FW | % | N | FW | % | N |
| Position + word class | | | | | | |
| Function words – word-initial (ð) | .64 | 86.0 | 537 | .73 | 75.4 | 337 |
| Lexical words – word-medial (ð) | .17 | 40.1 | 202 | .08 | 8.8 | 136 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 46 | | | 65 | | |
| Preceding phonological environment | | | | | | |
| Consonant | .61 | 86.3 | 344 | [] | 69.9 | 249 |
| Pause | .50 | 85.4 | 89 | [] | 75.0 | 40 |
| Vowel | .38 | 55.6 | 306 | [] | 33.7 | 184 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 23 | | | | | |
| Speaker group | | | | | | |
| 1 st generation men | .69 | 83.7 | 203 | | n/a | |
| 2 nd generation men | .58 | 72.5 | 200 | [] | 50.0 | 42 |
| 1 st generation women | .53 | 80.3 | 198 | | n/a | |
| 2 nd generation women | .42 | 58.4 | 89 | [] | 56.0 | 75 |
| 3 rd generation women | .10 | 34.7 | 49 | [] | 57.7 | 168 |
| 3 rd generation men | | | n/a | [] | 56.4 | 188 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 59 | | | | | |

Factors not selected as significant for L1 English: preceding phonological environment, speaker group

⁶⁴ Recall that the sample distribution is detailed in Figure 3.1 on page 82.

Specifically, the ten native English speakers' use of [d] is only conditioned by the linguistic factor group of position + word class, as was true for the entire sample, while all three factors constrain L1 Inuttitut residents' use of the stopped variant in Nain.

For the linguistic factors, position + word class shows a significant effect, with function words with word-initial (δ) favouring the stopped variant, as in other runs. There is a greater effect for this factor group for native English speakers than for L1 Inuttitut residents, adding further support to the interpretation that native language influences the strength of this factor. Additionally, preceding phonological environment emerges as significant for the first time in the L1 Inuttitut data, with the C_V environment (both within and across word boundaries) favouring use of the stopped variant and intervocalic (δ) disfavouring it.

This analysis also reveals that the significance of the social factor group is evident only for L1 Inuttitut residents, with the groups containing exclusively or primarily L1 Inuttitut speakers showing a greater use of [d]. This is in line with the previous Goldvarb analyses for each generation, in which speaker sex becomes non-significant for third generation speakers since there is only one native Inuttitut speaker (Betty) in this group. In contrast, native English speakers show fairly uniform rates of stopping (50.0%-57.7%) across groups.

4.3.2 Theta

A total of 894 tokens were extracted for (θ). Their distribution is shown in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9. Distribution of results for (θ).

| Realization | % | N |
|------------------------------------|-------|-----|
| Standard [θ] | 69.0 | 617 |
| Stopped [t] | 14.8 | 132 |
| Fronted [f] | 0.6 | 5 |
| Affricates [tθ] | 4.9 | 44 |
| Retroflex affricates [ʈʃ] | 1.0 | 9 |
| Sibilant [s] | 1.2 | 11 |
| Zero realisation [ø] | 2.1 | 19 |
| Inuititut (non-English) consonants | 0.0 | 0 |
| Other English consonants | 7.0 | 62 |
| Total | 100.0 | 894 |

Overall, rates of stopping for (θ) are much lower than those for (ð)—14.8% versus 62.9%—a trend that has been seen in other studies of interdental stopping in the province (Colbourne 1982, Lanari 1994, Van Herk et al. 2007, Knee and Van Herk 2011). As with (ð), the rest of this section will discuss only the stopped and standard realizations, eliminating 145 tokens.

Interestingly, Nain has the lowest rate of (θ)-stopping in the province, as illustrated in the provincial comparison found in Figure 4.7. Since (θ) has been examined in fewer communities than (ð), only five Newfoundland communities are available for comparison in the chart below. As with the chart for (ð), communities are listed in order of their proximity to Nain, with those in western and central Newfoundland on the left side of the figure and Bay de Verde and Petty Harbour, the two communities located on the Avalon Peninsula, on the right.

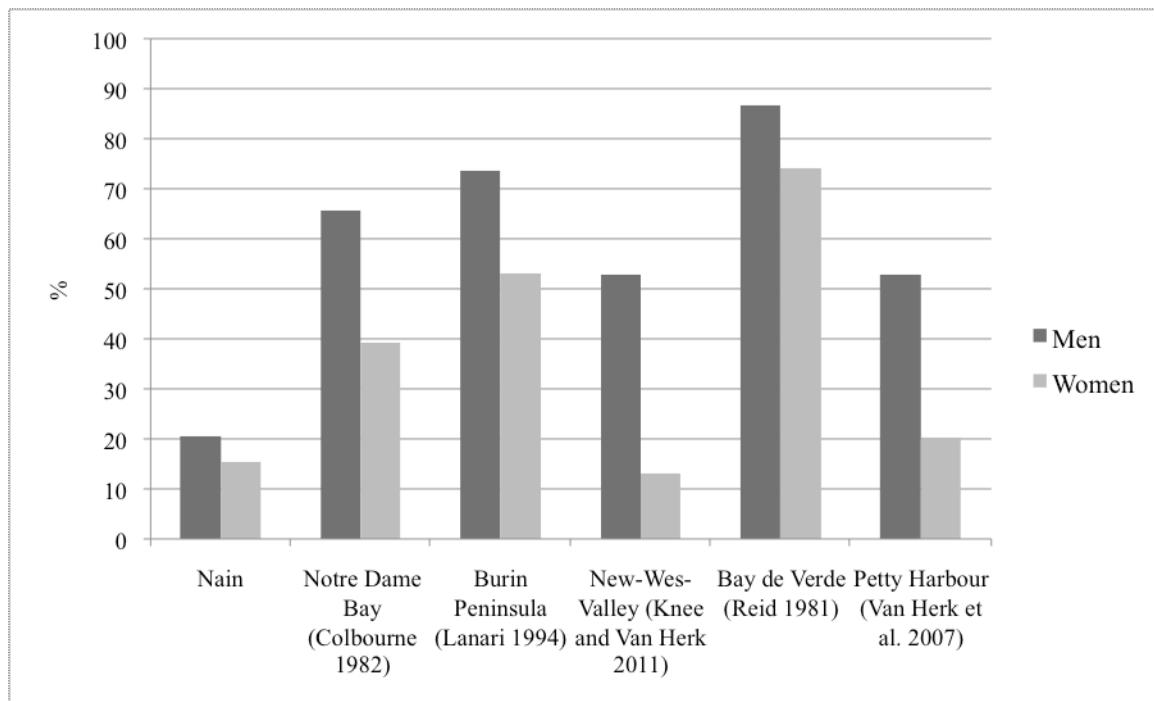


Figure 4.7. Rates of (θ)-stopping across Newfoundland and Labrador.

As this chart shows, although rates of stopping are much lower in Nain, the social conditioning matches other communities in the province, with men using the traditional variant more frequently. As with (ð), one-sample t-tests show that the differences between communities are statistically significant for both men and women (one-sample $t(5) = 6.146, p < .01$ for men and one-sample $t(5) = 4.697, p < .01$ for women).

4.3.2.1 Social factors

Looking more closely at the distribution of [t] in Nain, shown according to both generation and sex in Figure 4.8, it becomes clear that the men remain relatively stable across generations, showing an overall difference of only 3.9%.

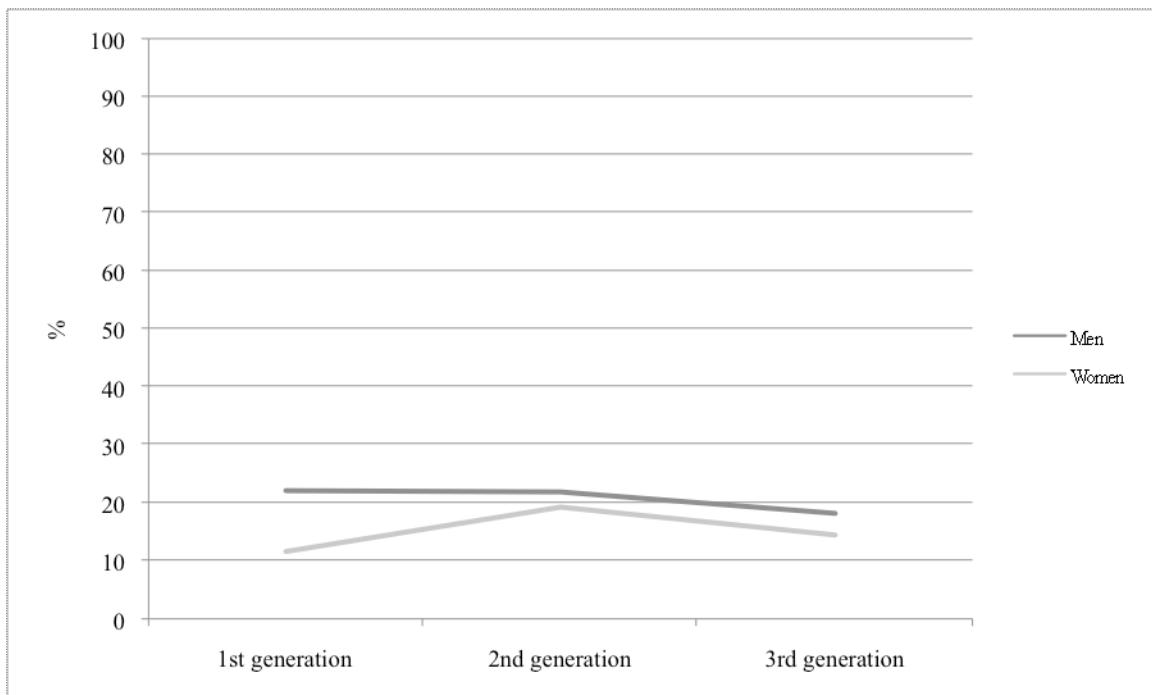


Figure 4.8. Use of the stopped variant [t] instead of standard [θ] by generation and sex.

In contrast, women show an inverted V pattern, with women in the transitional generation employing the nonstandard variant most frequently and older women being the least frequent users of [t]. This is reminiscent of the results for (ð)-stopping in the speech of women in open social networks in St. Landry Parish, Louisiana (Dubois and Horvath 1998b).

As with (ð), the two social factors employed in the multivariate analysis of (θ) were speaker sex and generation. The results of this portion of the Goldvarb analysis are shown below. (Recall that the linguistic and social factors were analysed in a single Goldvarb run but the results are discussed separately.)

Table 4.10. Social factors selected as significant in the selection of the stopped variant [t] over the standard realization [θ].

| Total N: 749 | FW | Corrected mean: .723 % | N |
|--------------|-----------|---------------------------|-----|
| Sex | | | |
| Male | .56 | 20.4 | 348 |
| Female | .45 | 15.2 | 401 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | <i>11</i> | | |

Factors not selected as significant: generation

For (θ), only speaker sex emerges as significant, with men favouring the use of [t], as illustrated in Figure 4.8 on the previous page. Interestingly, generation is not statistically significant, even though the differences in rates of usage are comparable to those observed for sex.

When these two social factors were conflated into the single category of speaker group for the multivariate analysis, speaker group was not selected as significant, as Table 4.11 demonstrates. The rates of use for each speaker group reinforce the fact that speaker sex is the more significant social factor for this analysis.

Table 4.11. Social factors (revised) selected as significant in the selection of the stopped variant [t] over the standard realization [θ].

| Total N: 749 | FW | Corrected mean: .159 % | N |
|----------------------------------|-----|---------------------------|-----|
| Speaker group | | | |
| 1 st generation men | [] | 22.1 | 95 |
| 2 nd generation men | [] | 21.8 | 110 |
| 2 nd generation women | [] | 19.3 | 135 |
| 3 rd generation men | [] | 18.2 | 143 |
| 3 rd generation women | [] | 14.3 | 154 |
| 1 st generation women | [] | 11.6 | 112 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | | | |

Factors not selected as significant: speaker group

The lack of significant conditioning for speaker group may be the result of the smaller number of tokens in each group, or it may be because the differences between groups are no longer meaningful with more factor groups in play. If this analysis is more correct, it

would suggest that (\emptyset) is a socially stable variable in Nain. Although there are differences in significance between Tables 4.17 and 4.18, I will use the results of the second run, which included speaker group, to be consistent with the analysis of (δ).

4.3.2.2 Linguistic factors

The same original linguistic factor groups that were used for (δ) were coded for (\emptyset): preceding phonological environment, following phonological environment, position in the word, position in the syllable, number of syllables, word class, and stress. As with (δ), factor groups were combined to avoid knockouts and interactions. Word and syllable positions were combined into a single factor group, consisting of word-initial onsets, word-medial onsets, word-medial codas, and word-final codas, and word class was removed due to knockouts and exclusions; there are no number word tokens with word-medial (\emptyset), nor are there any function words for this factor.

Results of this portion of the multivariate analysis, displayed in Table 4.12, illustrate that word/syllable position and preceding phonological environment constrain the selection of [t] over [\emptyset].

Table 4.12. Linguistic factors selected as significant in the selection of the stopped variant [t] over the standard realization [θ].

| Total N: 749 | FW | Corrected mean: .159 % | N |
|---|-----|---------------------------|-----|
| Word/syllable position | | | |
| Word-medial onset | .66 | 25.6 | 219 |
| Word-initial onset | .44 | 14.5 | 325 |
| Word-final coda | .43 | 14.3 | 189 |
| Word-medial coda | .32 | 12.5 | 16 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | | 34 | |
| Preceding phonological environment | | | |
| Consonant | .66 | 26.1 | 287 |
| Pause | .41 | 9.4 | 32 |
| Vowel | .40 | 12.6 | 430 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | | 26 | |

Factors not selected as significant: following phonological environment, stress

For word/syllable position, stopping is favoured in word-medial onsets, particularly in lexemes like *something* and *anything*, and disfavoured in all other positions. The ordering of the constraints in this group suggests that syllable position may have slightly more weight than word position since the factors that most strongly disfavour stopping are both in coda position; however, for onsets, word position is divisive since word-medial onsets favour stopping while word-initial onsets show a slight disfavouring effect.

Preceding phonological environment is also significant, with [t] being favoured when following a consonant, in words like *northwest*, and disfavoured in other environments. The slight mismatch in the ordering of the factor weights and percentages for the preceding pause and preceding vowel environments in the table below suggests there may be an interaction in the data set; however, this is likely an artifact of the low Ns for tokens preceded by a pause. In any case, both factors disfavour (θ)-stopping.

Separate runs were also performed for each generation, to determine if the sociolinguistic constraints on (θ) have changed across cohorts. The results of these runs

are shown in Table 4.13. There are two changes for this stage of the analysis: (1) preceding and following phonological environments have been recombined into a single factor group for the second generation due to empty cells revealed in cross tabulations and (2) sex and generation have been run as separate factors because there were too many KOs when speaker group was used.

Table 4.13. Factors selected as significant in the selection of the stopped variant [t] over the standard realization [θ] for each generation (separate runs).

| | 1 st generation (N=207) | | | 2 nd generation (N=245) | | | 3 rd generation (N=295) | | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|------|-----|---------------------------------------|------------------|-----|---------------------------------------|------|------------------|----|---|----|
| | Corr. mean: .139 | FW | % | N | Corr. mean: .204 | FW | % | N | Corr. mean: .131 | FW | % | N |
| Word/syllable position | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Word-medial onset | [] | 23.9 | 67 | [] | 30.2 | 63 | .68 | 23.6 | 89 | | | |
| Word-medial coda | [] | 20.0 | 5 | KO | 0.0 | 6 | .60 | 20.0 | 5 | | | |
| Word-final coda | [] | 7.3 | 41 | [] | 13.7 | 73 | .54 | 18.7 | 75 | | | |
| Word-initial onset | [] | 14.9 | 94 | [] | 20.4 | 103 | .35 | 9.4 | 128 | | | |
| <i>RANGE</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | 33 |
| Preceding phonological environment | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Consonant | [] | 24.0 | 75 | | | | .70 | 26.7 | 120 | | | |
| Pause | KO | -- | 0 | | | n/a | .55 | 9.1 | 11 | | | |
| Vowel | [] | 13.2 | 121 | | | | .35 | 9.0 | 166 | | | |
| <i>RANGE</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | 35 |
| Stress | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Stressed | .73 | 30.6 | 62 | [] | 24.6 | 69 | [] | 23.4 | 94 | | | |
| Unstressed | .39 | 10.3 | 145 | [] | 18.8 | 176 | [] | 12.8 | 203 | | | |
| <i>RANGE</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | 32 |
| Sex | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Male | .62 | 22.1 | 95 | [] | 18.2 | 143 | [] | 18.2 | 43 | | | |
| Female | .40 | 11.6 | 112 | [] | 14.3 | 154 | [] | 14.3 | 154 | | | |
| <i>RANGE</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | 22 |

Factors not selected as significant for first generation: word/syllable position, preceding phonological environment, following phonological environment

Factors not selected as significant for second generation: word/syllable position, phonological environment, stress, sex

Factors not selected as significant for third generation: following phonological environment, stress, sex

The data in this table show that each generation's use of [t] is constrained by different linguistic factors. For first generation speakers, who are all L1 Inuititut, stress is only

significant for the selection of [t] over standard [θ], with stopping more likely in stressed syllables. This factor group was not significant for the community as a whole (shown in Table 4.12); however, the stressed tokens are fairly evenly distributed across speakers in the first generation, suggesting that this effect cannot be attributed to the idiolects of a subset of group members. Speaker sex also emerges as significant for this generation, though it was not statistically significant for the community as a whole, lending further support to the idea that the sociolinguistic constraints on this variable have changed over time. This contrasts with (ð), which is linguistically stable but demonstrates changes in rates of use across generations.

In the second generation, there are no significant social or linguistic factors. This may be a reflection of the transitional nature of this group, since it contains a mixture of L1 English and L1 Inuit residents.

For younger speakers, as for the community as a whole, both word/syllable position and preceding phonological environment are significant, though the results are different from those of the entire community. First, for word/syllable position, only word-medial onsets favour stopping when the entire sample is considered. In contrast, when only third generation speakers are discussed, three of the four categories favour stopping, with only word-initial onsets disfavouring the nonstandard variant. Furthermore, while the results for the whole community suggest that onsets are stopped more frequently than codas, the third generation's data show a greater effect for word position, with word-medial codas and onsets showing the greatest favouring effects, and segments at the periphery of the word showing less stopping. However, the strong favouring effect for

word-medial codas may overstate the situation since there were only two tokens with (θ) in this position for this age group.

Finally, separate runs were conducted for L1 Inuttitut and L1 English speakers, as was done for (ð), to determine whether these generation-based effects can be attributed entirely to participants' first language. The factor group of stress was discarded for both runs because nearly all stressed syllables are preceded by vowels (98.2% of the both the L1 Inuttitut data and the L1 English data sets). Sex and generation are again conflated into the speaker group variable, to facilitate comparisons between (θ) and (ð).

Table 4.14. Separate multivariate analyses for factors conditioning selection of the stopped variant [t] over the standard realization [θ] for speakers' first language.

| | L1 Inuttitut (N=382) | | | L1 English (N=367) | | |
|---|----------------------|------|-----|----------------------|------|-----|
| | Corrected mean: .803 | | | Corrected mean: .124 | | |
| | FW | % | N | FW | % | N |
| Word/syllable position | | | | | | |
| Word-medial onset | .65 | 26.1 | 119 | .74 | 25.0 | 100 |
| Word-initial onset | .50 | 20.5 | 161 | .33 | 8.5 | 164 |
| Word-final coda | .33 | 12.1 | 91 | .53 | 16.3 | 98 |
| Word-medial coda | .22 | 9.1 | 11 | .44 | 20.0 | 5 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 43 | | | 41 | | |
| Preceding phonological environment | | | | | | |
| Consonant | .65 | 28.9 | 135 | .69 | 23.7 | 152 |
| Pause | .56 | 20.0 | 15 | KO | 0.0 | 17 |
| Vowel | .41 | 14.7 | 232 | .35 | 10.1 | 198 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 24 | | | 34 | | |
| Speaker group | | | | | | |
| Second generation women | .73 | 35.6 | 59 | [] | 6.6 | 76 |
| Second generation men | .64 | 25.4 | 71 | [] | 15.4 | 39 |
| First generation men | .56 | 22.1 | 95 | | n/a | |
| First generation women | .35 | 11.6 | 112 | | n/a | |
| Third generation women | .24 | 6.7 | 45 | [] | 17.4 | 109 |
| Third generation men | | | n/a | [] | 18.2 | 143 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 49 | | | | | |

Factors not selected as significant for L1 Inuttitut: following phonological environment

Factors not selected as significant for L1 English: following phonological environment, speaker group

As Table 4.14 illustrates, L1 Inuttitut and L1 English speakers display two different systems for (θ), as they do with (ð). For both groups, word/syllable position and preceding phonological environment emerge as significant, as they did for the community as a whole. The relative ordering of the factors within these groups varies, however. For both word/syllable position and preceding phonological environment, L1 Inuttitut speakers share the same ordering as the community, though the factor weighting for the #_ environment now favours use of [t]. In contrast, L1 English residents show previously unobserved ordering for both factors.

The results for native speakers of Inuttitut are unexpected in light of the generational outcomes described in Table 4.13, which show different significant factors. It is difficult to identify precisely why this has happened since the first generation group is comprised of over half of the L1 Inuttitut speakers and one might expect the results for these two groups to be similar. One possible explanation is that the L1 Inuttitut speakers in the second generation cancelled out the factors found to be significant for the first generation speakers, and the combination of these speakers generated substantially significant results for the word/syllable position and preceding phonological environment factor groups.

4.3.3 Transfer effects

Since some of the people in the sample are native speakers of Inuttitut, participants' speech was examined for possible transfer effects. Second language acquisition theory (§4.1.4) suggests that participants might substitute a segment included in the Inuttitut phonemic inventory, as does research on IndE (§4.1.1), which suggests that speakers

might substitute an Inuttitut fricative, giving them the following options: /v, s, x, χ, γ, ɬ/ (Smith 1977b). Studies of second language acquisition, such as Rvachew and Jamieson (1995) and Le (2007), however, show that non-native speakers of English often substitute alveolar stops for interdental fricatives.

Obviously, the realizations of interdentals as stops cannot be used to test for transfer since stopping is common in many native and non-native varieties of English. Similarly, since none of the sample members substitutes non-English consonants for /θ/, other productions must be examined to look for second language effects. As a result, I examine productions of (θ) as [s] for possible evidence for transfer. (There was only one production of (ð) as [s]; consequently, (ð) will not be discussed in this section.)

As Table 4.9 shows, the sample produced only 11 realizations of (θ) as [s], accounting for 1.2% of the total tokens of this variable. One of these 11 tokens was produced by Wes, a native English speaker; this token will not be included in this analysis since this section is focussed on transfer from the indigenous language in the speech of L1 Inuttitut residents. The distribution of the remaining productions is shown in Table 4.15 for each of the relevant speakers. Note that there was a total N of 316 when tokens of [s] and [θ] are combined.

Table 4.15. Selection of [s] over the standard realization [θ] by L1 Inuttitut residents.

| Speaker | [s] | | [θ] | | Total N |
|----------------------------------|-----|------|-----|------|----------------|
| | N | % | N | % | |
| 1 st generation men | | | | | |
| Arthur | 5 | 26.3 | 14 | 73.7 | 19 |
| 1 st generation women | | | | | |
| Bridget | 1 | 3.8 | 25 | 96.2 | 26 |
| 2 nd generation men | | | | | |
| Clark | 2 | 11.1 | 16 | 88.9 | 18 |
| Shaun | 2 | 8.0 | 23 | 92.0 | 25 |
| Total | 10 | | 78 | | 88 |

As the above table shows, the Ns are too small for any substantial descriptive or multivariate analysis.

The next table shows the results when speakers' realizations of [ʃ] are included with [s]. I have done this even though /ʃ/ is not part of the Inuttitut phonemic inventory because /s/ and /ʃ/ differ only in terms of a single feature, [±anterior], and because all instances of [ʃ] occur in the speech of L1 Inuttitut residents. The female L1 Inuttitut speakers in the second and third generations are not included in the table below because none of the members of these groups used [s] or [ʃ].

Table 4.16. Selection of [s, ʃ] over the standard realization [θ] by L1 Inuttitut residents.

| Speaker | [s, ʃ] | | [θ] | | Total N |
|----------------------------------|--------|------|-----|------|----------------|
| | N | % | N | % | |
| 1 st generation men | | | | | |
| Arthur | 7 | 33.3 | 14 | 66.7 | 21 |
| George | 2 | 8.3 | 22 | 91.7 | 24 |
| Patrick | 4 | 36.4 | 7 | 63.6 | 11 |
| Tim | 1 | 3.1 | 31 | 96.9 | 32 |
| 1 st generation women | | | | | |
| Bridget | 2 | 7.4 | 25 | 92.6 | 27 |
| Lily | 2 | 22.2 | 7 | 77.8 | 9 |
| Lois | 1 | 3.2 | 30 | 96.8 | 31 |
| 2 nd generation men | | | | | |
| Clark | 2 | 11.1 | 16 | 88.9 | 18 |
| Shaun | 2 | 8.0 | 23 | 92.0 | 25 |
| Total | 23 | | 175 | | 198 |

As the data in Table 4.16 show, the inclusion of [ʃ] more than doubles the number of tokens available for analysis, though the overall number of sibilant tokens (N=23) is still quite low.

With such low Ns, these results may simply be speech errors. Another possibility is that the [s] has been acquired from an input variety, as a small number of Newfoundlanders have [s] as a possible realization of (θ), likely due to influence from donor dialects from the southwest of England (Clarke 2010). Migrants from this part of England settled in the Conception Bay area, the region from which many of the Newfoundlanders who have historically visited Labrador's north coast originate (Lewis 1988). This does not, however, fully explain the appearance of [ʃ] as a variant only in data from non-native English speakers. As such, transfer remains a plausible explanation since all but one of the speakers in the groups favouring [s] or [s, ʃ] are native speakers of Inuttitut.

4.4 Discussion

Interdental stopping is a key feature of Nain Inuit English, as it is in many other varieties of IndE and in many Newfoundland speech communities. An examination of this variable in Nain reveals separate trends for (θ)- and (ð)-stopping, for both rates of use and the factors conditioning stopping. In terms of frequency, Nain aligns with rural Newfoundland communities for (ð) while rates of (θ)-stopping are much lower in Nain than anywhere else in the province. (The nearest match is the urbanizing community of Petty Harbour, particularly the results from female residents.) As a result, Nain Inuit English shows the greatest disparity between rates of stopping for the two interdental

fricatives, perhaps because (θ)-stopping is more socially stable while (ð)-stopping is a change in progress in Nain, showing a decline in use across generations. Specifically, multivariate analysis of (ð)-stopping shows that women are leading the move towards the standard (or at least away from the traditional stopped variant), a typical sociolinguistic finding (Labov 2001). Combining word/syllable position with word class in my analysis of (ð)-stopping suggests that the significance of function words found in other studies should be attributed, at least in part, to word/syllable position; fortition is traditionally favoured word-initially and lenition word-medially.

Analyses of the (θ) data show that (θ)-stopping is influenced by different linguistic factors across generations. This suggests that younger residents have shifted to a system governed by phonological factors (word/syllable position and preceding phonological environment) while older speakers' use of [t] is governed by suprasegmental factors (stress). This is contrary to the results of other studies, such as Van Herk et al. (2007), who find that (θ)-stopping is constrained solely by social factors like speaker age and sex. In terms of second language learning effects, there is some evidence of transfer from L1 Inuttitut to L2 English, as illustrated by the greater use of [s] or [s,ʃ] instead of [θ] by native speakers of Inuttitut, though this is not enough to make a substantive claim about transfer effects.

Another factor that must be considered in a discussion of Nain interdentals is that interdental stopping is “almost a substratum form in English...[that] occurs as an ethnic feature in a variety of communities” in the United States (Eckert 2008:27), including Cajuns (Dubois and Horvath 1998a, 1998b), Chicanos (Penfield and Ornstein-Galicia

1985, Eckert 2008, Mendoza-Denton 2008), and Germans (Rose 2006). In these communities, interdental stopping is associated with different meanings. In Cajun English, for example, the variant has been recycled and now indexes participation in the renaissance of Cajun culture (Dubois and Horvath 2003), as is the case in for locally affiliated young men in Petty Harbour (Van Herk et al. 2007). For young Latinas in Northern California, stopping is associated with toughness and gang culture (Mendoza-Denton 2008).

At present, there is not enough information to determine what interdental stopping might signify in Nain because of the many possible roots of stopping in the community. However, it is possible to state that interdental stopping is a strong feature both L1 and L2 English speakers, suggesting it will persist in the native-speaker variety emerging in Nain. It is also clear that Nain Inuit English shows different constraints than other varieties of English in the province. As the constraints on interdental stopping in varieties of IndE have not yet been discussed, it cannot be determined if the constraints found in Nain Inuit English match those found in other Indigenous Englishes. It can be safely stated, though, that interdental stopping is a strong feature of English in this community.

5 Verbal -s

In this chapter, I discuss verbal *-s* in Nain Inuit English. Verbal *-s* is a feature that “permeates many contemporary (nonstandard) varieties of English, particularly in North America and Britain, and undoubtedly elsewhere in the English-speaking world as well” (Godfrey and Tagliamonte 1999:97). Included in these varieties are NE and some Indigenous Englishes. This variable is exemplified below in (15). (15a) is an excerpt from my interview with Madeleine, a young woman who is a lifelong resident of Nain, in which she discusses her drum dancing group. (15b) is part of my conversation with Molly, another young woman and lifelong resident in the community. In this excerpt, she is describing the Inuktitut speak-off, an annual speech competition for students in Nunatsiavut.

(15) Verbal -s in Nain Inuit English

- a. I **likes** it too, I **loves** it. It's right good. And before we **starts** practices we just **starts** free styling and just **plays** around with our drumming. **Comes** up with the new kind of beats and we all just **bees** playing. Afterwards we all just **sits** down for right long and then **plays** again.
- b. Molly: I only **finds** when I **learns** it is when they're doing Inuktitut Speak-off.
J. T.: What's that?
Molly: Like, they **goes** to a town like Hopedale, or Makkovik, Rigolet or Postville, or here, and they **gets** ready for see who knows more Inuk, or something.
J. T.: Oh, okay.
Molly: And **learns** how to do that. That's the only time when I **knows** when they're learning proper Inuktitut. Because they **has** to write a story, like who's your name, and then a story, and they **got** say it all in Inuktitut.

Although these excerpts contain primarily *s*-marked verbs, there is some variation in use in Nain, as will be discussed in §5.3.

As in other studies of this variable, I distinguish between present tense and present temporal reference. As Jespersen (1924), Dahl (1985), Binnick (1991), Denison (1998), and Walker (2000), among others, note, these are not the same: tense is “a formal (morphological/syntactic) category which does not bear a one-to-one relation to the functional (semantic) concept of temporal reference” (Walker 2000:117). In this study, following scholars such as Walker (2000), Poplack and Tagliamonte (2001), and Van Herk et al. (2007), I confine my examination to non-past and non-future contexts, i.e., simple present or present tense in present temporal reference contexts (excluding the historical/narrative present and futurate simple present). A discussion of this variable will assist in measuring the regional variation in Nain Inuit English because nonstandard use of verbal *-s* is a salient feature of NE and is not characteristic of Canadian English. However, since the presence or absence of *-s* on simple present verbs is frequently mentioned in the literature on IndE, the presence of this feature may also suggest that English in Nain is influenced by IndE norms, depending on how well the constraints align with those for NE.

The chapter is structured as follows. First, I outline previous research on the variable (§5.1). Next, I explain my methodology (§5.2), discussing the linguistic and social variables that constrain speakers’ use of nonstandard verbal *-s* and the extraction and coding guidelines. In §5.3, I show the results of the multivariate analysis. Finally, the implications of these findings are discussed in §5.4.

5.1 Previous research on verbal -s

This variable has been discussed in a wide variety of Englishes, including IndE and NE.

In this section, I first summarize some general trends found in studies of verbal -s in varieties of English other than IndE and NE (§5.1.1). Next, I discuss previous research on verbal -s in IndE (§5.1.2) and NE (§5.1.3). Potential acquisition effects are considered in §5.1.4 and §5.1.5 reviews temporal reference in Inuktitut. Finally, §5.1.6 provides a brief summary.

5.1.1 General findings on verbal -s in English

There have been many examinations of verbal -s in varieties of English around the world, which show that rates of verbal -s vary widely across dialects. Some varieties have low rates of -s across all persons, such as Liberian Settler English (Singler 1997) or Appalachian English, where the overall rate of verbal -s is between 4% and 19% (Clarke 1997a, citing Montgomery 1989). Other dialects show much higher rates of use, including NE, with an overall rate of -s of 56% in non-3sg constructions (Clarke 1997a); Early African American English (Schneider 1989) and Reading English (Cheshire 1982) also show high rates of use for all grammatical persons. Still others fall in the middle; Poplack and Tagliamonte (2001), for example, report an overall rate of 18% in African Nova Scotian English and approximately 30% in Samaná English (percentages derived in Clarke 1997a).

Despite the range in rates of use for this feature, scholars have formed generalizations about the linguistic constraints on the variable, which are the focus of this section. One such generalization is that most variationist studies have shown verbal -s to be conditioned by syntactic factors (i.e., subject type and adjacency) and/or semantic

aspect (i.e., habituality). As Van Herk and Walker (2005) note, the relative strength of these factors seems to be determined by population ecology.

In some dialects, particularly those from Scotland and northern England, as well as those spoken in regions influenced by these varieties, the syntactic constraints show an effect known as the Northern Subject Rule (e.g., Murray 1873; Jespersen 1909/1949; Cowling 1915; Mustanoja 1960; Curme 1977; McIntosh 1983; Montgomery et al. 1993; Ihlainen 1994; Godfrey and Tagliamonte 1999; Poplack and Tagliamonte 2001; Walker 2001; McCafferty 2004), a constraint based on subject type and subject adjacency (to the verb). It predicts that verbal *-s* is more likely to appear in nonstandard dialects when the subject is a non-adjacent plural pronoun (*they*) or noun phrase (NP); conversely, nonstandard *-s* is less likely to occur in non-third person plural contexts. This is relevant to the discussion on NE, and consequently Nain Inuit English, because the Northern Subject Rule holds true in parts of southeast Ireland (McCafferty 2004) and southwest England (Godfrey and Tagliamonte 1999), input areas of Newfoundland and Labrador settlement (Mannion 1974).

Semantic aspect is discussed in virtually every study of verbal *-s*. Habituality favours *-s* in most varieties, including British Englishes (Shorrocks 1981, 1997; Montgomery and Fuller 1996; Godfrey and Tagliamonte 1999), Liberian English (Singler 1999, Van Herk and Walker 2005), Early African American English (Pitts 1981, Poplack and Tagliamonte 1989, Montgomery and Fuller 1996), and Samaná English (Poplack and Tagliamonte 1989). It is also a significant factor in NE, which will be discussed in greater detail in §5.1.3.

There are also trends in terms of subject type. As Clarke (1997a) states, conservative dialects, such as those found in white communities in Alabama (Feagin 1979), Appalachia (Hackenberg 1973, Wolfram and Christian 1976, Montgomery 1989), and Texas (Bailey et al. 1989), show three general tendencies with regards to subject type: (i) *-s* is most common in third person constructions, particularly the standard use with third person singular (3sg) subjects, and least common with *you*; (ii) *-s* is more frequent with nominal (as opposed to pronominal) subjects; and (iii) *-s* is more likely with heavy noun phrase (NP) subjects than light NP subjects. These tendencies have also been observed in studies of other varieties. In Godfrey and Tagliamonte's (1999) study of Devon English, for example, verbal *-s* is most common with 3sg (86%), followed by *they* (37%), and least common with singular *you* (15%). Other research shows categorically standard agreement for *we* and *you*, including Feagin's (1979) work on Alabama English and Hackenberg's (1973) study of Appalachian English. Varieties of African American English display a similar hierarchy: Poplack and Tagliamonte's (1989) work on Samaná English and the Ex-Slave Recordings shows that *-s* is most frequent with 3sg subjects and least frequent with *you*, and Schneider's (1989) discussion of the Federal Writers' Project's Slave Narratives also finds *you* to be the subject pronoun least likely to carry nonstandard *-s*. Similarly, Van Herk and Walker's (2005) analysis of the Ottawa Repository of Early African American Correspondence, a collection of letters written by African American settlers in Liberia (Van Herk and Poplack 2003), finds *-s* used most frequently with 3sg subjects, followed by 3pl, and then all other persons. This, however, is not a universal tendency. In adolescent speech in Sydney, Australia, for example, *-s* is

most frequent with *I* and *we*; *they* tends to be accompanied by nonstandard *-s* in narratives (Eisikovits 1987). Nonstandard *-s* never appears with *you* in the data set, which Eisikovits attributes to the low frequency of the pronoun rather than a linguistic constraint. Other studies provide a more general commentary, reporting that *-s* is found across all grammatical persons without offering rates of distribution, such as Hughes and Trudgill's (1988) discussion of English dialects; they simply state that nonstandard *-s* is heard in parts of northern England and also the south and southwest of Wales.

Clarke's (1997a) second observation—that *-s* tends to be favoured by full NP subjects rather than pronominal ones—holds true not just in the studies she cites but also in others. In fact, this is a robust generalization. This finding is quite pronounced in some data sets, such as the Duntreath (17th century Scottish English) and Ulster (18th and 19th century Scotch-Irish English) letters discussed by Montgomery (1997), as well as Wolfram et al.'s (1998) interviews with North Carolinian Anglo Americans (as cited by Godfrey and Tagliamonte 1999). In other dialects, such as African Nova Scotian English (Poplack and Tagliamonte 2001) and African Americans in Texas (Cukor-Avila 1997b), the differences in distributions are much smaller. There are few counterexamples, the most important for this study being Clarke's (1997a) study of the Burin peninsula, which will be discussed in §5.1.3.

Clarke's final generalization, about the weight of the subject NP, is less frequently considered in the literature. In addition to the studies on varieties of American Englishes listed in Clarke (1997a), Poplack and Tagliamonte (1989:66) point out that heavy NPs

favour -*s* in Samaná English, stating that “the heaviest NP context...most favours -*s* marking.”

Social factors have proven to be less significant in studies of verbal -*s* and are often not discussed in the literature. Age and sex are not significant in studies such as Wolfram and Christian’s (1976) analysis of Appalachian English, Feagin’s (1979) research on Alabama English, and Shnukal’s (1978) work on Australian English. There are, however, some studies in which social factors have been found to be significant. Eisikovits (1987) reports some variation in terms of age, sex, and style in her research on Sydney English: women show style differences while men do not, and women become more standard as they get older while the men remain consistent across generations or become more nonstandard with increased age and/or formality. In terms of style, Eisikovits (1987:6) observes that verbal -*s* is restricted to certain contexts, stating that nonstandard -*s* is a “stylistic device confined to a narrative context and use of the historic present tense” in Inner-Sydney English. Other researchers have also commented on the use of this variable in narrative contexts. Godfrey and Tagliamonte (1999:107), for example, find verbal -*s* “to be nearly twice as frequent in narrative contexts as in non-narrative ones” in Devon English, and note that this tendency has been attested in other contemporary British dialects, citing Edwards and Weltens (1985) and Tagliamonte (1996-1998). (Note, however, that Godfrey and Tagliamonte (1999) include all types of present tense verbs in their study, which is not the case in the Nain analysis.)

5.1.2 Present temporal reference in Indigenous English

In contrast to other varieties of English, discussion of present temporal reference in IndE is somewhat opaque, as the literature tends to refer to *present tense* rather than *present temporal reference*. Close examination of the examples offered in the literature suggests that, in some cases, scholars have included both past and present temporal reference in their studies. Nonetheless, there are two basic trends in simple present usage in Indigenous Englishes: (i) varieties that are uninflected across all persons and numbers, typically described as having an unmarked 3sg, and (ii) varieties that have variable *s*-marking on non-3sg persons, the type of variation described in the previous section.

A significant number of Indigenous Englishes have unmarked 3sg, including Isletan Tiwa (Leap 1974), Lakota (Flanigan 1987), Mohave (Cook 1973), Navajo (Cook and Sharp 1966), Paiute (Cook 1973), and Saskatchewan First Nations/Métis (Sterzuk 2007) Englishes, exemplified in (16). (I have bolded the verbs.)

(16) Unmarked 3sg in IndE

- a. The individual **pick** out their own cattle. (Isletan Tiwa; Leap 1974:85)
- b. My brother, he **do** that every day, painting. (Lakota; Flanigan 1987:183)
- c. He **meet** lots of people. (Mohave; Cook 1973:247)
- d. When the boy **see** his food, he **eat**. (Navajo; Cook and Sharp 1966:26)
- e. It **take** place at Fort Defiance. (Paiute; Cook 1973:247)
- f. How come he **have** my thing. (First Nations/Métis; Sterzuk 2007:109)

- g. And my woman **like** to help the elderly people too by scrubbing their floor
and-that and clean their house. (Nain Inuit; Patrick, 1m)⁶⁵

Note that these examples include one heard in Nain Inuit English, shown in (16g).

All of the examples except for those found in Cook (1973) are drawn from speech; Cook's analysis is based on written material. Cook (1973) posits that unmarked 3sg verbs are a universal tendency in the writing samples she examined, which include examples from native speakers of languages indigenous to the southwestern United States (Apache, Havasupai, Hopi, Hualapai, Maricopa, Navajo, Papago, Pima, Shoshone, Tiwa, and Tiwa-Laguna), though she does not provide further examples in her article. Similarly, Schuchardt (1889) lists unmarked 3sg as a characteristic of IndE in his examination of writing samples from Cheyenne, Kiowa, Pawnee, Pueblo, Sioux, and Wyandot students.

Some of the studies cited, such as Flanigan's (1987) description of Lakota English, characterize this feature as lack of subject-verb agreement. Other researchers, such as Cook and Sharp (1966), attribute this lack of subject-verb agreement to interference in the second language acquisition process; in this instance, Cook and Sharp (1966) cite influence from the native language, Navajo, which does not encode agreement on the verb stem. Similarly, Cook (1973) labels unmarked 3sg constructions as an agreement error resulting from second language acquisition. Leap (1974:81), however, disagrees with this analysis, arguing that "the common set of errors [Cook] finds within her corpus may actually reflect a convergence in the various Native American English

⁶⁵ When examples are taken from the Nain interviews, the speaker's generation (1/2/3) and sex (m/f) are listed after his/her name.

styles.” He also argues that this production might not be the result of interference from the native language, though he does not posit an alternative explanation.

Other varieties have variable nonstandard usage of verbal *-s* on simple present verbs, with 3sg marking appearing on other persons, as in (15), repeated from page 135, and (17), below.

(15) Verbal -s in Nain Inuit English

I **likes** it too, I **loves** it. It’s right good. And before we **starts** practices we just **starts** free styling and just **plays** around with our drumming. **Comes** up with the new kind of beats and we all just **bees** playing. Afterwards we all just **sits** down for right long and then **plays** again. (Madeleine, 3f)

(17) Verbal -s in Indigenous Englishes

- a. They **tells** us stories. (Hopi; Cook 1973:247)
- b. I **jokes**. (Kotzebue; Vandergriff 1982:133)
- c. Our school **gots** bats. (First Nations/Métis; Sterzuk 2007:109)

Although Cook (1973) provides only a Hopi example, shown in (17a), she states that “[s]uch errors are predictable for all learners of inflected languages,” suggesting she may have observed this construction in the other varieties of IndE mentioned in this article. Sterzuk (2007) also comments on this feature in the speech of First Nations and Métis students in Saskatchewan but her dissertation provides a description without positing possible causes. Similarly, Heit and Blair (1993:118) note the use of irregular verbal constructions in the IndE spoken in Saskatchewan, citing “I gots” as an example. Use of nonstandard *-s* has also been noted in the English spoken in Kotzebue (Vandergriff 1982), an Inupiaq (Inuit) community in Alaska, illustrated in (17b). Vandergriff (1982:133) describes *s*-marking in Kotzebue English as “apparently random” because it

is “frequently applied to all numbers and persons...[but] at other times it is dropped completely.” He analyses use of this morpheme as interference from Inupiaq, which marks all persons and numbers, hypothesizing that *-s* may be used as an overt marker of transitivity because Inupiaq has some verbs that are either transitive or intransitive, and also some that “may be used either way” (Vandergriff 1982:134, citing Webster 1968). Since Inupiaq is a sister language to Inuktitut, it is possible that Nain Inuit English may show similar results, though Nain and Kotzebue have different English input varieties. As such, I will test for transitivity in the Nain data. The coding and results for this factor will be discussed later in this chapter, in §5.2.2 and §5.3, respectively.

5.1.3 Verbal *-s* in Newfoundland English

In NE, verbal *-s* “serves as a generalized (though variable) non-past tense marker for lexical verbs...[that is] more frequent in [NE] than in other vernacular varieties in which it has been documented” (Clarke 2004a:308). In fact, nonstandard use of *-s* is one of the characterizing features of NE and it “remain[s] vigorous” in rural and urban communities (Clarke 2010:148; see also Clarke 1997a, 2004a, 2004c; Harris 2006; Van Herk et al. 2007; Kendall 2009; Wagner 2009; Childs and Van Herk 2010; Comeau 2011). As a well-known feature of NE, verbal *-s* serves various discourse functions (Clarke 2010), including identity work (e.g., Van Herk et al. 2008), in addition to being “a mainstay of performed dialect” (Van Herk et al. 2007:89; Clarke and Hiscock 2009; Clarke 2010). In fact, the “iconic nature of verbal *-s* in the local context...makes it an eminently ‘performable’ feature, even on the part of speakers who otherwise would use it minimally, if at all, in their vernacular styles” (Clarke 2010:149). Like interdental

stopping, verbal -s has become an enregistered feature of NE, and can be seen in many portrayals of Newfoundland identity. An older example comes from Al Clouston, a self-proclaimed “well known Newfoundland humorist” who employs verbal -s in his work, as in his 1978 publication, entitled *Come 'ere till I tells ya*, which contains anecdotes and cartoons like the one shown here:

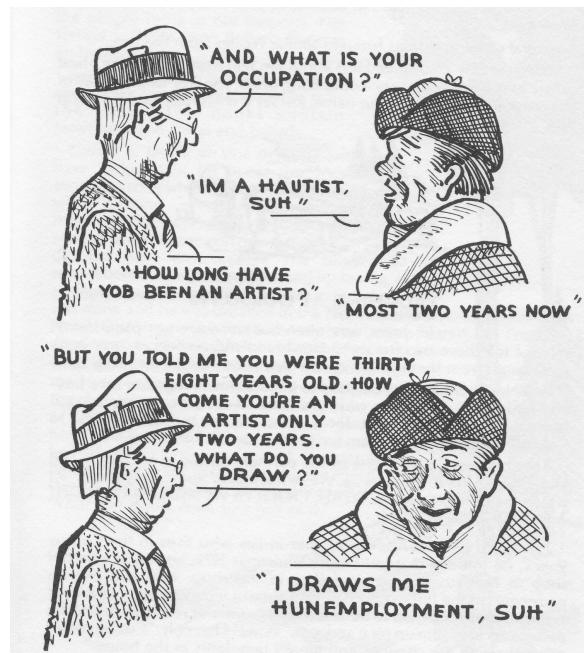


Figure 5.1. The Island Cove Artist (Clouston 1978:37).

More recent examples include the T-shirt shown in Figure 5.2, which was purchased from a local store in 2006, and in the menu from Stoggers’ Pizza, a local company that has used the phrase “Loves it!” in various print and online advertisements since it opened on September 24, 2004 (personal communication, V. Drover, December 11, 2011). A copy of their menu can be seen in Figure 5.3 (<http://www.stoggers.com>, accessed October 18, 2011).



Figure 5.2. Verbal -s on tourism merchandise.

| Original Classics | | Specialty Pizzas | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|------------------|----------|----------|--|-------------------------------|---------|----------|----------|---------|
| | | 10" | 12" | 14" | 16" | 6 Slice | 8 Slice | 10 Slice | 12 Slice | |
| Venetian | | 14.17 | 17.77 | 21.37 | 24.87 | The Stogger | \$16.67 | \$20.77 | \$23.87 | \$27.77 |
| Cheese, Pepperoni, Salami, Green Pepper, Mushroom, Onion, Hamburger & Bacon | | | | | Cheese, Pepperoni, Salami, Italian Sausage, Hamburger, Bacon, Green Pepper, Mushroom, Red Onion & Tomato | | | | | |
| Florence | | 10.37 | 12.97 | 15.57 | 18.07 | The Meat-Stogger | \$15.57 | \$19.37 | \$23.27 | \$27.27 |
| Cheese, Pepperoni, Green Pepper, Mushroom | | | | | Cheese, Pepperoni, Salami, Italian Sausage, Hamburger, Bacon, Green Pepper, & Ham | | | | | |
| Extra Special | | 11.47 | 14.27 | 17.07 | 20.07 | BBQ Chicken | \$13.87 | \$17.27 | \$20.77 | \$24.37 |
| Cheese, Pepperoni, Green Pepper, Mushroom, Bacon | | | | | Cheese, Stogger's BBQ Sauce, Grilled Chicken, Green Pepper, Red Onion & Tomato | | | | | |
| Gondolier | | 12.07 | 16.17 | 18.77 | 21.67 | My Big Fat Greek Pizza | \$14.77 | \$18.67 | \$22.17 | \$25.87 |
| Cheese, Pepperoni, Green Pepper, Mushroom, Onion, Pineapple & Bacon | | | | | Cheese, Black Olives, Mediterranean Chicken, Tzatziki Sauce | | | | | |
| Create Your Own Pizza | | 10" | 12" | 14" | 16" | The Classic | \$12.77 | \$15.47 | \$19.07 | \$23.87 |
| Cheese/Sauce | 6 Slice | 8 Slice | 10 Slice | 12 Slice | Cheese, Pepperoni, Salami, Bacon, Green Pepper & Mushroom | | | | | |
| build your pizza from the following | | | | | The Double Lovin' | \$10.87 | \$13.27 | \$16.07 | N/A | |
| Extra Toppings | 1.57 | 1.97 | 2.27 | 2.47 | Double Double, Double Double, Double Pepperoni, Double Cheese | | | | | |
| Meat Toppings | Parmesan, Salami, Bacon, Hamburger, Donair, Chicken, Italian Sausage | | | | Vegetarian | \$11.37 | \$14.17 | \$17.57 | \$20.57 | |
| Vegetable Toppings | Green Peppers, Mushroom, White Onion, Red Onion, Tomato, Black Olives, Green Olives, Pineapple, Hot Banana Peppers | | | | Cheese, Green Pepper, Mushroom, Red Onion, Pineapple & Tomato | | | | | |
| Sauces | Tomato, BBQ, Frank's Hot, Tzatziki, Donair | | | | Hawaiian | \$10.37 | \$13.07 | \$15.67 | \$18.77 | |
| Cheese | Mozzarella, Feta, Parmesan | | | | Cheese, Ham, Pineapple & Red Onion | | | | | |
| Side Offerings | | | | | Additional Toppings | \$1.57 | \$1.97 | \$2.17 | \$2.47 | |
| Garlic Fingers..... | C \$6.77 M \$8.77 L \$10.77 XL \$13.77 | | | | | | | | | |
| Cheese, Garlic Spread, Bacon Bits + Dipping Sauce | | | | | | | | | | |
| Townie Fingers..... | S \$7.77 M \$10.37 L \$12.17 XL \$15.17 | | | | | | | | | |
| Cheese, Garlic Spread, Green Peppers, Bacon + Dipping Sauce | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pizza Slice..... | \$4.42 | | | | | | | | | |
| Cheese, Pepperoni, Bacon | | | | | | | | | | |
| Dipping Sauce..... | \$0.66 | | | | | | | | | |
| Double Double, Bacon, Ham & Spicy, Honey Mustard, Stogger's BBQ | | | | | | | | | | |
| Dessert..... | \$0.97 | | | | | | | | | |
| Assorted Chips & Cookies | | | | | | | | | | |

Stoggers' Pizza
579-STOG
77 Harvey Road ...Loves It!

Figure 5.3. Verbal -s in local advertising.

Other recent examples can be found in the lyrics to songs by Gazeebow Unit

(<http://www.myspace.com/gazeebowunit>), a parodic hip-hop group based in St. John's.

One such example can be heard in the chorus of one of their best-known songs, *Trikes and Bikes*, shown in (18) and discussed in depth in Clarke and Hiscock (2009). Verbal -s has also been used in scripts for *Republic of Doyle*, a television program on the Canadian

Broadcasting Corporation that is produced by Newfoundland native Allan Hawco, exemplified in (19).

(18) *Trikes and Bikes* by Gazebow Unit (Chorus)

Ski-doos, ski-doos, trikes and bikes
At the gazebo we **likes** to fight,
This is what we do up in Airport Heights.

(19) *Verbal -s on Republic of Doyle*

We're not listening to you 'cause you **tells** lies. (Jake Doyle, Season 1, episode 1, originally aired on January 6, 2010)

These examples highlight the salience of verbal *-s* to Newfoundlanders, illustrating different genres in which it is used to convey local identity and affiliation.

Nonstandard verbal *-s* has been observed across Newfoundland, including Bay Roberts (Hampson 1982a), Carbonear (Paddock 1981a), the Burin Peninsula (Clarke 1997a), Bonavista Bay (Harris 2006), Petty Harbour (Van Herk et al. 2007, Kendall 2009, Childs and Van Herk 2010, Comeau 2011), Pouch Cove (Wagner 2009), and the St. John's drag community (Van Herk et al. 2008). Four of these studies are variationist analyses: Clarke's (1997a) research of English on the Burin peninsula; Van Herk et al.'s (2007) Petty Harbour study (further discussed in Childs and Van Herk 2010); Comeau's (2011) reanalysis of Petty Harbour; and Wagner's (2009) analysis in Pouch Cove, a small community approximately 30 kilometers north of the capital city of St. John's. The remaining research is descriptive in nature, mentioning the presence of verbal *-s* in the community without providing rates of use or statistical analyses. Paddock (1982), for example, describes verbal *-s* as a general feature of NE. Hampson (1982a:33) mentions that *-s* is used "to mark all persons of the present tense, indicative, of lexical verbs" in her

work on dialect attitudes in Bay Roberts, a community less than an hour from St. John's. Harris (2006) also offers a brief discussion of verbal -s in her description of English in Bonavista Bay. She notes that nonstandard agreement variably appears with *we*, *you*, and *they*, though she does not offer the rates of verbal -s with each subject type. Paddock's (1981a) research on English in Carbonear posits that -s can be used with all persons, and that lexical verbs categorically require s-marking in the present indicative while auxiliary verbs do not.

In the first variationist study of verbal -s in the province, Clarke (1997a) examines this variable in the Burin region, where there is an overall rate of verbal -s of 68% for full verbs across subject types, including 3sg, in an age- and sex-stratified sample of 24 speakers. When the 3sg tokens are excluded, the overall rate of verbal -s remains high (56%) though usage is generally in decline. Clarke determines that the heaviness constraint on subjects does not apply in the Burin, and that there is more -s with nominal subjects; however, multivariate analysis reveals both factor groups are not significant. Clarke also finds no subject adjacency effects, which she interprets as evidence that the Northern Subject Rule is not operative in NE. In a later discussion of the same data, Clarke (1999:336) adds that there are no subject-type constraints in this variety and states that, in terms of stativity, the non-3sg -s "clearly favours habitual aspect, yet does not disallow durative and punctual... aspectual meanings." As Childs and Van Herk (2010) note, Clarke's (1997a) study includes some past temporal reference tokens (typically expressing the historical present) in her analysis of the Burin data; however, these tokens

are relatively infrequent and Childs and Van Herk (2010:86) “feel fairly secure in accepting the Burin data...as a reliable point of comparison” for other studies of -s.

More recently, researchers have discussed verbal -s in Petty Harbour, a historic fishing village that is now urbanizing and can be considered a bedroom community to St. John’s (Van Herk et al. 2007, Childs and Van Herk 2010, Comeau 2011). In the initial verbal -s study in Petty Harbour, Van Herk et al. (2007) find a much lower rate of usage for nonstandard -s: 5.6%. They also observe that verbal -s is in decline in this community, a trend led by women. Van Herk et al.’s results reveal that speakers in Petty Harbour have a different set of linguistic constraints than traditional NE, though the Northern Subject Rule remains inapplicable in this variety: both mental stance (e.g., *love*, *hate*, *want*) and non-mental stance (e.g., *consist*, *hear*, *realize*) statives favour -s while habituals disfavour the nonstandard variant; however, the favouring effect of mental stance verbs was not very strong, even in first person contexts. They also observe that, unlike in the Burin region, habituality *per se* does favour the use of nonstandard -s in Petty Harbour. Instead, sentences containing a *when(ever)* construction favour the use of -s while sentences with adverbials like *always* tend to disfavour verbal -s. Childs and Van Herk (2010:86-87) elaborate on the aspectual finding, suggesting that “stative -s, a disfavoured form in the past, must thus be socially marked, associated particularly with highly vernacular speakers.” They also posit that younger people may be using this feature as “a ‘super-marker’ of Newfoundland identity” (Childs and Van Herk 2010:87), drawing parallels with the use of other traditionally disfavoured forms in the performance of African American identity, citing Cutler (1999) and Childs and Mallinson (2006).

Van Herk et al. (2008) originally identified this ‘super-marker’ use of *-s*, drawing on data from surveys gathered from residents across Newfoundland and Labrador. These surveys show that the reported use of *-s* is in decline and that residents associate this feature with Newfoundland identity. Van Herk et al. label this a change in progress, at least for the aspectual system, referring to this change as “new” *-s*: “old” *-s* follows the traditional system, as described by Clarke (1997a), while “new” *-s* is used by young urban speakers (particularly women) in stative (as opposed to habitual) constructions as a way to quickly assert their identity as a Newfoundland. Building on this, they also describe a “new, new” *-s*, found in the St. John’s drag community, in which speakers use the word *loves* in isolation, as in (20).

- (20) “New new” -s (Van Herk et al. 2008)

Taking pictures of me, too. **Loves.** (SJD D)

From this, Van Herk et al. conclude that *-s* (and *loves*) is an important linguistic and social resource in the St. John’s drag community, and that the meaning of *-s* is changing, transitioning from a purely grammatical feature to a more social or indexical role, and is perhaps becoming lexicalized.

Building on Van Herk et al.’s (2007) work on Petty Harbour, Comeau (2011) examines the same sample and includes four additional speakers. In his analysis, there is an overall rate of verbal *-s* marking of 8%, slightly higher than the original Petty Harbour study. This difference can be attributed to his use of a slightly different sample; Comeau excludes six speakers because they are invariant (always with the [ø] form), three of whom are included in Van Herk et al.’s (2007) analysis.

Comeau's multivariate analysis shows age and sex are again significant social predictors, with older residents and men favouring *-s*; this matches the results of the original study, as outlined in Van Herk et al. (2007) and Childs and Van Herk (2010). For the linguistic factors, Comeau conducts separate multivariate analyses for the three age cohorts, to look more closely at change across generations, highlighting the changes in the linguistic system. For older speakers, both sentential (habitual) and lexical (stative) aspect favour *-s*; sentential aspect is not significant for any other generation.⁶⁶ Lexical aspect is the only significant factor for middle-aged speakers, who also favour *-s* with stative verbs. In contrast, younger speakers' use of verbal *-s* is constrained only by adverbial specification, with *if*, no adverbial, and *when(ever)* favouring the use of the nonstandard variant. From this, Comeau (2011:36) asserts that older speakers maintain a traditional system and that the "system of the youngest cohort no longer resembles the linguistic system of previous generations," a finding he labels similar to Van Herk et al.'s (2007) results. He also argues that the conservative system is evident even for younger speakers, based on an examination of disfavouring contexts, leading him to conclude that his quantitative analysis supports the two previously discussed variationist studies.

The final variationist study of verbal *-s* in NE is based in Pouch Cove. In this community, speakers employ nonstandard verbal *-s* at a rate of 9.7% (Wagner 2009), slightly greater than what was observed in Petty Harbour but much lower than the usage rates on the Burin. In this community, none of what Wagner calls "traditional" factors

⁶⁶ Due to interactions, sentential and lexical aspect were analysed separately for older speakers (Comeau 2011).

were significant. Instead, she found that number and verb type were significant. For number, singular and plural subjects favour -s while generic subjects disfavour the nonstandard variant. For verb type, action and stative verbs favour the use of -s and mental stance verbs disfavour. She also states that there is “no observable [habituality] effect” in Pouch Cove, though certain overt markers increase or decrease the likelihood of -s, citing *when(ever), usually, sometimes, occasionally*, and *generally* as examples of favouring markers, and “punctual” markers such as *just, before*, and *after* as disfavouring.

As in other communities, age is the most significant predictor in Pouch Cove, with each generation behaving differently. Speakers over age 50 disfavour -s, middle-aged residents (ages 30-49) favour it, and the young generation is split, with young men favouring and young women disfavouring the nonstandard variant. Number is a significant predictor for older and middle-aged speakers, patterning in the same manner as is observed for the entire Pouch Cove sample; the factor group is not significant in the speech of younger residents. For verb type, it is the young speakers who group with the middle-aged cohort; for these speakers, stative verbs do not favour -s, contrary to community trends and to the findings for the older speakers.

Based on previous research, it becomes clear that, unlike in other regions, both age and sex are critical social predictors for this variable in the province. It is equally apparent that sentential and lexical aspect must be considered in any analysis of -s in the province since these factors are consistently significant across communities.

5.1.4 Verbal -s and language acquisition

Research on both first and second language acquisition of English shows that there are stages of morphosyntactic acquisition (Lightbown and Spada 1993). Brown's (1973) longitudinal study of the acquisition of 14 grammatical morphemes in the speech of children learning English, for example, concludes that there is a general order in which morphemes are acquired and that 3sg present inflection is acquired later than most of other morphemes under investigation. His findings have been confirmed by other studies, e.g., de Villiers and de Villiers (1973), Radford (1990), and Rice and Wexler (2002). The incomplete acquisition of verbal systems has also been observed in research on heritage languages. In Polinsky's (1997, 2006) study of Russian heritage speakers, for example, participants often default to 3sg inflection, regardless of context.

Studies on the acquisition of English as a second language show that “natural second language learners acquire grammatical morphemes in much the same way that first language learners do and that this natural sequence is not determined only or even mainly by the learner’s first language” (Lightbown and Spada 1993:59). This suggests that this morphology may not be acquired by all learners of English, depending on their abilities, which may impact the present study since all of the older speakers and some of the other participants are L2 speakers of English.

These findings are supported by Miller’s (1977) study of the acquisition of English in Pima children, a Native American people in Arizona. In her study, Miller observes that Pima children have problems with the third person singular inflection. She argues that the children are aware of the rule but only implement it in 75% of their

attempts by the age of eleven. These findings suggest that lack of 3sg inflection may be a result of the second language acquisition process; this will be considered in my analysis.

5.1.5 Temporal reference in Inuktitut

Temporal reference in Inuktitut is different than it is in English. While English has a past–nonpast distinction, Inuktitut expresses time in a future-nonfuture split, where the future is overtly marked and the differences between past/perfective and present/imperfective are expressed through the semantics of the verb base, particularly telicity (Bohnemeyer and Swift 2004, Swift 2004). Overt markers are also employed to “express aspectual viewpoints other than those available with the zero-marked forms...such as imperfective viewpoints with telic predicates” (Bohnemeyer and Swift 2004:267). Inuktitut also employs affixes to express temporal remoteness, aspect and modality, which are distinct from the inflectional morphology used to express person and number.

Hayashi (2006) posits that habitual propositions must be expressed with an overt marker in Inuktitut. She mentions two ways in which this occurs: (i) verbal predicates are often nominalized by adding the suffix *-suumq* ‘one who habitually performs an action,’ citing Harper (1979), and (ii) attaching the frequentative morpheme *-qattaq*.⁶⁷ She provides the examples shown in (21). These examples are represented as they appear in the source material except for the bolding, which I have added to highlight the relevant morphemes:

⁶⁷ She notes that *-suumq* can also be used to express a generic proposition (Hayashi 2006).

(21) Marking habituality in Inuktitut (Hayashi 2006:51)

- a. jaan qamuti-liu-**suuq**
John sled-make-one.who.habitually.performs.an.action.3s
'John makes sleds'
- b. qautamaat puijura-**qattaq**-tunga
every day swim-FREQ-PAR.1s
'I swim every day'

This could potentially affect how native Inuit speakers acquire, and consequently produce, verbal inflection. Specifically, speakers may use verbal *-s* as a way to overtly mark habituality on the verb, as they do with *-qattaq*. As such, it will be important to differentiate between the various ways that habituals can be expressed in the multivariate analyses. (More information on the linguistic factors under consideration can be found in subsequent sections of this chapter.)

Differences between temporal reference in English and in indigenous languages are common. In Navajo, for example, temporal reference is expressed primarily through mode and aspect, and secondarily through context (Pedkte and Werner 1969). In their discussion of second language acquisition of English in Native American communities in the United States, Pedkte and Werner (1969) argue that the native speakers of Navajo use Navajo-like strategies for expressing temporal reference in English, focusing on use of overt referents such as *every day* or *now*, as opposed to concentrating on verbal inflection. As such, this will be taken into account when coding the data for analysis.

5.1.6 Summary

Since verbal *-s* is not a feature of standard Canadian English, the presence of this feature in Nain Inuit English may be an indicator that NE has influenced dialect development in

the community, or that there is transfer from Inuttitut. As such, the focus of this chapter will be on the nonstandard use of -s in non-3sg simple present contexts, rather than examining unmarked 3sg forms, which are rare in the data set. The protocol used for extracting and coding tokens is explained in the next section.

5.2 Data extraction and coding

As Clarke (1997a) and Poplack and Tagliamonte (2001), among others, note, different methodologies have been employed in studies of verbal -s, making it difficult to compare results across varieties. The current study's methodology is modeled on a number of previous studies that share similar approaches, namely Clarke (1997a), Godfrey and Tagliamonte (1999), Walker (2000), Poplack and Tagliamonte (2001), Van Herk and Walker (2005), and Van Herk et al. (2007).

5.2.1 Circumscribing the variable context

I extracted every instance of a finite verb with present temporal reference from the same interviews used for the analysis of interdental fricatives. Following traditional protocols for circumscribing the variable context (e.g., Godfrey and Tagliamonte 1999; Walker 2000, 2001; Poplack and Tagliamonte 2001; Van Herk and Walker 2005; Van Herk et al. 2007; Comeau 2011) and to maintain consistency with other studies of this variable in the province, there were several exclusions. First, verbs that had past or future reference were excluded, as in (22) and (23), respectively.

(22) Past reference⁶⁸

- a. What they **call** Inuttitut baseball back then. (George, 1m)
- b. And uh, I **try** make little old- small- put this- this- this morning. (Max, 3m)

(23) Future reference

When I **die**, I don't want to get buried. (Wes, 3m)

Irrealis clauses were also excluded, as in (24), as were progressive constructions with present temporal reference, as in (25); and all verbs with a 3sg subject, as in (26).

(24) Irrealis

- a. I don't know if they **plays** monkey-dances or not. (Lois, 1f)
- b. But after a while, you get- you probably **get** used to it, like. (Arthur, 1m)

(25) Progressives with present temporal reference

- a. I don't think they're **doing** enough of it. (George, 1m)
- b. I'm **looking** for a job right now. (Tom, 2m)

(26) Third person singular sentences in present temporal reference contexts

He **understands** some, but not a lot. (Shirley, 2f)

Irregular verbs, such as *be*, *do*, and *have*, shown in (27), have also been excluded, in keeping with previous studies of this variable in the province. *Be*, in particular, is “highly idiosyncratic” in varieties of NE (Clarke 1997a:232).

⁶⁸ Unlike some of the other studies, Poplack and Tagliamonte (1989) and (2001) include non-present temporal reference tokens.

(27) Irregular verbs with present temporal reference⁶⁹

- a. Yeah, they do- they **does** the service in Inuktitut and they **does** everything, the weddings and funerals, and. (Tim, 1m)
- b. Yeah, they **haves** feasts. (Grace, 2f)

Other exclusions, not always mentioned in the literature, include sentences with invariant *got*, as in (28); invariant *be*, as in (29), which is variably *s*-marked in NE in non-3sg contexts (Clarke 1997a); and negated sentences, as in (30).

(28) Invariant got

I still **got** stuff to learn from him. (Clark, 2m)

(29) Invariant be

- a. ...and sometimes I **bees** gone, and I don't come back sometimes until it's even little bit too dark to see. (Wes, 3m)
- b. Uh, we **bees** out overnight or three nights out, or just the days, some days. (Bridget, 1f)

(30) Negated sentences

Not much people **come** see me anymore. (Wes, 3m)

As is typical of variationist studies, other exclusions include false starts, frozen and filler expressions (e.g., *I tell you*, *I mean*, *you know*), and material that could have been learned by rote, such as songs or sayings, because they are “not representative of productive grammatical form” (Walker 2000:124). Finally, tokens containing phonologically neutralized sequences were excluded due to their ambiguity. These are utterances in

⁶⁹ Clarke (1997a:231) observes that *do* and *have* “are categorically marked with *-s* when they serve as lexical or full verbs...and bear categorical zero marking when they serve as auxiliaries” in some Newfoundland communities, citing Paddock (1982) as an example. These tokens have, however, been extracted for future work, since some scholars, such as Godfrey and Tagliamonte (1999), have significant results for these verbs.

which the morphological status of *-s* is impossible to determine, due to a following sibilant, as in (31).

(31) Phonologically neutralized sequences

- a. They **pick[s]** [s]ides or something. (Molly, 3f)
- b. They usually **get[s]** [s]cabs in from, uh, Ontario and BC. (Robert, 1m)

After these exclusions, 1,604 tokens remained for analysis. These tokens were coded for the same social variables as interdental stopping (§4)—generation, sex, and L1—as well as the linguistic factor groups discussed below.

5.2.2 Coding

The factors coded for each of the linguistic variables under consideration are adopted from previous studies of verbal *-s* (Clarke 1997a, Godfrey and Tagliamonte 1999, Walker 2000, Poplack and Tagliamonte 2001, Van Herk and Walker 2005, Van Herk et al. 2007). Some variations were implemented to add nuance to certain factor groups, which will be discussed where relevant.

In keeping with Clarke (1997a), both preceding and following phonological environment were coded. The preceding segment was coded as a vowel, sibilant, or other consonant; tokens containing a preceding sibilant were later excluded from the analysis, to avoid issues of assimilation. For the following phonological environment, segments were coded as a vowel, consonant, or pause, where pause was only used at the end of utterances or at other significant breaks in speech.

Tokens were also coded according to subject type: *I*, *we*, *you*, *they*, plural NP, quantifier + plural NP, existential *there*, existential *it*, null, *wh*- word, relative *that*,

indefinite pronoun. The latter three groups were combined into a single category of subjects of subordinate clauses since there were only fourteen tokens cumulatively.

Subject adjacency (adjacent, nonadjacent) was also coded, to test for the Northern Subject Rule, based on the surface structure of each utterance. Subjects were deemed adjacent if they were directly beside the verb, as in (32); if there was intervening material, including adverbs, coordinate clauses, and other types of embedding, subjects were coded as non-adjacent, as in (33). (The relevant verbs are bolded in the example sets that follow.)

(32) Adjacent subjects

- a. I **tries** teach them best I can what I **knows**. (Clark, 2m)
- b. Because lots of people **bootlegs** here now, and sells drugs. (Molly, 3f)
- c. So they **goes**, they **gets** partridges, they had rabbit and they **goes** off. (Bridget, 1f)

(33) Nonadjacent subjects

- a. I always **speaks** to him Inuktitut, eh? (Lois, 1f)
- b. You just **eat** it raw or **boil** it. (Robert, 2m)
- c. Some people **goes** in their cabin for the summer. And **come** back with their catch and **sell** it to the fish plant, there. (Arthur, 1m)

Verbal aspect was coded in different ways. Aspect was coded based on the aspectual reading of the sentence, not verb semantics, in keeping with other studies of NE (Clarke 1997a, Van Herk et al. 2007, Childs and Van Herk 2010), as well as other varieties of English (e.g., Walker 2001). Verbs expressing events of a momentary duration were classified as punctual. Punctuals, exemplified in (34), are rare in the data set.

(34) Punctual aspect

And I **forgets** her name. (Evan, 3m)

The second aspect option is durative. Verbs coded as durative express events or processes extended in time or states that exist continuously (Walker 2001).

(35) Durative aspect

- a. My father taught me how to eat them, and I **loves** them. I **loves** to eat sculpins. (Tim, 1m)
- b. I **remember** growing up, only the elderly and the sick used to stay home when there's church. (George, 1m)

Finally, following Comrie (1976:28), habitual aspect was assigned to sentences expressing an iterative event, and to sentences that do not contain iterative events, so long as the situation is “a characteristic feature of a whole period.” Examples of this can be seen in (36).

(36) Habitual aspect

- a. I **works** at the Husky-Centre. (Grace, 2f)
- b. Because when there's no wild meat, and there's only store-bought food, that's when I **start** getting weaker. (Melissa, 2f)
- c. Because only the um men chapel-servants usually **goes** on table at the church. (Greg, 2m)

Verbs that were coded as habitual were also coded according to the type of habituality marker that was found in the sentence, independent of sentential aspect. Three categories of habitual markers are used: an adverbial expression, such as *every time* or *usually*, as in (36a); a *when(ever)* clause, as in (36b); or no overt habituality marker, as in (36c).

Verbs were also coded for lexical aspect. Like the Petty Harbour studies (Van Herk et al. 2007, Childs and Van Herk 2010, Comeau 2011), coding for this factor group

is based on Walker (2001), who derives his categories from Olsen (1997)'s classification of verbs based on privative features. Stative verbs are those that denote a state rather than an action; all others are non-stative. As in Van Herk et al. (2007) and Childs and Van Herk (2010), stative verbs are subdivided into two groups: mental stance verbs and other statives. Mental stance verbs are those that express a personal opinion, such as *believe*, *hate*, *hope*, *know*, *like*, *love*, *need*, *think*, and *want*; the category of other statives encompasses all remaining stative verbs.

The factor groups of sentential and lexical aspect were later combined, due to interactions and KOs, creating a single factor group henceforth known as aspect. In this new group, there were six categories: mental stance, other stative, punctual, habitual with an overt adverbial marker, habitual with a *when(ever)* clause, and habitual with no overt habituality marker. Examples of each category are shown below, in (37), which repeats sentences from (34)-(36).

(37) Coding aspect

- a. *Mental stance*
My father taught me how to eat them, and I **loves** them. I **loves** to eat sculpins.
(Tim, 1m)
- b. *Other stative*
I **remember** growing up, only the elderly and the sick used to stay home
when there's church. (George, 1m)
- c. *Punctual*
And I **forgets** her name. (Evan, 3m)
- d. *Habitual (no overt marker)*
I **works** at the Husky-Centre. (Grace, 2f)

e. *Habitual (when-type clause)*

Because when there's no wild meat, and there's only store-bought food, that's when I **start** getting weaker. (Melissa, 2f)

f. *Habitual (adverbial marker)*

Because only the um men chapel-servants usually **goes** on table at the church. (Greg, 2m)

In the analyses in the next section, however, punctual tokens have been omitted due to empty cells revealed by cross tabulations, leaving five factors in this factor group.⁷⁰

Tokens were also coded for transitivity to test Vandergriff's (1982) observation that *-s* may be used to mark transitivity, though it is not typically discussed in the verbal *-s* literature. For this factor group, verbs were categorized as one of the following: (i) transitive, (ii) intransitive, (iii) a verb taking a sentential complement, or (iv) a verb followed by an infinitive. In this analysis, however, I include only transitive and intransitive verbs, to focus on Vandergriff's assertion. Examples of transitive and intransitive tokens are shown below in (38).

(38) Transitivity

a. *Transitive*

I **loves** my pork chops too. (Tim, 1m)

b. *Intransitive*

I **feel** a little bit lighter already. (Lois, 1f)

Transitivity was determined primarily by the transitivity of the lexical verb, based in part on Levin (1993), though there are some verbs that were coded as both transitive and intransitive depending on the utterance. This is illustrated in (39).

⁷⁰ For example, punctuals only occur with *I* and *you* in subject position.

(39) Verbs that can be coded as both transitive and intransitive

a. *Transitive*

And I **forgets** her name. (Evan, 3m)

b. *Intransitive*

I **forgets** about them. (Lois, 1f)

Any tokens that did not have a clear transitive or intransitive reading are excluded from the present analysis.

Finally, verbs were classified according to their frequency in the data set.

Frequency is rarely mentioned in studies of verbal -s; Cheshire (1982:42-43), for example, does consider lexical effects and finds a “cumulative effect” for nonstandard morphology and what she calls “vernacular” verbs, i.e., those that have a slightly different meaning in Reading English. Lexical verb frequency is included here to test Childs and Van Herk’s (2010) hypothesis that verbal -s is used with a restricted set of verbs, as well as Van Herk et al.’s (2008) discussion of *loves*; their finding could be a by-product of frequency. Furthermore, scholars such as Bybee (2001) have demonstrated that token frequency can have an impact on production.

For this analysis, I have used an external spoken language corpus, the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA; <http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>), to determine verb frequency. This corpus was selected because it is a large and balanced corpus of North American English; there is no equivalent corpus of Canadian English that could be used. The top 20 verbs in this corpus are (in order): *say, go, get, make, know, think, take, see, come, want, look, use, find, give, tell, work, call, try, ask, and need*.

In the Nain data, there are 152 unique verbs; the most frequent verbs in the data set are *think* (N=182), *go* (N=177), *know* (N=112), *get* (N=109), *like* (N=77), *want* (N=74), *love* (N=49), *find* (N=48), *try* (N=47), *say* (N=47), *come* (N=42), *call* (N=37), *need* (N=34), *play* (N=34), *hope* (N=30), *see* (N=26), *make* (N=23), *speak* (N=20), and *work* (N=20). These two lists are not identical; however, when they are compared, there is some overlap between the Nain corpus and COCA, suggesting that COCA is a suitable external baseline for frequency in this data set.

The 20 verbs found to be most frequent in COCA have been coded as frequent in the Nain corpus; the lists of frequently occurring verbs in both data sets diverge considerably after this point, which is why 20 is the cut-off point for this measure of frequency. The list of verbs coded as frequent (*say, go, get, make, know, think, take, see, come, want, look, use, find, give, tell, work, call, try, ask, and need*) includes mental stance verbs, other statives and non-stative verbs; it does not include words that were frequent only in the sample data (and were not in the top 20 most frequent verbs in COCA). All other verbs are considered infrequent in the data set; they appear fewer than 20 times in the Nain data under consideration.

Table 5.1 summarizes the linguistic factor groups used in the multivariate analysis:

Table 5.1. Final linguistic factor groups for verbal -s.

| Factor groups | Factors |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Preceding phonological environment | vowel, non-sibilant consonant |
| Following phonological environment | vowel, non-sibilant consonant, pause |
| Subject type | <i>I, we, you, they</i> , plural NP, quantifier + plural NP, existential <i>there</i> , existential <i>it</i> , null, subjects of subordinate clauses |
| Subject adjacency | adjacent, non-adjacent |
| Aspect | mental stance, other stative, punctual, habitual with an overt adverbial marker, habitual with a <i>when(ever)</i> clause, habitual with no overt habituality marker |
| Verb transitivity | transitive, intransitive |
| Verb frequency | frequent, infrequent |

After coding, data were analysed in Goldvarb X (Sankoff et al. 2005), with linguistic and social factors run together, except for verb transitivity and frequency, which were not included in the main runs because of interactions with aspect. The next section discusses the results of the multivariate analyses.

5.3 Results

As previously mentioned, after the exclusions outlined in the previous section, 1,604 tokens remain for analysis. In these data, there is an overall rate of nonstandard -s of 30.5%. When compared to other communities in the province, this aligns Nain more closely with the rural Burin region (56%; Clarke 1997a) than with Petty Harbour (5.7% in Van Herk et al. 2007; 8% in Comeau 2011) or Pouch Cove (9.5%; Wagner 2009), two communities near the provincial capital. Note that the Newfoundland studies have all, to the best of my knowledge, been conducted with native speakers of English.

Figure 5.4 shows the distribution of nonstandard *-s* in Nain, according to speaker sex and generation.

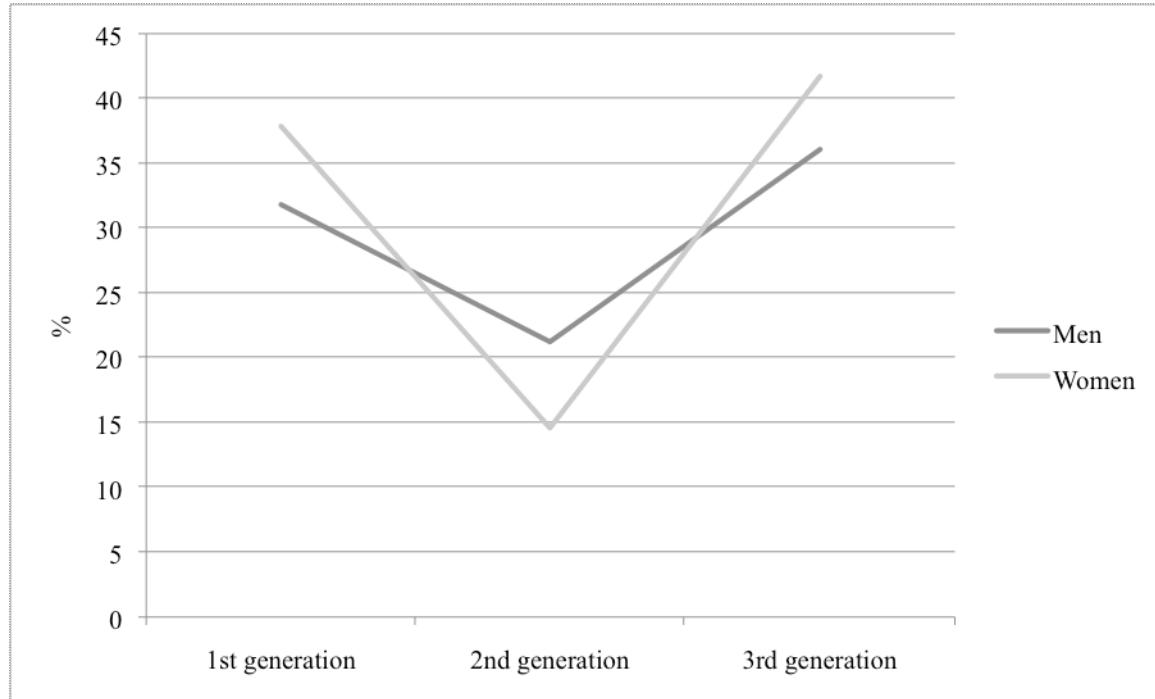


Figure 5.4. Use of nonstandard verbal *-s* in Nain according to speakers' age and sex.

This chart illustrates that there is a curvilinear pattern of distribution (cf. Labov 1994, 2001), with a decline in use from the older to middle group, followed by a significant increase in use by the youngest speakers in the community, who show the highest percentage of *-s* usage for both men and women. This trend is different from that observed in the Newfoundland communities in which this variable has been examined, which tend to exhibit a general decline in use of the nonstandard variant over time. (The exception to this generalization is Pouch Cove, where speakers over the age of 50 disfavour the use of *-s* and those between the ages of 30 and 49 favour it, followed by a sex-based split in the youngest group (Wagner 2009).) This is, however, reminiscent of the data on other socially salient variables in the speech of young, locally affiliated Petty

Harbour men, particularly interdental stopping (Van Herk et al. 2007). This trend is reinforced by surveys of reported usage, which show that there was a period of avoidance by speakers born in the 1940s, who were the first generation to be exposed to widespread education, followed by “re-analysis and increasing use” by younger speakers in which verbal *-s* serves a more social function (Van Herk and the MUN Survey Project 2009; see also Van Herk et al. 2008). Interestingly, it is the women in Nain who employ verbal *-s* more often overall, a finding that goes against Labov’s (1990) Principle I, which states that men tend to be more nonstandard than women. It is possible that, in the first generation, women are showing a greater transfer effect than their male counterparts while younger (L1 English) women are being more innovative, or are using NE as their target variety. The hypothesis about older women and transfer will be examined in more detail in §5.3.2, when transitivity and influence from Inuttitut are discussed.

Another potential explanation for this curvilinear pattern is age-grading. Age-graded changes are “usually thought of as changes in the use of a variant that recur at a particular age in successive generations...[and] regular and predictable changes that might be thought of as marking a developmental stage in the individual’s life” (Chambers 2003:206). Unfortunately, age-grading is “indistinguishable from...generational change in progress when only apparent time evidence is available” (Evans Wagner 2012:374), as is the case in this study, so it is a possibility that must be considered but is difficult to confirm. Given the linguistic situation of the community, however, it seems more likely that language shift may be the strongest contributing factor for these results, especially since “[v]ery few changes of this kind have been reported” (Chambers 2003:206).

Moreover, in most cases of age-grading, the “linguistic retrenchment occurs in adolescence and has the status of a coming-of-age ritual” (Chambers 2002:358), which suggests that age-grading is not the most probable explanation for the lower rates of use exhibited by the second generation of this study, who are between the ages of 31 and 44.

In the same analysis, generation and sex were considered, as discussed in §3.3. Of these two variables, only age is significant, as Table 5.2 illustrates. (As with interdental stopping, first language effects will be discussed after the linguistic factors.)

Table 5.2. Social factors selected as significant in the selection of nonstandard verbal -s over the standard realization.

| Total N: 1,604 | Corrected mean: .289 | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|------|-----|
| | FW | % | N |
| Generation | | | |
| 1 st generation | .62 | 39.4 | 545 |
| 3 rd generation | .55 | 34.6 | 494 |
| 2 nd generation | .34 | 18.4 | 565 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 28 | | |

Factors not selected as significant: sex

The Goldvarb results mirror the pattern shown in Figure 5.4, with older and younger residents favouring the use of -s and second-generation speakers disfavouring it. Speaker sex did not emerge as significant even though women were generally more nonstandard, likely because the overall rates of use of verbal -s for men and women are not that different (33.6% and 28.6%, respectively).

For the linguistic factors, multivariate analyses were performed with the following groups, as previously outlined in Table 5.1: preceding phonological environment, following phonological environment, subject type, subject adjacency, and aspect. Verb frequency was included in the initial runs but was later excluded due to

interactions with aspect. As the following table shows, two of these factor groups are significant: subject type and aspect.

Table 5.3. Linguistic factors selected as significant in the selection of nonstandard verbal -s over the standard realization.

| | | FW | % | Corrected mean: .289 N |
|-------------------------------|-----------|------|---|---------------------------|
| Total N: 1,604 | | | | |
| Subject type | | | | |
| Plural NP | .72 | 52.5 | | 61 |
| Subject of subordinate clause | .61 | 42.9 | | 14 |
| <i>they</i> | .60 | 39.5 | | 309 |
| Quantifier + plural NP | .56 | 38.5 | | 52 |
| <i>I</i> | .48 | 27.5 | | 801 |
| Null subject | .47 | 28.4 | | 67 |
| <i>we</i> | .46 | 28.9 | | 159 |
| <i>you</i> | .32 | 17.7 | | 141 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | <i>40</i> | | | |
| Aspect | | | | |
| Habitual – adverbial marker | .63 | 44.7 | | 150 |
| Habitual – <i>when(ever)</i> | .53 | 30.0 | | 70 |
| Habitual – no overt marker | .52 | 33.0 | | 688 |
| Mental stance | .47 | 26.1 | | 540 |
| Other stative | .39 | 21.0 | | 143 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | <i>24</i> | | | |

Factors not selected as significant: preceding phonological environment, following phonological environment, subject adjacency

As Table 5.3 shows, nonstandard verbal -s is favoured by the following subject types: plural NPs, subjects of subordinate clauses, *they*, and quantifier + plural NP constructions. These four groups are all third person plural (3pl) subjects, suggesting that this is the more general environment that favours -s. As in most other studies, *you* most strongly disfavours the use of -s, as do the remaining subject types, though not as strongly. Despite the prevalence of verbal -s constructions with *I* or null subjects in the media and public discourse, these subject types do not favour -s; however, with factor weights of .49 and .47 respectively, the effects are quite small. There is a mismatch in the

relative ordering of percentages and FWs for *I*, null subject, and *we*, but the ranges of the affected factor weights and percentages are quite small.

This ordering is similar to the one Clarke (1997a) observed in the Burin data, though there are some notable differences, showcased in (40). In the comparison below, favouring contexts are bolded, subjects with categorical *s*-marking are underlined, and non-pronominal subjects are represented with ellipses to highlight the ordering of subject pronouns in the two communities.

(40) Comparison of subject type hierarchies between Nain and the Burin peninsula

Nain ... > ***they*** > ... > *I* > null subject > *we* > *you*

Burin *you* (pl); *she, he, it* > *they* > *we* > *you* (sg) > *I*

As (40) shows, *we* and *I* both have a disfavouring effect in Nain and on the Burin peninsula; differences between the two communities arise for other grammatical persons. Specifically, *they* favours *-s* in Nain but disfavours it in the Burin (even when 3sg constructions are not considered), while *you* disfavours *-s* in Nain but is split based on number in the Burin data. However, plural *you* is represented by only two tokens in the Burin data, both *s*-marked; this is not enough data to confirm that this subject is accurately represented in the sample. Wagner's (2009) study of Pouch Cove is the only one of the four variationist studies of NE that tests for subject type and finds it significant. Her analysis shows that singular and plural subjects favour *-s* while generic subjects disfavour the nonstandard variant. Unfortunately, she does not provide a hierarchy or percentages so her data cannot be compared as directly to the Nain corpus. Finally, in their discussion of Petty Harbour, Van Herk et al. (2007) focus on other

linguistic factors and do not discuss subject type. Similarly, Comeau (2011) concentrates on aspect and adverbial specification, rather than type of subject.

Habituality/aspect has been significant in many other studies of verbal -s, both in the province and further afield, so the emergence of this factor group as significant in Nain is expected. For aspect, all three types of habitual constructions favour the use of -s while statives disfavour this variant in Nain. There is a small discrepancy between FW ordering and percentage ordering for *when(ever)* habituals and habituals with no overt habituality markers in Table 5.3, which can be attributed to the lower Ns for *when(ever)* habituals. It does not affect the overall analysis; there remains a clear division between habitual and stative aspect, with all three types of habitual constructions showing favouring effects of varying strengths and the two stative categories disfavouring -s.

Generally, for this factor group, Nain Inuit English shows a pattern similar to the one Clarke (1997a) observes for rural Newfoundland, in which verbal -s is used to denote a habitual meaning. In Clarke's (1997a) study, habituals show a significant favouring effect while statives and punctuals have a disfavouring effect. Similarly, Wagner (2009) finds that action verbs favour -s across generations; statives, however, disfavour -s only for those under the age of 50 while favouring for older speakers. The three types of habituals in the Nain data also favour -s, though the effect is not always as strong as it is in the Burin region. (Wagner (2009) provides no statistics.) In contrast, Petty Harbour

shows a reversal of these constraints: in this community, both mental stance and non-mental stance statives favour the use of *-s* over non-statives (Van Herk et al. 2007).^{71,72}

For statives, there is a disfavouring effect in Nain, similar to that found by Clarke (1997a). The results for Petty Harbour are more mixed, with the initial study (Van Herk et al. 2007, Childs and Van Herk 2010) showing that statives favour *-s* and Comeau's (2011) analysis demonstrating that statives favour *-s* for younger and middle-aged speakers and disfavour for older residents. As previously mentioned (in §5.1.3), stative *-s* appears to be doing social work for younger speakers in Petty Harbour (Van Herk et al. 2008, Childs and Van Herk 2010); given that the constraints in Nain are different, it seems likely that *-s* has a different (or at least not identical) function in Nain.

As with interdental stopping, I also subdivided the sample for finer analysis, performing separate multivariate analyses for each of the six speaker categories (first-generation men, second-generation men, third-generation men, first-generation women, second-generation women, third-generation women). This does lower the Ns for each group, which is one possible explanation for why certain factor groups do not emerge as significant in the multivariate analyses. Nonetheless, the results of these analyses, shown in Table 5.4 (men) and Table 5.5 (women), highlight some revealing trends. Note that the lower Ns also forced me to combine some factors, resulting in broader categories in some

⁷¹ Childs and Van Herk (2010:86) provide slightly different factor weights, though their analysis uses the same number of tokens; favouring effects are consistent with Van Herk et al. (2007). Table 6.2 in their chapter shows non-mental stance ($FW=.73$) and mental stance statives favour ($FW=.55$), while non-statives disfavour ($FW=.44$).

⁷² Recall that Comeau's (2011:37) analysis of Petty Harbour English reinforces this idea, showing that older residents retain the traditional system (one that favours habituals) while younger residents show only "a remnant of the older system."

factor groups. Specifically, the aspect group is now a binary distinction between habituals and statives, and the subject type group now consists of six factors: *I*, *you*, *we*, *they*, null subject, and plural NP (which combines the previous plural NP with quantifier + plural NP and subjects of subordinate clauses, which were all plural).

For male speakers, only subject type constrains the use of verbal *-s*, though the ordering for the different age groups varies slightly and the strength of the effect increases with each subsequent generation. For first generation men, the ordering is somewhat similar to that of the community as a whole, with the two 3pl subject types favouring the use of nonstandard *-s*, though the order is not exactly the same. *I* and null subjects also favour *-s* for this group; these two subject types slightly disfavour the nonstandard variant in the analysis of the entire sample. Specifically, null subjects strongly favour *-s* in older men's speech (FW=.64), a significant difference from the community as a whole (FW=.47); the difference is not as great for *I* (FW=.55 for older men, .48 for the community). For men in the second and third generations, there is a slightly narrowing of constraints: the 3pl subject types favour *-s*, as does *we* now, while *I* and null subjects show a slight disfavouring effect. *You* continues to disfavour the use of nonstandard verbal *-s*, a trend across all generations. The strength of the factor is not as great in the speech of third generation men, suggesting that use of verbal *-s* is becoming more nuanced as the community shifts toward English dominance.

Table 5.4. Separate multivariate analyses for linguistic factors conditioning the selection of nonstandard verbal -s over the standard realization for men.

| Subject type | 1 st generation (N=264) | | | 2 nd generation (N=325) | | | 3 rd generation (N=219) | | |
|---|------------------------------------|------|-----|------------------------------------|------|-----|------------------------------------|------|-----|
| | Corrected mean: .294 | | | Corrected mean: .186 | | | Corrected mean: .349 | | |
| | FW | % | N | FW | % | N | FW | % | N |
| <i>they</i> | .66 | 44.8 | 29 | .71 | 35.8 | 53 | .64 | 48.4 | 31 |
| Plural NP (incl. quantifier + NP and subjects of subordinate clauses) | .64 | 42.9 | 21 | .81 | 50.0 | 20 | .71 | 56.2 | 16 |
| Null subject | .64 | 42.9 | 14 | .48 | 17.6 | 17 | .48 | 33.3 | 12 |
| <i>I</i> | .55 | 33.6 | 152 | .41 | 13.7 | 182 | .48 | 33.1 | 121 |
| <i>we</i> | .30 | 15.4 | 26 | .72 | 36.7 | 30 | .68 | 53.3 | 15 |
| <i>you</i> | .10 | 4.5 | 22 | .17 | 4.3 | 23 | .21 | 12.5 | 24 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 56 | | | 64 | | | 50 | | |

Factors not selected as significant in all runs: preceding phonological environment, following phonological environment, subject adjacency, aspect

Table 5.5. Separate multivariate analyses for linguistic factors conditioning the selection of nonstandard verbal -s over the standard realization for women.

| | Old (N=230) | | | Middle (N=240) | | | Young (N=326) | | |
|---|-------------|------|-----|----------------|------|-----|---------------|------|-----|
| | FW | % | N | FW | % | N | FW | % | N |
| Subject type | | | | | | | | | |
| Plural NP (incl. quantifier + NP and subjects of subordinate clauses) | [] | 56.2 | 16 | .89 | 47.8 | 23 | [] | 32.3 | 31 |
| <i>they</i> | [] | 48.3 | 60 | .57 | 14.5 | 69 | [] | 53.7 | 67 |
| <i>I</i> | [] | 33.0 | 115 | .48 | 12.6 | 87 | [] | 38.2 | 144 |
| Null subject | [] | 0.0 | 3 | .48 | 11.1 | 9 | [] | 41.7 | 12 |
| <i>you</i> | [] | 7.1 | 14 | .25 | 4.5 | 22 | [] | 50.0 | 36 |
| <i>we</i> | [] | 45.5 | 22 | .23 | 3.3 | 30 | [] | 33.3 | 36 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | | | | 73 | | | | | |
| Subject adjacency | | | | | | | | | |
| Adjacent | .57 | 42.2 | 185 | .55 | 16.1 | 199 | [] | 40.0 | 260 |
| Nonadjacent | .24 | 21.4 | 42 | .21 | 6.2 | 32 | [] | 50.0 | 54 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 33 | | | 34 | | | | | |
| Aspect | | | | | | | | | |
| Habitual – adverbial marker | .77 | 61.3 | 31 | [] | 11.8 | 17 | [] | 53.3 | 30 |
| Habitual – no overt marker | .60 | 45.5 | 110 | [] | 18.4 | 114 | [] | 39.9 | 143 |
| Habitual – <i>when(ever)</i> | .35 | 22.2 | 9 | [] | 13.3 | 15 | [] | 64.3 | 14 |
| Mental stance | .27 | 21.3 | 61 | [] | 11.3 | 71 | [] | 38.5 | 96 |
| Other stative | .25 | 16.7 | 12 | [] | 8.7 | 23 | [] | 39.0 | 41 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 52 | | | | | | | | |

Factors not selected as significant for 1st generation women: preceding phon. environment, following phon. environment, subject type

Factors not selected as significant for 2nd generation women: preceding phonological environment, following phonological environment, aspect

Factors not selected as significant for 3rd generation women: preceding phonological environment, following phonological environment, subject type, subject adjacency, aspect

The ordering of subject types is summarized in (41), with favouring subject types bolded.

(41) Summary of male speakers' subject type constraints

1st generation ***they*** > plural NP > null subject > ***I*** > *we* > *you*

2nd generation plural NP > *we* > ***they*** > null subject > *I* > *you*

3rd generation plural NP > *we* > ***they*** > null subject > *I* > *you*

As this summary reveals, there are some general observations that can be made about subject type constraints on the use of nonstandard -*s*, namely that 3pl subject types favour the use of -*s* while *you* consistently (and strongly) disfavours it. (Recall that *you* appears to be angloversally disfavoured (Clarke 1997a).) Null subjects and *I* seem to exhibit a downward trajectory in significance as the population becomes predominantly English-speaking, though this may be better determined in the upcoming comparison between L1 Inuttitut and L1 English speakers. The emergence of *we* as a favouring subject type in the speech of second- and third-generation men appears to be the result of increased *s*-marking on this subject type across generations.

In women's speech, we see more variation from generation to generation. For first-generation women, aspect and subject adjacency govern the selection of nonstandard -*s*. In the aspect category, both habituals with adverbial markers and habituals without an overt marker of habituality favour the use of -*s*. These are narrower constraints than those found in the multivariate analysis of the community as a whole (Table 5.3), in which all types of habituals favour -*s*. Subject adjacency also constrains older women's use of -*s* in

Nain, with subjects that are immediately adjacent to the verb favouring the nonstandard variant.

For second-generation women, both subject type and adjacency constrain verbal *-s*. For this group of women, as with the community as a whole, 3pl subjects favour the use of *-s*. This is slightly different from the findings for the first two generations of men, though the oldest men also favour *-s* with null subjects and *I*. Another small difference between this group of women and the men is that *you* is not the most disfavouring environment; instead, *we* is the subject type that most disfavours use of *-s*. This is the only group for which subject type emerges as significant; an examination of the ordering for each generation shows that the older and younger speakers display quite different hierarchies.

Finally, in the third generation, women show no statistically significant constraints, suggesting this feature may be beginning to stabilize. While this group matches the others in terms of the relative ordering for aspect, there are some differences: verbal *-s* is found more frequently with nonadjacent subjects and plural NP is the subject type least likely to take *s*-marking while *they* and *you* are the most favouring subject types for verbal *-s* in this group.

In order to determine if the trends observed from generation to generation are a result of change over time or the shifting linguistic landscape of Nain, separate runs were conducted for native speakers of English and native speakers of Inuttitut. When these analyses are compared, it becomes clear that first language plays an important role in the rules that govern verbal *-s* in this community. The results of these analyses are displayed

in Table 5.6. Note that speaker sex and generation were run as separate factors to avoid empty cells.

Table 5.6. Separate multivariate analyses for factors conditioning the selection of nonstandard verbal -s over the standard realization for first language.

| | L1 Inuttitut (N=953) | | | L1 English (N=651) | | |
|---|----------------------|------|-----|----------------------|------|-----|
| | Corrected mean: .220 | | | Corrected mean: .351 | | |
| | FW | % | N | FW | % | N |
| Subject type | | | | | | |
| Plural NP (incl. quantifier + NP and subjects of subordinate clauses) | .71 | 44.3 | 70 | .65 | 51.9 | 52 |
| <i>they</i> | .57 | 31.0 | 197 | .67 | 54.5 | 112 |
| <i>I</i> | .50 | 24.2 | 479 | .45 | 32.3 | 322 |
| <i>we</i> | .49 | 24.2 | 99 | .53 | 36.7 | 60 |
| Null subject | .48 | 25.0 | 36 | .42 | 32.3 | 31 |
| <i>you</i> | .18 | 6.9 | 72 | .37 | 29.0 | 69 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 53 | | | 30 | | |
| Aspect | | | | | | |
| Habitual – adverbial marker | .69 | 42.7 | 96 | [] | 48.1 | 54 |
| Habitual – no overt marker | .53 | 27.8 | 432 | [] | 41.8 | 256 |
| Mental stance | .45 | 22.6 | 301 | [] | 30.5 | 239 |
| Habitual – <i>when(ever)</i> | .41 | 19.4 | 31 | [] | 38.5 | 39 |
| Other stative | .31 | 12.0 | 83 | [] | 33.3 | 60 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 14 | | | | | |
| Subject adjacency | | | | | | |
| Adjacent | .53 | 26.3 | 775 | [] | 36.9 | 518 |
| Nonadjacent | .37 | 23.2 | 142 | [] | 42.2 | 102 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 16 | | | | | |
| Generation | | | | | | |
| 1 st generation | .63 | 34.6 | 494 | | n/a | |
| 2 nd generation | .43 | 19.1 | 371 | .26 | 17.0 | 194 |
| 3 rd generation | .13 | 4.5 | 88 | .61 | 46.2 | 457 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 50 | | | 35 | | |
| Sex | | | | | | |
| Female | [] | 22.3 | 476 | .60 | 46.2 | 320 |
| Male | [] | 29.4 | 477 | .41 | 27.8 | 331 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | | | | 19 | | |

Factors not selected as significant for L1 Inuttitut: preceding phonological environment, following phonological environment, sex

Factors not selected as significant for L1 English: preceding phonological environment, following phonological environment, subject adjacency, aspect

As this table demonstrates, there are two different sets of constraints, which vary according to community members' first language. Subject type and generation are the only two factors that emerged as significant for both speaker groups; aspect and subject adjacency are significant only for L1 Inuttitut residents while sex emerges as significant only in the speech of L1 English residents.

For subject type, the two groups are quite similar. Both show favouring effects for plural subjects, for example, though the relative ordering of *they* and plural NP (including quantifier + plural NP and subjects of subordinate clauses) and the strength of these effects vary. *We* favours use of *-s* only for native English speakers, which is somewhat unexpected given that this factor group was significant for neither men nor women in the third generation, the two groups comprised almost exclusively of L1 English residents. It was, however, highly significant for second-generation men (FW=.71), some of whom are native speakers of English, so perhaps they are contributing to this result.

For generation, the other factor significant for both groups, we see opposing trends. For L1 Inuttitut residents, *-s* is favoured by older speakers, while third generation speakers favour the nonstandard variant in the speech of L1 English community members. (Note that there are no first generation L1 English residents.) This suggests that the results for generation for the whole community (Table 5.2) are not the result of age-grading but are instead a reflection of the linguistic shift Nain is experiencing.

Interestingly, aspect is only significant for L1 Inuttitut speakers. This was somewhat unexpected because aspect has been a significant factor in most studies of verbal *-s* in NE (Clarke 1997a, Van Herk et al. 2007, Comeau 2011), as well as many

other dialects worldwide (e.g., Shorrocks 1981, 1987; Poplack and Tagliamonte 1989; Montgomery and Fuller 1996; Godfrey and Tagliamonte 1999; Van Herk and Walker 2005). The lack of significance of this factor group in the analysis of native English speakers is similar to Wagner's (2009) results in Pouch Cove, Newfoundland.

Subject adjacency is also significant for native speakers of Inuitut, with adjacent subjects favouring -s and non-adjacent subjects disfavouring this variant. This is expected since this factor group emerged as significant for both first- and second-generation women (Table 5.5).

Finally, speaker sex is significant for L1 English speakers, with women favouring the nonstandard variant. This is a departure from the results observed in other studies in the province, in which men are the more frequent users of verbal -s. This may be an indication that the meaning of verbal -s in Nain is different from its meaning in Newfoundland, an idea which will be discussed further in §5.4.

Since there were too many interactions with aspect when frequency was included in the initial run, a separate analysis has been performed for this factor. In keeping with Hay et al. (1999), a chi-square test was performed to determine if frequency is a significant factor in the use of verbal -s. Recall from §5.2.2 that the following verbs have been coded as frequent while all remaining verbs are infrequent: *think, go, know, get, like, want, love, find, try, say, come, call, need, play, hope, see, make, speak, and work*. The chi-square test (χ^2 (1, N=1,604) = 2.835, $p < .05$) reveals that lexical frequency, as operationalized here, does not impact the use (or non-use) of verbal -s. As such, omitting

this variable from the multivariate analysis likely does not have a significant impact on the overall analysis.

5.3.1 Investigating the Northern Subject Rule

As previously mentioned, the Northern Subject Rule must be considered in an analysis of verbal *-s*, although it has not been found in other communities in the province (Clarke 1997a, Van Herk et al. 2007). For this part of the analysis, only sentences with 3pl subject have been considered, and the linguistic factor groups of subject adjacency and subject type are combined, to home in on the environment for this phenomenon. Thus, the following analysis uses four linguistic variables—preceding phonological environment, following phonological environment, subject type/adjacency, and aspect—and two social—generation and sex, analysed in a single run. As in the previous section, speakers' first language will be addressed in a later analysis.

The results of the multivariate analysis of the entire sample are displayed in Table 5.7. Note that subjects of subordinate clauses (N=14) and quantifier + plural NP constructions (N=52) have been excluded from this analysis to focus on the canonical environment for the Northern Subject Rule. Three factor groups emerge as significant: subject type/adjacency, preceding phonological segment, and generation.

Table 5.7. Looking for the Northern Subject Rule in Nain.

| Total N: 370 | FW | Corrected mean: .413 % | N |
|---|-----|---------------------------|-----|
| Subject type/adjacency | | | |
| Plural NP, adjacent | .65 | 54.2 | 48 |
| Plural NP, nonadjacent | .53 | 46.2 | 13 |
| <i>they</i> , adjacent | .50 | 42.2 | 249 |
| <i>they</i> , nonadjacent | .37 | 28.3 | 60 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 28 | | |
| Preceding phonological environment | | | |
| Vowel | .60 | 50.0 | 112 |
| Consonant | .46 | 38.0 | 258 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 14 | | |
| Generation | | | |
| 3 rd generation | .58 | 50.0 | 120 |
| 1 st generation | .58 | 48.5 | 103 |
| 2 nd generation | .37 | 29.9 | 147 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 19 | | |

Factors not selected as significant: following phonological environment, aspect, sex

Although subject type/adjacency emerges as significant, this is likely due to the strength of subject type in previous runs, in which plural NP and *they* both exhibit favouring effects for the nonstandard variant (in the same relative order). Moreover, this analysis would need to show the strongest favouring effects for non-adjacent 3pl subjects in order to interpret this as evidence of the presence of the Northern Subject Rule in Nain Inuit English. As such, I argue that the Northern Subject Rule is not in effect in this dialect, as is true of other varieties in the province.

Turning now to the other factors, the significance of generation is expected given that it was significant for the community as a whole and we observed different trends for each generation, particularly for women. Preceding phonological environment is also significant, with preceding vowels favouring the use of -s. This is similar to the results of Godfrey and Tagliamonte's (1999) study of Devon English, in which they find the same

pattern: preceding vowels favour *-s* across grammatical persons. However, since this factor group did not emerge as significant in any of the previous multivariate analyses, this may be an artifact of the smaller data set employed in this particular analysis. The data were checked for lexical effects; none were found.

Since first language impacts the constraints on verbal *-s*, separate Goldvarb analyses were performed to test for the Northern Subject Rule for L1 Inuttitut and L1 English speakers. The results are displayed below in Table 5.8. Note that the aspect factor group has been reduced to a binary habitual vs. stative distinction due to empty cells created by the lower Ns and the use of the subject type/adjacency factor group:

Table 5.8. Separate multivariate analyses for linguistic factors conditioning the selection of nonstandard verbal *-s* over the standard realization by first language while testing for the Northern Subject Rule.

| | L1 Inuttitut (N=226) | | | L1 English (N=144) | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|------|-----|----------------------|------|-----|
| | Corrected mean: .300 | | | Corrected mean: .543 | | |
| | FW | % | N | FW | % | N |
| Subject type/adjacency | | | | | | |
| Plural NP, adjacent | .73 | 56.5 | 23 | [] | 42.9 | 7 |
| <i>they</i> , adjacent | .52 | 34.8 | 158 | [] | 40.0 | 15 |
| Plural NP, nonadjacent | .51 | 33.3 | 6 | [] | 52.5 | 80 |
| <i>they</i> , nonadjacent | .28 | 15.4 | 39 | [] | 50.0 | 18 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 45 | | | | | |
| Generation | | | | | | |
| 1 st generation | .68 | 48.5 | 103 | | n/a | |
| 2 nd generation | .42 | 24.3 | 103 | [] | 43.2 | 44 |
| 3 rd generation | .11 | 5.0 | 20 | [] | 59.0 | 100 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 57 | | | | | |
| Sex | | | | | | |
| Female | [] | 28.4 | 148 | .59 | 63.4 | 82 |
| Male | [] | 43.6 | 78 | .38 | 41.9 | 62 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 21 | | | | | |

Not selected as significant for L1 Inuttitut speakers: preceding phonological environment, following phonological environment, aspect, sex

Not selected as significant for L1 English speakers: preceding phonological environment, following phonological environment, subject type/adjacency, aspect, generation

While none of the linguistic factors were significant for L1 English speakers, cementing the idea that the Northern Subject Rule is not found in the emerging dialect of Nain, subject type/adjacency does constrain L1 Inuttitut speakers' use of *-s*. Specifically, for subject type/adjacency, the environment for testing the Northern Subject Rule, native speakers of Inuttitut strongly favour *-s* with adjacent plural NPs, and show a small favouring effect for both adjacent *they* and nonadjacent plural NPs. Verbal *-s* is disfavoured with nonadjacent *they*. Consequently, there is no strong evidence of the Northern Subject Rule being in effect in Nain.

Results for the social factors are in keeping with the analyses shown in Table 5.7, where speakers are grouped according to their mother tongue, with L1 Inuttitut residents showing favouring effects in the speech of first generation community members and female L1 English speakers favouring *-s*. In contrast with these earlier results, generation is not significant for the L1 English group, though this is likely the result of the smaller data set employed in the Northern Subject Rule analysis.

5.3.2 Considering transitivity

The final consideration for this chapter is transitivity and possible transfer from Inuttitut, based on Vandergriff's (1982) hypothesis that transitivity may affect verbal inflection in Kotzebue English. I have included these regressions in a section separate from the previous analysis because of interactions between transitivity and aspect when the two factors are run together. As a result, aspect has been excluded from the analysis presented in this section.

The linguistic factors selected as significant for the entire sample are shown in Table 5.9. Comparing this table to Table 5.3, which shows the results for the community as a whole, we see that aspect is no longer statistically significant but transitivity is. (Both subject type and generation were selected as significant in the initial run, with the same ordering within each of these factor groups.) Preceding phonological environment is also significant in this regression, though the effect is slight. The favouring effect for transitive verbs is likely due to the interactions in the data since -s occurs at the same rate with both transitive and intransitive constructions (35.6%).

Table 5.9. Linguistic factors selected as significant in selection of nonstandard verbal -s over the standard realization when transitivity is included instead of aspect.

| Total N: 1,604 | Corrected mean: .330 | | |
|---|----------------------|------|------|
| | FW | % | N |
| Subject type | | | |
| Plural NP | .65 | 52.5 | 61 |
| Subject of subordinate clause | .61 | 42.9 | 14 |
| <i>they</i> | .60 | 39.5 | 309 |
| Quantifier + plural NP | .55 | 38.5 | 52 |
| <i>I</i> | .49 | 27.5 | 801 |
| Null subject | .46 | 28.4 | 67 |
| <i>we</i> | .46 | 28.9 | 159 |
| <i>you</i> | .30 | 17.7 | 141 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 42 | | |
| Transitivity | | | |
| Transitive | .51 | 35.6 | 567 |
| Intransitive | .49 | 35.6 | 539 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 2 | | |
| Preceding phonological environment | | | |
| Vowel | .54 | 32.3 | 480 |
| Consonant | .48 | 29.8 | 1124 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 6 | | |
| Generation | | | |
| 3 rd generation | .61 | 39.4 | 545 |
| 1 st generation | .56 | 34.6 | 494 |
| 2 nd generation | .35 | 18.4 | 565 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 26 | | |

Factors not selected as significant: following phonological environment, subject adjacency, sex

When first language is considered, it becomes clear that there are two different systems, as illustrated in Table 5.10. Note that for the L1 English run, subject of a subordinate clause was dropped due to knockouts.

Table 5.10. Linguistic factors selected as significant in selection of nonstandard verbal -s over the standard realization for first language when transitivity is included instead of aspect.

| | L1 Inuttitut (N=953) | | | L1 English (N=651) | | |
|---|----------------------|------|-----|----------------------|------|-----|
| | Corrected mean: .278 | | | Corrected mean: .351 | | |
| | FW | % | N | FW | % | N |
| Subject type | | | | | | |
| Subject of subordinate clause | .93 | 66.7 | 9 | | n/a | |
| Plural NP | .80 | 51.7 | 29 | .68 | 53.1 | 32 |
| <i>they</i> | .57 | 31.0 | 197 | .67 | 54.5 | 112 |
| Quantifier + plural NP | .53 | 31.2 | 32 | .60 | 50.0 | 20 |
| <i>I</i> | .51 | 24.2 | 479 | .45 | 32.3 | 322 |
| <i>we</i> | .47 | 24.2 | 99 | .53 | 36.7 | 60 |
| Null subject | .45 | 25.0 | 36 | .42 | 32.3 | 31 |
| <i>you</i> | .16 | 6.9 | 72 | .37 | 29.0 | 69 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 77 | | | 31 | | |
| Subject adjacency | | | | | | |
| Adjacent | .52 | 26.3 | 775 | [] | 36.9 | 518 |
| Nonadjacent | .39 | 23.2 | 142 | [] | 42.2 | 102 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 13 | | | | | |
| Preceding phonological environment | | | | | | |
| Vowel | .57 | 27.6 | 290 | [] | 39.5 | 190 |
| Consonant | .47 | 25.0 | 663 | [] | 36.7 | 461 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 10 | | | | | |
| Transitivity | | | | | | |
| Transitive | .52 | 32.2 | 323 | [] | 40.2 | 244 |
| Intransitive | .48 | 32.2 | 323 | [] | 40.7 | 216 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 4 | | | | | |
| Generation | | | | | | |
| 1 st generation | .64 | 34.6 | 494 | | n/a | |
| 2 nd generation | .43 | 19.1 | 371 | .26 | 17.0 | 194 |
| 3 rd generation | .16 | 4.5 | 88 | .61 | 46.2 | 457 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 48 | | | 35 | | |
| Sex | | | | | | |
| Female | [] | 22.3 | 476 | .60 | 47.5 | 320 |
| Male | [] | 29.4 | 477 | .41 | 27.8 | 331 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | | | | 19 | | |

Not selected as significant for L1 Inuttitut speakers: following phonological environment, sex

Not selected as significant for L1 English speakers: preceding phonological environment, following phonological environment, subject adjacency, transitivity

On the whole, the results are much the same as they were when aspect was included instead of transitivity (Table 5.6). For both groups, the relative ordering of each factor is consistent with the previous run, as expected since the only change in the analysis is the use of the transitivity factor group instead of the aspect one, though there are some small differences in factor weights for the L1 Inuttitut group. (For subject type, there are also differences in the subject types used, since plural NP, quantifier + NP, and subjects of subordinate clauses have not been combined in these analyses, as they were in the previous runs with aspect. However, the general hierarchy remains unchanged.)

In the run presented in Table 5.10, subject type, subject adjacency, and generation are significant for native speakers of Inuttitut, as they were in the earlier analysis. Now, however, transitivity and preceding phonological environment are also significant, with transitive verbs and preceding vowels favouring verbal *-s*. These effects are fairly weak, particularly the result for transitivity, but they are greater than the effects presented when the entire data set is run as a whole, reinforcing the idea that their presence in the community run is a direct result of native speakers of Inuttitut. This claim is supported by the fact that neither factor is significant for L1 English residents, who show identical results for all of the overlapping factor groups, with the previously mentioned exception of the plural NP subject types.

5.4 Discussion

Verbal *-s* in Nain displays many of the same trends and conditioning factors observed in other communities in the province. In terms of rates of use, Nain aligns most closely with Clarke's (1997a) study of the Burin peninsula, the most rural community for which raw

percentages are available. There are other results that suggest Nain Inuit English patterns similarly to traditional NE, including the lack of the Northern Subject Rule, the subject types that favour (3pl) and disfavour *-s* (*you*), and the favouring effect shown by habitual constructions. While these traits are by no means exclusive to this community or NE more broadly, they do suggest that English in Nain shares commonalities with its main input dialect.

The rates of use for this variable show a curvilinear distribution for both men and women, paralleling patterns seen for salient features in Cajun English (Dubois and Horvath 2000), and for interdental stopping for young men in Petty Harbour, Newfoundland (Van Herk et al. 2007), suggesting that verbal *-s*, a stereotypical feature of the region, is seeing a resurgence. In Louisiana and Petty Harbour, this upswing coincides with a renaissance of local culture; the same cannot be said for Nain, a community in which *-s* (or any feature of English) does not appear to carry strong social meaning, or at least is not overly commented upon by residents when asked about “Nain slang.” Why, then, does verbal *-s* have this trajectory of use? It is difficult to pinpoint precisely what meaning this feature has, if any, at this point in the dialect’s development.

There are certain trends in the data that can offer some insight into this question. Perhaps most useful are the results when the data are analysed for each speaker group separately. For men of all ages, only subject type is significant in the selection of *-s* over the standard form while there are different linguistic constraints on each generation for women. There are three possible interpretations of this outcome. First, verbal *-s* may be more stable for the men in this community: they are more standard than women for this

variable and its use is constrained by a single linguistic factor across generations. In keeping with this, the women, who are more nonstandard, also show less stability, with each generation showing different sets of constraints (though these constraints are generally consistent with community results). While appealing because of its simplicity, this explanation seems unlikely. This runs contrary to the results for interdental stopping in the community; moreover, across languages and locations, women are typically more standard and are also the leaders of linguistic change (Labov 2001).

Another interpretation is that perhaps first-generation speakers' systems show transfer effects from Inuttitut. Two of the habitual subgroups (habituals with an adverbial and habituals with no overt marker) favour *-s* in the speech of older women; though not selected as significant in the Goldvarb analysis, all three types of habituals were favouring contexts in older men's speech, with adverbials showing the strongest effect. Thus, it is possible that, for the L2 speakers of English, using *-s* is a way to overtly encode habituality, with *-s* functioning in a similar manner as *-qattaq*. In subsequent generations in Nain, the majority of speakers (if not all) are native speakers of English; as a result, aspect is no longer a significant factor group and subject type, an angloversal constraint on this variable, emerges as significant for all of the second-generation participants and the younger men. Younger women's speech is different, with their use of *-s* free of constraints, which can be attributed to women typically being leaders in linguistic change (Labov 2001). This interpretation is far more compelling than the first hypothesis; however, there is another, equally convincing explanation.

The final interpretation of the data is that perhaps Nain residents do speak like Newfoundlanders, at least with respect to verbal *-s*, contra some of the overt discussion in the interviews. Older Nain residents pattern like older Newfoundlanders in Pouch Cove (Wagner 2009) and speakers of all ages in Clarke's (1997a) Burin research while the younger Nain residents are similar to middle-aged Petty Harbour residents, who show no significant linguistic factors. It is plausible that the Nain dialect is changing in the same direction as more urban varieties of NE, though at a slower pace, which can be attributed to factors such as geographic and social isolation.

Whatever the interpretation, English in Nain is quite similar to the variety spoken in more rural communities in Newfoundland, despite the anti-Newfoundland ideology espoused by some residents. Nain Inuit seem to be adopting the language patterning of the input variety, though there are still some differences. It is these differences that offer added insight into the conditioning of verbal *-s* in the community.

6 Adjectival intensification

In the past decade or so, studies of language change have begun focussing more on discourse features. One such feature is adjectival intensification, in which adverbs are used to heighten the meaning of the adjective they precede, as in (42). Intensifiers are bolded in these examples, and all that follow.

(42) Adjectival intensification

- a. Even the seat sales are **very** expensive. (Robert, 1m)
- b. It is a **really** huge deal. (Evan, 3m)

Also known as *degree adverbs* (e.g., Peters 1994) or *degree modifiers* (e.g., Paradis 2000, Huddleston and Pullum 2002, Rickford et al. 2008), intensifiers are “the heart of social and emotional expression” (Labov 1985:43), playing “a key role in the social and emotional expression of speakers” (Ito and Tagliamonte 2003:258, citing Labov 1985, Partington 1993, and Peters 1994). Intensifiers can be broadly categorized into three semantic classes: *emphasizers*, *amplifiers* (also known as *maximizers* or *boosters*), and *downtoners* (Quirk et al. 1972). Most variationist studies of intensifiers confine themselves to amplifiers and sometimes *emphasizers*, the two classes that have a boosting effect, while excluding *downtoners*, which have a lowering effect.

Intensifiers are good candidates for studies of sociolinguistic change because they are characterized by “(i) versatility and color...and (ii) their capacity for rapid change and the recycling of different forms” (Ito and Tagliamonte 2003:258; see also Bolinger 1972, Brinton and Arnovick 2006). They are also on the cusp of salience: not as salient as lexical change, which tends to result from conscious speaker decisions, but not as below

the radar as processes of grammaticalization, which tend to be less salient and occur over longer periods of time (Van Herk and the Ottawa Intensifier Project 2006, henceforth Van Herk and OIP 2006). As such, intensifier choice is a good diagnostic for situating Nain Inuit English within the frame of NE and Canadian English and, more broadly, world Englishes.

In this study, I confine my analysis to the intensifiers with heightening effects (amplifiers and emphasizers), following recent variationist studies such as Ito and Tagliamonte (2003), Van Herk and OIP (2006), Bulgin et al. (2008), Tagliamonte (2008), and Van Herk and the MUN Intensifier Project (2009, henceforth Van Herk and MUNIP 2009). I begin this chapter with an overview of the existing literature on intensifiers in English (§6.1). Next, I discuss the methodology used for extracting and coding tokens (§6.2). In §6.3, I analyse intensifier use in Nain and discuss these results in §6.4.

6.1 Previous research on adjectival intensification

This section provides an overview of the existing literature on adjectival intensification. I first outline the previous research on the use of intensifiers in English-speaking community (§6.1.1), and then in Newfoundland English more specifically (§6.1.2). No studies on intensification in IndE have been conducted; instead, researchers have focussed on adverbial expressions of tense and/or aspect. §6.1.3 describes intensification in studies of second language acquisition and §6.1.4 outlines intensification in Inuktitut.

6.1.1 Intensifiers in English-speaking communities

In the past 25 years, sociolinguistic investigations of intensifiers have been on the rise, exploring both synchronic and diachronic data (e.g., Mustanoja 1960, Labov 1985,

Partington 1993, Peters 1994, Ito and Tagliamonte 2003, Van Herk and OIP 2006, Tagliamonte 2008). These studies can be grouped into three main categories based on the type of data they examine: those that look at spoken corpora (e.g., Labov 1985; Macaulay 1991, 2002, 2006, 2009; Bradac et al. 1995; Stenström 1999; Lorenz 2002; Stenström et al. 2002; Ito and Tagliamonte 2003; Rickford et al. 2008; Tagliamonte 2008; Barnfield and Buchstaller 2010; D'Arcy 2010; Yaguchi et al. 2010), those that examine written corpora (e.g., Van Herk and OIP 2006, Bulgin et al. 2008, Deal 2008, Van Herk and MUNIP 2009, Gardner 2011), and those based on scripted speech (e.g., Tagliamonte and Roberts 2005, Lealess et al. 2009).

Whatever the medium from which data are gathered, the results of these studies have certain commonalities. One trend is that the most common intensifiers across dialects do not vary greatly, though the rates of intensification and the distribution of variants can show significant variation from one dialect to another in terms of which variants are favoured and also which linguistic factors affect intensifier choice. Similarly, social variables seem to orient in the same general direction across communities, with, for example, younger people and women favouring the use of intensifiers, particularly *so* (e.g., Tagliamonte and Roberts 2005, Van Herk and OIP 2006, Bulgin et al. 2008, Tagliamonte 2008, Van Herk and MUNIP 2009).

Studies of spoken corpora have shown that intensifiers move in and out of popularity over time, as Mustanoja (1960), Ito and Tagliamonte (2003), and Tagliamonte

(2008), among others, have observed.⁷³ Of the intensifiers still found in English today, *right* was most popular in the 16th century, eventually replaced by *very*, which is the one of the preferred variants in the 20th century, along with *really*, which has gained in popularity in recent times (Ito and Tagliamonte 2003, abstracting from Mustanoja 1960). This notion of diachronic recycling is important because it shows that different variants are likely to be favoured by different generations. For example, some of the studies based on more recently gathered data show an increase in use of *so* (e.g., Ito and Tagliamonte 2003, Tagliamonte 2008, Van Herk and MUNIP 2009).

Perhaps unsurprisingly in light of this trend, *very*, *really*, *pretty*, and *so* tend to be the four most frequently used variants across dialects. In Canada, *very* “is quickly moving out of favour...[while] use of *really* is rising and *so* is beginning to rise, too” Tagliamonte (2006b:321). In fact, in Tagliamonte’s Toronto English Corpus, *really* is the most frequently used intensifier, accounting for 35.9% of intensified tokens, while *very* accounts for only 18.2% of the intensified tokens, similar to the rates found for *so* (16.8%) and *pretty* (13.9%) (Tagliamonte 2008:368, adapted from Table 3). Tagliamonte (2008:372) observes that age is a significant factor in variant choice, stating that “the community patterns naturally into three quite distinct intensifier systems” based on this distinction. She interprets this to mean that Toronto English is “more advanced along the trajectory of change” because *so* is increasing and *really* is “in an advanced position”

⁷³ For information about the earliest attestations of intensifiers or a more extensive overview, see Mustanoja (1960) or Tagliamonte (2008).

(Tagliamonte 2008:370). Tagliamonte (2008:369) concludes that Toronto English correlates with a “general twentieth-century waning of *very* in favour of *really*. ”

Tagliamonte also observes an effect for gender in the Toronto intensifier data. For *very*, older women use this variant more frequently than their male counterparts. The trajectories for men and women and *really* are more erratic, with both sexes showing an increase in usage, though the leader switches from generation to generation. A strong male/female difference emerges for younger speakers, who have selected two different intensifiers as their preferred variants: young women are leading in use of *so* while young men lead for *pretty*.

Furthermore, each of the major variants displays different linguistic constraints. *Very*, the longstanding intensifier, occurs with all types of adjectives and “maintains a diffused pattern...testimony to its entrenched status in the language” (Tagliamonte 2008:379). *Really* and *so* are more restricted, though they become less constrained over apparent time. Tagliamonte takes this as evidence that the diffusion across semantic categories occurs before the upswing in frequency, something also observed in Ito and Tagliamonte’s (2003) study of York English, and that rates “continue to rise, indeed even escalate, as a new form diffuses into broader contexts” (Tagliamonte 2008:380). She also observes that variants appear to recede across all contexts in a fairly uniform way.

Really is also the most common intensifier in some American varieties (Labov 1985, Bradac et al. 1995, Rickford et al. 2008). In fact, Labov (1985:44) asserts that *really* is “one of the most frequent markers of intensity in colloquial conversation” in American English. In Rickford et al.’s (2008) study of the Stanford Tape Recorded

Corpus, for example, *really* accounts for over half of the intensified tokens, followed by *so* and *very*.⁷⁴ Although the focus of that analysis was on use of *all* as an intensifier and a quotative, Rickford et al. observe different distributions across adjectival heads for *very*, *really*, and *so*. *Really*, the most common intensifier, exhibits a wide distribution, leading for all semantic categories, while *so* and *very* are slightly more restricted. The authors offer no commentary on social factors, likely because participants in this corpus are all California residents between the ages of 15 and 25.

Another California-based example is Bradac et al.'s (1995) analysis of students' intensifiers and hedges in introductory communication courses at the University of California, Santa Barbara, in which *really* accounts for 49.8% of all intensifier use. The next most frequent intensifiers in this study fall far behind: *so* accounts for 26.8% of the intensified tokens and *very* for only 6.3%. In this study, Bradac et al. are most interested in gender differences and find that women use intensifiers more frequently than men (a statistically significant difference) and that *really* and *so* are preferred by female participants. This suggests that *so* was already making significant inroads in this community, well before it began to rise in Toronto (Tagliamonte 2008). In fact, Bradac et al. (1995) seem to have captured the rise of *so* in their data, though this cannot be stated with complete certainty since we cannot look at the data in real or apparent time.

There have also been several studies of intensifiers in various British varieties. One such study is Ito and Tagliamonte's (2003) analysis of intensifiers in York English,

⁷⁴ This research also shows that *all* is “mak[ing] inroads into the paradigm of intensifiers” in the speech of these adolescent and young adult California speakers (Rickford et al. 2008:9).

which shows a different hierarchy of variants. Like Tagliamonte's (2008) Toronto English paper, this study shows an increase of intensification over apparent time. In the York data, however, *very* is the most frequent intensifier (38.3%), followed closely by *really* (30.2%), which has overtaken *very* as the most popular intensifier for the younger speakers. *So*, in contrast, accounts for a much smaller percentage of the intensifier data (10.1%). There are also significant results for the other external factors considered—education and sex—with varying effects in each age group.

As previously mentioned, while looking for patterns with collocations, Ito and Tagliamonte (2003: 271) observe that the diffusion of a variant “pre-dates an overall increase in use. Like grammaticalization more generally, where an increase in frequency is often associated with the development of grammatical status, these findings suggest that this tendency continues.” The researchers also consider syntactic position, noting, “the last stage in the development of intensifier *very* is when it comes to modify predicate adjectives” (Ito and Tagliamonte 2003:271).

Stenström et al.’s (2002:139) study of the Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language demonstrates that “teenagers, and the girls in particular, have a predilection for *really*.” They also find high rates of *really* in boys’ speech but note that the boys use “more powerful intensifiers” than the girls (Stenström et al. 2002:139). This study also observes significant amounts of the intensifiers *real* and *right*, two intensifiers that have not yet been mentioned in the literature reviewed thus far. Stenström et al. attribute the use of these two variants to influence from American English since they are more common in this dialect (Biber et al. 1999). They also note that *real* is an incoming

variant, at least in the speech of London teens, which has “mainly been adopted by (upper) middle class teenagers, and boys in particular,” though it can be found in the speech of all participants (Stenström et al. 2002:163). They suggest that *right* is also an (upper) middle class, as opposed to working class, variant. In contrast, *very* is “generally regarded as the prototypical intensifier” (Stenström et al. 2002:141).⁷⁵ The absence of *so* is at least partially due to the fact that the corpus was collected in 1993, before the potential surge of this variant; recall that there was very little evidence of *so* in Ito and Tagliamonte’s (2003) study, for which the data were collected in 1997 (Tagliamonte 2008).

The data from Barnfield and Buchstaller’s (2010) study of Tyneside English parallel some of the results observed in Toronto English (Tagliamonte 2008).⁷⁶ In Tyneside, there is an increase in intensifier use across real time, with *very*, *really*, and *so* appearing frequently in all three of the corpora under consideration, though the rates of use shift from generation to generation. In this community, as in Toronto, *really* is on the rise, slowly replacing *very*; women are leading the change towards *really* in this community, favouring this variant in later corpora while men continue to favour *very*. An innovative intensifier, *dead*, appears in the speech of younger Tyneside residents, similar

⁷⁵ In an earlier study of the same corpus, Stenström (1999) examines five adverbs—*absolutely*, *bloody*, *completely*, *fucking*, and *really*—in the Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language. She argues that *really* is the most frequent intensifier in girls’ speech in a subsample of her data but she only includes two speakers in this subcorpus.

⁷⁶ The Tyneside data come from the Diachronic Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English (DECTE), constituted from three separate collection periods: the Tyneside Linguistic Survey, collected in the 1960s; the Phonological Variation and Change in Contemporary Spoken English project, collected in the 1990s; and the most recent corpus, NECTE2 (The Newcastle Corpus of Tyneside English 2), collected between 2007 and 2009. For more information on NECTE, consult Allen et al. (2007) or the corpus website (<http://research.ncl.ac.uk/necte/>). For more on NECTE2, see Barnfield and Buchstaller (2010).

to *so* in Toronto English. Barnfield and Buchstaller argue that *dead* is an age-graded variant since speakers no longer use it once they reach middle age. They also observe that *pure* is the “next fad” and that their most recent corpus “has captured this variant at the beginning of its spread to North East England from Scotland” (Barnfield and Buchstaller 2010:271).

Macaulay’s (2009) work on the speech of Glasgow adolescents also shows high rates of *pure*, as it is the preferred variant in this sample, followed by *dead* and *so*. Macaulay (2009:280) posits that this is because that Glasgow adolescents have “developed a set of norms for their speech community that owes little to adult or outside influence,” a trend also observed in other studies that include adolescent language, including Stenström (1999), Ito and Tagliamonte (2003), and Tagliamonte (2008). In contrast, *really* and *very* are frequent intensifiers in Macaulay’s (1991) earlier research on the speech of middle-class speakers from Ayr, Scotland. This study, which examines expressions of intensity focussing primarily on adverbs ending with the suffix *-ly*, has a scope that impedes direct comparisons with more recent variationist analyses, which tend to have a more narrow range of intensifiers.⁷⁷

D’Arcy (2010) offers a longitudinal perspective on adjectival intensification in two corpora from the Origins of New Zealand English (ONZE) project: the Mobile Unit, collected from speakers born between 1851 and 1904, and the Canterbury Corpus, looking at speakers born between 1935 and 1989. In both corpora, *very* is the most

⁷⁷ In an earlier paper, Macaulay (2002:404) states that *very* is “almost categorically a middle-class word” in Glasgow and that *pure* and *dead* are not found in adult speech.

common intensifier, though rates of use are significantly different (69.8% in the Mobile Unit and 35.7% in the Canterbury Corpus), suggesting that *very* is waning in New Zealand English as it is in other dialects. The other more frequent intensifiers in both corpora are *pretty*, *quite*, and *so*; it appears *really* has not made the same inroads in New Zealand as it has in other regions.

In more formal discourse, *very* is the preferred variant. Yaguchi et al. (2010:586) note that *very* is “uniformly prevalent across registers in both British English and American English as well as in academic writing” in their analysis of the Corpus of Spoken Professional American English (CSPA). They also note that *real* and *really* are frequent in speech, though the use of *real* is stigmatized, particularly in writing. *So* is found less frequently, unlike other North American studies; this can likely be attributed to a combination of style differences (the CSPA contains more formal speech) and sample demographics (*so* is a young intensifier and the CSPA sample contains primarily older participants). Given that Yaguchi et al.’s analysis is based on a corpus of what is likely more formal speech, similar results in Nain would be unexpected; if Nain speakers display a comparable rate of intensification or a similar distribution of variants, it could be an indication that participants have a more conservative style or that the interviews were more formal than intended.

Scripted speech can sometimes capture what is happening in natural speech, a point made clear by Tagliamonte and Roberts’ (2005) analysis of scripts from the first eight seasons of the television programme *Friends* and Lealess et al.’s (2009) comparison of natural speech and scripted data from television programmes about teenagers in

Orange County, California. In the two scripted programmes (*Friends* and *The O. C.*), the ordering of variants is the same: *so* is the most frequently employed intensifier, followed by *really*, *very*, and then *pretty*. As Tagliamonte and Roberts (2005:290) note, the top three intensifiers in the speech of the *Friends* characters “are also the top three intensifiers cited in studies of contemporary spoken English.”

Similarly, by comparing a reality television programme with a scripted drama set in the same location and populated with characters of a similar age, Lealess et al. (2009) demonstrate that it is possible for writers to capture the social and linguistic constraints fairly accurately, though scripted television is not necessarily an exact reflection of actual usage. On both programmes, for example, the girls intensify more than the boys, and *so* is favoured by the girls, a result consistent with studies of natural speech data. Lealess et al. also show that scripted speech is more conservative than the natural speech data: *The O.C.* underestimates the overall rate of intensification and the use of *so* while employing more *very* and *pretty* than observed in data from the *Laguna Beach* reality series. There is also a mismatch between the two programmes in terms of the frequency with which the top variants are found: *so* and *really* are the two most frequent variants in both shows but *pretty* is more common than *very* on *Laguna Beach*, unlike its fictional counterpart.

There are also studies that compare intensifier use in spoken and written data. Lorenz (2002), for example, analyses various British English corpora, focussing on delexicalization, rather than looking at how social factors affect variant selection.⁷⁸ He

⁷⁸ Lorenz (2002) focusses on the grammaticalization of intensifier *really* in several corpora: the BNC-c (a 500,000 word subsample of the British National Corpus containing more formal speech), the BNC-d (a 500,000 subsample of the same corpus containing informal, spontaneous speech), the Freiburg-Lancaster-

notes that *very* is the most frequently employed intensifier in these corpora of both spoken and written English, with *really* being the second most frequent variant. He observes a “progressive grammaticalization of *really*” and states that its “frequency correlates with factors that are commonly associated with linguistic innovation” across the spoken data corpora he includes in his analysis (Lorenz 2002:154).

An analysis of a larger data set from the British National Corpus also lists *very* as the most frequent intensifier in both the spoken and written data sets (Xiao and Tao 2007). In the spoken data, *really* is the second most frequent variant, followed by *quite*; in the written data, however, *quite* is more frequent than *really*, perhaps because it is more formal. Xiao and Tao also consider gender, concluding that there is no statistically significant difference between men and women when all of their data is considered, though their results do corroborate previous studies, showing that “men and women demonstrate different preferences for individual amplifiers” (Xiao and Tao 2007:251), with women using the more frequent intensifiers and men preferring the less frequent variants. Like other studies, Xiao and Tao also observe intensifier use increasing over apparent time across corpora.

Studies of online data, the third major type of data mentioned at the start of this chapter, illustrate that computer-mediated communication can contain intensification patterns similar to those found in speech, though they are not identical. Van Herk and OIP’s (2006) analysis of online subcultures, for example, shows that *so*, *very*, and *really*

Oslo-Bergen corpus (a 1,000,000 word corpus of written British English published in 1961), the Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen corpus (a 1,000,000 word corpus of British English published in 1991), and the Corpus of London Teenage English (500,000 words of informal, spontaneous speech from 13- to 17-year-olds).

are the most frequent variants, followed by *pretty*; these intensifiers are often the top intensifiers in studies of spoken language, as evinced by the research already mentioned in this section. Of these four intensifiers, *very* and *pretty* are most favoured by nerds while *really* and *so* are most preferred by tweens, the youngest group, a finding that again complements research on spoken data: *so* is thought to be a younger intensifier while *very* and *pretty* are older, more conservative forms. In terms of sex, women generally use more *so* while men favour *pretty* and the “tough” variant *fuckin'*, though there are differences amongst the various subcultures under examination.

Van Herk and MUNIP (2009) compare intensification patterns on fan sites for two reality television franchises—*Top Model* and *Idol*—from four different countries: Canada, the United States, Britain, and Australia. Their data show generally high rates of intensification (38% of all tokens) and also high rates of *so* (37% of all intensified tokens). They observe different trends by country; these trends tend to mirror what has been observed in naturalistic speech. For example, participants from the United States and Australia lead in rates of *so* while Britain lags; *so* rarely emerges as one of the top intensifiers in studies on dialects from the United Kingdom but is more prominent in North American varieties. (They did not provide comparisons for Australian English.)

These studies demonstrate that certain intensifiers are more frequent across corpora and media, namely *very* and *really*. There are, of course, some differences depending on location, time of the study, and register, but there remain some commonalities across studies. In North America, *so* is the incoming variant, typically associated with younger speakers, particularly women. Communities in Britain exhibit

different variant ordering and do not show an increase of *so*; instead, other variants, such as *dead* and *pure*, are the upcoming intensifiers. Of course, some of the research summarized in this chapter use data collected before the rise of *so* in other communities; it is possible that new studies in these communities would yield different results.

6.1.2 Intensifiers in Newfoundland English

Until recently, discussion of adjectival intensification in NE was confined to description. Clarke (2010:93) states that NE intensifiers “may not be typical in the casual styles of contemporary speakers elsewhere in the English-speaking world,” citing the following adverbials: *terrible*, *shocking*, *pure*, *ugly*, *fair*, and *wonderful*. The more frequently used intensifiers in NE, however, are *right* and *some*, with *some* being the “best known” of the NE adverbial intensifiers (Clarke 2010:93). Examples of these intensifiers are shown in (43) and (44).

(43) Some as an intensifier in NE

- c. ’Tis **some hot** today. (Paddock 1981a:15)
- d. **some lively, some perky, some good** (Noseworthy 1971:80-81)

(44) Right as an intensifier in NE

- a. She’s **right sweet**. (Paddock 1981a:15)
- b. **right flat, right mucky, right wet** (Noseworthy 1971:81)

In his study of Grand Bank, Noseworthy (1971:81-82) states that the main difference in the distribution of these two intensifiers is that *right* “may occur before adverbs.” Paddock (1981a), however, is unsure if there are any semantic differences between *some*, *right*, and *real*, based on his work in Carbonear. Dillon (1968) mentions

another uncommon intensifier—*cruel*—in her work on the Irish-settled Southern Shore (of the Avalon Peninsula), offering the sentence in (45) as an example.

(45) Cruel as an intensifier (Dillon 1968:135, citing Joyce 1910:89)

Boy, 'tis a **cruel stormy** day, isn't it?

Interestingly, the most salient NE intensifiers *some* and *right* are not listed as intensifiers in Dillon's glossary, though they are present in her work. More recently, Clarke (2004a) suggests that a sequence of two adjectives with similar meanings can be interpreted as intensification, citing the following example: (*a*) *little small (book)*. In later work, Clarke (2010) notes that both *some* and *right* can co-occur with other intensifiers but not with each other.

There have been two variationist analyses of adjectival intensification in NE, both using data drawn from social networking websites. The first is Deal's (2008) small-scale study of intensifier use in the online hip hop and rap community (N=500), looking at both performers and fans. Using data from Facebook and Blue Kaffee, a provincially based website on which users post journals and photos and communicate with friends, Deal's analysis focusses on the four most frequent intensifiers in her data set: *real(ly)*, *pretty*, *very*, and *fuckin(g)*.

Deal considers both semantic category and syntactic position in her analysis. She shows that *real(ly)* and *very* are favoured in attributive position while the other intensifiers are favoured in predicative position. For adjective type, Deal has only two categories—value and all other adjective types—due to the overwhelming use of value adjectives in her data set; *fuckin(g)* is strongly favoured by value adjectives. In terms of

the social factors considered, only one is relevant to the present study: her findings for participants' gender. Unlike other studies of intensifiers, gender does not emerge as statistically significant in Deal's work and she attributes this to females' use of "masculinized" intensifiers, though these participants do also show higher percentages of *so*.⁷⁹

Bulgin et al. (2008), the second study of intensifiers in the province, examines a much larger data set—over 3,000 tokens—collected in public forums on Facebook and Blue Kaffee. In their analysis of postings from self-identified Newfoundlanders, Bulgin et al. observe little use of the traditional NE intensifiers *right* and *some* and consequently focus on *so*, *very*, and *really*. All three intensifiers are found predominantly in predicative position and that there are no major differences in intensifier selection based on semantic category. In terms of social conditioning, however, the results for each of these three intensifiers are different.

Generally, women use more intensification than men, a finding typical of other intensifier studies (e.g., Lakoff 1975, Bradac et al. 1995, Stenström 1999, Van Herk and OIP 2006, Tagliamonte 2008), with *so* being the most highly gendered. Bulgin et al. (2008:109) attribute women's greater use of this variant to "its ability to carry larger amounts of emotional content." They also show that *so* is more common in the data from women in the St. John's area than those from more rural areas; in contrast, there are no

⁷⁹ *Fuckin(g)* is favoured on Facebook while Blue Kaffee users favour *pretty* above all other intensifiers. Deal (2008) attributes this to the nature of the social networking sites: Blue Kaffee is a more tightly knit community and the site has more moderation while Facebook allows greater anonymity. While the results for social network do not have any direct relevance to the Nain study, they illustrate that some social factors govern intensifier choice in this study.

regional differences for *very* and *really*, suggesting that “areas which are more geographically separated from the urban center are holding on to older, more traditional forms,” with *very* being the most frequent intensifier in the rural population (Bulgin et al. 2008:112). This leads them to conclude that “[u]ltimately, regarding intensifiers, Newfoundlanders do not behave linguistically so very differently after all” (Bulgin et al. 2008:114). As a result, it is possible that intensifiers in Nain will show higher rates of *very* and *really*, like rural Newfoundland. The caveat, however, is that computer-mediated communication is different from natural spoken data (e.g., Ferrara et al. 1991, Yates 1996, Herring 2007) and thus it is equally possible that intensification in Nain Inuit English will show use of traditional NE variants, as described by Noseworthy (1971), Paddock (1981), and Clarke (2010). (See Tagliamonte and Denis (2008), for example, for a more complete discussion of variation in computer-mediated communication.)

6.1.3 Intensification and second language acquisition

Adjectival intensification has only recently been discussed in studies of second language speakers of English. Recski (2004), for example, looks at the intensification of adjectives and adverbs in seven subcorpora in the International Corpus of Learner English—Finnish, Dutch, French, Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese, Czech, and Polish—and finds that *very*, *so*, and *really* are three of the four most frequently used boosters.⁸⁰ In this examination of written data, Recski focusses on collocations rather than the linguistic or extralinguistic factors that impact intensifier use.

⁸⁰ Recski (2004) may have overestimated the use of *too*. His examples suggest he has included *too* in non-intensifying contexts, e.g., *too busy to worry about nature, too quickly to understand*.

Another recent study is de Klerk's (2005) study of intensifier use with adjectives and adverbs in the English of native speakers of Xhosa. Her research finds *very* and *really* to be the two most frequently used intensifiers, followed by *especially* and *too*. She observes that *very* is favoured by older speakers and *really* is “on the increase” among younger speakers (de Klerk 2005:85). de Klerk also observes that the reduplication of intensifiers was a common strategy in the data set but suggests that speakers might be using this reduplication as filler rather than for intensification purposes. She also argues that the significantly higher use of *very* and, to a lesser extent, *really*, is the result of speakers focusing on “one or two ‘favourite’ lexical items which serve the intensificatory function sufficiently well, resulting in the neglect of other lexical options” (de Klerk 2005:93). Thus, it is possible that Nain Inuit English might exhibit a similar favouring of one or two intensifiers over all other lexical items.

Gardner's (2011) research on intensification in fan sites for *Philippines Next Top Model* and *Pinoy Idol* also supports this trend. Expanding the Van Herk and MUNIP (2009) study, Gardner's discussion focusses on the three most frequent intensifiers on fan sites for *Philippines Next Top Model* and *Pinoy Idol*: *very*, *really*, and *so*. Fans of *Philippines Next Top Model* favour *so* and pattern like participants in Van Herk and MUNIP's (2009) study while fans of *Pinoy Idol* favour *very*. Gardner argues that the high levels of *very* in this data set are the result of residents learning the more traditional *very* in school and observing the use of *so* to the media; he suggests that *really* does not appear as frequently because this intensifier was “missed.”

These studies suggest that the native or non-nativeness of the speaker does not seem to affect their use of variants since the most frequent intensifiers in these studies include at least two of the most common variants in the studies previously mentioned. Further investigation is required, however, to determine if these studies are representative of L2 English speakers' use of intensifiers in written and spoken corpora.

6.1.4 Intensification in Inuktitut

Although intensification has not been explicitly discussed in the literature on Inuktitut, examples can be found in some of the existing grammars. These examples show that some adverbials, including intensifiers, are incorporated into the word since Inuktitut is a polysynthetic language. Kalmár (1979:16), for example, states that "any number of adverbial and derivational suffixes" immediately follows the stem in Inuktitut. Examples of adjectival intensification can be found in the texts included at the end of his book, shown in (46).

- (46) Adjectival intensification in Igloolik Inuktitut (Kalmár 1979:114-116, 130-135)⁸¹
- a. angiyu:**lla:aluk** angiyu:**aluk**
big:INTENS:INTENS big:INTENS
(It was) big, very big. (Text II, line 73)
 - b. akuni:**aluk** pi:yuma:sima:li:ralua:r:a:tta ta:matuminga
long-time:INTENS PI:want:state-of:PROG:although:REL:CONJ:1,PL
ta:that:ACC
We've wanted that for a long time. (Text III, line 37)

⁸¹ Abbreviations from Kalmár (1979:6-8) are: ACC = accusative, INTENSE = intensifier, PI = an "empty" stem, PROG = progressive, REL = relative, PL = plural, *ta* = proximative prefix

Text II is a transcript of a conversation between two young women and Text III is a transcription of an interview, both with participants from Igloolik, Nunavut. In both example sentences, the intensifiers (in bold) are attached directly to the stem.

Similarly, Peck (1997 [1919]) states that *-rāk* is the affix meaning “great, very” in the Little Whale River dialect, illustrated in (47).⁸²

(47) Examples from Little Whale River Inuktitut (Peck 1997 [1919]:6)

- a. *iglo* ‘house,’ *iglokrāk* ‘a great house’
- b. *kingikpok* ‘it is high,’ *kingiktokrāk* ‘it is a very high thing (lit. that which is very high)’
- c. *-raluk* ‘small,’ *-atraluk* ‘very small, extremely small’

In (47a), *-rāk* functions as an adjective but acts as an intensifier in (47b); in (47c), *-at* appears to be the intensifying affix. Thus, constructions in which the intensifier follows the adjective it modifies (e.g., *high very*), as in (46) and (47), will indicate influence from Inuttitut in the Nain data.

6.2 Methodology

6.2.1 Circumscribing the variable context

Following other variationist studies of adjectival intensifiers (e.g., Ito and Tagliamonte 2003, Van Herk and OIP 2006, Bulgin et al. 2008), only tokens in affirmative contexts are included in the present study; utterances are excluded if the adjectival head falls under the scope of negation, as in (48), giving these intensifiers a function similar to that of a downtoner.

⁸² Little Whale River was in Nunavik, Québec but has long been abandoned.

(48) Exclusions due to negative context

- a. He got a couple chickens up there. Walks past too and you can smell them and it's not **right pleasant**. (Madeleine, 3f)
- b. I'm not **too fussy** over Little-Archie. (Tim, 1m)

Also excluded were sentences containing adverbs, as in (49), and imperative *too* (the equivalent to *overly*), as in (50), since neither of these constructions are instances of adjectival intensification.

(49) Adverbs that look like adjectives

- a. Meat goes **pretty fast**. (Clark, 2m)
- b. We fill that up and most of the people sells them **very expensive** to the elder people, but me and my wife sell it **really cheap** to the elder people. (Patrick, 1m)

(50) Imperative *too*

- a. **Too boring** anyway, on computer. (Clark, 2m)
- b. And I tried going back to um um try and finish school, but I find it **too hard** so I stopped it again. (Sylvia, 1f)

Other exclusions include quoted speech (51) and passive constructions with *get* (52).

(51) Quoted speech

- a. I always say, "No matter- even- I don't like go visiting people any more very much, like, when I'm **or sober**?" (Lois, 1f)
- b. They says, um- how would I describe it? Say, "Oh, **some ugly cold** out!" Or, "She's **some ugly pretty**." (Shirley, 2f)

(52) Get passives

- a. To a point where some teachers actually got **or angry** with you if you weren't using enough English. (George, 1m)
- b. I gets **or tired** of lying down so I just gets up. (Bridget, 1f)

Sentence structures that do not allow intensification were also excluded, including comparatives (53) and superlatives (54).

(53) Comparatives

- a. Uh, it got a lot **bigger**, and, like, a lot of changes. It's more **modern** than before, when I was growing up. (Selena, 3f)
- b. I had two **older** brothers, but they died. (George, 1m)

(54) Superlatives

- a. Um, when I was growing up in school, I've heard it said number of times by the teachers that, in their profession, thought that the Inuttitut language was the **hardest** language to learn. (George, 1m)
- b. This is the **longest** I've seen it. (Selena, 3f)

Similarly, fixed expressions such as *the new road* (when used as a term used to refer to the most recently built subdivision in Nain), *Big Land* (a local grocery store), *wild meat*, *frozen foods*, *open water*, etc., are excluded since they cannot be intensified. So are sentences that contain adjectives that cannot be intensified without changing the semantic reading of the utterance, such as *pregnant*, *first*, *last*, *raw*, *elderly*, *extra*, etc. Finally, utterances in which the intensifier or adjective show false starts or hesitations, as in (55), or are incomprehensible, as in (56), are also excluded.

(55) False starts or hesitations in the intensifier or adjective

It's **nice- nice** place to live, yeah. (Clark, 2m)

(56) Incomprehensible intensifiers or adjectives

- a. (laughter) (inc: **fair**) **crazy**, I have to say. (Lois, 1f)
- b. That's (inc: probably the **little old**) **small** ulu and people really loved it when I sold it one first time. (Patrick, 1m)

The next section discusses the coding used in the analysis of the Nain data.

6.2.2 Coding

Two linguistic factor groups are used in this analysis, again following previous studies (e.g., Ito and Tagliamonte 2003, Van Herk and OIP 2006, Bulgin et al. 2008, Tagliamonte 2008, Rickford et al. 2008, Van Herk and MUNIP 2009, Barnfield and Buchstaller 2010): the syntactic position and semantic category of the adjective potentially being modified. Both of these factors have emerged as significant in some of the studies reviewed in §6.1.

For syntactic position, tokens are coded as attributive if they immediately precede a noun, as in (57), or predicative if they follow the verb, as in (58), in keeping with these other studies. Unlike previous studies, I further divide these categories based on whether or not there is an overt verb in the sentence. For example, (57a) and (57b) are coded differently (i.e., attributive position with overt verb and attributive position with no overt verb, respectively), to test whether the presence of an overt verb affects intensification. A similar distinction was made for adjectives found in predicative position; the (a) and (b) examples in (58) would also be coded separately.

(57) Adjectives in attributive position

- a. Oh, yes, she's a **very good** baker. (Robert, 1m)
- b. Yeah, a **real nice** man. (Clark, 2m)

(58) Adjectives in predicative position

- a. The prices, with the groceries and everything goes down some bit in the summertime, and during the winter it's **crazy expensive**. (Selena, 3f)
- b. **Very picky.** (Wes, 3m)

Additionally, tokens in which the adjective immediately follows a noun phrase, as in (59), or found in a *how* + adjective construction, as in (60), are included and coded appropriately; these constructions were classified separately because there were common in the data set. Sentences containing the *how* + adjective constructions were not intensified in the data set; as a result, these constructions are excluded from the analysis that follows in §6.2.

(59) NP + adjectives constructions

- a. I found that **o confusing**. (Betty, 3f)
- b. They find it **really cute**. (Patrick, 1m)

(60) Adjectives in *how* + adjective constructions

It depends on the ice, how **o smooth** it is, how **o rough** it is. (Arthur, 1m)

For semantic category, adjectival heads are categorized primarily following Ito and Tagliamonte (2003), Bulgin et al. (2008), and Tagliamonte (2008), among others, whose categories are based on Dixon's (1977) model. These studies employ the following semantic categories: dimension, physical property, colour, human propensity, age, value, speed, and position. Other variationist analyses have combined some of these categories into an “other” category; Bulgin et al. (2008), for example, use physical property, human propensity, value, dimension, age, and other (and find no statistically significant results). Some scholars have modified these semantic categories, such as Barnfield and Buchstaller (2010), who expand the dimension category to include all measurements and the human propensity category to include anthropomorphized animals. While the current study does not include these modifications, I do subdivide the value

category into positive and negative values, as in Van Herk and MUNIP (2009) and Gardner (2011). In addition, a new category for evaluative adjectives such as *cheap* and *different* has been introduced. As such, adjectival heads are divided into nine semantic categories, outlined in (61).

(61) Semantic categories

- a. Dimension (e.g., *big, large, small, short, tall, thick, wide*)
 - i. He's **right huge**. (Molly, 3f)
 - ii. I carves the **o little** old earrings, and brooches, and necklaces. (Lois, 1f)
- b. Physical property (e.g., *cold, hard, hot, light, slippery, soft*)
 - i. It's **real smooth**. (Doug, 3m)
 - ii. **Really slippery** now. (Bridget, 1f)
 - iii. There was a couple days it was **very hot** too last year. (Madeleine, 3f)
- c. Human propensity (e.g., *happy, sad, smart*)
 - i. They're **really slack**. (Arthur, 1m)
 - ii. Geez, she was **some proud**. (Lois, 1f)
- d. Age (e.g., *new, old, young*)
 - i. Still a **o young** fellow yet. (Wes, 3m)
 - ii. I feel **right old** sometimes, and like, pain all time, eh? (Lois, 1f)
- e. Positive value (e.g., *excellent, good*)
 - i. They're **deadly awesome**. (Tim, 1m)
 - ii. Yeah, it's **right good** when there's no beer. (Molly, 3f)
 - iii. Oh, it's a **o nice place**, yeah. (Robert, 1m)

- f. Negative value (e.g., *bad*, *poor*)
 - i. I-mean, I could say today that I used to be **real bad** in the past. (Sean, 2m)
 - ii. I woke up, and he gave my bill, and it was **right ugly**. (Molly, 3f)
- g. Speed (e.g., *fast*, *quick*, *slow*)
 - i. Gee, my sister was **o fast**. (Lois, 1f)
 - ii. I like the **o slow** pace and everyone getting along and everyone taking the time to talk to each other instead of running on a schedule. (Shirley, 2f)
- h. Position (e.g., *left*, *right*, *near*, *far*)
 - i. We're all **very close** together. (Jackie, 1f)
 - ii. I knew he was from somewhere **right far**, but I didn't know he was from there. (Madeleine, 3f)
- i. Colour (e.g., *black*, *green*, *white*)
 - i. My guess is it's the **o white** ones. (Wes, 3m)
- j. Evaluative (e.g., *different*, *expensive*)
 - i. The old Northern used to be **right cheap**. (Molly, 3f)
 - ii. It's **really different** up this way, yeah. (Selena, 3f)

Any adjectival head that does not fall into one of these categories is classified as *other*.

These categories will facilitate a discussion of the delexicalization of the variants under examination.

When there was more than one adjective that could potentially be modified, as in (62), I base the semantic categorization on the first adjective in the sequence. For both of the sentences in (62), for example, the semantic category is assigned based on *nice*.

(62) Multiple adjectives modifying a single noun

- a. You would think that [when] we had our own self government that we would have jobs- we'd have **o nice, good** jobs for anyone. (Evan, 2m)
- b. And they all wear **o nice, pretty** kamiks. (Sylvia, 1f)

Although Clarke (2004a) considers this to be intensification, I do not include this structure as a variant in the present analysis, partially because other studies have not considered it and partially because there are very few examples in the data set.

Similarly, if more than one intensifier was used for a single adjective, as in (63), the token is analysed according to the first intensifier in the set.

(63) Multiple intensifiers modifying a single adjective

- a. I likes it when he don't catch his prey, he gets **right wickedly mad**, eh? (Wes, 3m)
- b. And when we give loaf of bread away to the elderly people, they gets **really, really happy** and appreciate it. (Patrick, 1m)

For example, in (63a), the intensifier is coded as *right* and in (63b) as *really*. There were only two instances in which the intensifier was repeated, as in (63b); these tokens were not coded as doubly intensified, to be consistent with the coding decision made for instances like (63a).

The social variables considered in previous chapters are also used for adjectival intensification: generation, sex, and first language.

6.3 Results

6.3.1 Distributional analysis

Of the 1,399 tokens extracted from the Nain interviews, 20.0% are intensified. To illustrate how rates of intensification in Nain compare to other communities, the overall

percentages of intensifier usage in the studies of spoken data discussed in §6.1 are summarized and ranked in Table 6.1; Nain is included in bold.⁸³

Table 6.1. Rates of intensification in previous studies.

| % intensified tokens ⁸⁴ | Speech community | Reference |
|------------------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| 42% | <i>Laguna Beach</i> (Seasons 1-2) | Lealess et al. (2009) |
| 36.1% | Toronto | Tagliamonte (2008) |
| 29.4% | Canterbury Corpus (ONZE) | D'Arcy (2010) |
| 24% | York | Ito and Tagliamonte (2003) |
| 20.0% | Nain | |
| 8.1% | Corpus of Spoken Professional American English | Yaguchi et al. (2010) |

As this table illustrates, intensification in Nain occurs at a noticeably lower rate than in the recent Toronto study (Tagliamonte 2008) or Lealess et al.'s (2009) analysis of intensification on the reality television programme *Laguna Beach*. Nain residents also intensify less than speakers in Ito and Tagliamonte's (2003) study of York English, with data collected in 1997, or D'Arcy's (2010) discussion of intensification in the Canterbury Corpus, which includes speakers born as recently as 1989. The rate of intensification in the Nain data is also lower than the rates of use recorded in Bulgin et al.'s (2008) study of Newfoundlanders in social media forums (27.1%) and Deal's (2008) analysis of Newfoundlanders in online hip hop communities (26.0%). While the present study is not directly comparable with these two studies because of the different media involved, it is still worth noting to see whether the rates of intensification are similar. These outcomes suggest Nain Inuit English may be lagging behind regional and supra-local varieties, just

⁸³ Macaulay's studies of Ayr (1991) and Glasgow adolescents (2009) are not included because the overall rate of intensification is not provided.

⁸⁴ Percentages are represented as either whole numbers or to the tenth of a percent following the source material.

as *Friends* and *The O.C.* lag behind contemporary speech data (Tagliamonte and Roberts 2005, Lealess et al. 2009).

When the distribution of intensifiers in the Nain data is examined according to speaker generation and sex, certain trends appear. First, in keeping with results of other studies, both descriptive and quantitative (e.g., Lakoff 1975, Van Herk and OIP 2006, Bulgin et al. 2008, Tagliamonte 2008), women intensify more than men: in Nain, women intensify at an average rate of 11.8% and men at a rate of 8.2%. This is true across generations, as Figure 6.1 illustrates.

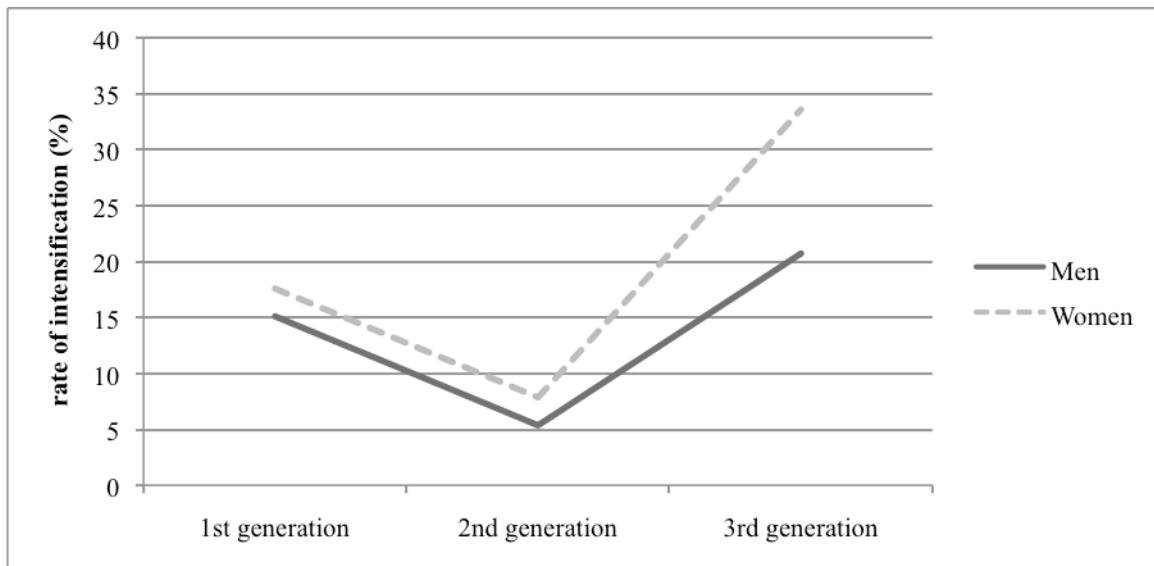


Figure 6.1. Distribution of intensified tokens in the data set, by speaker age and sex.

In terms of generation, speakers in the second generation intensify the least, accounting for only 13.2% of intensified tokens while younger residents use intensifiers the most, at 54.3%. Rates of intensification demonstrate a curvilinear pattern for both men and women, also observed for verbal *-s*.

The distribution of the Nain data by variant is shown in Table 6.2. Note that two sets of percentages are presented for each variant: the percentage based on only the

intensified tokens (N=280) and the percentage based on the entire data set (N=1,399).

Real and *really* are considered two separate variants because they have been treated this way in other studies (e.g., Lorenz 2002) and because they have different distributions for social constraints in Nain, as I will show with the multivariate analyses in §6.3.

Table 6.2. Distribution of intensifiers by lexical item.

| Variant | % of intensified tokens | % of entire data set | N |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-------|
| <i>right</i> | 31.1 | 6.2 | 87 |
| <i>really</i> | 21.1 | 4.2 | 59 |
| <i>very</i> | 14.6 | 2.9 | 41 |
| <i>real</i> | 10.0 | 1.9 | 28 |
| <i>pretty</i> | 7.1 | 1.4 | 20 |
| <i>so</i> | 3.6 | 0.7 | 10 |
| reduplication of adjective | 3.6 | 0.7 | 10 |
| <i>all</i> | 2.5 | 0.5 | 7 |
| (<i>a</i>) <i>lot</i> | 1.1 | 0.2 | 3 |
| <i>completely</i> | 1.1 | 0.1 | 2 |
| <i>deadly</i> | 1.1 | 0.1 | 2 |
| <i>some</i> | 1.1 | 0.1 | 2 |
| <i>awfully</i> | 0.4 | 0.1 | 1 |
| <i>certainly</i> | 0.4 | 0.1 | 1 |
| <i>crazy</i> | 0.4 | 0.1 | 1 |
| <i>fair</i> | 0.4 | 0.1 | 1 |
| <i>highly</i> | 0.4 | 0.1 | 1 |
| <i>pure</i> | 0.4 | 0.1 | 1 |
| <i>quite</i> | 0.4 | 0.1 | 1 |
| <i>too</i> | 0.4 | 0.1 | 1 |
| <i>whole</i> | 0.4 | 0.1 | 1 |
| <i>zero</i> | n/a | 80.0 | 1,119 |
| Total | | | 1,399 |

As Table 6.2 demonstrates, *right* is the most frequently used intensifier in Nain, followed by *really*, *very*, *real*, and *pretty*. This is a slightly different frequency hierarchy than those found in other studies of intensifiers, in which *so*, *very*, and *really* are almost always the most common intensifiers, followed by *pretty*, at least in the North American context. Although the top intensifiers in Nain do not perfectly mirror other studies, it is

worth noting that *really* has overtaken *very* in this community, as it has in some other varieties of English (Labov 1985, Stenström et al. 2002, Tagliamonte 2008) though it is not the most frequently occurring variant in this case, as it is in others. This is also a different outcome than that observed in Bulgin et al. (2008) and Deal's (2008) studies of intensification in online forums but is in keeping with the descriptive work on NE that has detailed the robustness of this variant in both rural and more urban areas.

When the rates of use for *very*, *really*, and *so* in select quantitative studies are compared with the rates found in Nain Inuit English, it seems that Nain is following a trajectory similar to the one observed in Tagliamonte's (2008) study, with *really* surpassing *very* in popularity.

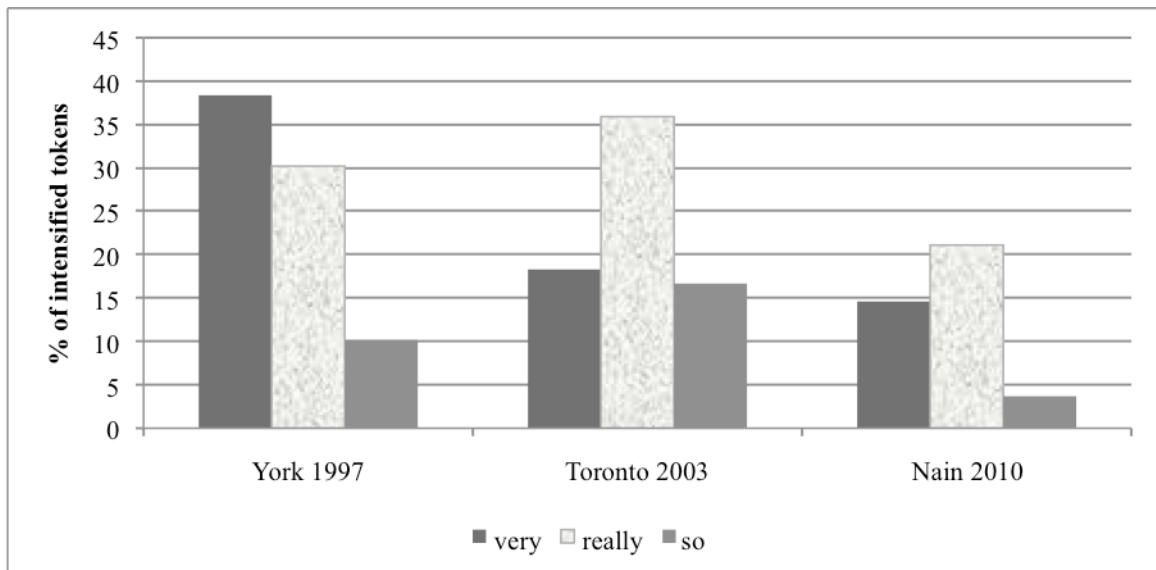


Figure 6.2. Frequency of *very*, *really*, and *so* across select quantitative studies.

When *right* is factored into the same comparison, however, it becomes clear that Nain Inuit English is developing in a different way, with this traditional NE variant emerging as the frontrunner in terms of rates of use, as shown in Figure 6.3.

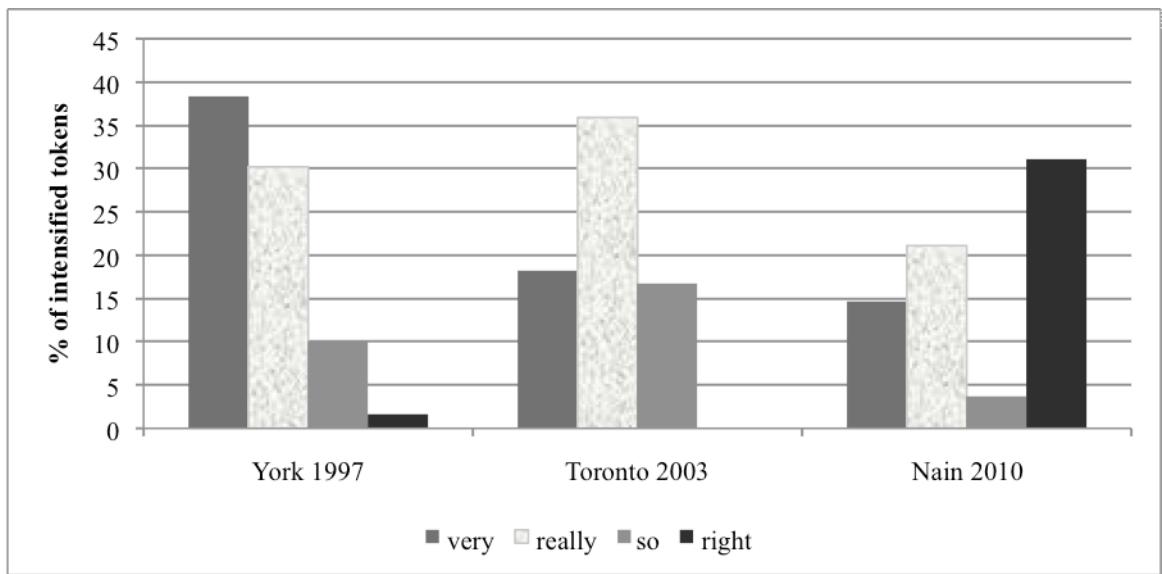


Figure 6.3. Frequency of *very*, *really*, *so*, and *right* across select quantitative studies.

These high rates of *right* suggest that NE has a strong influence on the emerging dialect of English found in the community.

In the sections that follow, I discuss the social and linguistic factors that impact intensifier use and choice. Unlike other chapters, the bulk of the discussion about the extralinguistic factors is primarily descriptive; the section on linguistic factors includes multivariate analyses performed using Goldvarb X for Mac (Sankoff et al. 2005). As with the other variables, the social and linguistic factors were run together.

6.3.2 Social factors

Use of the top five intensifiers—*right*, *real*, *really*, *very*, and *pretty*—varies according to speaker generation and sex. As such, these two social factor groups have been reconfigured to tease out the nuances of intensifier choice; intensifiers are more associated with women (e.g., Stoffel 1901, Jespersen 1922, Lakoff 1975) and are “overwhelmingly associated with teenagers and/or young people” (Tagliamonte 2008:362, citing Paradis 2000; Stenström 1999, 2000; Bauer and Bauer 2002; Macaulay

2006). As in previous chapters, I will refer to this new group as *speaker group* for the remainder of the chapter. Unlike previous chapters, however, there are only four participants in the first-generation women group (instead of five) because one older woman, Lily, never uses intensifiers during her interview and has consequently been dropped from this portion of the analysis.

Figure 6.4 offers a graphic representation of the distribution of intensifiers for each of the speaker groups. The top five intensifiers in Nain (*right, real, really, very, and pretty*) are listed individually; the remaining variants are grouped together in the transparently named *other* category. Recall from Table 6.2 that none of these ‘other’ intensifiers occurs more than 10 times in the overall data set.

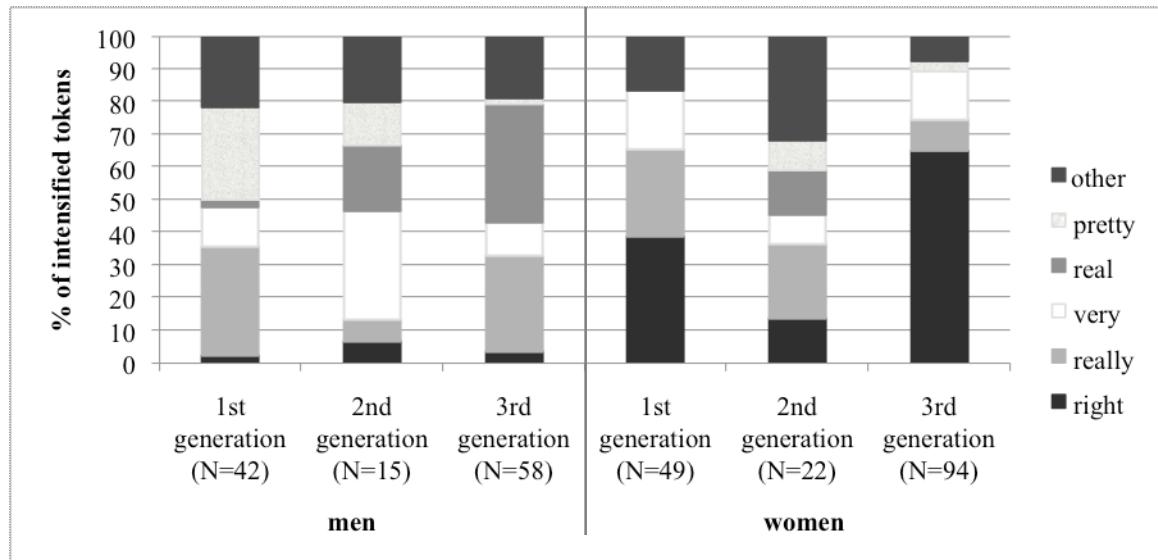


Figure 6.4. Distribution of variants for each speaker group.

As this chart illustrates, each speaker group exhibits clear variant preferences. This is expected given that there are more variant choices available to speakers for this variable than for the others under consideration in this dissertation. In terms of speaker group, however, *right* is the most frequently used variant by younger and older women (though

this is heavily influenced by three individual speakers, as will be discussed momentarily), *real* by younger men, *very* by second-generation men, and *really* by first-generation men and second-generation women. (Although second generation women show the largest percentage for ‘other’ intensifiers in Figure 6.4, *really* is the most frequently employed intensifier by this group.) From this point forward, I confine my discussion to these five intensifiers.

Given the range of variation observed for speaker groups, it seems prudent to consider individual speakers’ use of each of these five intensifiers. This is displayed in the following charts, which shows rates of use for men (Figure 6.5) and women (Figure 6.6), respectively. In these charts, variant use is displayed in Ns instead of percentages because this better captures the changes in overall usage, as well as use of the individual intensifiers. Residents are listed by real age (left to right, oldest to youngest).

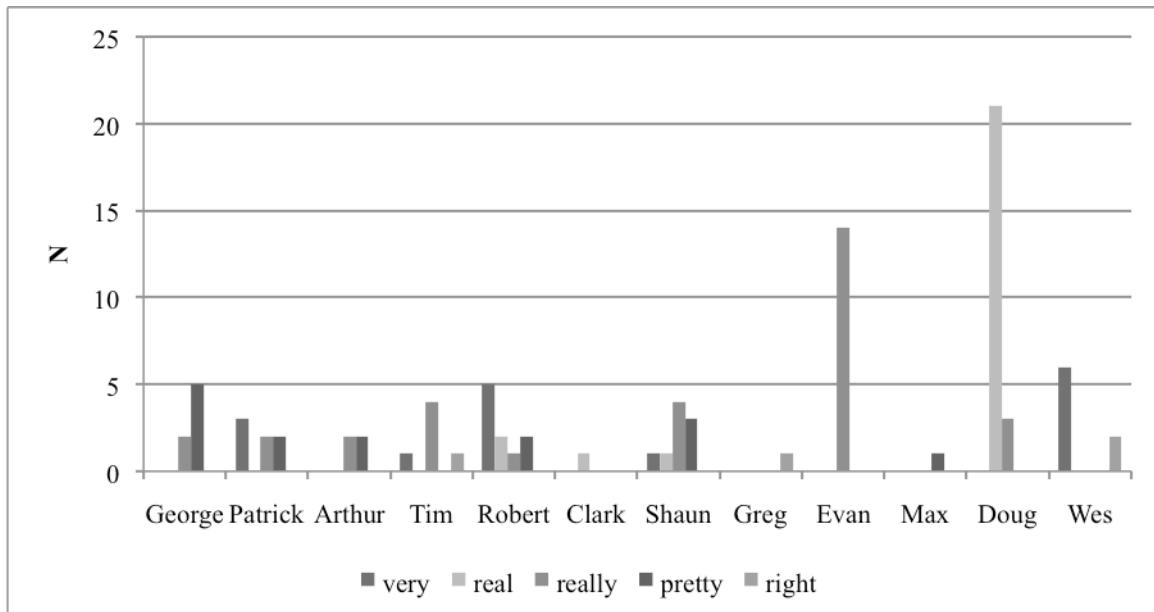


Figure 6.5. Men’s intensifier use for the top five variants (Ns).

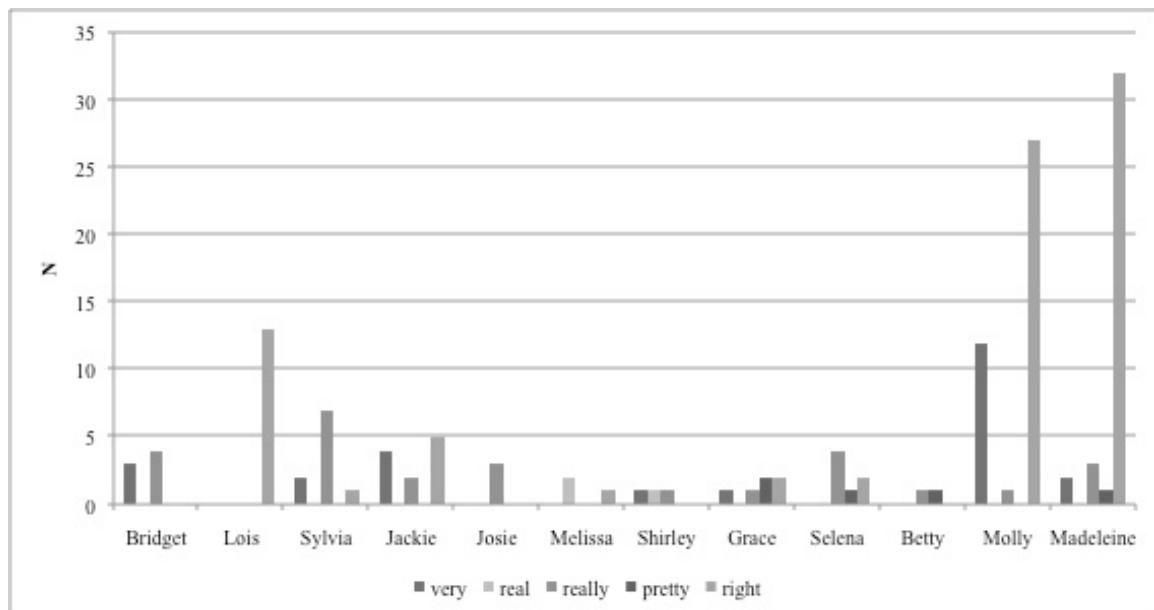


Figure 6.6. Women's intensifier use for the top five variants (Ns).

These charts reiterate the general trends in intensification previously captured and also demonstrate the range in variation between speakers in each generation.

Right, the most commonly employed variant overall, is particularly preferred by young women, as Figure 6.4 illustrates. First-generation women also demonstrate high rates of *right*; all other groups disfavour the use of this variant. When the data are examined on an individual level, however, it becomes clear that *right* is not universally employed. In fact, only eleven people in the sample use *right* and 82.8% of these tokens come from three women: Madeleine (36.8% of *right* tokens) and Molly (31.0% of *right* tokens), two young women, and Lois (14.9% of *right* tokens), a woman in the first-generation group. As such, the results of a multivariate analysis might have been greatly influenced by these three speakers, resulting in factor weightings that may be artifacts of these particular women's speech, rather than a true favouring effect, especially for the older women. Instead, given the distribution, a two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA)

was conducted to examine the effect of generation and sex on usage vs. non-usage of *right*. This test indicates that sex is the only significant factor ($F(1, 24) = 4.614, p < .05$); both generation ($F(2, 24) = .210, p > .05$) and the interaction between generation and sex ($F(2, 24) = .210, p > .05$) were not selected as significant. However, even relying on the distributional data, there is a clear division between men and women for this intensifier, a pattern only observed for *right*. This highly gendered and young use of *right* is reminiscent of results observed for *so* in most other North American communities, including Tagliamonte's (2008) analysis of Toronto English and Bulgin et al.'s (2008) study of Newfoundlanders online. It is worth noting that Lois, the third most frequent user of this variant, is a non-native speaker of English so it is possible that *right* is part of her idiolect, not a variant common across all women in her generation; as such, it is not surprising that her rates of use seem to have no impact on the following generation. Nonetheless, the presence of this variant in the speech of almost half the sample suggests that use of *right* may be significant in ways that might be clearer with a larger sample.

For *real*, a different hierarchy emerges. This variant is overwhelmingly favoured by younger men, who account for 75.0% of the instances of *real* in the data set. *Real* is the variant of choice for this group, appearing in over one-third (36.2%) of these men's intensified tokens, as Figure 6.4 illustrates. Second-generation women and men also show higher rates for this variant, though they are less pronounced. This transitional generation of women are the only female users of this variant; older and younger women show categorical avoidance of the intensifier, a result that may be attributed, at least in part, to their strong preference for *right*. This is another instance in which these two groups of

women show similar patterns of intensifier use. Furthermore, the rates of use for *real* increase over the generations, suggesting *real* is becoming more popular over time.

Really exhibits a different distribution of results, part of the reason why *real* and *really* are analysed separately. Where *real* is primarily preferred by younger men, *really* is found across speaker groups. Younger men are the most frequent users of *really*, accounting for 28.8% of these tokens, with first-generation men (23.7%) and women (22.0%) being the other major users of this variant. In this instance, the older and younger women do not pattern similarly: *really* accounts for 26.5% of the older women's intensified tokens but only 9.6% of younger women's, likely due to the third-generation women's overwhelming preference for *right*.

In order to further determine if *real* and *really* should be considered separate variants, I performed a multivariate analysis that ran the two intensifiers against each other.⁸⁵ As expected based on the distributional data, *real* is selected over *really* by second- and third-generation men. However, the low number of tokens for this analysis (N=87), particularly for the second-generation participants, suggests that the strength of the factor weights in Table 6.3 may overstate the significance of this result.

⁸⁵ This run included both social and linguistic factors. Only the results for speaker group are reported here; the results for the linguistic factors will be discussed in the following section.

Table 6.3. Social factors selected as significant in the selection of *real* over *really*.

| Total N: 87 | Corrected mean: .182 | FW | % | N |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|------|----|---|
| Speaker group | | | | |
| 2 nd generation men | .83 | 75.0 | 4 | |
| 3 rd generation men | .67 | 55.3 | 38 | |
| 2 nd generation women | .49 | 37.5 | 8 | |
| 1 st generation men | .10 | 6.7 | 15 | |
| 1 st generation women | KO | 0.0 | 13 | |
| 3 rd generation women | KO | 0.0 | 9 | |
| <i>RANGE</i> | 73 | | | |

Note that the younger and older women are knocked out of this analysis because they never used *real* as an intensifier.

For *pretty*, there is a different hierarchy. First-generation men account for 60.0% of the instances of *pretty*, though it comes second to *really* in terms of rates of use for this speaker group. In fact, *pretty* is found in the speech of every group except for first-generation women, showing an interesting sex-based difference in the oldest group of speakers in the sample. The data suggest that *pretty* is falling out of use, with women leading the change, a finding reflected in the discussion of other variants.

Finally, *very*, the most traditional intensifier, is used by all speaker groups. It is the preferred intensifier for second-generation men, accounting for one-third (33.3%) of the 15 intensified tokens for this group. Despite this, *very* does not seem to be particularly favoured by any group, as tokens are fairly evenly distributed across all six groups. In fact, this variant does not emerge as significant when a multivariate analysis is performed, indicating that this variant is stable, at least socially.

In terms of first language, an examination of the general distribution of variants shows that certain intensifiers are preferred by native speakers of Inuititut and others by

L1 English residents. In fact, as Figure 6.7 shows, only *very* was evenly distributed between the two groups; L1 Inuttitut community members display higher rates of *really* and *pretty* and L1 English residents higher rates of *real* and *right*. The differences between first-language groups are most pronounced for *right*, thanks, in large part, to the extremely high rates of use for Michelle, Molly, and Lois.

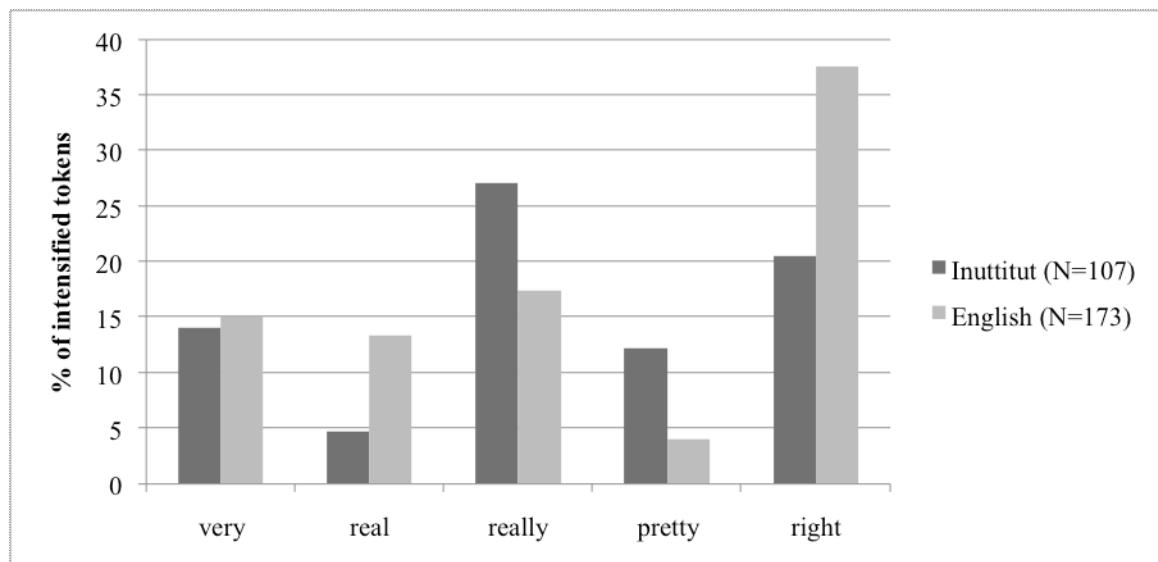


Figure 6.7. Distribution of top five variants according to speakers' first language.

This descriptive analysis is supplemented by one-sample *t*-tests, which show that the differences between variants is significant for each group (one-sample $t(4) = 4.117, p < .05$ for L1 Inuttitut and one-sample $t(4) = 3.157, p < .05$ for L1 English).

6.3.3 Linguistic factors

This section discusses the linguistic factors that govern the selection of each of the top five intensifiers in the community over all other intensifiers, including the zero option. Specifically, in this section, I consider the effects of syntactic position and semantic category on intensifier choice.

As illustrated in the following table, only syntactic position is significant in the selection of *right* over all other options. This variant has not been subject to multivariate analyses in other variationist studies, presumably due to low Ns and/or restrictions on its syntactic position. It is, however, possible in this study because of the higher Ns for *right* and also because of the finer categories used for syntactic position.

Table 6.4. Linguistic factors selected as significant in the selection of *right* over all other options.

| Total N: 1,399 | Corrected mean: .028 | FW | % | N |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|------|-----|---|
| Syntactic position | | | | |
| Predicative (overt verb) | .54 | 10.4 | 781 | |
| Predicative (no overt verb) | .35 | 3.6 | 111 | |
| NP + adjective | .29 | 3.4 | 59 | |
| Attributive (overt verb) | KO | 0.0 | 388 | |
| Attributive (no overt verb) | KO | 0.0 | 50 | |
| <i>RANGE</i> | | 25 | | |

Not selected as significant: semantic category

In Nain, *right* is favoured when the adjectival head is in predicative position when there is an overt verb, as in (58a), but is disfavoured in this position when there is no overt verb present, as in (58b). The NP + adjective context also disfavours the use of *right*; with only two instances of this construction with *right*, however, it is difficult to achieve an accurate reading of how NP + adjective constructions work with this variant.

Both *real* and *really* yield no significant results for the linguistic factors employed in this analysis; thus, the only statistically significant difference in their distribution lies with extralinguistic factors. An examination of the marginal data for the linguistic factors, shown in Table 6.5, however, does reveal some interesting trends.

Table 6.5. Linguistic factors selected as significant in the selection of *real* and *really* over all other options (separate runs).

| Total N: 1,399 | <i>real</i> | | | <i>really</i> | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|------|-----|------------------|-----|-----|
| | Corr. mean: .017 | | | Corr. mean: .035 | | |
| | FW | % | N | FW | % | N |
| Syntactic position | | | | | | |
| Predicative (overt verb) | [] | 2.3 | 781 | [] | 0.0 | 781 |
| Attributive (overt verb) | [] | 2.1 | 388 | [] | 2.6 | 388 |
| Predicative (no overt verb) | [] | 1.8 | 111 | [] | 0.0 | 111 |
| NP + adjective | [] | 0.0 | 59 | [] | 6.8 | 59 |
| Attributive (no overt verb) | [] | 0.0 | 50 | [] | 4.0 | 50 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | | | | | | |
| Semantic category | | | | | | |
| Position | [] | 10.5 | 19 | [] | 5.3 | 19 |
| Value (negative) | [] | 3.1 | 65 | [] | 1.5 | 65 |
| Physical property | [] | 2.5 | 122 | [] | 6.6 | 122 |
| Age | [] | 2.4 | 42 | [] | 2.4 | 42 |
| Evaluative | [] | 2.3 | 310 | [] | 4.2 | 310 |
| Value (positive) | [] | 2.1 | 375 | [] | 5.1 | 375 |
| Other | [] | 2.0 | 101 | [] | 4.0 | 101 |
| Human propensity | [] | 1.0 | 204 | [] | 4.4 | 204 |
| Dimension | [] | 0.7 | 143 | [] | 2.1 | 143 |
| Colour | [] | 0.0 | 0 | [] | 0.0 | 0 |
| Speed | [] | 0.0 | 0 | [] | 0.0 | 0 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | | | | | | |

Factors not selected as significant: syntactic position, semantic category

It appears that *real* and *really* are in somewhat complementary distribution for both linguistic factors. For syntactic position, adjectival heads in attributive position with no overt verb and NP + adjective constructions are exclusively found with *really*; this variant never appears in predicative constructions. The complementary distribution is not apparent with attributive constructions with an overt verb, in which *really* is slightly more frequent than *real*.

Speakers also exhibit preferences for *real* and *really* for semantic category, though distributions are not as clear-cut as they are for syntactic position. There are some similarities: both variants are most common with adjectives of position and categorically

avoided with adjectives of colour or speed. When the relative ordering of the semantic categories for each variant are compared, we see that adjectives expressing negative value and age are at the bottom of the hierarchy for *really* but closer to the top for *real*. Similarly, adjectives expressing positive value and human propensity are in the top half of the ordering hierarchy for *really* but are much less common with *real*.

Of course, given the very small nature of the data set available for this comparison (N=87), it is difficult to draw firm conclusions about speaker choice between *real* and *really*. Nonetheless, these data do suggest that these *real* and *really* are distinct variants in Nain Inuit English, especially when the results for speaker group are also considered. A larger data set is necessary, however, to determine if the linguistic differences are statistically significant.

Adjective position is significant in the selection of *pretty* over all other intensification options even though *pretty* is only found in predicative position.

Table 6.6. Linguistic factors selected as significant in the selection of *pretty* over all other options.

| Total N: 1,399 | Corrected mean: .015 | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|-----|-----|
| | FW | % | N |
| Syntactic position | | | |
| Predicative (overt verb) | .51 | 2.3 | 781 |
| Predicative (no overt verb) | .42 | 1.8 | 111 |
| Attributive (overt verb) | KO | 0.0 | 388 |
| Attributive (no overt verb) | KO | 0.0 | 50 |
| NP + adjective | KO | 0.0 | 59 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | | 9 | |

Factors not selected as significant: semantic category

As Table 6.6 shows, this effect is quite small, with predicative constructions with an overt verb showing a slight favouring effect and those without overt verbs a slight disfavouring effect. With such a small range, it is difficult to draw strong conclusions

about the Nain data but these results suggest that this more nuanced approach to syntactic position can yield additional insights into the sociolinguistic constraints of this variable; without this extra distinction, it might have appeared that *pretty* is not linguistically constrained but it now seems like sentence length or the presence or absence of a verb in an utterance may impact intensifier use.

Finally, adjective position is also significant in speakers' selection of *very* over other adverbials, illustrated in the following table. It is also the only significant factor for this variant in the entire analysis.

Table 6.7. Linguistic factors selected as significant in the selection of *very* over all other options.

| Total N: 1,399 | Corrected mean: .022 | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|-----|-----|
| | FW | % | N |
| Syntactic position | | | |
| Predicative (no overt verb) | .82 | 9.0 | 111 |
| Predicative (overt verb) | .63 | 3.6 | 781 |
| Attributive (no overt verb) | .48 | 2.0 | 50 |
| Attributive (overt verb) | .19 | 0.5 | 388 |
| NP + adjective | KO | 0.0 | 59 |
| <i>RANGE</i> | | 63 | |

Factors not selected as significant: semantic category

As Table 6.7 shows, *very* is favoured in predicative position and disfavoured in attributive position. For each position, *very* is more likely when there is no overt verb. This suggests that intensifier choice is governed primarily by syntactic position but that the presence or absence of an overt verb, or perhaps sentence length, does have an effect, though it is not as significant as the syntactic position of the variant.

6.4 Discussion

Nain Inuit English displays a distribution of intensifiers that has not been observed in other communities. In Nain, the three most frequently used intensifiers are *right*, *really*,

and *very*. So, the up-and-coming intensifier in other communities associated particularly with young women, lags far behind, accounting for only 3.6% of the intensified tokens.

As previous sections have illustrated, the five most frequently occurring intensifiers in Nain exhibit different trajectories across generations. Distribution of these variants varies greatly across speaker groups, as the following figures illustrate.

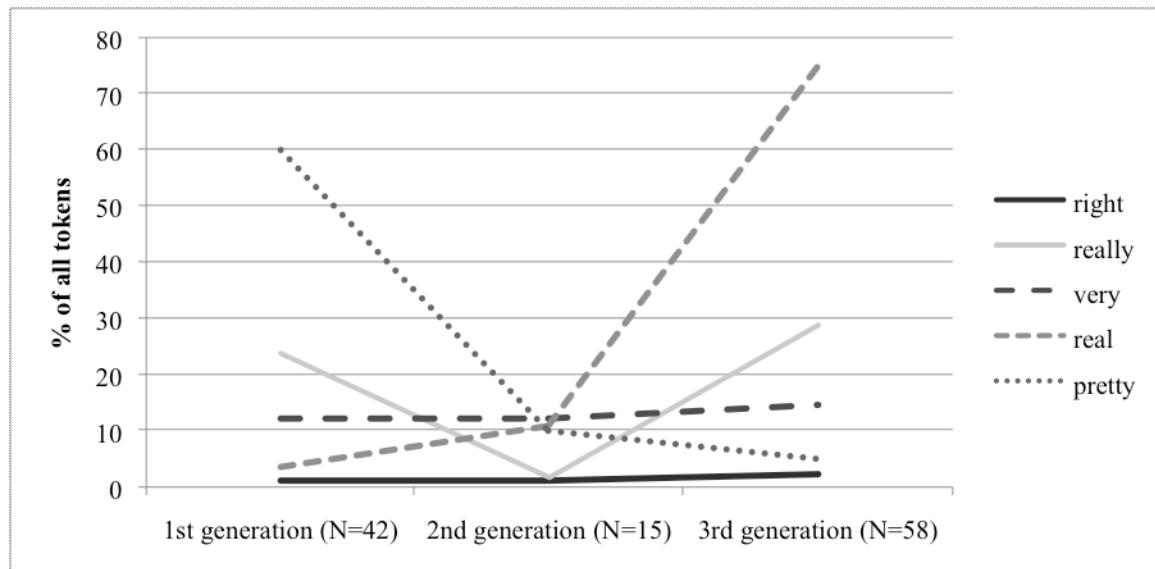


Figure 6.8. Men's use of the five most frequent intensifiers.

For the men (Figure 6.8), only use of *real* is increasing across apparent time. In contrast, *pretty* shows a steady decline, while *right* remains fairly consistent across generations. *Really* and *very* appear to be in competition with one another, showing curvilinear trajectories that are almost mirrors of one another. *Really* is preferred over *very*, in keeping with trends observed in other communities, including Toronto (Tagliamonte 2008).

For the women, shown in Figure 6.9, none of the top five variants shows a continuous cline similar to men's use of *real*. Instead, the older and younger women generally pattern together (excepting use of *really*, where there is a noticeable difference

between these two groups) while second-generation women intensify the least and have different variant preferences. *Really* appears to be in decline in women's speech, unlike the men's, likely because of the overwhelming use of *right*.

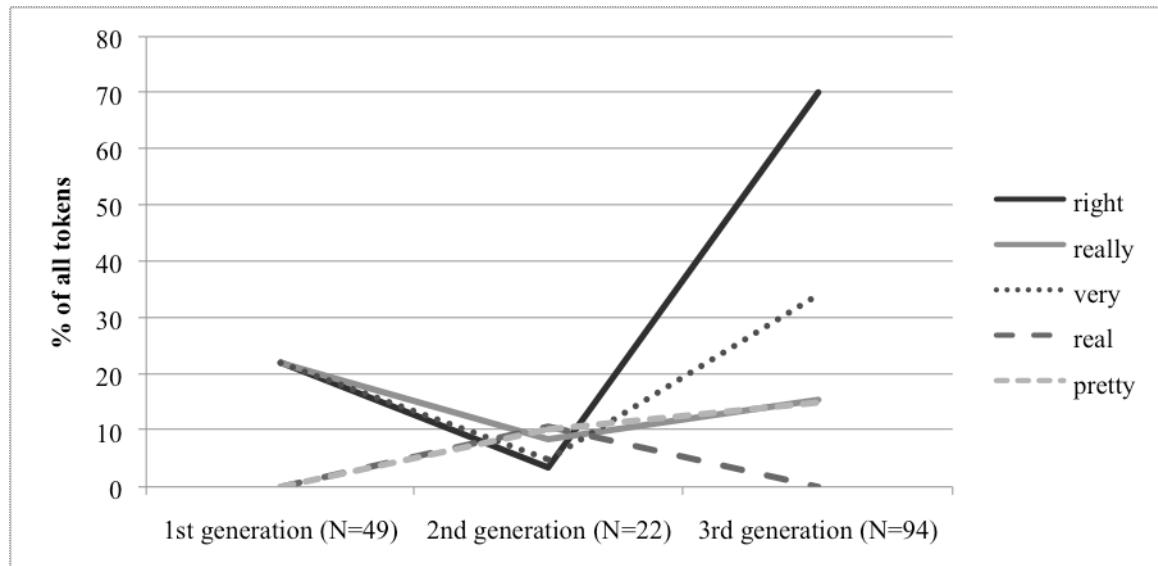


Figure 6.9. Women's use of the five most frequent intensifiers.

The lack of *so* in the data, particularly in young residents' speech, is also unexpected, given how strongly associated *so* is with younger populations in other studies. In Nain, however, young women strongly favour the use of *right* over all other intensifiers while their male counterparts exhibit a preference for *real* and *really*.

The top five variants exhibit different sets of internal and external constraints. *Very*, for example, which has been described as "the prototypical intensifier" (Stenström et al. 2002:141) because of its longstanding popularity and delexicalized status, is constrained by only a single linguistic factor in Nain: syntactic position. It appears *very* is the unmarked intensifier choice. *Very* is relatively stable in terms of rates of use and exhibits only a small significant variation only based on the syntactic position of the adjectival head. This outcome may also indicate that *very* has been delexicalized in Nain

Inuit English, in the sense of Partington (1993:183), who defines the process as “the reduction of the independent lexical content of a word, or group of words, so that it comes to fulfil a particular function.” As Ito and Tagliamonte (2003:268) note, building on Partington’s work, “[t]he more delexicalized an intensifier is, the more widely it collocates.” Thus, just as Partington (1993) and Ito and Tagliamonte (2003) observe that *very* can be used across contexts, such is the case in Nain: *very* is found in both predicative and attributive position, and with adjectives in a wide range of semantic categories (all except age, which was intensified only three times). This range is illustrated in Figure 6.10, which shows the distribution of the five main intensifiers across the nine semantic categories used in this study.

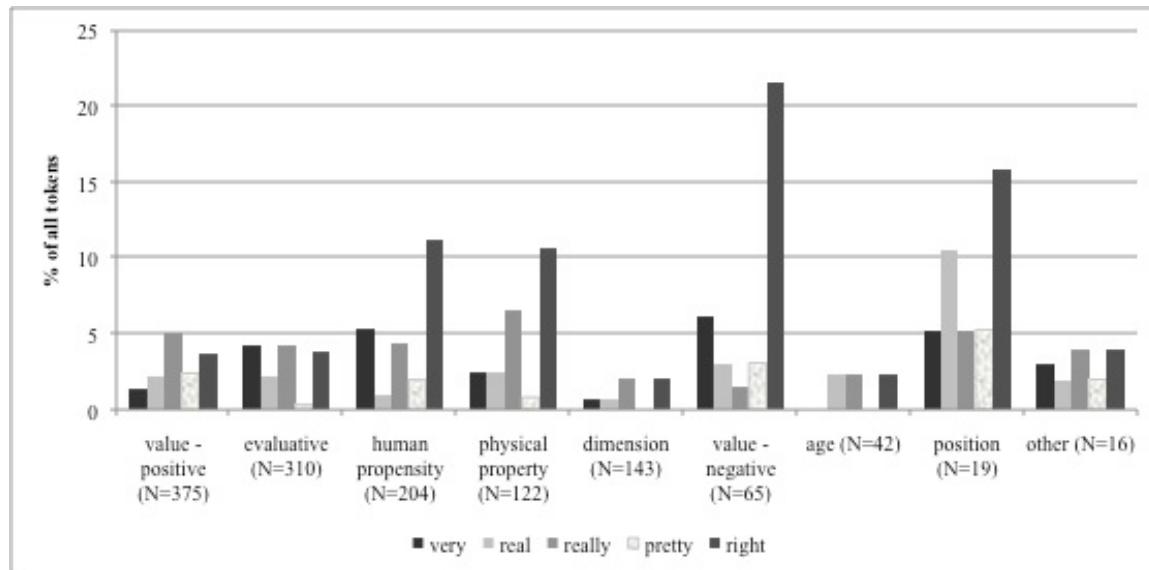


Figure 6.10. Variants across semantic categories.

In this figure, categories are listed from left to right according to their Ns, with groups with higher Ns appearing on the left side of the figure. Note that this chart does not include colour or speed adjectives since they were never intensified, nor the ‘other’ adjectives.

The paucity of significant results for semantic category is in line with Tagliamonte and Roberts' (2005:297) generalization that "older intensifiers are more diffuse, occurring across a broad range of adjectives." In Nain, however, none of the intensifiers yields statistically significant results for this linguistic factor group. This is unexpected given that *right* does stand out in Figure 6.10. Unlike *very* and *right*, both *real* and *really* are subject to only social constraints. While both of these intensifiers are favoured by young men, *real* is also preferred by both men and women in the second generation and is not used at all by the older and younger women in the sample and *really* is also favoured by older speakers. While some studies combine *real* and *really* as a single variant, including Deal's (2008) study of NE online, multivariate analyses show that these intensifiers must be treated separately in Nain since the ordering of social groups is different.

The most striking aspect of the Nain intensifier data is the abundance of *right* (31.1% of intensified tokens), a result observed in only one other study of contemporary data: Stenström et al. (2002)'s work with London teenagers. The strength of this variant in Nain Inuit English is noteworthy both because it is not common in other provincially based variationist analyses and because it has not been a productive intensifier in most other varieties since Middle English (Méndez-Naya 2006). In fact, Stoffel (1901:34) notes that *right* was found "in cultured speech only as a conscious archaism, and in certain standing phrases" at the turn of the twentieth century. Méndez-Naya (2006:157) states that intensifier *right* has "virtually disappeared from [present-day] standard British English," except for some fossilized expressions, and that it remains in some northern

dialects and in varieties of American English.⁸⁶ The Nain data offer a compelling counterexample because the use of *right* is on the rise in both men’s and women’s speech and can be found with a variety of adjective types.

In fact, *right* is also more semantically broad in Nain than in other communities. Bolinger (1972:51) states that this intensifier is “restricted semantically and dialectally” and that it is “normally used with adjectives whose meanings suggest concentration rather than diffuseness.” He also notes that *right* is even more restricted in American English, occurring only with adjectives expressing specific directions or locations. Bolinger (1972) also asserts that *right* is rarely found in negative contexts. While the variable context of the present analysis does not allow me to test the latter generalization, the Nain data show that *right* is found in contexts broader than those described by Bolinger (1972), as illustrated by Figure 6.10. Specifically, this variant can be found not only with the types of adjectives that Bolinger posits but also some of those that he lists as invalid contexts, such as *bad* and *dumb*. (Stenström et al. (2002) do not discuss the linguistic constraints on *right* usage in the speech of adolescent Londoners.)

It is possible that the upswing of *right* could be indicative that this intensifier is being “brought out of exile” in Nain, to borrow a phrase from Ito and Tagliamonte (2003:277). As scholars have noted in other communities, the recycling of variants occurs quickly (Ito and Tagliamonte 2003, Tagliamonte 2008), as is the case with *right* in Nain. This trend is similar to what Barnfield and Buchstaller (2010) observe for *dead*, the incoming innovative form in the Tyneside data.

⁸⁶ Stenström et al. (2002) provide one counterexample.

In sum, Nain residents demonstrate a distribution of intensifier choice contrary to those observed in other communities. For example, *very* and *really* are not age markers as they are in York English (Ito and Tagliamonte 2003). Intensifiers in Nain Inuit English also behave differently than those described in other provincially- and computer-based studies, though the Nain data do show some commonalities with the qualitative descriptions found in other research on NE, namely the use of *right*. The presence of this variant can most likely be attributed to the fact that NE is the main input variety of the region. Younger women in Nain appear to be latching onto this traditional, rural NE variant, resulting in a pattern similar to those observed for the incoming *so* in other communities. Without data on the linguistic conditioning of *right* in NE, it is difficult to determine just how similar Nain Inuit English is to its island counterparts but the strength of the connection between the Nain dialect and NE is clear.

7 Co-variation

It is common practice in sociolinguistics to examine multiple variables in a single community, as this tends to offer added insight into the speakers' sociolinguistic behaviours. Discussions of how these variables may or may not be related to each other in a particular community or group are unfortunately less frequent in the literature. Exploring if and how variables relate to each other, an idea that will be henceforth be referred to as *co-variation*, can provide a more nuanced description of the dialect in question, and allow researchers to explore what motivates correlations in cases of co-variation: Do speakers with high rates of one nonstandard variant show equally high rates of use of other nonstandard variants? Are there particular variables that group together based on social, rather than linguistic, constraints? As Guy (2013:64) observes, “[i]f sociolects are indeed socially and cognitively coherent varieties, we should expect some degree of correlation among the different variables present in the community.” There are other scholars, however, who argue that “language play[s] a major role in the construction of social categories...[and t]he social meaning of language is not fixed” (Benor 2010:160). This idea, which is influenced by social constructivist theory (e.g., Bucholtz and Hall 2008) attributes more agency to speakers, rather than deriving correlations from traditional social variables.

This chapter looks for correlations between variables in Nain Inuit English. Note that I do not assume that evidence of co-variation will be found in the data; rather, this chapter adopts a more exploratory point of view. As such, I begin by summarizing the

various methodologies used to examine co-variation in sociolinguistics (§7.1). Next, I describe the methodology of the present study (§7.2) and then its results (§7.3).

7.1 Previous research

In this section, I provide an overview of the different methods of comparison that have been employed to examine co-variation in sociolinguistic research.

One such method is implicational scales. First introduced to the field of linguistics by David DeCamp in his 1968 study of the Jamaican Creole continuum, implicational scales are designed to “depict hierarchical co-occurrence patterns in the acquisition or use of linguistic variables by individuals or groups, such that x implies y but not the reverse” (Rickford 2002:143). In sociolinguistics, this method of comparison was initially used primarily in pidgin and creole studies, typically in the examination of morphosyntactic variables, for varieties including Guyanese Creole (e.g., Bickerton 1973; Rickford 1987a, 1987b), Jamaican Creole (Akers 1981), Hawaiian pidgins and creoles (Day 1972), and Belizean Creole (Escure 1982). Since the mid-1970s, however, implicational scales have been increasingly used in studies of second language acquisition, including, for example, Gal’s (1979) work in Austria, Trudgill’s (1986) discussion of how Swedes living in Norway acquired Norwegian pronouns, and Nagy et al.’s (1996) analysis of anglophones’ acquisition of Montreal French. The Nain data do not lend themselves to this type of analysis because of the small number of variables that have been discussed; thus, other methods of comparison are explored.

Another method that has been employed in studies of multiple variables is principal components analysis, an analytic technique that identifies patterns in a data set,

highlighting their similarities and differences.⁸⁷ Commonly used in the social sciences to organize large sets of data into interpretable patterns, principal components are essentially lines of best fit: the first principal component accounts for the largest proportion of variance in the data, the second principal component for the largest proportion of variance in the remaining data, and so on. Principal components can be plotted against one another, revealing any relationships among the variables. In addition, each speaker receives a component score, which can be used to highlight linguistic relationships. As Horvath and Sankoff (1987) note, principal components analysis can be used to group speakers based solely on their linguistic behaviours. Examples of sociolinguistic studies that employ principal components analysis include Horvath's (1985) analysis of Sydney English (and her subsequent work, e.g., Horvath and Sankoff (1987)) and Stuart-Smith et al.'s (2007) work on Glaswegian English. Previous studies that have employed principal components analysis have larger data sets than the one presently available for Nain; as a result, this method of comparison has been set aside.

Cluster analysis, a “statistical technique that identifies groups of similar observations based on the values of a set of variables” (Grieve et al. 2011:212), is also commonly used in dialectological and sociolinguistic studies. There are a variety of methods used to perform cluster analysis. Stuart-Smith et al. (2007), for example, combine principal components analysis with cluster analysis, examining how speakers group together after the principal components analysis has been applied. Another recent study by Grieve et al. (2011) examines letters to the editor collected across the United

⁸⁷ See, for example, Taylor (1977), for a technical descriptions of PCA.

States. In this case, they perform cluster analysis on the regional distribution of variants after the data have been subjected to a factor analysis.

Other studies, such as Maclagan et al.'s (1999) discussion of front vowels and diphthongs in New Zealand English, offer a more descriptive comparison. Maclagan et al. look at co-variation in ongoing sound changes, identifying speakers' variants as conservative, neutral, or innovative. Their analysis reveals that individual speakers show a variety of linguistic behaviours: some speakers are uniformly conservative, others innovative, and still others have a combination of progressive and innovative vowel sounds.

Nevalainen et al. (2011) also examine progressive and conservative speakers, from a historical perspective, using the Corpus of Early English Correspondence. Nevalainen et al. consider six real-time changes in progress for a range of historical figures. They argue that linguistic behaviour is not determined solely by the factors traditionally used in sociolinguistic research (age, sex, education, etc.). Nevalainen et al. also note that rapid linguistic changes tend to show more polarized progressive or conservative users, suggesting that we must look at more dynamic variables to find linguistic innovators and traditionalists.

More recently, sociolinguists have begun examining co-variation based on correlations of factor weights. Two such analyses, which contrast discrete variables, are Guy's (2013) comparison of stable variables in Brazilian Portuguese and Tagliamonte

and Waters' (2011) study of co-variation in changes in progress in Toronto English.⁸⁸

The methodology used in these papers will be discussed in greater detail in §7.2, since they are the basis of the present study.

In his analysis of co-variables in Brazilian Portuguese, Guy (2013) examines the correlations of factor weights for 20 individuals from Rio de Janeiro, based on his earlier work on this variety (Guy 1980). He considers four stable sociolinguistic variables: two morphosyntactic—the plural marking of nouns and plural agreement on verbs—and two phonological—word final deletion of *-s* and the denasalization of unstressed final vowels. Guy argues that there is little evidence of what he calls “sociolectal cohesion”; although four of the six pairs are statistically significant, three of these four pairs are potentially linguistically motivated and thus cannot be taken as strong evidence of socially motivated co-variation. In fact, Guy's data show no strong correlations across variables for individuals, though women have higher correlations than men when his sample is divided by gender. Guy (2013:70) interprets these results to mean that “social cohesion among different linguistic variables may be weak, even if each variable independently shows classic social and stylistic variation.”

In this study, Guy also examines broader patterns in the data, looking for clusters. Similar to the Maclagan et al. (1999) study of women's vowel productions in New Zealand English, Guy groups usage rates of the prestige variant for each variable into thirds: high, middling, and low, giving each speaker a classification like hmml (high-

⁸⁸ Tagliamonte and Waters' (2011) presentation, which grows out of Tagliamonte and Waters (2010), is inspired by Guy's (2013) research, originally presented at two conferences: Guy (2009, 2010).

middling-middling-low), hhlm, etc. The distribution of speakers by clustering patterns is not available in the article; however, Guy observes that 25% of speakers show similar rates of use across all four prestige variables, i.e., hhhh, mmmm, or llll. While this is greater than chance, Guy (2013: 70) states that “the evidence for sociolectal coherence is not overwhelming” since 20% of the sample did not exhibit meaningful clustering patterns.

Tagliamonte and Waters (2011) also explore notions of co-variation, comparing factor weights for six changes in progress in Toronto English, with a focus on the leaders of linguistic change. The variables in question are quotatives (*be like, say, go*, etc.), intensifiers (*very, really, pretty, so*, etc.), stative possession (*have got, have, got*), deontic modality (*have got to, have to, got to*, etc.), general extenders (*and stuff*), and indefinites (-*body*); all of these variables are established changes in progress (cf. Tagliamonte and D’Arcy 2007a, 2007b, 2009; Tagliamonte 2008; Tagliamonte et al. 2010; Tagliamonte and Denis 2010; D’Arcy et al. 2013). In this study, Tagliamonte and Waters find moderate correlations across the whole set of speakers. Unlike Guy, they find no statistically significant pairs of factors for speaker sex. Tagliamonte and Waters also observe that there is little correlation among innovators: leading one change in progress does not ensure leading another.

7.2 Methodology

In this paper, I use a methodology similar to that employed by Guy (2013) and Tagliamonte and Waters (2011). In these studies, factor weights for each speaker are determined using Goldvarb X (Sankoff et al. 2005); Guy (2013) uses the nonstandard

variant as the application value for each variable while Tagliamonte and Waters (2011) use the incoming form. In both studies, the researchers determine the strength of variable pairs using the Pearson correlation coefficient, which compares two values and assigns a statistic a value between -1 and +1, with -1 being a perfect negative correlation and +1 being a perfect positive correlation. These correlations are then examined across groups of paired scores.

The present analysis employs percentages of use rather than factor weights.⁸⁹ These percentages are for the variant most closely associated with NE for each of the variables, which also happen to be the most frequent nonstandard variants for each of the variables under investigation. Specifically, for interdental stopping, percentages of use are based on rates of the stopped variant [t] or [d] over the standard realization [θ] or [ð], respectively. Similarly, for verbal -s, percentages are calculated for the selection of nonstandard -s over the standard (zero-marked) form. Finally, for intensifiers, percentages reflect rates of use of *right* over all other options (including non-intensified tokens). Speakers who never use the above variants are assigned a value of 0.0%. For example, Josie (one of the second generation women) never uses the stopped variant of (θ) and only eleven speakers use *right*, most of them women. (Nine men and four women, evenly distributed across generations, never use this intensifier.) For intensifiers, there is an additional methodological consideration: one of the older women, Lily, categorically avoids

⁸⁹ In earlier analyses, I followed Guy (2013) and Tagliamonte and Waters (2011) and used factor weights for the correlations. Results were similar to the analyses that follow, though the results presented in this chapter are more conservative.

intensification. She is excluded from the comparisons for this variable only.⁹⁰ The rates of use for each speaker are listed on the following pages in Table 7.1, as well as the total N for each individual. In this table, participants are listed in speaker groups for reading ease.

Correlations for each of the six possible pairs of variables are calculated in SPSS Statistics v. 21.0.0 for Mac, employing the Pearson correlation coefficient with a two-tailed test of significance. These results of these pairwise comparisons are discussed in the next section.

7.3 Results

At a glance, the data in Table 7.1 suggest that speakers are not consistent across all four variables; this is borne out in the correlation data, shown in Figure 7.1. In Nain, only one pair of variables is statistically significant at a .05 level or beyond when all 25 speakers are considered: verbal *-s* and *right*. Note that throughout this chapter, correlations that are statistically significant at the .05 level are marked with a single asterisk (*) and those that are significant at the .01 level are marked with two asterisks (**). Correlations with a significance value greater than .05 are considered non-significant in this analysis.

⁹⁰ Lily never uses intensifiers so this variable is not considered for lectal clusters.

Table 7.1. Rates of use for individual speakers for each variable.

| Speaker | Variants | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|----|-------------------|----|-----------|-----|-------------------|----|
| | (ð)-stopping | | (\theta)-stopping | | Verbal -s | | Intensifier right | |
| | N=1,170 | % | N=749 | % | N=1,604 | % | N=1,399 | % |
| 1st generation women | | | | | | | | |
| Bridget | 78.9 | 38 | 3.8 | 26 | 54.5 | 88 | 0.0 | 33 |
| Jackie | 95.7 | 46 | 12.5 | 24 | 31.6 | 38 | 12.2 | 41 |
| Lois | 74.5 | 51 | 11.8 | 34 | 29.1 | 55 | 15.1 | 86 |
| Sylvia | 59.5 | 37 | 15.8 | 19 | 17.6 | 17 | 2.6 | 38 |
| Lily | 96.2 | 26 | 22.2 | 9 | 25.0 | 32 | n/a | 0 |
| 1st generation men | | | | | | | | |
| Arthur | 92.1 | 63 | 6.7 | 15 | 34.5 | 55 | 0.0 | 79 |
| Patrick | 82.4 | 34 | 46.2 | 13 | 24.2 | 66 | 0.0 | 28 |
| Tim | 76.0 | 50 | 11.4 | 35 | 46.3 | 95 | 1.1 | 90 |
| George | 82.1 | 56 | 31.2 | 32 | 12.1 | 58 | 0.0 | 31 |
| 2nd generation women | | | | | | | | |
| Josie | 60.6 | 33 | 0.0 | 25 | 15.3 | 59 | 0.0 | 22 |
| Grace | 52.4 | 42 | 9.8 | 51 | 47.8 | 23 | 6.2 | 32 |
| Shirley | 48.0 | 50 | 32.4 | 40 | 7.1 | 113 | 0.0 | 59 |
| Melissa | 71.8 | 39 | 42.1 | 19 | 15.6 | 45 | 2.3 | 43 |
| 2nd generation men | | | | | | | | |
| Robert | 50.0 | 42 | 15.4 | 39 | 11.6 | 112 | 0.0 | 82 |
| Greg | 86.7 | 45 | 41.7 | 24 | 56.5 | 23 | 7.7 | 13 |
| Sean | 77.6 | 58 | 14.8 | 27 | 9.8 | 92 | 0.0 | 63 |
| Clark | 72.7 | 55 | 20.0 | 20 | 45.7 | 98 | 0.0 | 55 |

| Speaker | Variants | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------|----|--------------|----|-----------|----|-------------------|----|
| | (ð)-stopping | | (θ)-stopping | | Verbal -s | | Intensifier right | |
| | N=1,170 | N | % | N | % | N | % | N |
| <i>3rd generation women</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Betty | 33.3 | 51 | 7.0 | 43 | 4.5 | 88 | 0.0 | 50 |
| Madeleine | 63.3 | 60 | 25.0 | 32 | 78.1 | 73 | 33.0 | 97 |
| Molly | 66.7 | 51 | 12.8 | 47 | 73.0 | 74 | 29.3 | 92 |
| Selena | 43.9 | 57 | 16.7 | 30 | 23.1 | 91 | 3.3 | 61 |
| <i>3rd generation men</i> | | | | | | | | |
| Evan | 41.7 | 48 | 13.2 | 38 | 7.0 | 57 | 0.0 | 82 |
| Max | 60.0 | 40 | 31.2 | 32 | 65.6 | 32 | 0.0 | 14 |
| Wes | 61.7 | 47 | 15.0 | 40 | 54.4 | 90 | 2.0 | 99 |
| Doug | 62.3 | 53 | 15.2 | 33 | 12.5 | 40 | 0.0 | 69 |

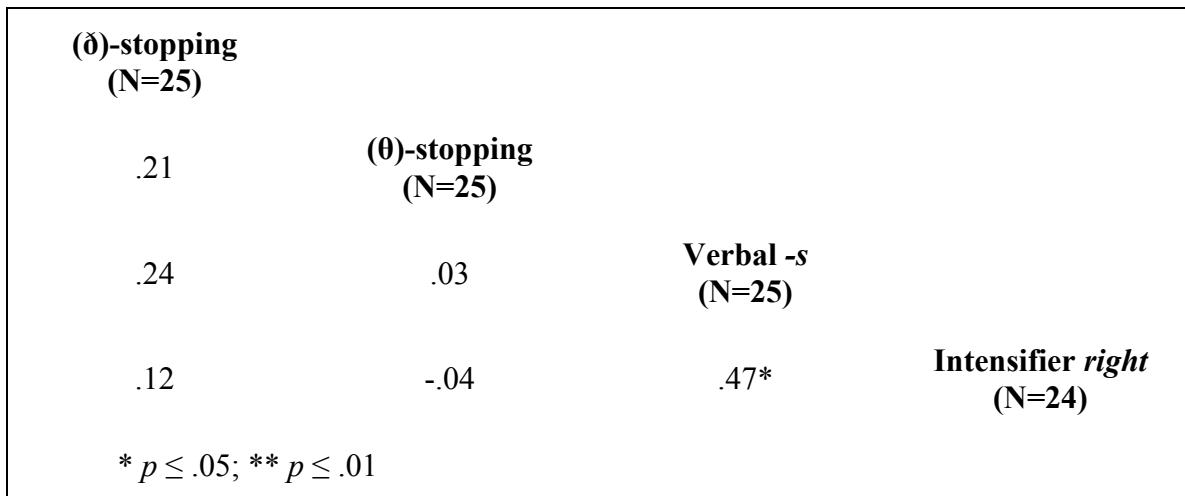


Figure 7.1. Correlations in Nain Inuit English.

Although the correlation between verbal *-s* and *right* is the strongest statistic in Figure 7.1, it is only modestly strong ($r=.47, p \leq .05$); nonetheless, this pairing suggests that greater use of nonstandard verbal *-s* and greater use of *right* go together. Already, this is a difference between Nain Inuit English and Brazilian Portuguese and Toronto English: the previous studies have more statistically significant pairs (though Guy ultimately concludes that most of the pairs in his study are not socially significant) while the Nain data show only one. This could be the result of different communities, or different types of variables. (Recall that Guy (2013) looks at variables with a clear prestige variant and Tagliamonte and Waters (2011) at changes in progress.)

When the Nain sample is grouped according to speaker sex, no correlation is statistically significant for the men, as illustrated in Figure 7.2.

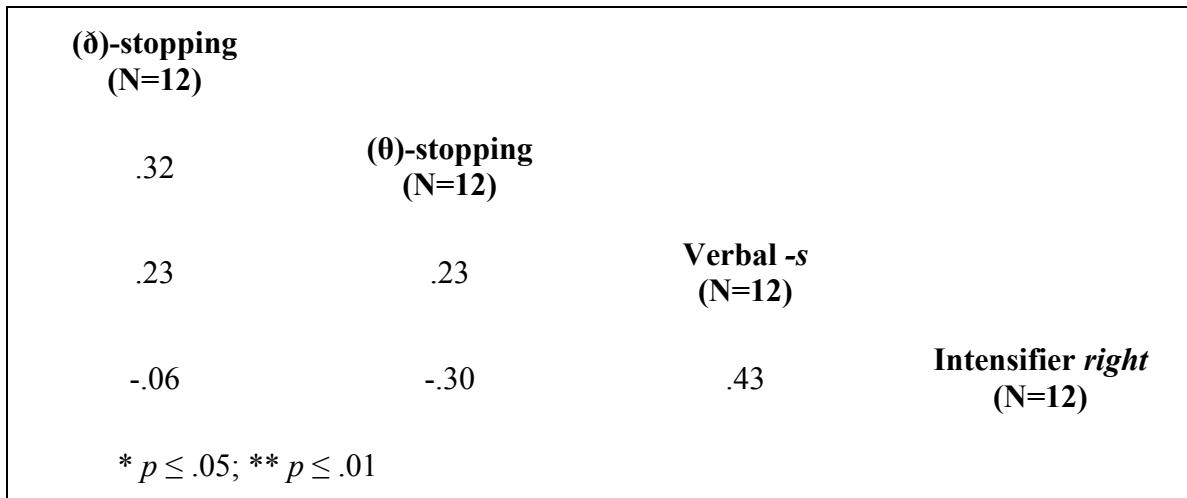


Figure 7.2. Correlations for men.

In contrast, verbal *-s* and *right* do show a significant correlation for the women (Figure 7.3), suggesting that the significance of this correlation in the whole community (Figure 7.1) is a result of women's speech.

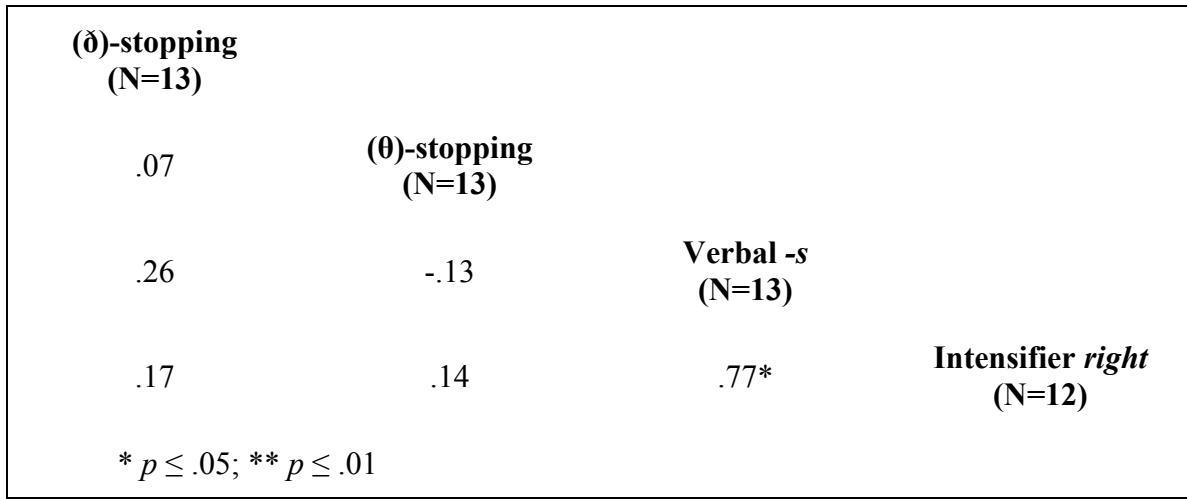


Figure 7.3. Correlations for women.

The greater strength of *right* in Nain in women's speech is expected because eight out of the 11 people who use the intensifier *right* are women. In fact, the correlation is stronger when the men are not considered ($r=.77, p < .01$). While this result may be partially an artifact of the small sample size, it solidifies the difference between men's and women's

speech in the community. Furthermore, when the data are divided in this manner, there is some similarity to Guy's findings, which show more correlations in women's speech than in men's. This contrasts with Tagliamonte and Waters' (2011) assessment of innovators in Toronto, which finds no significant correlations when speakers are split according to sex.

An examination of the Nain data grouped according to generation also yields statistically significant results, suggesting that variable correlations (or lack thereof) shift over time. For older speakers, for example, shown in Figure 7.4, almost all of the r values are near zero, suggesting there are no relationships between the "Newfoundland-y" variants for older speakers. This may be attributed to the fact that these residents are all non-native speakers of English; this hypothesis will be tested momentarily when I present correlations for first language.

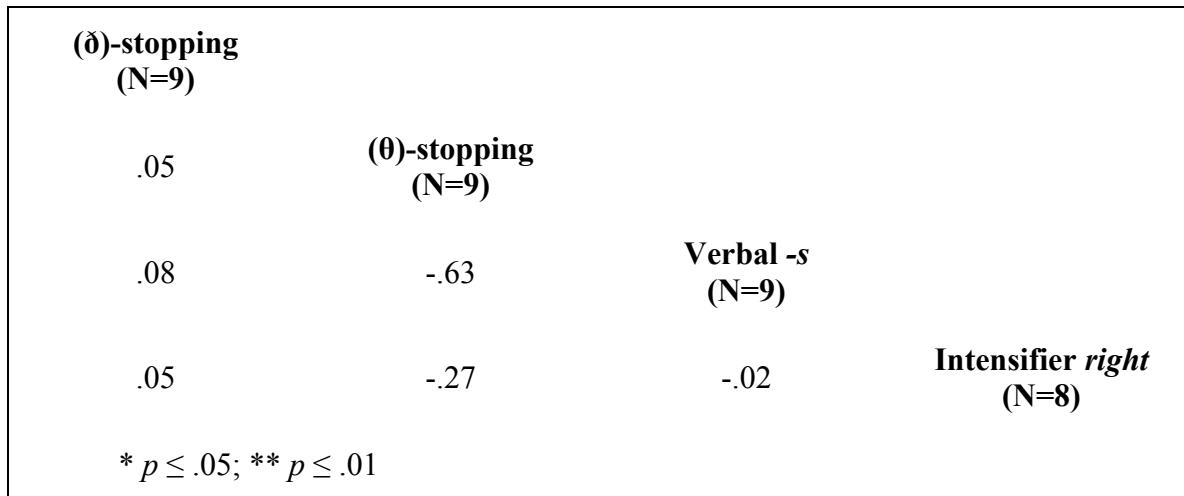


Figure 7.4. Correlations for first-generation speakers.

Similarly, for the second generation of speakers, none of the pairs of variables is significant, as Figure 7.5 illustrates.

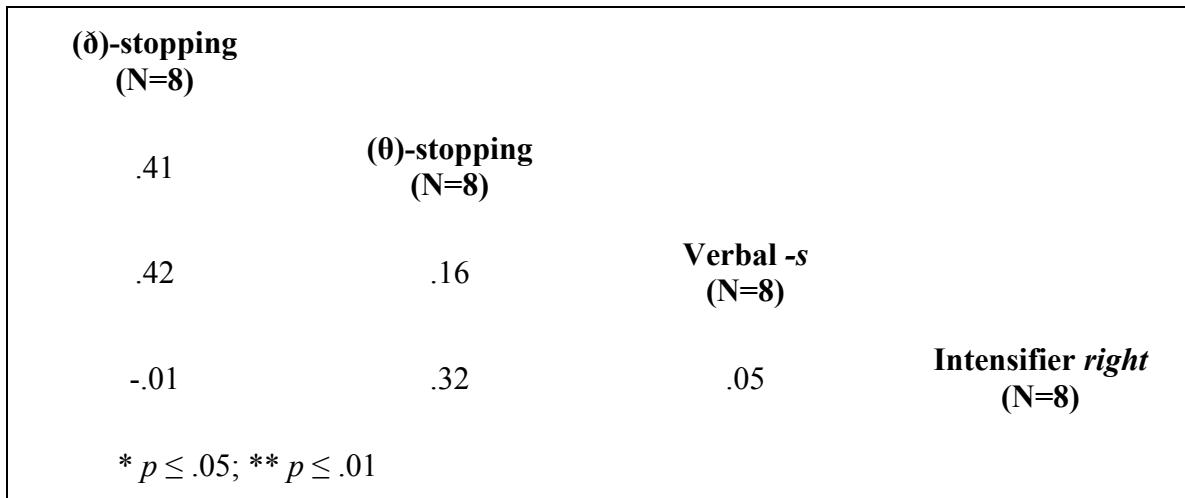


Figure 7.5. Correlations for second-generation speakers.

This is an expected outcome since this is the least cohesive group, comprised of both men and women, some of whom are native speakers of Inuitut and others of English. Given that this is the transitional generation, it would be unusual to see a strong correlation emerge here.

The results for younger speakers, in Figure 7.6, show that there are two significant correlations in younger residents' speech.

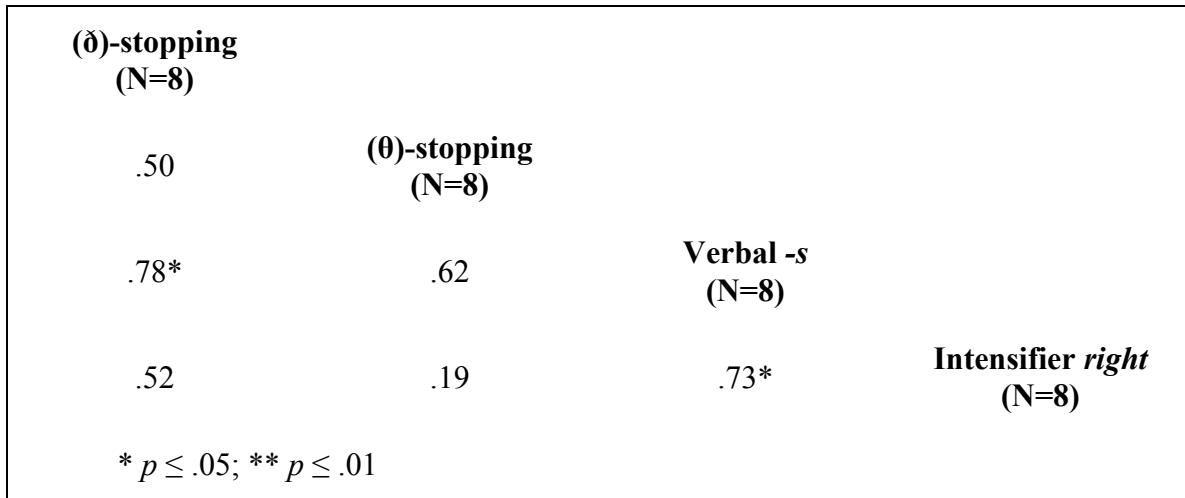


Figure 7.6. Correlations for third-generation speakers.

The correlation between greater use of verbal *-s* and intensifier *right* is expected, based on the results shown in Figure 7.1, and because the young women in this group show a marked preference for both of these variants in earlier analyses. An additional correlation appears for (ð)-stopping and *-s* ($r=.78, p \leq .01$) and is much stronger for this group than for the sample as a whole ($r=.24, p > .05$). This correlation is also stronger than the statistics for this pair of variables for first- ($r=.08, p > .05$) and second-generation ($r=.42, p > .05$) speakers, suggesting that these variants are becoming more correlated over time, as the community becomes English dominant.

When first language is considered, different patterns emerge. First, for L1 Inuittitut speakers, there are no correlations, as Figure 7.7 demonstrates:

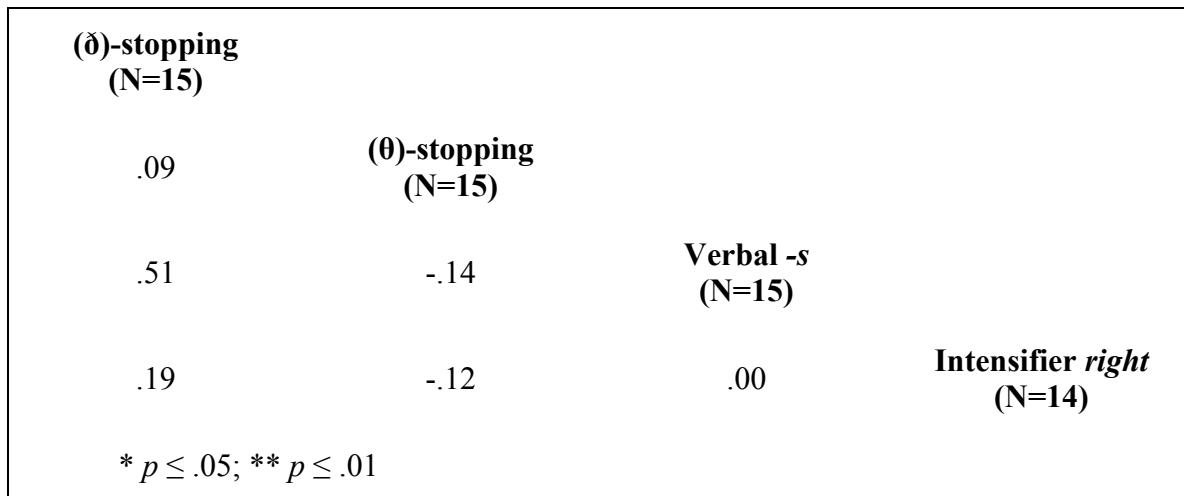


Figure 7.7. Correlations for L1 Inuittitut residents.

It is worth noting, however, that the correlation between higher rates of [d] and verbal *-s* is nearly significant ($r=.51, p = .053$), suggesting that there may be some sort of relationship between higher rates of these two variants.

For native speakers of English, we see different results. First, there is one significant correlation, for verbal *-s* and *right*.

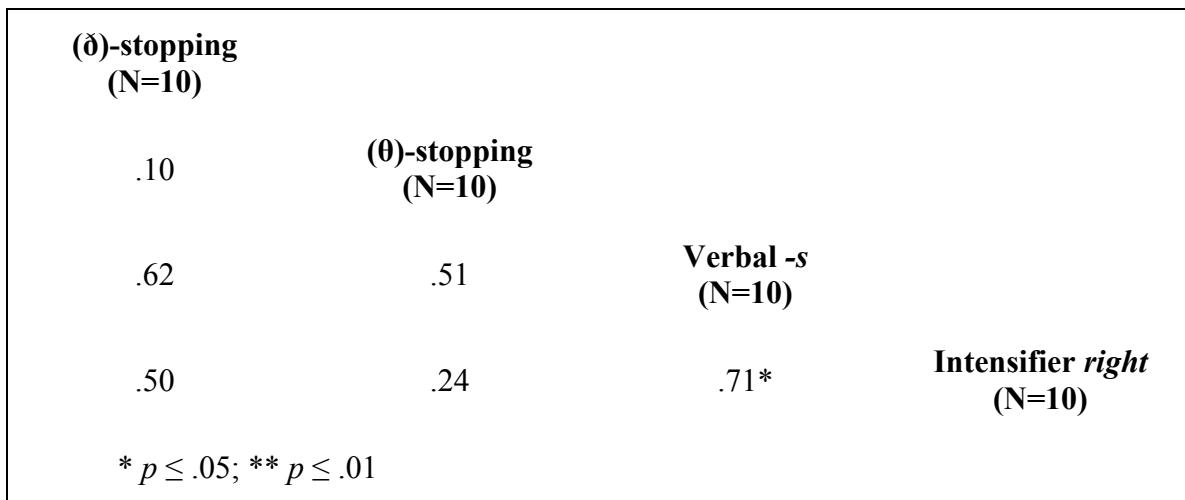


Figure 7.8. Correlations for L1 English residents.

This cements the idea that the strength of this statistic for the whole community is driven by L1 English residents, particularly the younger speakers. A logical assumption is that it is the young L1 English women in Nain who are truly propelling the correlation, but I have not performed correlations for each speaker group because this would make the data set too small to be meaningful.

Another interesting result of this analysis is that L1 English residents are approaching statistical significance for (ð) and verbal -s, something also observed for native speakers of Inuttitut. In this case, however, the correlation is slightly stronger ($r=.62, p=.055$). The fact that these two variants are nearing statistical significance in the community, regardless of speakers' native language, suggests that the relationship between them may be more complex than initially anticipated. It is also plausible, however, that there are too many factors at play to pinpoint the cause, if there is a social motivation. With a larger sample, it might be possible to glean further insight into not just this pairing but also the other five; further reducing the size of the groups used in these

tests, however, would likely produce misleading results since there are so few male users of *right* (one per generation).

7.3.1 The linguistic individual

While the speech community is an important component of sociolinguistic research, the linguistic individual and the role s/he plays is also of interest (cf. Johnstone 1996), even when a particular group behaves conservatively for some variables and innovatively for others (e.g., Trudgill 1974; Milroy and Milroy 1978, 1985; Milroy 1987; Holmes and Bell 1992; Maclagan et al. 1999). As Hudson (1980:12) notes in his summary of the goals of sociolinguistics, it is “essential to keep the individual firmly in the centre of interest, and to avoid losing sight of him while talking about large-scale abstractions and movements.” Despite this, “the individual is often anywhere but the centre of interest in practice” (Johnstone 1996:14).

One way to consider the linguistic individual in Nain is to replicate Guy’s (2013) lectal clusters analysis on co-variation in Brazilian Portuguese. Guy does not describe his methodology for this portion of his analysis in great detail; he states that he “divided the usage rates of each variable into thirds: high (h), middling (m), and low (l) rates of usage...[and] then we classify each speaker according to their usage rates of the four variables” (Guy 2013: 70). In keeping with this description, I have divided the data into three percentile groups, ranking each speaker as high (H), middling (M), or low (L), based on his or her rate of usage for each of the four variables.

One confounding factor not present in Guy’s data is that some Nain speakers do not use the variants in question, as explained earlier. In the table that follows, these

speakers are included in the classification scheme described above. As with Figure 7.1, data are organized by speaker group for reading ease, though the usage groupings are based on the entire sample.

Table 7.2. Speakers' use of variants ranked according to the range of each variable's rates of usage.

| Speaker | Variants | | | |
|--|--------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------------------|
| | (Ø)-stopping | (θ)-stopping | Verbal -s | Intensifier <i>right</i> |
| 1st generation women | | | | |
| Bridget | H | L | H | L |
| Jackie | H | L | M | H |
| Lois | M | L | M | H |
| Sylvia | L | M | M | M |
| Lily | H | H | M | n/a ⁹¹ |
| 1st generation men | | | | |
| Arthur | H | L | M | L |
| Patrick | H | H | M | L |
| Tim | M | L | H | M |
| George | H | H | L | L |
| 2nd generation women | | | | |
| Josie | M | L | L | L |
| Grace | L | L | H | M |
| Shirley | L | H | L | L |
| Melissa | M | H | M | H |
| 2nd generation men | | | | |
| Robert | L | M | L | L |
| Greg | H | H | H | H |
| Sean | H | M | L | L |
| Clark | M | M | M | L |
| 3rd generation women | | | | |
| Betty | L | L | L | L |
| Madeleine | M | H | H | H |
| Molly | M | M | H | H |
| Selena | L | M | M | H |
| 3rd generation men | | | | |
| Evan | L | M | L | L |
| Max | L | H | H | L |
| Wes | M | M | H | H |
| Doug | M | M | L | L |

⁹¹ As previously mentioned, Lily never uses intensifiers so this variable is not considered for lectal clusters.

In Nain, only Betty is consistent across variables, showing low rates of use for all four of the variants under investigation. This is different from Guy's study, in which a quarter of the sample was consistent across all four variables. However, nine of the Nain speakers are consistent across three variables—Sylvia, Shirley, Josie, Robert, Greg, Clark, Betty, Madeleine, and Evan—with varying rates of use for the variants in question. This subgroup is made up of one first-generation woman, two second-generation women, three second-generation men, two third-generation women, and one third-generation man, underscoring the idea that variants may be correlating over time. This is in keeping with Labov's (2001) generalizations about language change because it seems that women are leading the trend toward co-variation. The remaining speakers have less consistent results, with speakers demonstrating a variety of usage patterns.

The caveat here, however, is that, of the ten speakers who demonstrate some degree of lectal cohesion, only three are native speakers of English: Robert, Josie, and Madeleine. This suggests that the co-variation that seemed to appear in the data might be due to chance, rather than socially motivated development.

7.4 Discussion

On the whole, results of this analysis demonstrate a lack of social cohesion, much like the findings in Guy (2013) and Tagliamonte and Waters (2011). At the community level, one of the six variable pairs (verbal *-s* and *right*) shows statistical significance. Even this result cannot be interpreted as support for the idea of co-variation since further investigation shows that this community-wide finding is likely the result of young women's speech. It is possible that women in Nain, or at least the younger female

residents, are using these more regional variants to do some sort of social work, since they show a degree of co-variation unseen in other subgroups. It is also possible that the correlations that appear in the younger women's speech are indicative of where Nain Inuit English is headed since women are often the leaders of linguistic change (Labov 2001). However, as Guy (2013:70) observes, "their coherence may arise from speakers' relative isolation from other varieties and lack of choices, rather than from a cognitive perception of the holistic nature of their own variety."

One possible problem with the present study is that the status of these variants in the community is not clear. Interviews revealed that some residents do not want to sound like they are from Newfoundland; however, none of the participants identified these features as being particularly associated with Newfoundland English so it is possible that residents think of the variants in question as characteristic of the local dialect.

As noted in §4, interdental stopping can have many motivations so it might be most useful to concentrate on the outcomes for verbal *-s* and *right*, the two variables for which there is a more clearly regionally associated variant. In this context, Madeleine, Greg, and Melissa show high usage rates for both *-s* and *right*, suggesting they might be the more innovative speakers. Madeleine, in particular, is a leader for all of the nonstandard variants in question. Again, based on these two variables, Betty, Josie, Arthur, and Bridget are the most consistently conservative residents, an outcome that is to be expected based on the data presented earlier.

There are other trends that emerge in this analysis. The correlation between (δ)-stopping and *-s*, in particular, is interesting because the statistics for this pair of variables

grows stronger over time, whatever speakers' motivations may be. Though the correlation statistic is high, there is no significant correlation ($r=0.95, p=.807$) for older speakers; however, the statistic grows progressively stronger across generations, becoming statistically significant in the speech of younger residents ($r=.80, p=.017$). This pattern can also be observed for three other pairs of variables—verbal -s and *right*, (δ)- and (θ)-stopping, and verbal -s and (θ)-stopping—though they are not statistically significant. This cannot be attributed to first language, since the statistics for L1 Inuittitut and L1 English speakers are similar.

Moreover, while there are some similarities to Guy's work on Brazilian Portuguese, in that women show more cohesion than men, Tagliamonte and Waters' work on co-variation in Toronto English provides convincing counterevidence, even with the caveat that these studies examine different types of variables. At first glance, the lack of strong results for this factor might be surprising because “gender is a powerful differentiating factor in almost every case of stable social stratification and change in progress that has been studied” (Labov 2001:262). However, English in Nain is relatively young since the language has achieved a true foothold only within the past 60 years. Thus, it is possible residents are still learning which variables (and variants) carry sociolinguistic meaning and that the correlations observed in the younger women's speech may be indicative of where Nain English is heading. It is also possible, though, that dialects and styles may not be as cohesive as the literature tends to assume.

A broader implication that emerges from this research has to do with methodology. This study, in conjunction with Guy (2013) and Tagliamonte and Waters

(2011), illustrates that social cohesion cannot be assumed in a community, no matter what types of variables are used. This suggests that some of the assumptions built into sociolinguistics, particularly larger-scale work that examines multiple variables in a single region, may need to be reconsidered if researchers are to find true co-variation in language.

8 Conclusion

This dissertation surveys three sociolinguistic variables—one phonological (interdental stopping), one morphosyntactic (verbal *-s*), and one discourse (adjectival intensification)—and then looks for correlations between them. While this is by no means a complete picture of the linguistic situation of the community, insights into the sociolinguistic profile of Nain Inuit English can be gleaned from the different social and linguistic factors that have emerged as significant for each of these variables, enriching our understanding of IndE and English in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador.

As previous chapters have illustrated, each of the variables under consideration has a variant that is strongly associated with NE, Nain’s main English input variety. In Newfoundland, these variants seem to index a pro-Newfoundland identity, what Childs and Van Herk (2013) label a [+local] association. This is particularly true for interdental stopping and verbal *-s*, two variables that have been subject to a great deal of research in the province (cf. §4.1.2, §5.1.3). Use of the intensifier *right* is also thought to typify NE (e.g., Clarke 2010), though it is virtually unattested in the existing variationist studies and may not have the same degree of social salience posited for the other variables under consideration.

Because these variants are so strongly associated with NE—at least on the island—they potentially represent an identity or ideology with which Nain residents do not align themselves or to which they may be overtly opposed. (Recall from §2.2.1 that some participants stated that Nain residents would be insulted if called a Newfoundland.) In my interviews, residents of all ages tended to describe themselves

first as Inuit, then as Labradoreans, and finally as Canadians, sometimes with the caveat of not being Newfoundlanders. Having observed this not-a-Newfoundlandideological stance in the community, we might expect to see avoidance of these prototypical Newfoundland variants but we do not. Instead, the situation is more complex, with these salient-in-Newfoundland variants behaving differently in Nain Inuit English.

First, the voiced and voiceless variants of interdental stopping appear to be more polarized than they are in Newfoundland communities: (θ)-stopping is much less common in Nain and appears to be socially stable while (δ)-stopping changes from generation to generation, showing a more traditional trajectory of decline, though rates of use remain above 50% even in the youngest speakers. This high rate of stopping suggests that this variant remains robust in Nain, though women are leading the change away from [d], in keeping with patterns observed in many other communities across the globe. The caveat here, of course, is that Nain Inuit English is still finding its proverbial feet, so this may be a leveling off process, rather than a true decline. Nonetheless, in many respects, it is with (δ)-stopping that Nain is most similar to Newfoundland, particularly the more rural communities on the island. For (θ)-stopping, however, Nain Inuit English is quite dissimilar, showing only linguistic conditioning, while NE tends to be governed primarily by social factors. These nonstandard variants are also hallmarks of IndE so if these results could also be interpreted as evidence of the strength of the “Pan-Indian” strain in Nain but, without knowledge of the factors that condition these variants in other Indigenous Englishes, this cannot be stated with certainty. Finally, there is little evidence of transfer from Inuttitut for this variable: no non-English consonants were substituted for either (θ)

or (ð), not even in the interviews with L2 English speakers, and there are too few tokens of /s/ or /ʃ/ to demonstrate definite transfer effects.

An examination of verbal -s shows a more layered development across generations. The NE roots of Nain Inuit English are evident in some of the linguistic conditioning, such as the lack of the Northern Subject Rule and the favouring of -s in habitual contexts. The outcomes based on social factors for this variable highlight the differences between Nain and other communities in the province: Newfoundland communities show a decline in the use of verbal -s while Nain shows a curvilinear pattern of distribution, with the youngest group of speakers using -s most frequently overall. Furthermore, in both the older and younger generations in Nain, it is the women who use the nonstandard variant more frequently. On the surface, this could be interpreted as a counterexample to traditional sociolinguistic findings (cf. Labov 2001) but it is more likely that the meaning of verbal -s has changed across generations in Nain. For older residents, who are native speakers of Inuttitut, -s appears to function as an overt marker of habituality, an example of potential first language transfer to English or of diffusion from Newfoundland English, the area's principal donor dialect. For third-generation residents, particularly the young women, -s no longer serves this function; there are no linguistic constraints for this group even though they use -s the most frequently, perhaps an indication that verbal -s is not considered nonstandard by this speaker group. (The meaning of nonstandard -s seems to be in flux for the middle group of speakers, who have lower rates of use and show a disfavouring effect in multivariate analyses.) In contrast, in some studies in Newfoundland English, -s has a more performative quality;

some scholars (e.g., Childs and Van Herk 2010, 2013) observe that the nonstandard variant is used to index a pro-Newfoundland identity. The evolving motivations behind use or avoidance of -s in Nain and the lack of a strong performative component seen in some Newfoundland communities indicate that this variable serves a different purpose in Nain than in the regions of Newfoundland that have been discussed in the more recent literature.

For adjectival intensification, one of the canonical Newfoundland intensifiers—*right*—is the most frequent variant in Nain, in keeping with descriptive evidence from Clarke (2010) and others. This suggests that Nain Inuit English is retaining forms that are no longer found as commonly in Newfoundland (or at least young Newfoundlanders’ online language (Bulgin et al. 2008, Deal 2008)). If this were a more traditional retained older form, we might expect to see higher rates of *right* in the speech of all of the older speakers; instead, *right* is only used by approximately half the sample and is found primarily in young women’s speech, though there is one older woman (Lois) who favours this intensifier. In fact, *right* appears to be the up-and-coming variant, analogous to *so* in more urban areas. This is a very different outcome from the quantitative Newfoundland-based studies, which pattern more closely with other North American communities.

The results of the co-variation analysis suggest that English in Nain is still developing, with speakers continuing to negotiate the sociolinguistic meaning of the variants under investigation in this dissertation. Correlations between verbal -s and *right* appear in the data for native speakers of English, for women, and for the youngest generation in the sample, who also have a correlation between use of [d] and verbal -s.

These results make sense since Molly and Madeleine, two of the younger women in the sample, are quite innovative, showing high rates for nearly all of the nonstandard variants under discussion. These results suggest that the community may be developing a more cohesive dialect, with the younger, L1 English population leading the change. These changes are being led by younger women, as the data in Chapters 4-6 demonstrate, an expected outcome since women are often leaders of linguistic change. Nonetheless, the co-variation data support the idea that the variants in question serve different functions or meanings for different generations, and that the sociolinguistic development of the community is an ongoing process. The data also show that this process is dependent on both time and a strong presence of English, since feature clustering and social meaning emerge only in the speech of the young women. What is perhaps most interesting here is the fact that these young women are using and perhaps re-interpreting variants associated with traditional dialect in Newfoundland. In Newfoundland, features like interdental stopping and verbal -s are most closely associated with traditional lifestyle and language; younger women elsewhere in the province are moving away from these variants. In contrast, in Nain, young women employ nonstandard variants with great frequency and also espouse a local affiliation, or at least orientation, with their desire to remain in Nain and their pride in their cultural heritage and practices.

As mentioned in §2.2.1, Nain residents do not want to sound like they are from Newfoundland and believe that Labradoreans have a different accent. Based on these assertions, it might be expected that residents would employ some sort of negative identity practice (Bucholtz 1999) to distance themselves linguistically from NE norms.

However, the (ð) data show rates of stopping and conditioning factors similar to those found in Newfoundland communities, while verbal -s shows some shared linguistic factors. One possible explanation is the concept of dialect leveling, in the sense of Trudgill's (2004) work on new dialect formation. In this deterministic model, when variants are in competition, the variant employed by the largest group of the population wins out. This occurs on a variant-by-variant basis, so the emerging dialect can combine features of various input dialects; this new dialect is then transmitted, in the sense of Labov (2007), to subsequent generations. Since most of the English-speaking settlers in the Nain area are from Newfoundland or NE input areas, most of the non-local teachers in the school come from Newfoundland, and residents travel to Newfoundland for most health services, it seems almost inevitable that Nain Inuit sound similar to Newfoundlanders when speaking English. This model, however, leaves little room for the role of identity or speaker agency, thus potentially omitting relevant information.

Another possibility is diffusion, which Labov (2007:347) describes as “the transfer across branches of the family tree,” often “the result of contact between the speech communities involved and the transfer of features from one to the other.” One component of diffusion is that language is transmitted by adults; Labov (2007:380) observes that “adult learning is not only slower, but it is also relatively coarse; it loses much of the fine structure of the linguistic system being transmitted.” If diffusion is the explanation for the development of Nain Inuit English, it would account for the different rates of usage and constraints on interdental stopping, verbal -s, and intensification found in this community, when compared to Newfoundland towns.

In fact, when all of the data are taken as a whole, this reinforces the idea that the linguistic landscape of English in this community is more layered than we might anticipate from the identity rhetoric. Instead of straightforward avoidance of Newfoundland-associated variants, we see something more dynamic, with these variants serving a different purpose for Nain residents. Thus, it appears that these features may not be as strongly associated with Newfoundland by people in Nain. This is similar to one of Trudgill's (2004:154) arguments: that salience "cannot be operative" in communities like Nain because they are "tabula rasa" situations and do not necessarily share notions of salience and stigma with their donor regions. Interviewees commented on linguistic differences between north coast communities and the north coast and other parts of Canada, including Newfoundland, but the variables examined in this dissertation were not among those listed in their metalinguistic commentary. From this, I conclude that residents are aware of differences between their speech and NE but do not necessarily focus on the variables thought to typify the dialect, presumably because the Newfoundland-associated variants are common in their home community.

In addition to having a strong presence in NE, the variables in this study are found across Indigenous Englishes in North America. Nonstandard realizations of interdental fricatives and verbal -s are often observed in the English spoken in Aboriginal communities (Fletcher 1983, Leap 1993), including Nain; discourse features like adjectival intensification tend to be overlooked in surveys of IndE. Having considered only two of the "Pan-IndE" features, it appears that Nain Inuit English has similarities with other Indigenous Englishes but we cannot determine how far these similarities

extend without further investigation. At present, however, it can be said that this variety of English is indeed an example of IndE based on the definition posited in §1.1 and that it shares features with other Indigenous Englishes, though the constraints may vary from community to community.

Any discussion of IndE involves considering transfer from the indigenous language. For the three variables covered in this dissertation, there is little evidence of transfer from Inuttitut. This may be a by-product of the variables selected for analysis, since studies of second language acquisition indicate that transfer is most common in a language's phonology and only one of the variables under consideration is phonological. Even interdental stopping, however, is not a strong example of transfer because there were no non-English variants and the attested nonstandard variants can be found in English dialects, including NE.

What this analysis does provide, however, is clear support for the use of a variationist framework in studies of IndE. Nain is sociolinguistically dynamic, with different speaker groups demonstrating different linguistic constraints and rates of use across generations, as observed in other Aboriginal communities (e.g., Wolfram 1980, 1984, 1996; Dannenberg and Wolfram 1998; Anderson 1999; Schilling-Estes 2000; Torbert 2001; Dannenberg 2002; Coggshall 2006, 2008). This type of analysis allows for a more nuanced description of English in Nain, highlighting generational differences and creating a description of sociolinguistic changes in progress.

Given the current linguistic situation of the community, either Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model or Trudgill's (2004) new dialect formation stages (mentioned in

§1.4.2.1) can be applied. Community members fall primarily into Stages I (adult migrants, analogous to L1 Inuit residents) and II (first native-born speakers, analogous to the L1 English residents) though there are community members who were too young to be interviewed who would meet Trudgill's Stage III (subsequent generations) criteria. As in other situations of new dialect formation, such as New Zealand (Trudgill 1988, 2004) or Høyanger, Norway (Omdal 1977), this first generation of native English speakers does not have a "single, stable adult model," creating an environment in which there is "tremendous variability, both between and within individuals" (Kerswill 2010:689). The sample has not progressed yet to Stage III of Trudgill's model so it is difficult to determine how readily this model can be applied to Nain Inuit English.

In contrast, Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model appears a more suitable frame for discussing the development of English in Nain, as he has successfully applied it to the general development of IndE in the United States (in the differentiation phase) and Aboriginal English in Australia (in the nativization phase). The key difference between Nain Inuit English and the two case studies in Schneider (2007) is that the development of the IndE in the United States and Aboriginal English spans several centuries and shows a gradual shift from the ancestral language to English; in Nain, the linguistic shift is quite rapid, occurring within living memory. As a result, Nain Inuit English does not fit as neatly into Schneider's model, moving quickly through the cycle, resulting in overlapping phases. For the history and politics factor, for example, Nain would fall into either the fourth or fifth phase since it is part of Nunatsiavut, the regional Inuit government and territory. (The classification between these two phases would depend on

how stable the Nunatsiavut Government is perceived.) For identity construction, Nain Inuit would likely fall into the same point in the cycle, since residents identify as Inuit above all else. It is also possible, however, that Nain Inuit might fall into the third (nativization) phase; it is unclear if community members identify as Inuit generally or Labrador Inuit specifically based on the information I gathered in my interviews. For the sociolinguistics of contact/use/attitudes, this dialect is best described as being in the nativization phase, in which the indigenous strand is characterized by language shift and the existence of L1 speakers of the local variety. Finally, it is difficult to determine where Nain Inuit English falls for linguistic development/structural effects. It could be argued that Nain Inuit English falls into the final phase of the cycle because the dialect is developing but the variety has skipped some of the stages described for this factor for phases 3 and 4, such as dictionary writing or lexical productivity.

On the surface, there appear to be numerous similarities between Nain Inuit English and Newfoundland English, a logical outcome since NE is the main input variety for the community. However, this study also shows that the development of sociolinguistic meaning of variables in English in Nain is still a work in progress, as Nain Inuit English is a newer dialect, with younger women showing us the direction in which the dialect appears to be headed. Thus, though more direct and indirect questioning about language ideology and identity are required to determine which social factors are most influential in language use and development in Nain, this examination of Nain Inuit English allows us to watch sociolinguistic meaning emerge in a newer variety of English.

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Appendix A: Certificate of informed consent

You are taking part in a study conducted by Jennifer Thorburn (jthorburn@mun.ca), a graduate student in the Linguistics Department at Memorial University. The reason for this research is to understand how English is spoken in your community. The goal of this study is to describe Nain English not to evaluate it. This project will look at the changes and differences in the language of English speakers in Nain. You do not have to take part in this study.

In the interview, you may be asked about topics including your childhood, personal experiences, language in your community, traditional knowledge, or life in Nain. This is to learn more about what it is like to live in your community, not to be intrusive. You do not have to answer questions that make you uncomfortable.

This conversation will be tape-recorded. Anything you say will be kept confidential. If you are uncomfortable with parts of the interview, these sections will be erased. Only Jennifer and her supervisor, Gerard Van Herk, will know your identity. They will not share your personal information, such as your name or address, with the public. However, they cannot prevent people from recognizing your voice, or guessing who you are from something you say, so they cannot guarantee that nobody will ever find out who you are.

A representative from NG may listen to portions of the interview, but only those that are about Traditional Knowledge. S/he will not hear the rest.

The proposal for this research has been reviewed by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) and found to be in compliance with Memorial University's ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research (such as the way you have been treated or your rights as a participant), you may contact Jennifer's supervisor, Gerard Van Herk, at gvanherk@mun.ca or (709) 737-7632 or the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr@mun.ca or by telephone at (709) 737-8368.

Signing this form means that you are taking part in this study voluntarily and are fully aware that the conversation is being tape-recorded. It also means that you grant permission for interview material to be used for any academic purpose, such as discussions, presentations, or any published or unpublished works.

- Check this box to allow Jennifer to deposit your interview with the Department of Linguistics, Memorial University. This will give other researchers access to this material. Your interview will be kept under lock and key and only authorized people will be allowed to use it.
- Check this box to allow NG to contact you about the possibility of using a quote about Traditional Knowledge from your interview. (You can decide if they use your name with the quotation.)

* * * * *

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Participant's Signature: _____

Date: _____