A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF LONG ISLAND, NOTRE DAME BAY, NEWFOUNDLAND

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A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF LONG ISLAND, NOTRE DAME BAY, NEWFOUNDLAND

by

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ABSTRACT

This study attempted to apply the standard methods of sociolinguistics to a rural Newfoundland community (Long Island, Notre Dame Bay) in which there were no obvious socio-economic classes. Eleven linguistic variables (seven phonological plus four grammatical) were investigated in five different contextual styles. Purely linguistic conditioning was also investigated. The twenty-four speakers (informants) were divided into eight cells based on three binary divisions by sex, age, and education. A difference of means test was used to determine the statistical significance of observed differences in frequencies of variants.

Several interesting conclusions emerged. Synchronic phonological conditioning of all seven phonological variables was found and, in at least one case, additional diachronic evidence was adduced. The grammatical variable (-ing) showed both phonological and grammatical conditioning. The varying patterns of interdependence among the three independent variables of sex, age, and education yielded several insights into the sociolinguistic structure of the Island. It was also found that sex, age, and education ranked first, second, and third respectively in the variation attributable to these three social variables. However, the strongest conditioning of all proved to be stylistic, with significantly wider variation for all speakers between casual speech (on the one hand) and the four other more formal styles (on the other hand) than between the six most non-standard speakers

(i.e., the six older males) and the other eighteen speakers (i.e., the six older females plus the twelve younger speakers). Like socio-economic class in urban studies, style here produced discrete changes in the four grammatical variables. In addition, the stylistic range of younger speakers was significantly wider than that of older speakers, with the young (in their more formal styles) having better command of standard variants. This no doubt facilitates linguistic interaction with non-local speakers, and perhaps indicates a trend towards bidialectalism.

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1.1 The community of Long Island

Long Island is one of several islands located in the western part of Notre Dame Bay on the northeast coast of Newfoundland. Going southeastwards one finds Little Bay Islands, Sunday Cove Island, Long Island, Pilley's Island, Brighton and Triton Islands (see Geographical Appendix, p. 142). All but Long Island and Little Bay Islands are connected to the Newfoundland mainland by causeway; these two are linked to the mainland by ferry.

Long Island takes its name from its shape; it extends approximately nine miles in length and is approximately four miles in width at its widest point. It is on the northern part of this widest section that the Island's inhabitants chose to live. Here we find in an arc from west to north the communities of Lush's Bight, Beaumont South, Beaumont Central, and Beaumont North (see Geographical Appendix, p.142).

Because of Long Island's past and present separation from the mainland of Newfoundland it is fairly isolated. Although only several hundred yards from nearby Pilley's Island, which is connected to the mainland by causeway, there is little contact with the latter island since no vehicle road yet approaches this area. The traditionally most important and nearest connection to the mainland by boat was with the community of South Brook approximately fifteen miles away. The highroad went from there to Badger, the nearest railway station. After Springdale and its connecting roads developed (in the 1950's), Springdale replaced South Brook as the main link with the outside

world. Today most outside contact is still with Springdale, located eighteen miles away, because Springdale quickly developed into the commercial centre of the district and replaced nearby Little Bay Islands as the commercial centre for the Long Island fishery. It is to Springdale that the inhabitants travel to obtain supplies and medical services. The only other important link Long Island had with the outside world before land travel replaced sea travel was with the railway terminal in Lewisporte via the Canadian National Coastal Boat Service. Today the most important boat connections to the mainland, besides Springdale, are with the community of Miles Cove, approximately six miles away on Sunday Cove Island and Robert's Arm, approximately eight miles away on the mainland.

Long Island's geographical isolation is the main reason for its relatively short history.[1] Because it is located in western Notre Dame Bay, it was only settled after the best land and fishing berths were claimed around the earlier settled areas of Twillingate, Fogo Island, and so forth in eastern Notre Dame Bay. Although we will probably never be sure when the first settlers came to Long Island, it is fairly certain that it would be shortly after 1800. Handcock (1972: 35-42) reports that the bulk of Notre Dame Bay's early inhabitants came mainly from the southwest England county of Dorset and adjoining parts of Somerset, Wiltshire, and Hampshire. He further

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[1]For the remainder of this discussion I am heavily indebted to Norman S. Paddock's unpublished paper "Long Island: A Historical Narrative".

reports that early emigration to Newfoundland began around 1755 and peaked from 1825 to 1834. More specifically, Handcock claims that emigration from Dorset to Bonavista Bay began around 1805 and peaked from 1845 to 1854. Therefore, since Bonavista Bay and the adjoining eastern parts of Notre Dame Bay were settled first, we can be fairly certain that the first temporary settlers were arriving at Long Island around the first decade of the nineteenth century and that permanent settlement would occur within a decade or so - surely by the 1820's or 30's.

These early settlers found what they came for: fishing grounds, land to build and plant on, forests for building supplies and fuel, and animals to hunt. More than likely, they were met by the Beothuck who would follow Indian River out to the bottom of Hall's Bay and from there follow the shorelines in their canoes to the islands. This assumption is supported both by local oral traditions[2] and by the many local findings of native relics and the dug-out campsites along the beaches.

The first reference to permanent English settlement of Long Island is found in the 1836 census report, which reported fourteen people living on the Island. In the years that follow we find: 150 (1850), 238 (1874), 303 (1884), 255 (1891), 427 (1901), 460 (1911), 573 (1921), 679 (1935), 608 (1945), 629 (1951), 560 (1966), 553 (1971), 470 (1976).

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[2]See for example, Harold Paddock's reworking of one such local tale in his poem "Keep Up Da Fince", published in Regional Language Studies, No. 5, 1974, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

These first settlers were nearly all members of the Church of England. They constructed their first church in 1860, at Beaumont North (then called Ward's Harbour). In 1884 a Wesleyan Church was constructed at Lush's Bight, followed in 1891 by one at Beaumont Central. In 1901 the Salvation Army entered Lush's Bight and religious affiliations remained much the same except for the arrival of the last of Long Island's three religious denominations, the Pentecostals, in 1970.

Thus Long Island's population remained relatively homogeneous since all significant religious groups are Protestant and almost all settlers are from the southwest of England. There is no "ethno-religious" division as Paddock (1966, 1975) found in Carbonear or Reid (1981) found in Bay de Verde. In fact, the northeast coast location allowed very little contact with the Irish-Catholic element in Newfoundland, although there would be some contact during the fishing seasons by those inhabitants who fished at or near places such as Conche and Croque on the Great Northern Peninsula.

As with the settlement of virtually all of outport Newfoundland, fish was what first attracted people to Long Island and fish has been the mainstay of life there ever since. The local waters were fished mainly for cod and when it became scarce locally fishermen moved their seasonal or summer fishery to the western coast of the Great Northern Peninsula (called the French Shore), the Straits of Belle Isle, and farther north to the Labrador coast. The older inhabitants can still remember the small fleet of sailing ships (schooners) that operated from the Island. The importance of the fishery to the Island's

economy is reflected in the following figures that show the total value of all fish products as they increased: $11,702 (1891), $24,274 (1901), $42,674 (1911), $82,370 (1921). This was the heyday of Long Island's economy. For the next several decades fish production slipped due to declining world markets, and it was not until the emergence of the more modern fishery of recent years that the economy has been on the upswing once more. In 1978 total fish production for the Island was approximately $400,000. Today no less than seventy percent of the adult, male population of the Island are fishermen.

Long Islanders, however, have not made their living only in boats. They have, out of necessity, been forced to turn to the land, too. Thus subsistence-mixed farming has always been an essential source of food: this involved most kinds of vegetable growing, and the raising of various kinds of animals such as sheep, goats, pigs, a few cows, fowl, and the horse for draught purposes. Their food supply was further supplemented by hunting the animals and birds that frequent both Newfoundland's land and water. Turning to the forests, many males became wood-cutters and loggers, both for their own purposes of obtaining fuel and building supplies and as a livelihood with Newfoundland's logging companies during the lean years of the fishery. Today, however, only two males make their living as full-time loggers.

The remainder of the population, today, make their living in various occupations such as construction work, carpentry, bus and taxi-driving, teaching, business, and housework.

The struggle for survival first brought settlers to Long Island and the same factor has taken them away. As mentioned above, during the early years of the fishery not only were the nearby waters fished but as the fishery expanded and the fish stocks declined, the boats moved first to the French Shore (along the western coast of the Great Northern Peninsula) to such places as Pilier Bight, Grey Islands, and numerous other places north of White Bay, and farther and farther away until eventually many were going to the Labrador coast. In the early years of the fishery, when the fishing season was over the fish was sold in nearby Little Bay Islands, or earlier on in Nippers Harbour, the first place to replace Twillingate as a commercial centre for the Island, or it was carried directly to St. John's. Today most fish is sold to the fish plants at La Scie and/or Triton. For the fishermen only their catch had to be taken off the Island but the people working as loggers, carpenters, and so on had to leave the Island themselves to return only on weekends and out of season. Eventually many of these people chose to take their families to where they themselves worked and left the Island permanently, although several still commute home only on weekends.

Other factors have necessitated this dependence on outside contact for survival. Most important of these is the educational system. During the past twenty years or so those young people who intended to finish high school have been forced to board away from the Island near some larger school because there have been no senior high school grades offered on the Island in recent years; many of these

young people never return to the Island permanently. The only group of people, therefore, with very little significant contact with the outside world is the middle-aged and older women.

More recently, the modern world has encroached further into the Island's community life. The past twelve years have brought numerous changes: electricity, highroads, telephones, a new post office and school which serve the whole Island, and, most important, a ferry system which connects Long Island with Little Bay Islands and with the surrounding mainland communities.

These are the geographical, historical, economic, and social factors that have helped mould the speech of the Long Islanders of 1980 that I will be analyzing in this monograph.

1.2 Non-linguistic variables

As a native Long Islander I had been aware for some time of the linguistic variation in my own speech and the speech of fellow Long Islanders. This variation, I felt, was caused by the forces afoot to move Long Island rather abruptly into the mainstream of modern life. Long Islanders found themselves in the "dilemma" of having to choose between the best of two worlds. They were frustrated with not having the comforts of modern society; yet they retained much of their culture that they still treasured which is why they have so stubbornly refused to leave their island for other places where the sought-after comforts would be more readily available. To take part in the modern world was very difficult when one spoke so differently from its standardized dialects. And not to speak the local dialect placed one

in danger of being no longer accepted as a member of the local community (or even of the whole local district). What to do? It is this struggle to re-identify themselves sociolinguistically that has shaped the particular speech of the Long Islanders today.

The most striking characteristic of this speech is the amount of variation occurring in it - variation between idiolects and within idiolects. Any attempt to describe this dialect without dealing with the variation would not be very insightful.

This variation depends very much on certain social and stylistic factors that have to be considered. There is definitely a pattern to this alternation and to capture and explain parts of this pattern is largely the purpose of this monograph. I had observed that non-standard linguistic features occurred much more often in casual conversation while standardized features occurred in more formal settings - formal settings being defined mainly by the participants in any speech act for these people. Thus if a clergyman, a teacher, or some stranger is present then one would tend to find more standardized variants. Such observations led me to believe that the regional standard dialect was gradually replacing the local dialect. When people are trying to be more refined, they switch to a more standard speech code, to use Bernstein's term (Dittmar 1976: 9). However, this code-switching is by no means so widespread as has been reported elsewhere, such as Blom and Gumperz (1972) reported for Hemnes, Norway. Under no circumstances would you find these people using standard features simply because they were discussing a certain topic such as

politics, as was the case in Hemnes. The more standard variety or code is used to deal with people from the outside world while the more non-standard code is used when dealing with community members.

In addition to this switching as the speech participants change one finds variation between the non-standard and the standard occurring in the speech of certain socially defined groups. The older people do not talk like the younger people, nor males like females, and so on.

Then there is the individual who alternates rapidly between the non-standard and the standard forms. Many times I noticed such forms as [stɐrm] and [stɔrm] for storm, within even the same sentence.

I wanted to establish that these observations were not fanciful intuitions but were fact. I wanted to determine to just what extent such ongoing language change had developed in the speech of Long Islanders. My research shows the effects of sex, age, education, and style on this speech.

1.3 Selection of linguistic variables

Naturally in a study of this nature it is not possible to analyze the variation that occurs with every single linguistic feature of a speech community. I think it is quite plausible to generalize about what is happening to all the features when one sees a very detailed investigation and analysis of several of the features. Because of this I have limited my study to eleven linguistic features: seven phonological (four vocalic plus three consonantal) and four

morphological (two morphosyntactic and two morphophonological). I classify the morphological features as morphosyntactic when there seems little likelihood of phonological conditioning, whereas morphological features are classed as morphophonological when there is more likelihood of phonological conditioning.

I attempted to select these features in such a way that they would occur fairly frequently in an interview time-span of approximately one hour. I also chose them so that they would illustrate group and individual variation as well as stylistic variation. In fact, I followed the same three criteria for selecting linguistic variables that are outlined by Labov (1972: 8): that features occur frequently, that each be a structural unit capable of being integrated with other structural units, and that there be orderly distribution of the variable for different strata of society. These are the criteria that a linguistic variable must exhibit for it to be the most linguistically revealing.

1.3.1 Vocalic variables

(ei): The variable (ei) reveals the process by which this dialect is losing its former phonemic distinction between closing diphthongs such as [æI~ɛI~eI]in maid and pain on the one hand and monophthongs such as [e:~ɛ^:] or centering diphthongs such as [eə] in made and pane on the other hand. One could, and sometimes still does, get minimal pairs as maid/made and pain/pane. Thus in this dialect two long front vowels maintained a contrast lost earlier in Standard English. But from the standard orthography we can see that a historical distinction has been

preserved: most words with the -ai, -ay, -ei, or -ey spellings had preserved a closing diphthong such as [ɛI] whereas words that had monophthongal [ɛ̄] or [ā] in Middle English (usually spelled ea or aCe, respectively) did not usually develop closing diphthongs spontaneously in this dialect. It seems that Middle English [ɛ:] and [a:] fell together in this dialect to give non-closing vowels such as monophthongs [ɛ^:] and [e:] and centering diphthongs such as [ɛə] and [eə] and that both these types are being gradually but surely replaced by the local standard [ɛI] or [eI], making the pairs of words mentioned above into homophones in this dialect as they are in the standard. Therefore, the situation today is that in words that had the original non-closing vowels we now find variation between non-standard forms such as [ɛə, eə, ɛ^:, e:] and local standard forms such as [ɛI, eI].

(Or): In the environment before /r/ plus another consonant reflexes of Middle English short [ɔ] have been lowered, unrounded, and fronted in many words. Thus one gets [stɐrm], [ʃɐrt] for storm, short and other -orC words. However, in the same environment reflexes of Middle English long [ɔ:] (in words such as hoarse) are less radically changed. In the latter words the vowel is shortened and unrounded only, to [ʌ], or is simply shortened to [ɔ]. So, again, we see that this dialect still shows a remnant of an earlier phonemic distinction where words with the -orC spelling were pronounced differently than those words with the -ore, or -oar spellings (more and hoarse, for example). The latter never became fronted although often shortened and unrounded. We still get distinctions such as [ɐrs]

for horse and [ʌrs] or [ɔrs] for hoarse.

However, today, while one still gets [ɚr] in horse, etc., quite frequently one also gets the more standard [ʌr] and even the local standard [ɔr]; the latter two are treated here as the standard forms that are in variation with the non-standard form. In addition to this, I found that when people attempted to standardize they would often hypercorrect and would give [ʌr] or [ɔr] in words such as hard.

It is also interesting to note that Middle English lax, low vowel [a] changed into a rounded [ɔ] vowel between /w/ and /r/. We see this in words such as war, warm, warn, wharf and so on. These words originally had the [a] vowel in Middle English but now in Modern English they have [ɔ]. However, in this dialect this standard sound change did not take place between /w/ and /r/. Therefore these words still have a low, unrounded vowel of the [ɚ] or [a] type. It has even been reduced to [ə˜] in the word wart. In other words, the contrast between Middle English [-war-] and [-wɔr-] was usually lost in both the standard dialect and this dialect, but in the standard dialect both were neutralized to a rounded vowel of the [ɔ] type, whereas in this dialect both were neutralized to an unrounded vowel of the [ɚ˜a] type. For this reason I included both the original Middle English [-war-] and [-wɔr-] words in my data.

(E) and (I): Because these two variables are involved in similar or related linguistic processes of vowel raising that this dialect has undergone (as will become apparent below) I will discuss them together.

Under the (E) variable one often finds no contrast between such pairs as sit/set, pin/pen, etc. Both words in such pairs often contain [I]. This lack of contrast between [I] and [ɛ] in these words suggests that this dialect had lost or was losing a phonemic distinction that we still retain in the standard dialect. The two sounds in the Long Island dialect were largely allophones of one phoneme with [ɛ] usually occurring before /l/ and [I] occurring elsewhere. However, it appears that at least a few lexical exceptions may have survived the merger, perhaps due to some influence of Standard English or the need to preserve certain minimal pairs. In addition, [ɛ] seems to have lowered to [æ] in a few words, especially before the [v] of seven and eleven.

One has to consider the (I) variable. When historical /ɛ/ was raised to [I], historical /I/ likewise was sometimes raised and tensed to [i·] giving [i·n] for in, [pi·n] for pin, etc. Words with historical /ɛ/ hardly ever acquired this tense vowel. Thus we still see sometimes evidence of the former phonemic status of these two vowels in this dialect.

There is evidence that this raising and tensing of /I/ was more widespread in the dialect in the past. One would often hear [ski·f], [bi·ɬ], or [wu:ndi·d] for skiff, bill, and wounded, respectively. The change of [I] to [i·] seems to be more phonologically conditioned than that of [ɛ] to [I] because the former appears to be encouraged by certain following consonants such as [ʃ] in dish, fish, etc., or [ɬ] in pill, fill, etc. Other vowels also

change from lax to tense types before these same consonants; for example, [æ] in cash, trash, etc. becomes [e·], [ei], or [ɛ·i].[3]

The situation in 1980 (as we shall see) leads one to believe that the standardization of the dialect is forcing speakers to once again restore these two vowels to their original phonemic status. This is causing extreme variation between [I] and [ɛ] in words with historical /ɛ/ and between [I] and [i·] in those with historical /I/.

1.3.2 Consonantal variables

(θ) and (ð): Because of the realization that these two variables so closely parallel each other in this dialect I am dealing with them together although they will be analyzed separately later.

In most cases one finds that words such as thigh and thy, that would normally have the voiceless and voiced interdental fricatives respectively in Standard English, have the voiceless and voiced alveolar stops respectively in this dialect. These are not the only realizations, however, when these speakers attempt to produce the standard forms. To a lesser extent one often hears a dental stop, [t̪] or [d̪], an affricate, [tθ] or [dð], or even a labial-dental fricative, [f] or [v], when th occurs postvocalically. Although the labiodentals were not elicited in the present study I have heard them fairly frequently in normal conversation. Furthermore, when th appears before [r] in onset clusters one hardly ever gets [θ] or [t], instead it is a retroflexed affricate before the retroflex /r/ of this

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[3]For a discussion of what is meant by the terms lax and tense vowels see Ladefoged (1975: 73-75).

dialect. In fact, three and tree are homonyms beginning with the same retroflexed affricate which we may symbolize as [tʂ] or [ʧ] because of its auditory (rather than articulatory) similarity to the affricate of chip, chill, etc.

(L): There has been widespread delateralization of /l/ in postvocalic positions in this dialect. A rather wide range of vocalic glides (semivowels) result from this vocalization of /l/. They vary in (conditioned) height and rounding but all are back. One of the more common variants is the unrounded cardinal seven vowel [ɤ]. The conditioned height and rounding occurs most often with back vowels so that fall is often [fɑ:], full is [foU] whereas the unrounded variant occurs more often with front vowels so that fell is often [fɛɤ̃]. If delateralization is not present, then one will find the "dark" (i.e. velarized) lateral [ɬ] in postvocalic positions.

1.3.3 Morphosyntactic variables

(PP): One of the most notable non-standard grammatical features is the regularization and levelling of verb paradigms. This is seen in the -s ending, found only on the third person singular present tense form in the standard dialect, being generalized to all present tense forms. Another example would be the generalization of was as the only past tense form.

The feature of this type that I investigated was the merging of the past tense form of the verb with the past participle form so that one form only is used for both functions. Thus one often gets such patterns as:

Infinitive	Present	Past and Past Participle
come	comes	come
see	sees	seen
do	doos	done

These patterns, where the former past participle is now used for the past tense form, often alternate with their standard counterparts today.

(GG): We see an important historical feature preserved in this variable. This is the use of the pronoun 'in as the third person, object pronoun where the standard dialect has him or it. This non-standard form comes from the Old English masculine accusative singular form hine while the standard form comes from the Old English dative him. This gives such phrases as "She married 'in" or "Pick 'in up" (said of a book). This is not a straight preservation of Old English grammatical gender but rather a reformulation of it, since nouns in the dialect have not always preserved the grammatical gender they had in Old English. Thus, 'in is usually used to refer to all objects that are male by sex or totally inanimate, while the 'er pronoun is usually used to refer to all objects feminine by sex or "semi-animate"; e.g., anything that can move such as an airplane or boat. It is used in the dialect to refer to non-count, mass nouns such as fog, water, etc. Furthermore, these object pronouns can be replaced by the subject pronoun forms for emphatic purposes; this can be seen in the following sentence "Don't pick up that book; (pointing) pick up he".

Phonological conditioning would appear to be operating on (GG) only when the non-standard pronoun 'in replaces or appears to replace the standard pronoun 'im but not when it replaces standard it.

Today one often finds this gender system (and its associated pronouns) in conflict with the standard.

1.3.4 Morphophonological variables

(an): Quite often the an allomorph of the indefinite article is not used before vowels as in the standard dialect. A is used before both consonants and vowels. If the following vowel happens to begin a stressed syllable, [h] is often added to separate the two vowels as in the phrase "a'h apple" [ə'hæpɣ]. This sandhi [h] (Matthews 1974: 97-102) occurred twenty-one times in my data. In other cases a alone or the standard an was used.[4]

(-ing): Very often, instead of the -ing suffix found on Standard English nouns, verbs, pronouns and adjectives this dialect has -in. It must be pointed out that in classifying words into these traditional parts of speech I was aware of the fact that there is a continuum rather than a clear-cut distinction between these categories, as has been pointed out by such writers as Ross (1973). Thus the gerund in "Running is good for you" would be the most nouny, with the present participle in "I am running" being the most verby, and the adjectivals

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[4]For a more extensive study of sandhi [h] on another island in Notre Dame Bay consult John Whalen's M.Ed. thesis "The Effect in Varying Contexts of Adding and "Dropping" of [h] by Grade IV and Grade IX Students on New World Island", 1978, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

varying in their degrees of "adjectiveness". For example, we do not say *"That's a very running brook" but we do say "That's a very charming girl", though I classified both types as adjectives in my analysis. This will be dealt with more fully in chapter four.

Historically, one would expect the verbs to have the most non-standard (-ing). The dialect form -in is a reflex of the Old English present participle ending -ende, which was used both verbally and adjectivally. This eventually became -in through a series of vowel reductions and, finally, consonant cluster simplification until eventually we get the non-standard form [ɪn]. On the other hand, Old English had a derivational suffix -ung for deriving nouns from verbs. Eventually this derivational suffix became the inflectional suffix as well for some still unknown reason (Samuels 1969: 410). By Chaucer's time this was the only form of the written standard in Southern and Midland England (Traugott 1972: 143-4) which explains why it became the form in the standard dialect. However, many dialects still preserved a system similar to the Old English one. And it appears that one of these was the one brought to Long Island at the beginning of the nineteenth century because there are still echoes of it there today. One finds a high degree of variation on the Island today between the standard and non-standard forms. In this variation it seems plausible that one would find verbs with the most non-standard -in, nouns with the least, and adjectives somewhere in between.

I also investigated more than the reflexes of the two Old English morphemes -ende and -ung by including the indefinite pronouns. One often hears nuttin or sumpin/sumpm for nothing and something

respectively.

One must also not forget that there may be a fair degree of phonological conditioning with this variable. For example, when it occurs before velar consonants one would expect a higher occurrence of the standard variant with [ŋ] than before, say, alveolars which should encourage the non-standard variant with [n].

1.4 Selection of informants

Twenty-four informants were selected so that I could correlate my linguistic findings with the four social variables of sex, age, education, and style. These I felt were the only justifiable groupings that the social and economic structure of Long Island permitted. I could not group along social class lines since there appeared very little social class structure in the community. Ninety-six percent of the population would have to be considered lower or working class. In terms of contact with the outside world, the only inhabitants with rather limited outside contact were middle-aged and older females and these were few. Religion or ethnic grouping could not be used as a basis for division since the whole population is Protestant and of English origin. While geographical differences between the four main communities could have been a basis for division, my preliminary investigation and my own knowledge as a native of the Island led me to believe that there were no significant language differences between these communities existing today. This left only sex, age, education, and style with which to systematically correlate linguistic variation.

I decided to divide my sample into two equal groups of twelve males and twelve females, two equal groups of twelve people over age fifty and twelve people under age thirty, and two equal groups of those people who had at least graduated from high school with grade eleven and twelve people who had not graduated from high school. This gave me eight separate sub-groups or cells: (1) males over fifty without grade eleven (-EOM), (2) males over fifty with grade eleven (+EOM), (3) females over fifty without grade eleven (-EOF), (4) females over fifty with grade eleven (+EOF), (5) males under thirty without grade eleven (-EYM), (6) males under thirty with grade eleven (+EYM), (7) females under thirty without grade eleven (-EYF), and (8) females under thirty with grade eleven (+EYF).

I then quite arbitrarily through personal contact in the community sought an interview with twenty-four individuals who met the criteria outlined above. However, I tried to distribute my sample population evenly over the different communities on the Island: I *chose eight people from Lush's Bight and seven from Beaumont North* (the two largest communities); five were selected from Beaumont South and four from Beaumont Central. I also tried to avoid using too many informants from the one family - thus my twenty-four informants were chosen from seventeen different families.

The only problem encountered in finding three informants that *fitted each of my eight cells was with the two older groups having* better education. In the female cell (+EOF) I was only able to obtain

two true native Islanders.[5] My third female in this cell (F10) is a former school teacher who came to the Island twenty-six years ago, married, and settled as a housewife. I decided to use her in my final analysis when her percentages of non-standard usage did not vary significantly from the other two in her cell (see Table 1.1 on p. 23). The corresponding male group (+EOM) was even more of a problem. Only one individual on the whole Island fitted. I then proceeded to pick two more individuals based on my own judgement. I looked for individuals who were self-educated rather than formally educated. I also looked at other factors that would set them off from their uneducated counterparts. One individual I selected was the leading merchant on the Island. The other was a prominent community member who for years had been a church lay-reader and was looked up to by many in the community. My choices were proven sound by the consistency of non-standard usage of the three individuals in this cell; they are as consistent as a group as most of the other seven groups (see Table 1.1, p. 23, below).

Each of the informants is assigned a code number from one to twelve preceded by the letters F or M for female or male, respectively. Also note that the lower numbers 1-6 indicate younger informants while the higher numbers 7-12 indicate older informants. The odd numbers are used for less educated informants and the even numbers for the more educated. This arrangement produces the following cell matrix.

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[5]Paddock (1966, 1975: 9) had a similar problem with older Catholic females in Carbonear, Newfoundland.

	MALE		FEMALE	
O	M 7	M 8	F 7	F 8
L	M 9	M 10	F 9	F 10
D	M 11	M 12	F 11	F 12
Y O U N G	M 1	M 2	F 1	F 2
	M 3	M 4	F 3	F 4
	M 5	M 6	F 5	F 6
	LESS ED.	MORE ED.	LESS ED.	MORE ED.

In light of the fact that the population of Long Island is only 470, twenty-four seems a reasonably large sample to get a reliable indication of the Island's speech for the groups I am studying here; in fact, the number of people who fit my criteria is only 175 which means that I interviewed 13.7 percent of the people available to me. The only factor that could detract from the reliability of my findings is that the sample was not randomly selected along statistical guidelines.

1.4.1 The raw data of each informant

Table 1.1 presents the percentage of non-standard usage of each of my twenty-four informants for each of the eleven linguistic features investigated. Informants are grouped from the most non-standard cell to the least non-standard. The reader is referred to Table 8 (p. 57 below) for a summary by individual cells of the

Table 1.1 Percentage of non-standard usage of each informant

		Vocalic				Consonantal			Morphological			
Cell	Inf.	(E)	(I)	(ei)	(Or)	(θ)	(ð)	(L)	(PP)	(GG)	(an)	(-ing)
-E	M7	76	58	65	27	84	79	94	83	100	25	26
0	M9	68	31	56	16	76	74	92	40	0	33	24
M	M11	73	44	63	53	100	100	95	100	71	100	69
+E	M8	73	48	63	47	80	82	91	50	14	100	24
0	M10	65	80	59	19	84	93	85	100	20	100	43
M	M12	68	54	27	8	98	87	95	29	17	50	53
+E	M2	69	32	19	6	70	84	94	60	20	67	25
Y	M4	80	13	17	0	74	72	95	0	14	50	26
M	M6	66	17	21	0	37	75	95	11	27	20	33
-E	M1	65	47	24	7	85	80	89	100	0	100	37
Y	M3	69	30	8	0	60	71	92	80	11	60	22
M	M5	61	10	27	3	52	68	94	50	20	20	21
-E	F1	63	27	27	7	37	53	92	50	14	67	34
Y	F3	70	14	15	2	81	73	89	33	0	20	9
F	F5	67	39	8	0	51	60	91	0	14	25	18
-E	F7	71	46	25	3	62	67	94	25	14	50	13
0	F9	54	28	34	4	39	66	95	0	20	60	20
F	F11	67	27	15	10	56	67	94	50	0	33	45
+E	F8	67	34	19	3	68	53	95	0	10	0	24
0	F10	44	26	7	0	24	48	86	0	14	20	14
F	F12	55	45	30	0	89	86	95	0	0	0	0
+E	F2	61	12	6	0	47	87	91	17	18	22	38
Y	F4	51	4	8	0	35	47	91	0	22	0	11
F	F6	62	4	11	0	40	65	89	0	0	17	29

information in Table 1.1.

1.5 Questionnaire and transcriptions

Before any actual fieldwork could be done I had to devise a questionnaire that would elicit the linguistic information needed. I based its construction on the proven formats of such sociolinguistic researchers as Labov (1966) and Wolfram and Fasold (1974). There was no problem of applying the methodology of these urban dialectologists to this rural setting.

Section one of my questionnaire consisted of a list of 113 words containing all of the phonological features being investigated. These words were extremely simple (see Questionnaire Appendix) ensuring that even the informant with the least literacy would have no reading problem. I deliberately placed this section at the beginning because I felt that the low degree of difficulty encountered by the informant would encourage him/her to relax. Most of the resistance encountered in obtaining interviews was that people were afraid they would not get the answers "right", no matter how much I stressed that "correctness" was not a part of the study.

Section two was very similar to section one, but this time the informants were required to read through a list of 82 minimal pairs of very simple words containing all of the phonological features being studied.

In the third section I asked each informant 145 pre-formulated questions that required mainly one-word answers. The advantage of

this section, which was patterned almost exactly after the American and British structuralist dialect work,[6] was that it allowed the elicitation of grammatical features as well as phonological features.

The fourth section was a reading passage which contained all of the phonological features being investigated.

The final section of the questionnaire involved the elicitation of casual conversation. For fifteen to thirty minutes each informant was asked to discuss various games and recreational activities that they were familiar with.

All of the fieldwork except my preliminary work was carried out during the summer of 1980. Each interview involved one session of anywhere from one hour to an hour and a half.

The whole session was taped on a Uher 4000 reel-to-reel tape recorder at a speed of 3 3/4 i.p.s. These tapes were then copied onto cassettes and phonetically transcribed using a Sony Secutive transcriber.

The phonetic symbols used in transcribing correspond to those used for the Linguistic Atlas of New England (see Kurath et al., 1973: 122-143). A word of explanation is also necessary about my choice of symbols for the variables. In all cases where possible the standard variant was chosen as the symbol for the variable. For lax or short vowels capital letters were used and lower case letters were used for long or tense vowels. Similarly, for the grammatical variables, capitals were used for the two morphosyntactic variables,

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[6]By structuralist dialect work I have in mind the dialect work that produced The Linguistic Atlas of New England and The Survey of English Dialects.

(PP) and (GG), while lower case letters and conventional spellings were used for the morphophonological variables, (-ing) and (an).

1.6 Sociolinguistic analysis

To correlate the linguistic variables being investigated with the sociological variables I counted the number of times the standard (S) and the non-standard (NS) forms of each variable occurred. Any form that would not be used by broadcasters on radio or television, or would not occur in newspapers, literature, and so on was considered NS (Dittmar 1976: 8). The percentage of NS usage for each linguistic variable was calculated by dividing the number of times a NS feature could have occurred into the times it did occur. The results for each informant were tabulated on worksheets that displayed these percentages for each relevant linguistic environment, for each stylistic context, and for total NS usage overall. Then the results for the three members of a cell were combined to give composite scores for each cell. These could then be compared directly or combined to give the NS usage of any particular grouping required, e.g., males as compared to females.

To determine the statistical significance of differences found, I applied a Difference of Means Test that showed how confident I could be that a "real" difference existed. This significance is expressed as a confidence interval; for example, I could be 95 percent confident that for any sample of Long Island speakers there would be a difference between the mean percentage scores for males and females of not less

than 5 percent and not more than 33 percent in the use of the NS variants of the phonological variable (ei). Mathematically this is expressed as $5\% < (\mu_1 - \mu_2) < 33\%$ where μ_1 and μ_2 are the true means of any population of males and females, respectively, on Long Island. In other words I can be 95 percent confident that the true mean difference between males and females lies somewhere between these two values such that the difference between them will be no less than 5 percent and no greater than 33 percent. Since the mean difference that I found was 19 percent, I can be 95 percent confident that this is a "real" difference (see Statistical Appendix). In general, it was found that for my sample any difference of less than 9 or 10 percent could not be considered significant and that even higher differences were required in cases when the number of tokens was smaller than usual or when the number of members of a grouping was very small or when such members varied greatly in their usage.

1.7 Note on data displays

In the presentation and analysis of my data the percentage of NS usage of each cell is displayed on a horizontal bar graph (see Figure 2.1, p. 30, below). In all of these bar graphs the cells are rank ordered from the most NS to the least NS. This was done to facilitate an impressionistic analysis whereby the reader can easily observe the behaviour of each linguistic variable for each individual cell. The reader can at a glance see how the sound change, if there is one, is progressing through the Long Island population; for example,

he can see which of the three sociological variables of sex, age, and education is having the greater effect on any sound change.

In addition to the rank ordering of individual cells these bar graphs also give the number of occurrences of the NS variants of each linguistic variable along with the total number of occurrences of the linguistic variables. These two numbers are used to calculate the overall percentage of NS usage of the whole sample which is displayed at the bottom of each bar graph. This percentage indicates which linguistic variables are the most standardized for the community.

The second important data display device I utilized was the tables that presented the differences in NS usage of each linguistic variable conditioned by each sociological variable (see Table 2A, p. 31, below). These tables give the means of each individual cell and the mean difference between corresponding cells as determined by each social variable; for example, older uneducated males as compared to older uneducated females. Furthermore, these tables present the overall differences conditioned by the social variables; for example, the difference in NS usage of (E) for all males as opposed to all females. A word of caution is necessary regarding the overall differences between the means of the various groups. These overall means and differences are not derived from averaging the individual means and differences in the tables. This is because a mean of means is not equal to the real mean. These overall means were derived by dividing the total number of times the NS variants of a variable could have occurred into the actual number of times it did occur. And the differences between the overall

means were determined by simply subtracting one overall mean from the other.

2. LINGUISTIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL CORRELATIONS

2.1 Vocalic variables correlated with sex, age, and education

2.1.1 The variables (E) and (I)

Figure 2.1 gives the percentage of NS usage for (E).

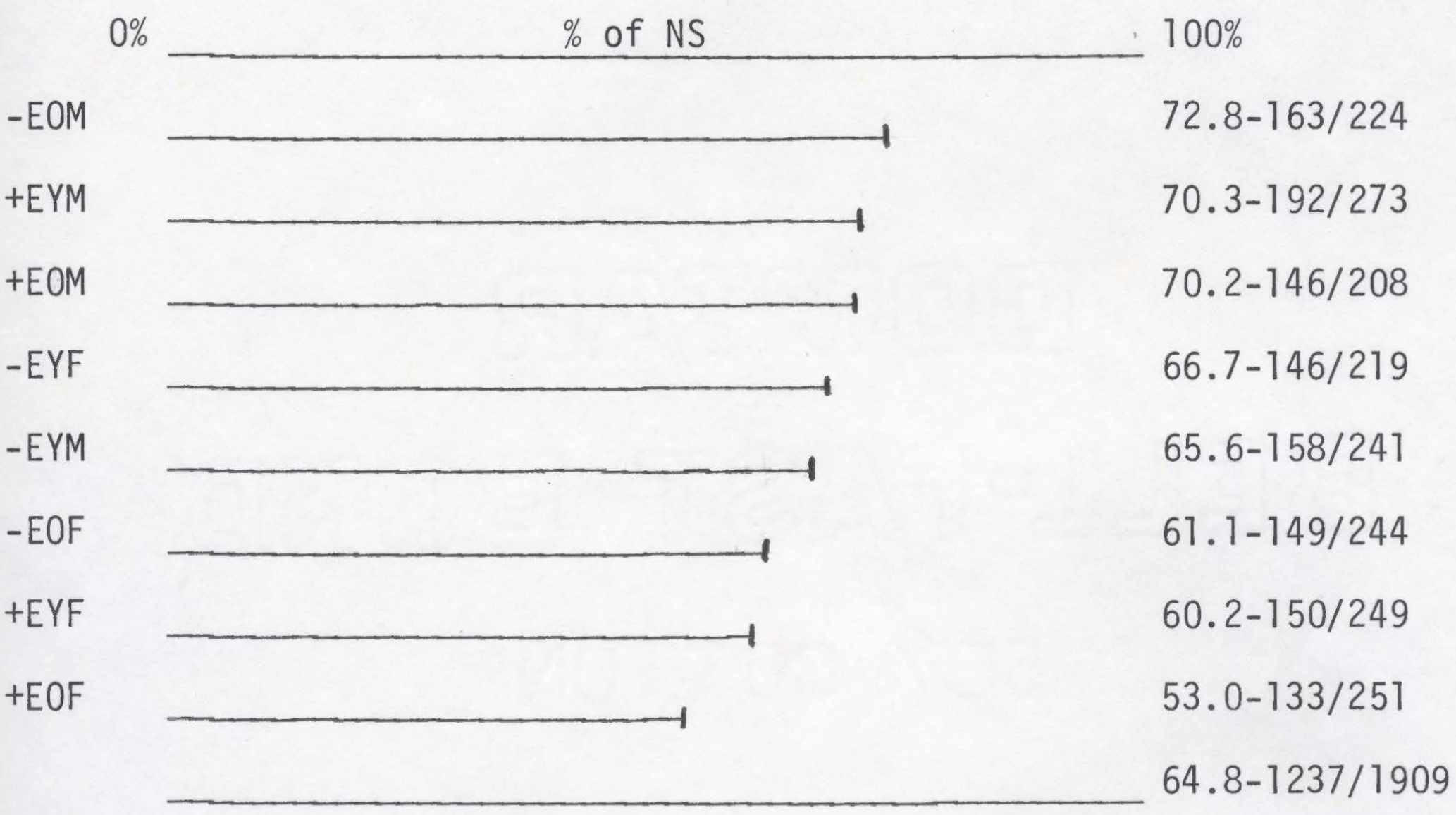

Figure 2.1. NS usage of (E).[1]

There is a very smooth transition from the most NS group, -EOM, to the most S group, +EOF, with the largest percentage spread from one neighbouring cell to another being only 7.2 percent. However, between the most NS group and the least there is a significant 19.8 percent difference (90% confidence). Since we have two of the older male

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[1]For all horizontal bar graphs the scale is 1mm representing 1%.

groups amongst the three most NS cells and the two older female groups amongst the three most S cells, age appears not to be the most important variable conditioning this distribution. However, since the three most NS cells are all male and the three most S cells are all female, it appears that sex is a very influential variable. Furthermore, the influence of education is very interesting since two of the educated female groups are the most S while two of the educated male groups are amongst the three most NS groups, suggesting that education is having an opposite influence on males and females.

We need to look more closely at the influence of each variable individually. Table 2.A shows the correlation of sex and NS (E).

Table 2.A. Sex differences and NS usage of (E)

Cells	M	F	Diff.
-EOM/-EOF	72.8	61.1	11.7
+EOM/+EOF	70.2	53.0	17.2
-EYM/-EYF	65.6	66.7	-1.1*
+EYM/+EYF	70.3	60.2	10.1
OVERALL	69.7	60.0	9.7

Sex differences are much greater amongst the older people than amongst the younger. This suggests that sex differences as reflected by language use are disappearing, which is very understandable in light of the modifications of the traditional sex roles throughout society

that have occurred in recent years. Sex was the only social variable to prove significant when correlated with NS usage of (E). The 9.7 percent overall difference between males and females was found significant for a 99 percent confidence interval. And the smaller breakdowns according to sex were also significant: the 11.7 percent difference between uneducated older males and females (80% confidence), the 17.2 percent difference between educated older males and females (90% confidence), and the 10.1 percent difference between educated younger males and females (80% confidence). In the three out of four cases which could be proven significant, females were more S than males.

Table 2.B shows the influence of the age variable on NS usage of (E). None of the differences found for age could be proven significant,

Table 2.B. Age differences and NS usage of (E)

Cells	O	Y	Diff.
-EOM/-EYM	72.8	65.6	7.2
+EOM/+EYM	70.2	70.3	-0.1*
-EOF/-EYF	61.1	66.7	-5.6*
+EOF/+EYF	53.0	60.2	-7.2*
OVERALL	63.7	65.8	-2.1*

indicating that my original subjective impression that age has very little influence on the usage of NS (E) was correct. As we will discuss more fully later, it is interesting that, except for the 7.2 percent difference between the uneducated older and younger men, the

younger speakers are more NS than the older speakers.

Table 2.C shows the influence of education on the NS usage of (E).

Table 2.C. Education differences and NS usage of (E)

Cells	-E	+E	Diff.
-EOM/+EOM	72.8	70.2	2.6
-EOF/+EOF	61.1	53.0	8.1
-EYM/+EYM	65.6	70.3	-5.3*
-EYF/+EYF	66.3	60.2	6.1
OVERALL	66.4	63.3	3.1

In all cases, except for the 5.3 percent difference between the educated and uneducated younger males, uneducated speakers were more NS than educated speakers. Again, as with age above, the uneducated young males are involved in the exception to the rule; they are more S than their educated young counterparts. This will be discussed below.

It must be pointed out here that while none of the above differences (except three of the sex differences) proved to be statistically significant, I still quote them and will continue to do so with similar results throughout this discussion. I do this because of the consistency with which such differences keep recurring. Because of this I would predict that these differences would be found to be significant if the population of each individual cell was higher by about six or seven more individuals in addition to the three already there. I feel confident of this assumption since significant

differences are found when larger groups of my sample are considered. Furthermore, the fact that some of these differences between individual cells are not found to be statistically significant when they are very high suggests the validity and reliability of those differences that are found significant by the difference of means test.

Figure 2.2 gives the percentages of NS usage for (I).

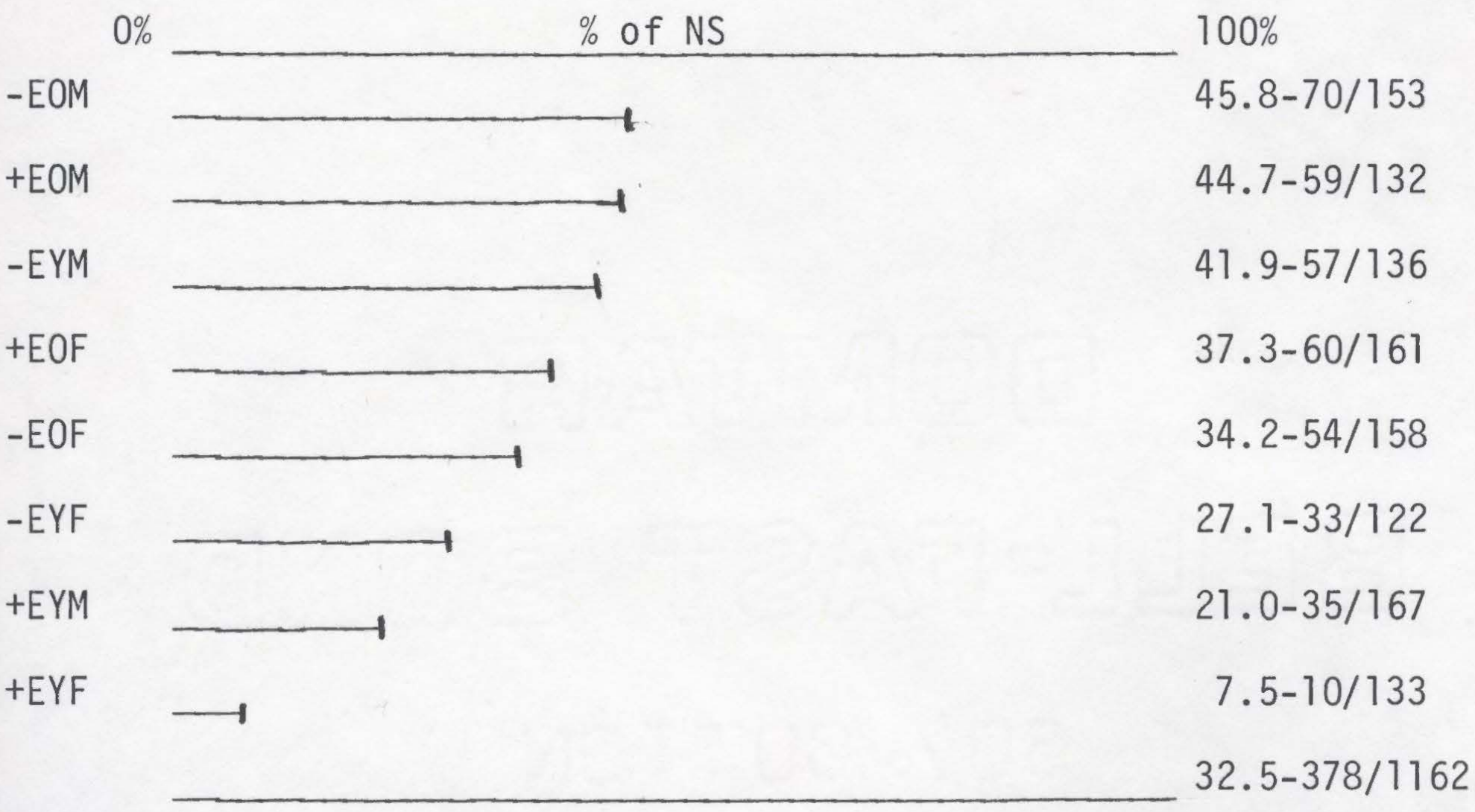

Figure 2.2 NS usage of (I).

As with (E), there is a smooth drop from the most NS to the least but this time the drop is much more sharp at the least NS end. The two most NS groups are both older male groups (as with (E)) while the two most S groups are the two younger educated ones, indicating that age is a more important non-linguistic variable for (I) usage than it was for (E) usage. Table 3.A shows the influence of age on this linguistic variable more clearly.

Table 3.A. Age differences and NS usage of (I)

Cells	O	Y	Diff.
-EOM/-EYM	45.8	41.9	3.9
+EOM/+EYM	44.7	21.0	23.7
-EOF/-EYF	34.2	27.1	7.1
+EOF/+EYF	37.3	7.5	29.8
OVERALL	40.2	24.2	16.0

A quick glance at Table 3.A shows that age has an important influence on the NS usage of (I). There is a significant overall difference between the NS usage of older and younger speakers of 16.0 percent (98% confidence). In all cases younger speakers are more S than older speakers. And when age interacts with a higher educational level there are very high 23.7 percent and 29.8 percent differences between younger and older educated counterparts for both males and females, respectively, but only the latter difference proved significant (99% confidenc

Table 3.B shows the influence of sex on (I) usage.

Table 3.B. Sex differences and NS usage of (I)

Cells	M	F	Diff.
-EOM/-EOF	45.8	34.2	11.6
+EOM/+EOF	44.7	37.3	7.4
-EYM/-EYF	41.9	27.1	14.8
+EYM/+EYF	21.0	7.5	13.5
OVERALL	37.6	27.4	10.2

In all cases females are more S than the corresponding males, although this time the greatest difference is between the younger groups rather than the older groups as we saw with (E) usage. Although these differences are all fairly high none were proven significant by the difference of means test. However, overall between the twelve females and the twelve males there is a significant difference of 10.2 percent (80% confidence).

The correlation of education with (I) is also very different from the correlation of education with (E) since the greatest influence of education is again concentrated amongst the younger groups, as Table 3.C shows.

Table 3.C. Educational differences and NS usage of (I)

Cells	-E	+E	Diff
-EOM/+EOM	45.8	44.7	1.1
-EOF/+EOF	34.2	37.3	-3.1*
-EYM/+EYM	41.9	21.0	20.9
-EYF/+EYF	27.1	7.5	19.6
OVERALL	37.6	27.7	9.9

In all cases except the 3.1 percent difference between uneducated and educated older females, being more educated makes one more S. However, only the 19.6 percent difference between uneducated and educated younger females proved to be significant (90% confidence).

How can we explain why there is so much difference between the usage of (E) and (I)? If we look at the overall NS usage we see that

NS (E) is used 64.8 percent of the time while NS (I) is used only 32.5 percent of the time. It appears that (I) is more readily identified as NS than (E) which is understandable since there is a much greater perceptual difference between the lax vowel [I] and the tense vowel [i·] than there is between the two lax vowels [I] and [ɛ]. Any speaker who would want to eliminate NS features from his speech would therefore tend to deal with (I) first. All groups have done this to a large extent, as is shown by the low occurrence of NS (I). This also explains why the two groups with the fewest occurrences of NS (I) would be the two younger educated groups. And it is because of these latter two groups that the age and education variables are much more influential for (I) than for (E).

2.1.2 The variable (ei)

Figure 2.3 gives the percentages of NS occurrences of (ei).

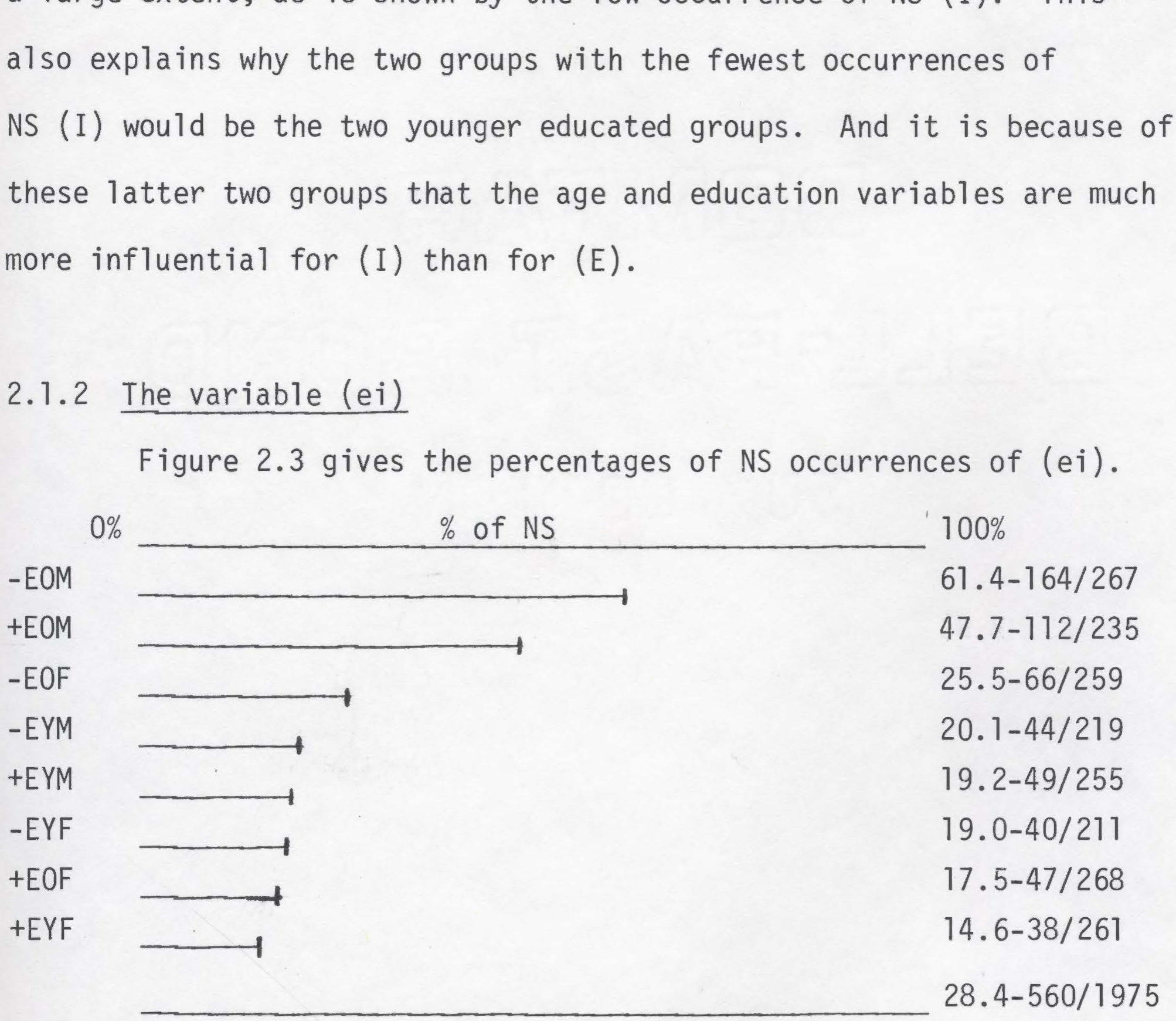

Figure 2.3. NS usage of (ei).

The most striking generalization is that the two older male groups are much more NS than all other groups; there is a significant difference of 35.2 percent between these two older male groups and the other six groups (99% confidence). As we shall see over and over again, the so-called independent social variables are not in fact independent of one another. For example, the age difference is often important but usually only for males.

Table 4.A shows more clearly the influence of sex on NS usage of (ei).

Table 4.A. Sex differences and NS usage of (ei).

Cells	M	F	Diff.
-EOM/-EOF	61.4	25.5	35.9
+EOM/+EOF	47.7	17.5	30.2
-EYM/-EYF	20.1	19.0	1.1
+EYM/+EYF	19.2	14.6	4.6
OVERALL	37.8	19.1	18.7

As we saw above with (E), but as we see even more strikingly here, the sex difference in language use is very much alive in the older groups but has almost disappeared amongst the young; the significant differences between the uneducated older groups and the educated older groups are 35.9 percent and 30.2 percent (99% and 90% confidence, respectively). Overall between males and females there is a significant difference of 18.7 percent (98% confidence).

Table 4.B points out the influence that age has on (ei) usage.

Table 4.B. Age differences and NS usage of (ei)

Cells	O	Y	Diff.
-EOM/-EYM	61.4	20.1	41.3
+EOM/+EYM	47.7	19.2	28.5
-EOF/-EYF	25.5	19.0	6.5
+EOF/+EYF	17.5	14.6	2.9
OVERALL	37.8	18.1	19.7

In all cases older speakers are more NS but again we see it emphasized that age influences males much more than females; there is very little difference between the younger and older female groups but high significant differences of 41.3 percent and 28.5 percent between the uneducated male groups and the educated male groups (95% and 90% confidence, respectively). And overall there is a significant 19.7 percent difference between the NS usage of the young and old (98% confidence) with the old being the most NS.

Table 4.C shows the influence of education on the NS occurrences of (ei).

Table 4.C. Education differences and NS usage of (ei)

Cells	-E	+E	Diff.
-EOM/+EOM	61.4	47.7	13.7
-EOF/+EOF	25.5	17.5	8.0
-EYM/+EYM	20.1	19.2	0.9
-EYF/+EYF	19.0	14.6	4.4
OVERALL	32.9	24.1	8.8

While more educated speakers are more S in all cases none of the differences could be proven significant by the difference of means test. Education conditions greater differences between the older groups than between the younger groups.

2.1.3. The variable (Or)

Figure 2.4 shows the NS usage of (Or).

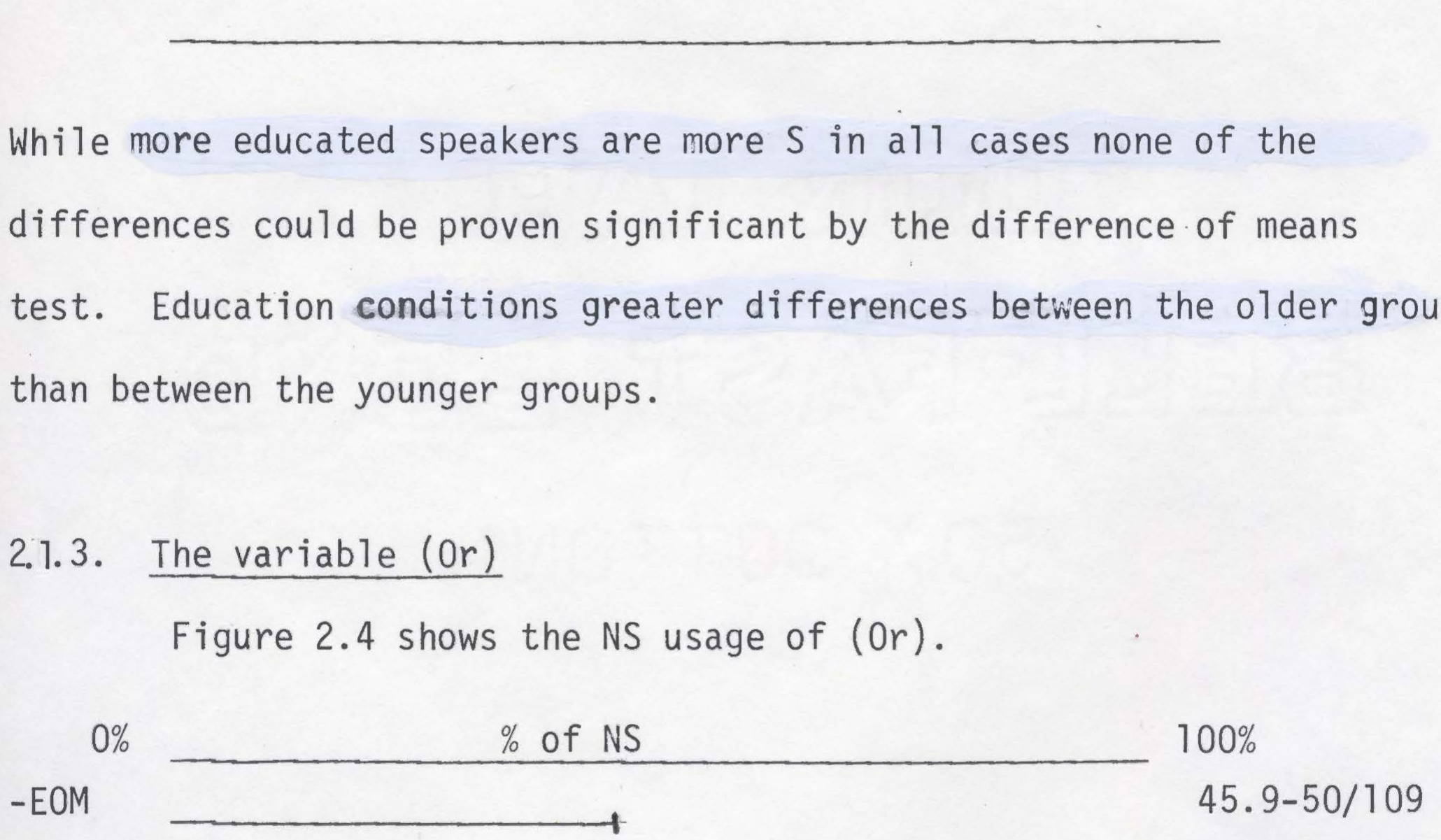

Figure 2.4. NS usage of (Or).

The NS usage of this variable almost replicates that of (ei) although its NS variant has been eliminated to a greater degree; NS (ei) is used 24.4 percent of the time while NS (Or) is used only 9.6 percent of the time, suggesting that like (I) it is easily identified as NS. While the NS [bɚrn] for <u>born</u> is very perceptually different from the S [bɔrn] it is also easily singled out as NS because these two phones are phonemic not only in the standard dialect in <u>barn</u> and <u>born</u> but also in the non-standard dialect where <u>horse</u> and <u>morning</u> with [ɚr] are in contrast with <u>hoarse</u> and <u>mourning</u> with [ɔr].

The combination of age and sex serves to separate the older males from the rest of the groups as was the case with (ei). There is a significant difference of 31.4 percent between the older men and all other groups (99% confidence). Other differences conditioned by age can be seen in Table 5.A.

Table 5.A. Age differences and NS usage of (Or)

Cells	O	Y	Diff.
-EOM/-EYM	45.9	5.4	40.5
+EOM/+EYM	25.0	7.9	17.1
-EOF/-EYF	6.5	2.1	4.4
+EOF/+EYF	2.7	0.0	2.7
OVERALL	16.5	4.0	12.5

In all cases, older speakers are again more NS than younger ones. And again age is much more significant for males than for females; the

only percentage difference in the above breakdown of the individual cells to prove significant is the 40.5 percent difference between uneducated older and younger males (90% confidence). Again this difference can be attributed to how NS the older males are and, as we saw with (E) and (ei), how much more S the uneducated younger males are compared to their educated younger male counterparts. Furthermore, the 12.5 percent overall difference between older and younger groups proved significant (95% confidence).

Table 5.B shows the influence of sex on (Or).

Table 5.B. Sex differences and NS usage of (Or)

Cells	M	F	Diff.
-EOM/-EOF	45.9	6.5	39.4
+EOM/+EOF	25.0	2.7	22.3
-EYM/-EYF	5.4	2.1	3.3
+EYM/+EYF	7.9	0.0	7.9
OVERALL	17.3	2.8	14.5

Again, sex differences in usage are much more apparent in the older groups with a 39.4 percent significant difference between uneducated older males and females (90% confidence) and a 22.3 percent difference between educated older males and females (80% confidence). There was a 3.3 percent difference between uneducated younger males and females which did not prove significant but the 7.9 percent difference between educated younger males and females is significant (80% confidence).

Overall, there was a significant difference of 14.5 percent between males and females (95% confidence).

Table 5.C shows the influence of education on (Or).

Table 5.C. Education differences on NS usage of (Or)

Cells	-E	+E	Diff.
-EOM/+EOM	45.9	25.0	20.9
-EOF/+EOF	6.5	2.7	3.8
-EYM/+EYM	5.4	7.9	-2.5*
-EYF/+EYF	2.1	0.0	2.1
OVERALL	11.1	8.3	2.8

In all cases, except for the 2.5 percent difference between uneducated and educated younger males, being more educated conditions one to be more S. Again, there is a greater difference related to education in the older groups, particularly the 20.9 percent difference between the uneducated and educated older males. However, none of these differences caused by education proved to be significant.

2.1.4 Summary of correlations of vocalic and social variables

Sex proved to be a significant variable for all four vocalic variables. However, for three of the vocalic variables, (E), (ei), and (Or), the sex difference in language use is much more clear-cut for older groups than for the younger ones.

For three of the variables, (ei), (Or), and (I), age conditioned significant differences. However, when one looks at the two older male groups in comparison to the rest, then there is a significant difference in NS usage for all four vocalic variables. To this extent age is not independent of sex. In fact age and sex are very interdependent. When older age is coupled with male sex both of the older male cells are much more NS than the other six cells for the variables (ei) and (Or).

Education does not condition a significant overall difference in the use of any of the vocalic variables. And between individual cells it conditions only one significant difference, which was between the younger female groups for the (I) variable. However, apart from the three exceptions of the younger males in the NS usage of (Or) and (E) and the older females in (I) usage, the educated groups are more S than the uneducated groups. Furthermore, for (E), (ei), and (Or) education conditions greater differences amongst the older groups than amongst the younger group.

2.2. Consonantal variables correlated with sex, age, and education

2.2.1. The variables (θ) and (ð)

Figure 2.5 shows the NS usage of (θ).

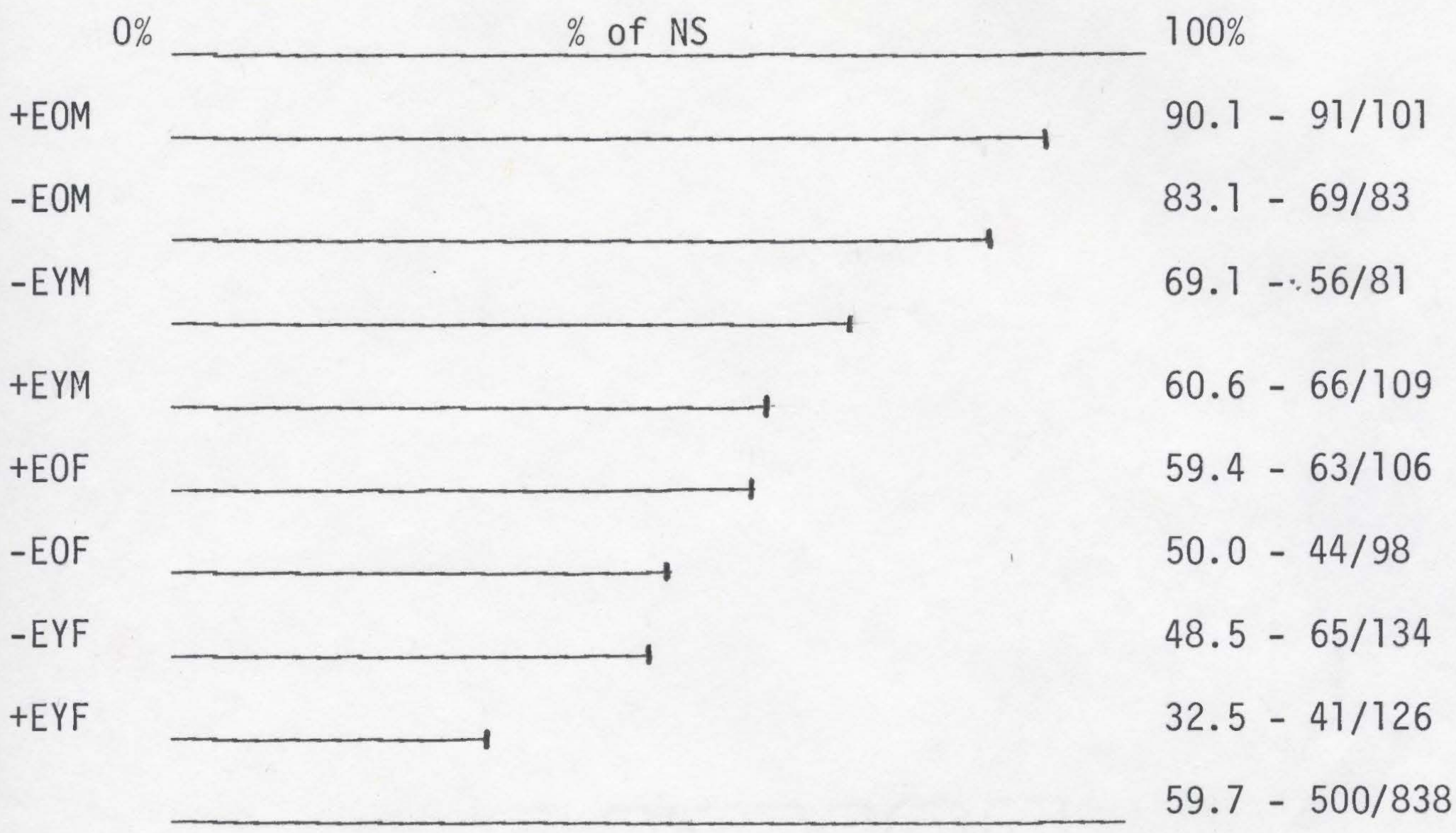

Figure 2.5. NS usage of (θ).

The most notable difference in NS usage of this variable is the huge 57.6 percent significant difference between the most NS group, +EOM, and the least NS group, +EYF (99% confidence). Since the four male groups are the more NS, sex is an important variable. Also the older male groups are more NS than the younger males and the older females are more NS than the younger females, indicating that age is also a very important social variable.

Table 6.A shows the influence of age more clearly.

Table 6.A. Age differences and NS usage of (θ)

Cells	O	Y	Diff.
-EOM/-EYM	83.1	69.1	14.0
+EOM/+EYM	90.1	60.6	29.5
-EOF/-EYF	50.0	48.5	1.5
+EOF/+EYF	59.4	32.5	26.9
OVERALL	70.1	50.7	19.4

In all cases, being younger conditions one to be more S than one's older counterparts. However, the only difference to prove significant was the 29.5 percent difference between the educated male groups (90% confidence). But overall the 19.4 percent difference between older and younger speakers is significant (95% confidence). Furthermore, when we combine age with sex and compare the older males with all other groups there is a significant difference of 33.2 percent (99% confidence).

Table 6.B presents the influence of sex on (θ) usage.

Table 6.B. Sex differences and NS usage of (θ)

Cells	M	F	Diff.
-EOM/-EOF	83.1	50.0	33.1
+EOM/+EOF	90.1	59.4	30.7
-EYM/-EYF	69.1	48.5	20.6
+EYM/+EYF	60.6	32.5	28.1
OVERALL	75.4	46.9	28.5

Contrary to what was found for the vowels, sex differences exist in both the younger and older groups, although they are slightly greater in the older groups. Furthermore, as with the vowels, there is a significant difference related to the sex variable between the educated younger males and females but not between uneducated younger males and females. The 20.6 percent difference between the uneducated younger males and females proved not significant whereas the 28.1 percent difference between the educated younger males and females is significant (80% confidence). And the 33.1 percent and 30.7 percent differences between the uneducated older males and females and the educated older males and females are also significant (95% and 80% confidence, respectively). Overall, there is a 28.5 percent significant difference between males and females (99% confidence). This is a much wider difference than was found for any of the vocalic variables.

Table 6.C presents the influence of education on (θ) usage.

Table 6.C. Education differences and NS usage of (θ)

Cells	-E	+E	Diff.
-EOM/+EOM	83.1	90.1	-7.0*
-EOF/+EOF	50.0	59.4	-9.4*
-EYM/+EYM	69.1	60.6	8.5
-EYF/+EYF	48.5	32.5	16.0
OVERALL	60.4	59.1	1.3

While none of the differences conditioned by education proved significant, it is interesting that being more educated has an opposite influence on

older speakers than it has on younger ones; older educated speakers are more NS than their older uneducated counterparts, while younger educated speakers are more S than their uneducated counterparts. This is probably due to the fact that the older educated speakers were very confident and thus more comfortable in the interview situation. Thus their speech was more natural than that of either their older uneducated counterparts or the younger less confident speakers. We also note that NS (θ) is becoming more stigmatized in the dialect than it used to be.

Figure 2.6 gives the NS usage of (ð).

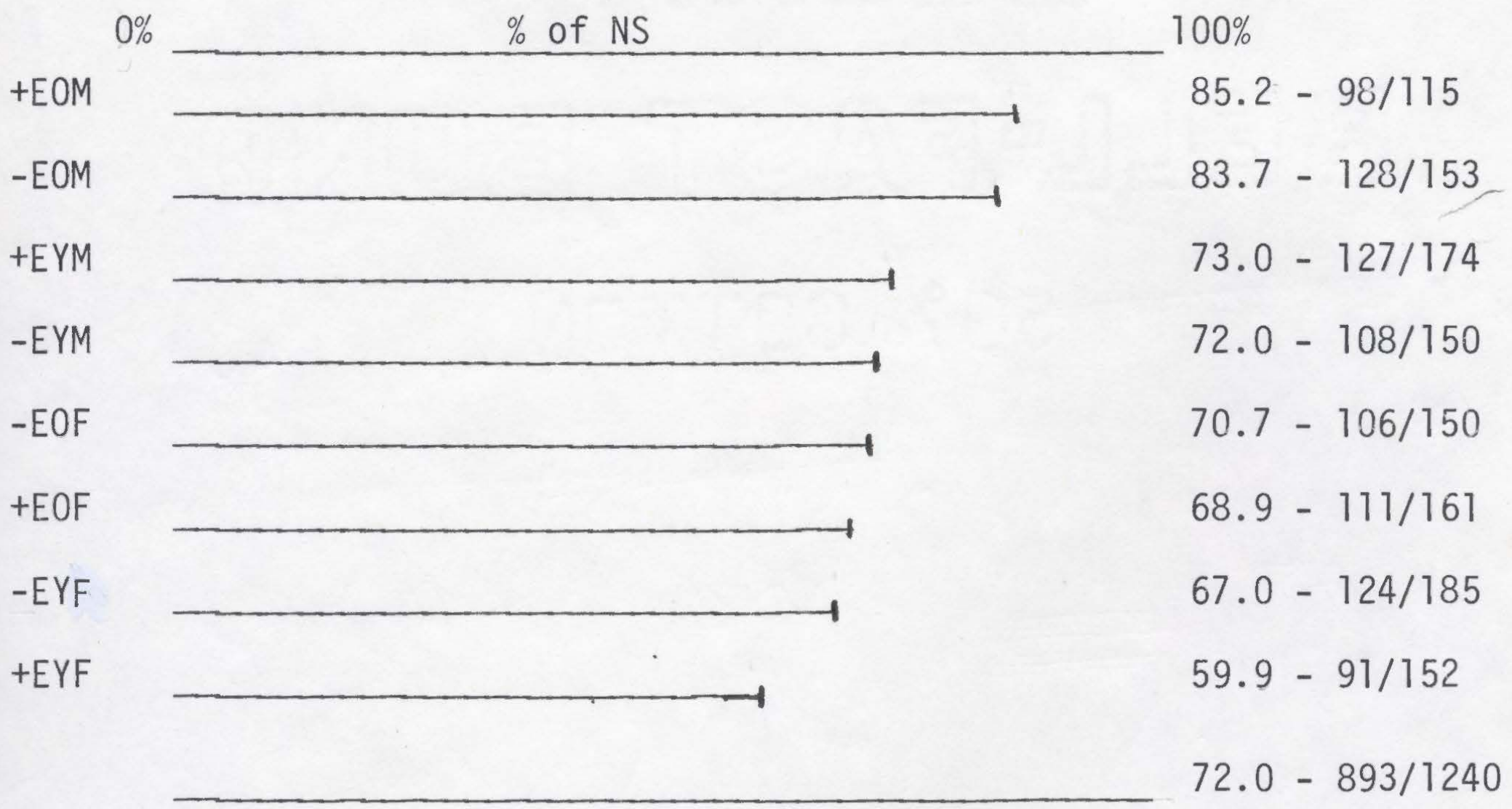

Figure 2.6. NS usage of (ð).

The fact that NS (ð) occurred 12.3 percent more often than NS (θ) supports Wolfram and Fasold's (1974: 135) claim that (ð) is less stigmatized than (θ). There is not as great a difference between the

most NS and the least NS usage of (ð) either - only 25.3 percent for (ð) as compared to 57.6 percent for (θ), again suggesting that NS (ð) is less stigmatized than NS (θ). But there are some similarities between (ð) and (θ) usage: the four most NS groups are all male with the four female groups being the most S; and the older groups of both males and females are the more NS, showing that sex and age are the most important social variables.

Table 7.A shows the influence of age on NS usage of (ð).

Table 7.A. Age differences and NS usage of (ð).

Cells	O	Y	Diff.
-EOM/-EYM	83.7	72.0	11.7
+EOM/+EYM	85.2	73.0	12.2
-EOF/-EYF	70.7	67.0	3.7
+EOF/+EYF	68.9	59.9	9.0
OVERALL	76.5	68.1	8.4

As with (θ), the only difference proven significant was the 12.2 percent difference between the educated male groups (80% confidence) and in all cases being older meant being more NS. The overall difference of 8.4 percent between the four older groups and the four younger groups is significant (80% confidence). And again the most important influence of age occurred when it interacted with sex to condition the older males to be significantly 15.9 percent more NS than all other groups combined (99% confidence).

More similarities between (ส) and (θ) usage are seen in Table 7.B which shows the influence of sex on (ส).

Table 7.B. Sex differences and NS usage of (ส)

Cells	M	F	Diff.
-EOM/-EOF	83.7	70.7	13.0
+EOM/+EOF	85.2	68.9	16.3
-EYM/-EYF	72.0	67.0	5.0
+EYM/+EYF	73.0	59.9	13.1
OVERALL	77.9	66.7	11.2

Again, being female means that in each case speakers are more S than males, although none of these differences proved significant. But the overall 11.2 percent difference between males and females is significant (95% confidence). The fact that the differences between individual cells correspond in direction with those for (θ) usage (but are not as great and therefore do not prove significant) is more proof that (ส) is not as stigmatized as (θ).

Table 7.C shows the influence of education on (ส).

Table 7.C. Education differences and NS usage of (ส)

Cells	-E	+E	Diff.
-EOM/+EOM	83.7	85.2	-1.5*
-EOF/+EOF	70.7	68.9	1.8
-EYM/+EYM	72.0	73.0	-1.0*
-EYF/+EYF	67.0	59.9	7.1
OVERALL	73.0	70.9	2.1

None of the very small differences conditioned by education proved significant. It is notable in both cases that more educated males were more NS while more educated females were more S.

2.2.2 The variable (L)

Figure 2.7 presents the NS usage of (L).

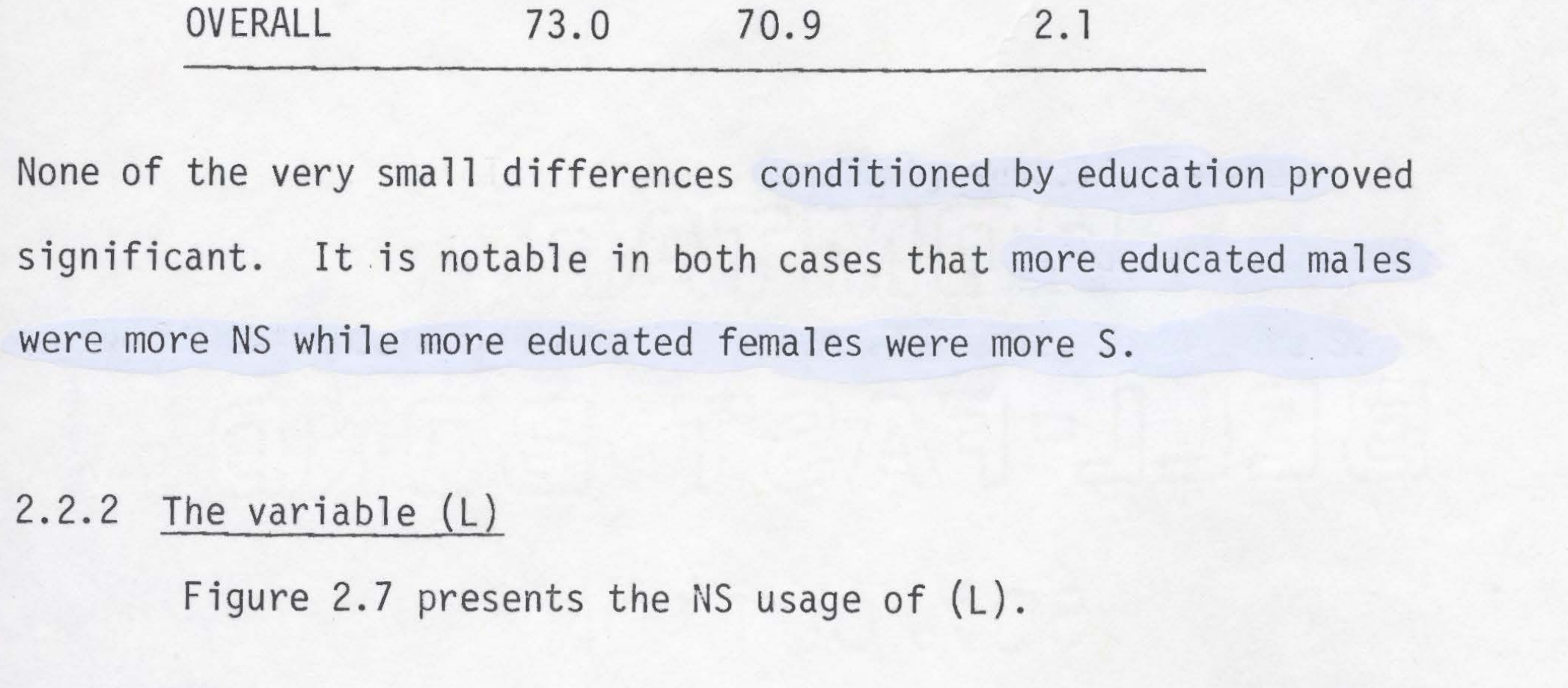

Figure 2.7. NS usage of (L).

There is very little difference between the most NS group and the least - only 8.5 percent. This suggests that this feature is hardly stigmatized at all. And, as we shall see in chapter four, 7.1 percent of the times that the S variant occurred were due to the linguistic environment rather than to the social variables. None of the three social variables conditioned differences that proved significant. This variable will therefore be discussed more fully in chapter four.

2.2.3. Summary of correlation of consonantal and social variables

Sex and age proved to be the two social variables related to significant differences in NS usage for the two linguistic variables that exhibited social variation. However, the interdependence of sex and age proved to be different for the vocalic and consonantal variables. On six out of seven variables (only variable (L) excepted) that showed definite sociological conditioning, we find both older male groups being the most NS cells; and in four cases (ei, Or, θ, ʊ) the older males are much more NS than the rest of the population. However, the sociolinguistic relationship of the younger males to the older males was different for vowels and consonants. Thus, the younger males tended to lie closer to their older male counterparts in NS usage of consonants, whereas they were sometimes separated from them by (usually older) female cells for vowel usage. This means that among younger speakers sex differences are not significant for vocalic variables but significant for consonantal variables. However, among older speakers sex differences are significant for both vocalic and consonantal variables.

2.3 Explanations for the interaction of the phonological and sociological variables

For the features I chose to investigate it appears that the NS vocalic variants are more stigmatized than the NS consonantal variants; the NS vocalic forms occurred 33.8 percent of the time while the NS consonantal forms occurred 74.8 percent of the time. This is emphasized by the fact that the younger males, like both female groups, have really restricted the use of the NS vocalic forms as compared to the consonantal ones.

Of the seven phonological variables looked at, sex conditioned the most significant differences for (E), (θ), and (ð); while for (ei) age and sex were about equal. Age was the more important variable for (I) and (Or). Education failed to condition any differences that could be proven significant by the difference of means test.

Women on Long Island view language use as an indication of social mobility, as has been found in numerous studies elsewhere. This is why females are spearheading the drive to standardize this dialect. Although all groups of women are more S than their corresponding male groups it appears that slightly different reasons are operating for the younger groups and the older ones. The older women, who for the most part are housewives, have little opportunity to improve their socio-economic status but they can appear to do so by speaking the prestigious dialect. If they are to acquire jobs the younger females (and the older ones too if the opportunity arose, especially for the educated ones) will, almost by necessity, have to move outside the community to more modern centers where the S dialect

is more prevalent. Thus both practical and psycho-social reasons exist for females to standardize their speech. Men, on the other hand, have more secure socio-economic positions as breadwinners (there are no women fishermen on Long Island) and have the confidence to speak as they please.

If we look more closely at the age variable we can see that while age alone is only more important for (I) and (ei), when the older males are compared to the rest of the groups combined we see that the former are the most NS for all seven phonological variables. It appears that this group will be the last to standardize. They are the keepers of the dialect, so to speak. This is understandable, since they as family heads occupy very secure social status. Furthermore, in their work they come into contact for the most part with only other males of their own age who speak very similarly to them. This whole area is part of the larger dialect area of "English North", Paddock (1977: 94) claims. So none of the reasons which exist for females to standardize seem to be operating as strongly for males. In fact, it can be claimed that the opposite factors are operating to keep the males NS. If they want to retain their high social status they will continue to talk as they do and if they did try to standardize rapidly they would probably be ridiculed by their fellow workers in the area for being soft and effeminate.

We have seen that education in the older groups conditions much more of a difference than in the younger groups for (ei), (E), and (Or). This is probably due to the fact that there is a much wider discrepancy between the educational level of the educated and uneducated older

speakers than between the educated and uneducated younger speakers - the young generally having received much more formal schooling. Most of the older uneducated speakers were forced to leave school at an early age to help their families survive the harsher economic conditions that existed in Newfoundland when they were children, whereas today individuals who do not complete high school generally stay in school for more years.

We have also seen that education makes females more S than males; and for (E), (Or), and (ð) education, while making females more S, seems to make males more NS. That females when educated would become more S is very understandable since, as we have seen, there are many reasons why they want to standardize. It is therefore only natural that with the advantage of their education that they would succeed in standardizing at a faster rate than their uneducated counterparts. But why would education make males more NS? This is probably due to the fact that males who are educated have even more secure social status than males in general. This becomes very important when considering the younger male group. The younger males who are educated work on the Island with little fear of losing their jobs. The younger uneducated males, however, do not enjoy this security. They have been forced by necessity to move away from the Island to seek employment in cities such as Toronto and have had to standardize their speech so as not to be ridiculed. And when they return home (all three of my uneducated younger informants have worked on the Canadian mainland) there is always the danger that they will have to move away again, so their speech tends to remain more S than that of their

educated counterparts. All of these reasons combine to set the older males off from all other groups.

It is also because of the reasons discussed above that the differences in language usage conditioned by sex are disappearing in the younger groups as we saw for (E), (ei), (Or), and (ð). As the younger females strive for equality with males they most undoubtedly will not accomplish it in the fishing boats or the lumberwoods; they will do it instead in occupations that will take them where a more standard dialect is spoken - as was the case for the younger uneducated males. This is why the only significant difference between the sexes among the young was found between the educated males and females who have opposite reasons for becoming more NS and S, respectively; and in no case was this difference as great as in the older groups. So, while there is strong evidence that sex differences in usage are disappearing in younger groups, as we just saw, it has not completely disappeared. This is more true for the less stigmatized variables such as (E), (ð) and (L). Apparently the younger males, when they move away to work, generally experience less pressure to standardize these features. But the younger females, who want to attain equality with males and not simply a job, experience more pressure to standardize. This is seen in the fact that the educated younger females formed the most S cell for six of the seven phonological variables. Overall, they were the second most consistent cell in their usage (second only to the older males in consistency).

Overall, the most NS group was the older males while the younger females were the most S. The mean overall ranking of all

groups (from most NS to least NS) for the phonological variables is seen in Table 8.

Table 8. Overall ranking of cells from most NS to least NS

Cell	tokens	%NS	Cell	tokens	%NS
1. -EOM	787/1134	69.4	5. -EOF	608/1292	47.1
2. +EOM	699/1121	62.3	6. -EYF	585/1253	46.7
3. -EYM	579/1181	49.0	7. +EOF	590/1318	44.7
4. +EYM	684/1400	48.8	8. +EYF	493/1300	37.9

This table clearly shows that there is little differentiation between cells except between older males and the rest of the groups combined, although there is a moderate gap between the most S cell (educated younger females) and the neighbouring cell. Sex is quite clearly an important variable; all four most NS cells are male. And, while in all cases we see that education conditions speakers to be more S, it does have more influence on females - both educated female cells are the most S and there is a greater difference between educated and uneducated counterparts for women than for men.

2.4. Morphological and sociological correlations

2.4.1. The variable (PP)

Figure 2.8 gives the percentage of NS usage for the variable (PP).

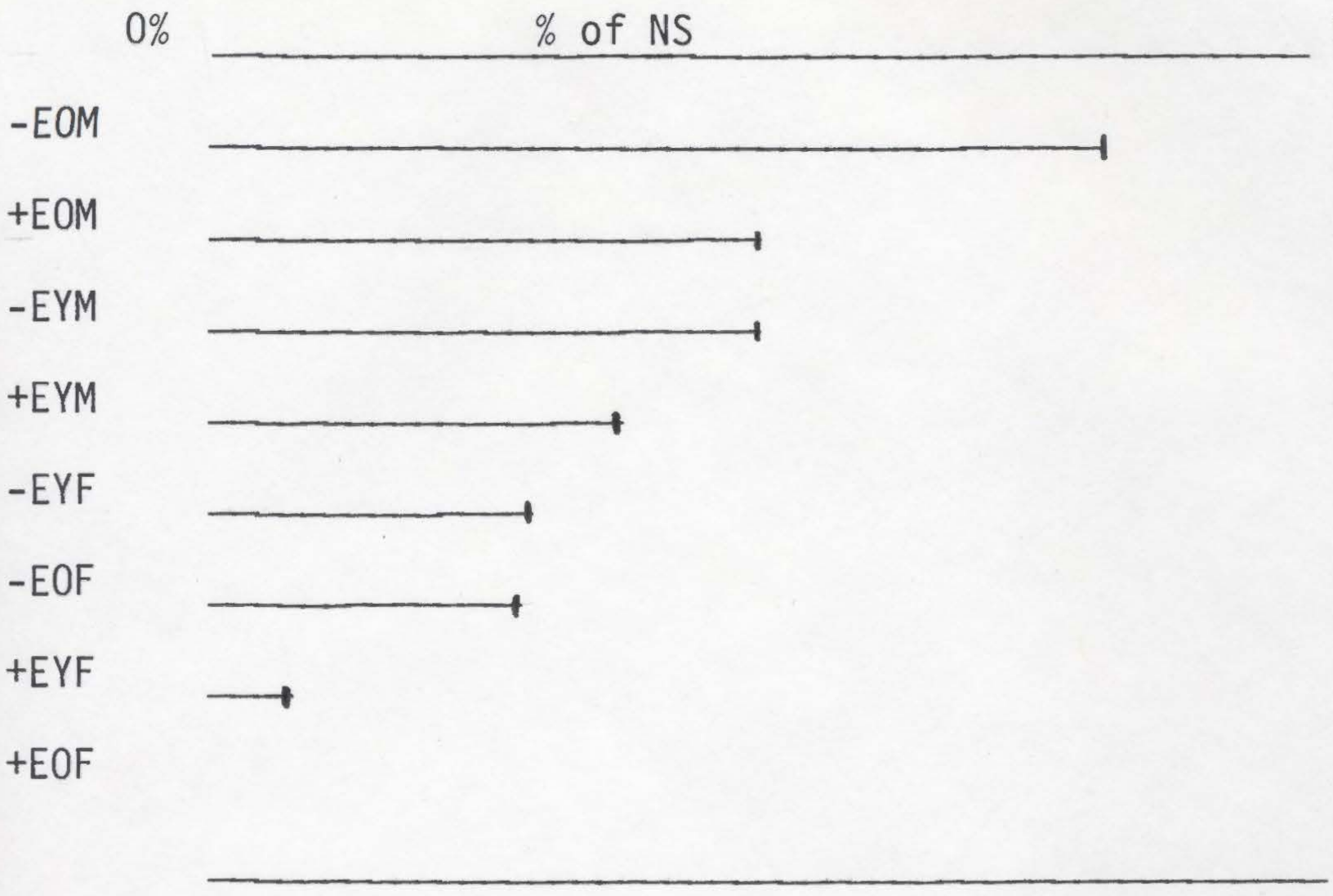

Figure 2.8. NS usage of (PP).

The most striking point is the wide discrepancy between the most NS cell, -EOM, and the least NS cell, +EOF - a significant difference of 83.3 percent (99% confidence).

Sex must be an important social variable since all four more NS cells are male. Education also seems more important, with much wider differences between the educated and uneducated groups than we saw with the phonological variables. And age appears to separate only the uneducated older males from all other groups, as it did so often for the phonological variables; there is a significant 47.1 percent difference between the older males and all other groups combined (99% confidence).

Table 9.A shows more influences of age on NS usage of (PP).

Table 9.A. Age differences and NS usage of (PP)

Cells	O	Y	Diff.
-EOM/-EYM	83.3	50.0	33.3
+EOM/+EYM	50.0	36.8	13.2
-EOF/-EYF	28.0	29.4	-1.4*
+EOF/+EYF	0.0	5.9	-5.9*
OVERALL	43.9	29.9	14.0

None of the usage differences related to age proved significant (when using the difference of means test). It must be noted, however, that age differences are much larger amongst the male groups than amongst the female groups, with the older speakers being the most NS amongst the males while the younger speakers are the most NS amongst the females. This indicates that sex is a very influential variable for (PP), as Table 9.B shows.

Table 9.B. Sex differences and NS usage of (PP)

Cells	M	F	Diff.
-EOM/-EOF	83.3	28.0	55.3
+EOM/+EOF	50.0	0.0	50.0
-EYM/-EYF	50.0	29.4	20.6
+EYM/+EYF	36.8	5.9	30.9
OVERALL	57.3	20.6	36.7

We see that the sex variable is very influential in both older and younger groups; but still more influential with the older ones than with the younger, as we saw with all the phonological variables. In fact, despite the fairly large differences between the younger cells, only those differences between the older group proved significant; the 55.3 percent sex difference between uneducated older males and females is significant (90% confidence) and the 50.0 percent sex difference between educated older males and females is also significant (90% confidence). And overall, the 36.7 percent difference between the sexes is significant (99% confidence).

As Table 9.C shows, education is also much more influential for (PP) than for any other linguistic variable.

Table 9.C. Education differences and NS usage of (PP).

Cells	-E	+E	Diff.
-EOM/+EOM	83.3	50.0	33.3
-EOF/+EOF	28.0	0.0	28.0
-EYM/+EYM	50.0	36.8	13.2
-EYF/+EYF	29.4	5.9	23.5
OVERALL	48.8	24.6	24.2

In all cases, being educated conditions one to be more S. However, none of the differences between individual corresponding pairs of cells proved significant with the statistical test being used. But overall the 24.2 percent difference between all educated and uneducated groups is

significant (80% confidence). This is the only linguistic variable in which differences conditioned by education proved to be statistically significant.

Why is education becoming more powerful in relation to morphological variables than phonological ones? This probably has to do with the fact that while students are taught both S pronunciation and grammar in a formal school setting, there is much more concentration on silent reading which would cause education to affect morphological variables more than phonological ones. Thus it is easier for those people who have received more formal education to standardize grammatical items than it is for those people who have received less formal education. This becomes even more important if the grammatical structure of a language is the most resistant to change, as Paddock (1974: 4) claims. Obviously those people who have to make grammatical readjustments mainly on their own (i.e., the less educated) will be more NS than those who have much more help (the more educated).

2.4.2. The variable (GG)

Figure 2.9 presents the NS usage of (GG).

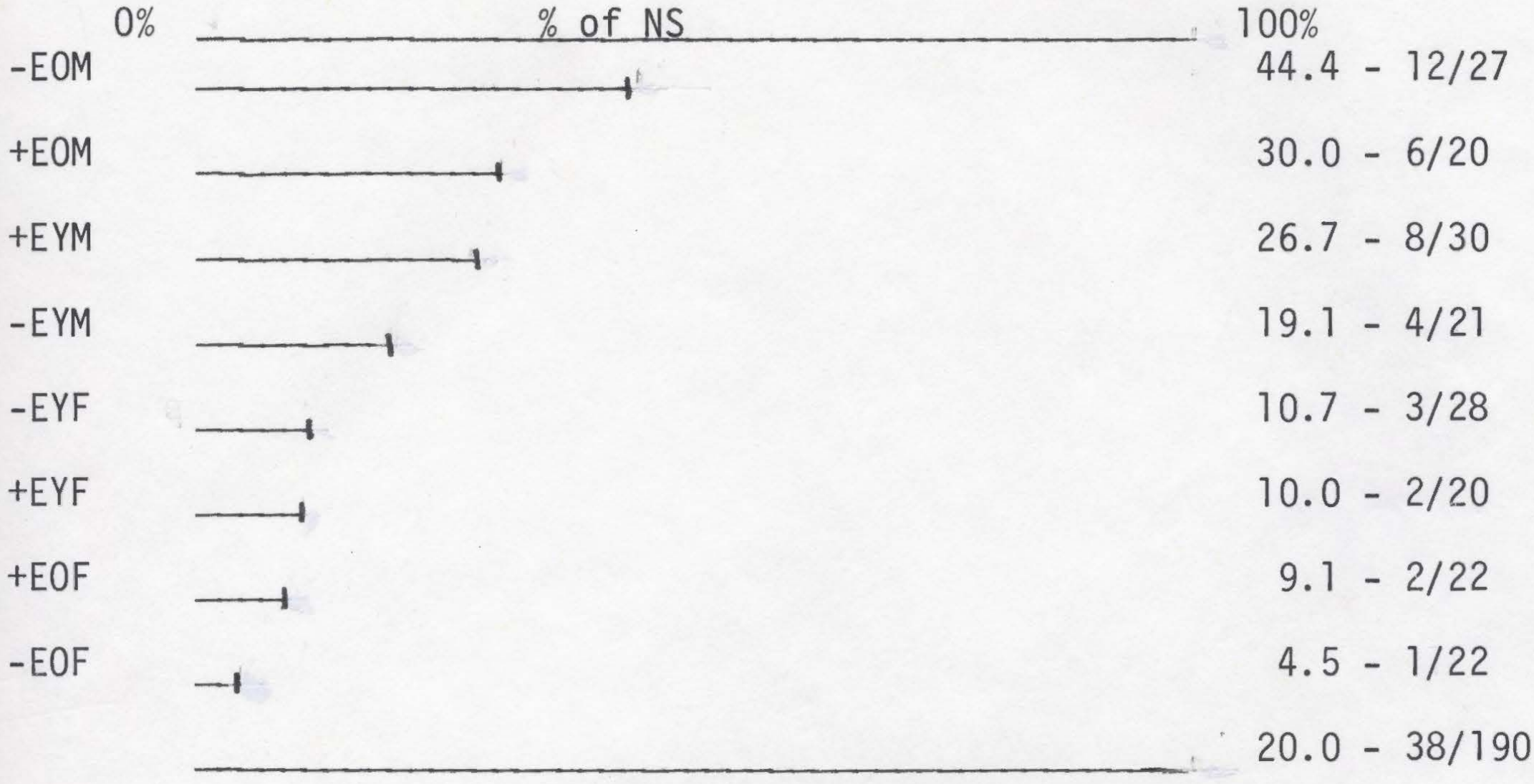

Figure 2.9. NS usage of (GG).

The NS forms of this variable are not as widely used as those for (PP) - the NS variants of (GG) occur overall 20.0 percent of the time while those of (PP) occur overall 37.6 percent of the time. However, there are many similarities in usage of both.

Table 10.A presents the NS usage of (GG) related to sex differences.

Table 10.A. Sex differences and NS usage of (GG)

Cells	M	F	Diff.
-EOM/-EOF	44.4	4.5	39.9
+EOM/+EOF	30.0	9.1	20.9
-EYM/-EYF	19.1	10.7	8.4
+EYM/+EYF	26.7	10.0	16.7
OVERALL	30.6	8.7	21.9

Since all male cells are more NS than all female cells, sex is a very influential variable. And once again we see that there are much larger differences in usage between the sexes for the older groups than for the younger groups, as we saw so often with the phonological variables. However, none of these differences between corresponding pairs of individual cells proved significant but overall the 21.9 percent difference between males and females is significant (90% confidence). Sex is the only social variable to prove significant when correlated with (GG).

Table 10.B shows the influence of age on NS usage of (GG).

Table 10.B. Age differences and NS usage of (GG)

Cells	O	Y	Diff.
-EOM/-EYM	44.4	19.1	25.3
+EOM/+EYM	30.0	26.7	3.3
-EOF/-EYF	4.5	10.7	-6.2*
+EOF/+EYF	9.1	10.0	-0.9*
OVERALL	23.6	16.8	6.8

In spite of the fact that none of these differences between individual corresponding pairs of cells proved significant using the difference of means test, we still see that age differences are much more important for males than females.

Similarly, none of the differences conditioned by education proved significant.

Table 10.C. Education differences on NS usage of (GG)

Cells	-E	+E	Diff.
-EOM/+EOM	44.4	30.0	14.4
-EOF/+EOF	4.5	9.1	-4.6*
-EYM/+EYM	19.1	26.7	-7.6*
-EYF/+EYF	10.7	10.0	0.7
OVERALL	20.4	19.6	0.8

As we see, educational differences are not as important for this variable as they were for (PP). This is probably due to the fact that in the formal school environment the pronoun variant [ɪn] is not dealt with directly as the NS variants of (PP) are. It is pointed out that him is the "correct" form and that is all; this is probably because there is not very much perceptual difference between [ɪn] and [ɪm], especially in casual or allegro speech. It is this phonological element which may have conditioned education to interact with (GG) in much the same way as it did with the exclusively phonological variables rather than how it did with the purely morphological variable (PP).

2.4.3. The variable (an)

Figure 2.10 presents the NS usage of (an).

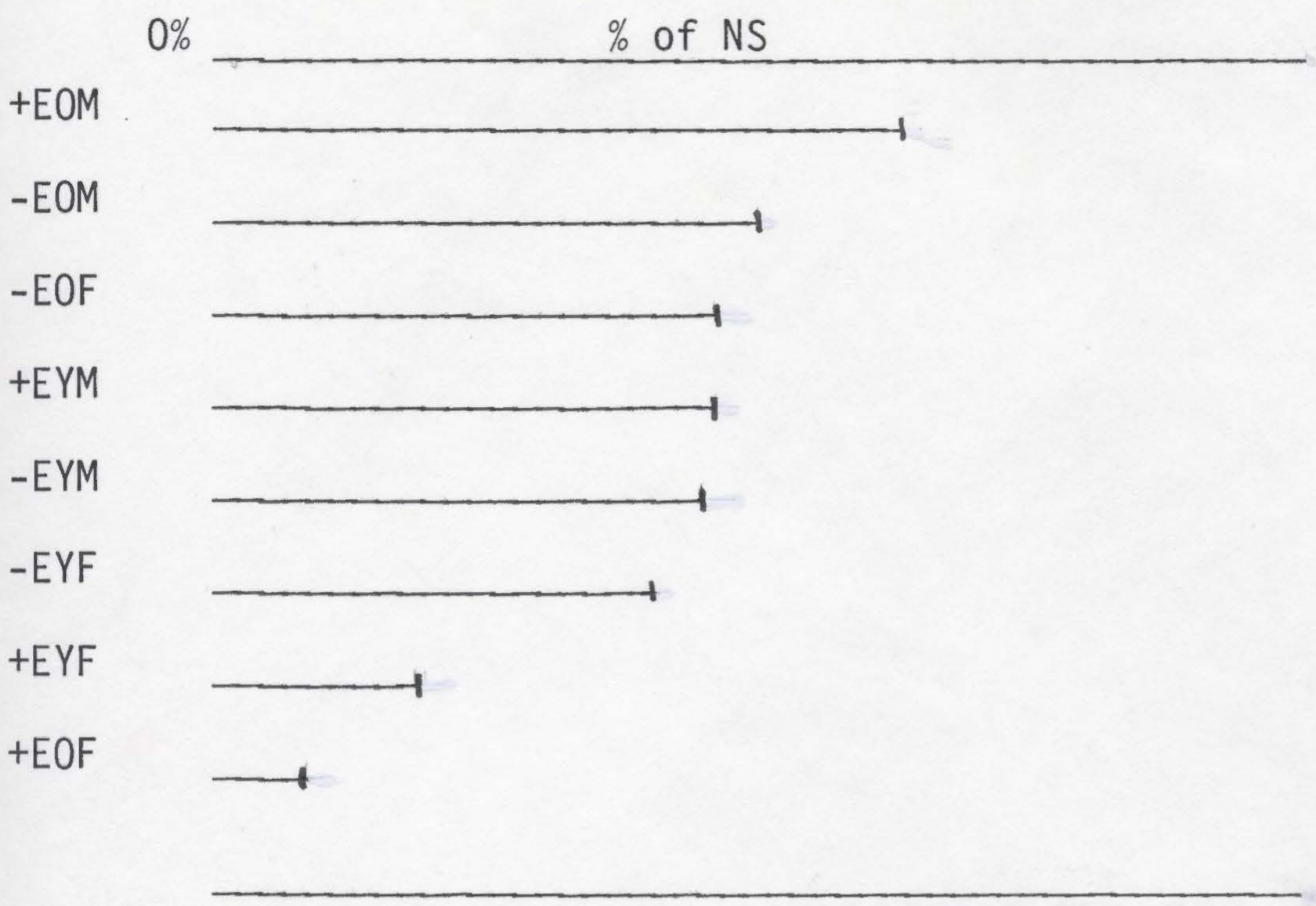

Figure 2.10. NS usage of (an).

Again we see quite a sex difference between the most NS, +EOM, and the least NS, +EOF - a significant difference of 55.3 percent (90% confidence).

Age is slightly more important for this linguistic variable since the three most NS cells are all older as Table 11.A shows.

Table 11.A. Age differences and NS usage of (an)

Cells	O	Y	Diff.
-EOM/-EYM	50.0	45.5	4.5
+EOM/+EYM	63.6	46.7	16.9
-EOF/-EYF	46.7	40.0	6.7
+EOF/+EYF	8.3	18.8	-10.5*
OVERALL	41.3	36.8	4.5

None of these differences proved significant. This is the same as we found for (GG).

Table 11.B shows the influence of sex on NS usage of (an).

Table 11.B. Sex differences and NS usage of (an)

Cells	M	F	Diff.
-EOM/-EOF	50.0	46.7	3.3
+EOM/+EOF	63.6	8.3	55.3
-EYM/-EYF	45.5	40.0	5.5
+EYM/+EYF	46.7	18.8	27.9
OVERALL	51.1	29.3	21.8

As we saw with the other grammatical variables, and for all linguistic variables for that matter, sex is the most important social variable - overall the 21.8 percent difference between the sexes is significant (90% confidence). Between the individual corresponding cells the 55.3 percent difference between educated older males and females is significant (90% confidence) and the 27.9 percent difference between educated younger males and females is also significant (80% confidence). This again shows that sex differences are more clear-cut for educated speakers than uneducated ones, which again shows the interdependence of the so-called independent variable. The fact that sex differences are so low for the uneducated cells is further evidence that people are often not aware of grammatical features being NS if they are not pointed out as being so by teachers. This behaviour of (an) when correlated with sex

is further evidence that it should be classed as a morphophonological variable, because the fact that education makes males more NS and females more S also emerged in five cases for the phonological variables.

Table 11.C also points out this interdependence of sex and education.

Table 11.C. Education differences and NS usage of (an)

Cells	-E	+E	Diff.
-EOM/+EOM	50.0	63.6	-13.6*
-EOF/+EOF	46.7	8.3	38.4
-EYM/+EYM	45.5	46.7	- 1.2*
-EYF/+EYF	40.0	18.8	21.2
OVERALL	44.9	33.3	11.6

We see that education conditions opposite effects for males and females; males are more NS while females are more S, although the only difference conditioned by education to prove significant was the 38.4 percent difference between uneducated and educated older females (95% confidence). So (an) shows, as the phonological variables showed repeatedly, that those people who view language use as an instrument of social mobility become more S when educated.

2.4.4 The variable (-ing)

Figure 2.11 presents the NS usage of (-ing).

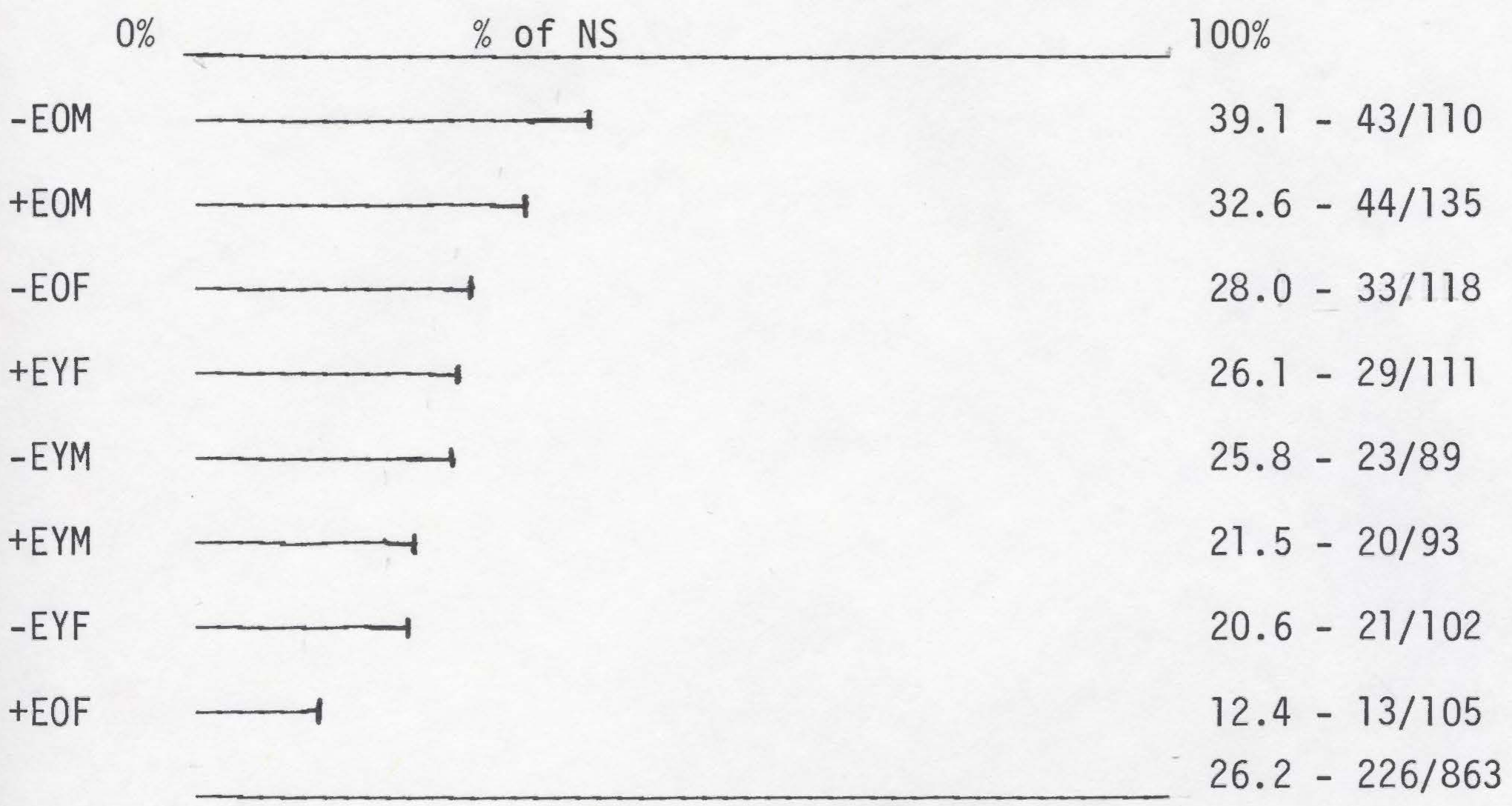

Figure 2.11. NS usage of (-ing).

As with all the previous linguistic variables, the most significant grouping of the cells is the older male cells as opposed to the rest of the groups combined; the 13.5 percent difference between these two groupings is significant (95% confidence).

Age, as we saw with all the morphological variables, is not very important for (-ing) usage either.

Table 12.A. Age differences and NS usage of (-ing)

Cells	O	Y	Diff.
-EOM/-EYM	39.1	25.8	13.3
+EOM/+EYM	32.6	21.5	11.1
-EOF/-EYF	28.0	20.6	7.4
+EOF/+EYF	12.4	26.1	-13.7*
OVERALL	28.4	23.5	4.9

The most interesting point revealed here (even though none of the differences proved significant) is that the educated younger females are more NS than their educated older counterparts while in all other cases being younger meant being more S. This reversal for the younger educated females was found for all four morphological variables. This only occurred once, with (E), for all seven phonological variables. This further emphasizes how much more important the sex influence is for grammatical variables than the age influence is; and, furthermore, how much more important sex differences are for the older cells than for the younger ones - with all four grammatical items an older male cell is the most NS while an older female cell is the most S. For the phonological variables, a younger educated female cell was the most S for six of the seven variables. In other words, while sex differences for all the linguistic variables are greater for the older speakers they are even greater when sex is correlated with grammatical variables than when sex is correlated with phonological variables. This is probably due to the fact that older females have had a longer period trying to standardize their speech than their younger counterparts have had. Therefore, if, as Paddock (1974: 4) claims, grammatical structure is the most resistant to change it is understandable that speakers who have been trying to standardize the longest would have the most success.

Table 12.B presents the influence of sex on usage of (-ing) more clearly.

Table 12.B. Sex differences and NS usage of (-ing)

Cells	M	F	Diff.
-EOM/-EOF	39.1	28.0	11.1
+EOM/+EOF	32.6	12.4	20.2
-EYM/-EYF	25.8	20.6	5.2
+EYM/+EYF	21.5	26.1	-4.6*
OVERALL	30.4	22.0	8.4

The only difference found to be significant was the overall difference of 8.4 percent between males and females (80% confidence). But, as we saw with other linguistic variables, the same pattern holds for (-ing) - sex differences are more influential amongst the older groups.

Table 12.C shows the influence of education on (-ing) usage.

Table 12.C. Education differences and NS usage of (-ing)

Cells	-E	+E	Diff.
-EOM/+EOM	39.1	32.6	6.5
-EOF/+EOF	28.0	12.4	15.6
-EYM/+EYM	25.8	21.5	4.3
-EYF.+EYF	20.6	26.1	-5.5*
OVERALL	28.6	23.9	4.7

We also see that education is more important for the older cells than for the younger ones, although none of the differences were found to

be significant.

2.5. Summary of correlations of morphological and social variables

As with the seven phonological variables, sex is the most significant independent variable for the morphological variables considered. This is conclusive evidence that it is the females who are spearheading the drive to standardize this dialect.

Age also affected these grammatical variables but not as significantly as with the phonological variables. In all cases the most NS groups were the older males. However, the most S groups were not always the educated younger females as we saw with the phonological variables; in this case it was always one of the older female groups that was the most S, although the younger educated females are usually next to them. But in no case did age condition a statistically significant difference between the younger and older groups.

Education played a much more important role with these morphological variables than with the phonological ones. It is evident here that being more educated conditions females to be more S than corresponding males; this is shown in the data of all four variables but much more strikingly in data for (an). This is probably due to the fact that differences in the grammatical structure of the two dialects (S and NS) are much harder to "analyze" consciously or unconsciously, and then to "correct" unless one has been taught how the two dialects differ and how to change from one to the other. The educated groups have had much more opportunity for such teaching than have the uneducated ones.

2.6. Summary of sociological variables and non-standard usage

Figure 2.12 presents the average NS usage for all eight cells of my sample when all eleven variables are combined.

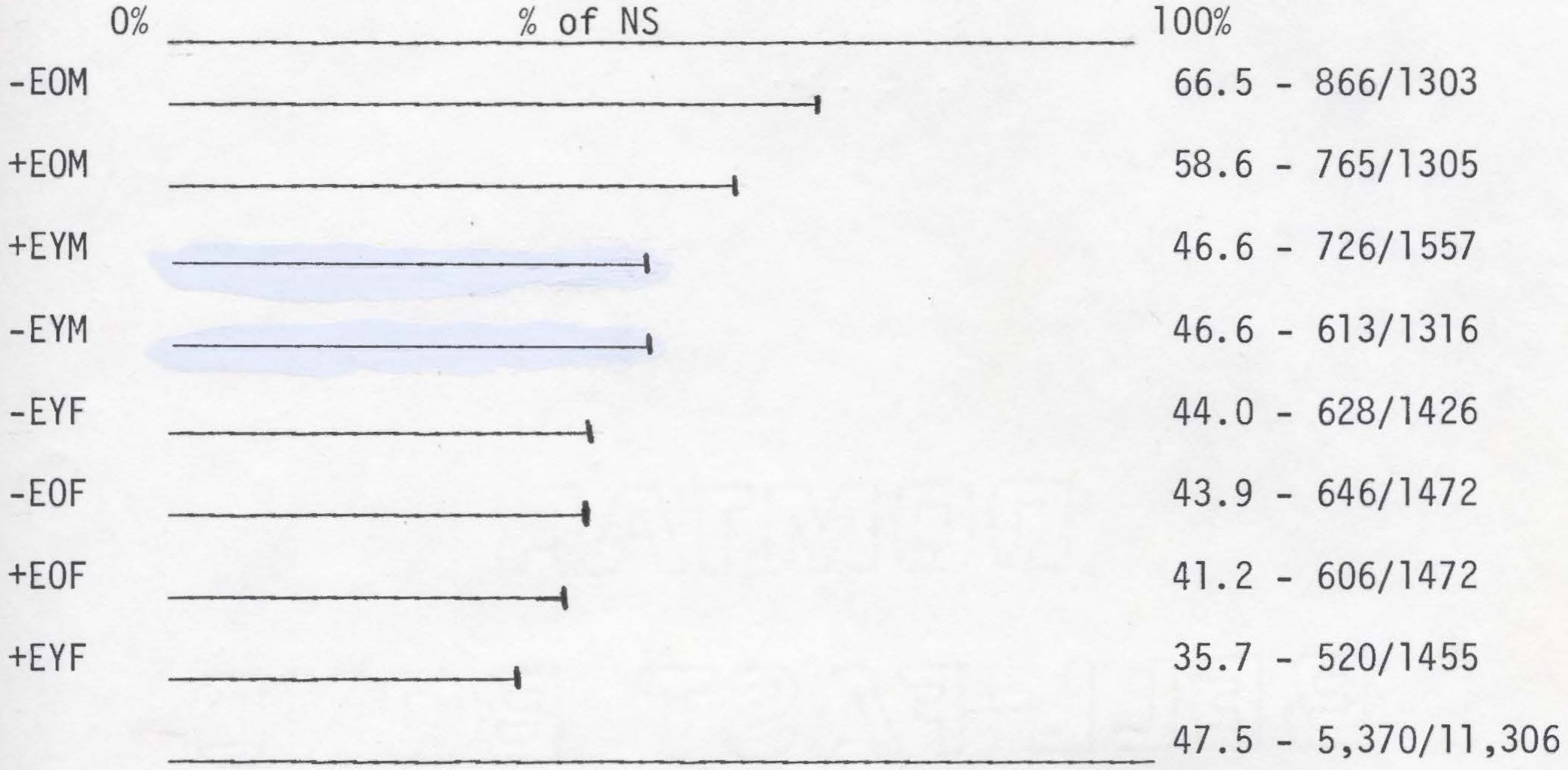

Figure 2.12. Summary of usage on all eleven linguistic variables.

As can be seen, this figure summarizes all the claims made throughout the foregoing discussion. There is a significant difference of 30.8 percent between the most NS cell, -EOM, and the least NS cell, +EYF (99% confidence). The largest jump from one cell to a neighbouring cell occurred between the educated older males and the educated younger males; a significant difference of 12.0 percent (80% confidence) which confirms that the most significant grouping is conditioned by age and sex variables combined - the older males, as a group, are much more NS than all other groups combined; in fact there is a significant difference of 19.6 percent between these two groupings (99% confidence). So one might say that the older males are the preservers of local dialect. Various

explanations for this have been given above. When one looks at the sex variable it can be seen that the four male cells are overall more NS than the four female calls, showing that sex is the only variable that separates the sample into two equal groups of more NS and more S. Sex is thus the most consistent in its influence of all the social variables. As for education, we can see quite clearly that it is more important for females than for males since both educated female cells are the most S.

Table 13.A shows the influences caused by sex more clearly.

Table 13.A. Sex differences and NS usage of all cells

Cells	M	F	Diff.
-EOM/-EOF	66.5	43.9	22.6
+EOM/+EOF	58.6	41.2	17.4
-EYM/-EYF	46.6	44.0	2.6
+EYM/+EYF	46.6	35.7	10.9
OVERALL	52.7	35.9	16.8

Overall, sex conditioned a significant difference of 16.8 percent in NS usage of males and females (99% confidence). The only other significant differences found were the 22.6 percent and 17.4 percent between the older uneducated males and females and the older educated males and females (90% and 80% confidence, respectively).

Table 13.B shows more clearly the influences conditioned by age.

Table 13.B. Age differences and NS usage of all cells

Cells	O	Y	Diff.
-EOM/-EYM	66.5	46.6	19.9
+EOM/+EYM	58.6	46.6	12.0
-EOF/-EYF	43.9	44.0	-0.1*
+EOF/+EYF	41.2	35.7	5.5
OVERALL	48.7	39.1	9.6

As with the influence of sex overall, age has much more influence with the male groups than with the female groups, although only the 19.9 percent difference between uneducated older and younger men proved significant (80% confidence). But overall the 9.6 percent difference between older and younger speakers is significant (80% confidence).

Table 13.C shows the overall conditioning by education more clearly.

Table 13.C. Education differences and NS usage of all cells

Cells	-E	+E	Diff.
-EOM/+EOM	66.5	58.6	7.9
-EOF/+EOF	43.9	41.2	2.7
-EYM/+EYM	46.6	46.6	0.0
-EYF/+EYF	44.0	35.7	8.3
OVERALL	47.1	40.7	6.4

None of these differences conditioned by education proved significant.

If the different cells are not considered separately one can lose many of the insights revealed in the foregoing analysis. This type of analysis also shows how interdependent these so-called independent variables really are; for example, one cannot talk of the effect of age without mentioning sex or of education without mentioning sex.

However, to see the overall influences of each of the social variables and to rank them according to how much influence each had on all the linguistic features investigated it is necessary to summarize the influence of each social variable separately. These summary tables should indicate the general influence of these social variables throughout the dialect.

Table 14.A gives the percentage of NS usage for both sexes on all eleven linguistic variables. For all eleven variables males were more NS than females. Because the mean difference between males and females is 16.8 percent it can be said that sex differences have a very significant influence on language usage in this dialect. In fact, the difference of means test reveals that one can be 99 percent confident that the difference between the linguistic usage of males and females will be no less than 5.08 percent and no more than 28.52 percent. Since the difference of means between males and females for this sample of 16.8 percent lies within this confidence interval I can be 99 percent confident that it is a "real" difference.

Table 14.A. Sex differences and linguistic variation

Summary of the Effects of Sex Differences			
Ling. variable	M (% of NS usage)		F
(E)	69.7	>	60.0
(I)	37.6	>	27.4
(ei)	37.8	>	19.1
(Or)	17.3	>	2.8
(θ)	75.4	>	46.9
(ð)	77.9	>	66.7
(L)	94.3	>	91.6
(PP)	57.3	>	20.6
(GG)	30.6	>	8.7
(an)	51.1	>	29.3
(-ing)	30.4	>	22.0
Mean	52.7	>	35.9
Diff.		16.8	

Table 14.B gives the percentages of NS usage for older and younger informants.

Table 14.B. Age differences and linguistic variation

Summary of the Effects of Age Differences			
Ling. variable	O (% of NS usage)		Y
(E)	63.8	<	65.8*
(I)	40.2	>	24.2
(ei)	37.8	>	18.1
(Or)	16.5	>	4.0
(θ)	70.1	>	50.7
(ð)	76.5	>	68.1
(L)	93.8	>	92.1
(PP)	43.9	>	29.9
(GG)	23.6	>	16.8
(an)	41.3	>	36.8
(-ing)	28.4	>	23.5
Mean	48.7	>	39.1
Diff.	9.6		

In all but one case, that of the variable (E), older speakers are more NS than younger ones. However, the mean difference of 9.6 percent is not nearly as high as that for sex, indicating that its influence is not as strong. But the difference of means test reveals that one can be 80 percent sure that this difference lies within the confidence interval between the true means of males and females in this dialect; the test revealed that a difference exists between younger and older speakers which will be not less than 2.57 percent and not more than

16.63 percent.

Table 14.C presents the NS usage of less educated speakers versus more educated speakers.

Table 14.C. Education differences and linguistic variation

Summary of the Effects of Education Differences			
Ling. variable	-E (% of NS usage)		+E
(E)	66.4	>	63.3
(I)	37.6	>	27.7
(ei)	32.9	>	24.1
(Or)	11.1	>	8.3
(θ)	60.4	>	59.1
(ð)	73.0	>	70.9
(L)	93.6	>	92.3
(PP)	48.8	>	24.6
(GG)	20.4	>	19.6
(an)	44.9	>	33.3
(-ing)	28.6	>	23.9
Mean	47.1	>	40.7
Diff.	6.4		

Despite the fact that in all cases uneducated speakers are more NS than educated ones, the difference of means test did not prove the results significant.

In conclusion, it can be said that sex differences exhibit the strongest influence on language use on Long Island; that age differences

are also important but not as important as sex differences; and that education differences are the least important of the three social variables. The findings for sex and age parallel that found by Reid (1981) in another Newfoundland community, Bay de Verde. Paddock (1966) also found these two variables to have important influences on the speech behaviour of residents of Carbonear, also in Newfoundland. However, Paddock's community of Carbonear was a larger one with well-established social classes and in this respect is unlike the more rural communities of Bay de Verde (Reid, 1981) and Long Island. This would account for the fact that Paddock (1966, 1975: 117) found that socio-economic class, age and sex ranked first, second, and third respectively whereas both Reid and I found that sex and age ranked first and second respectively. In addition, Paddock's methodology and data are not strictly comparable to Reid's and mine. For example, Paddock included numerous lexical variants, whereas Reid and I dealt exclusively with systematic or structural features.

3. STYLISTIC VARIATION

3.1 Effects of contextual style

It has been shown repeatedly that people can and do change their speech depending upon a number of factors such as who the participants are, the social context involved, the purpose of the speech act, and so on. Long Islanders are no exception to this as Table 15 shows.

Table 15. Linguistic variation caused by contextual style

Linguistic Variables	Five Contextual Styles				
	Minimal Pairs	Word Lists	Structural Elicitation	Reading Passage	Casual Speech
(E)	61.0%	58.9%	58.0	65.8	73.5
(I)	21.0	26.4	60.0	31.5	46.2
(ei)	7.8	9.9	25.5	21.9	55.8
(Or)	3.3	5.6	9.7	3.8	35.1
(θ)	41.0	45.5	57.1	74.2	86.8
(ð)	22.4	37.2	41.3	80.6	96.4
(L)	97.0	94.3	90.6	90.5	92.9
(PP)				17.0	88.4
(GG)				4.8	49.2
(an)				34.4	69.2
(-ing)	1.2	1.8	4.7	14.1	64.7
Mean	31.8	35.0	37.5	46.6	68.9

As can be seen, the five different contextual styles investigated are arranged in the following formal to informal continuum: minimal pairs,

word list, structural elicitation, reading passage, and casual speech. The reader is referred to section 1.5 (page 24 above) for a description of the questionnaire used to elicit these styles. This is the same as Labov found in New York City (Wolfram and Fasold 1974: 83-98), although Labov did not include the structural elicitation frame. However, this order differs from Reid's (1981) who found that in Bay de Verde, a rural Newfoundland community comparable to Long Island, speakers were more formal in the reading passage section than in the structural elicitation section.

The continuum discussed above was found by incorporating the means of all eleven variables in each style. However, a closer look at Table 15 shows that not all variables conformed to this continuum in the same manner. If we look at the following graph in Figure 3.1 for the vocalic variables, we can see that they conform to a style continuum much like the one Reid (1981) found. Except for (E), which is not as stigmatized as the other three variables, all variables are more NS in the structural elicitation frame than in the reading passage section.

A closer look at the consonantal variables and (-ing) reveals that the pattern of formal to informal is different; the consonants conform to the pattern found overall in Table 15. We can see in Figure 3.2 that (L), which did not show any sociological correlation, does not display any stylistic correlation either. However, (θ) and (ð) are both more S in the structural elicitation frame than in the reading passage section - the opposite of the majority of the vocalic variables.

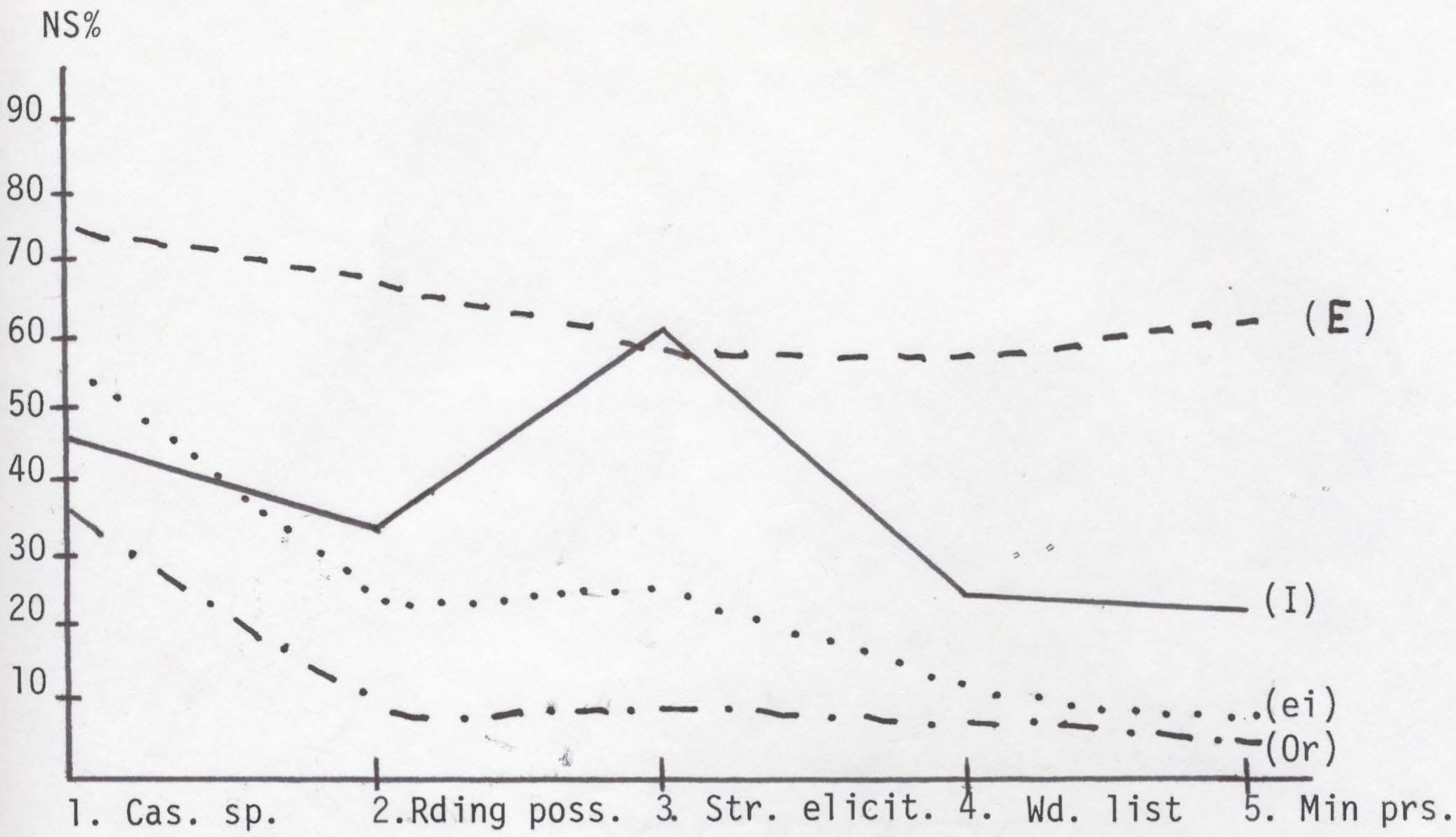

Figure 3.1 Vocalic variables in varying contextual styles

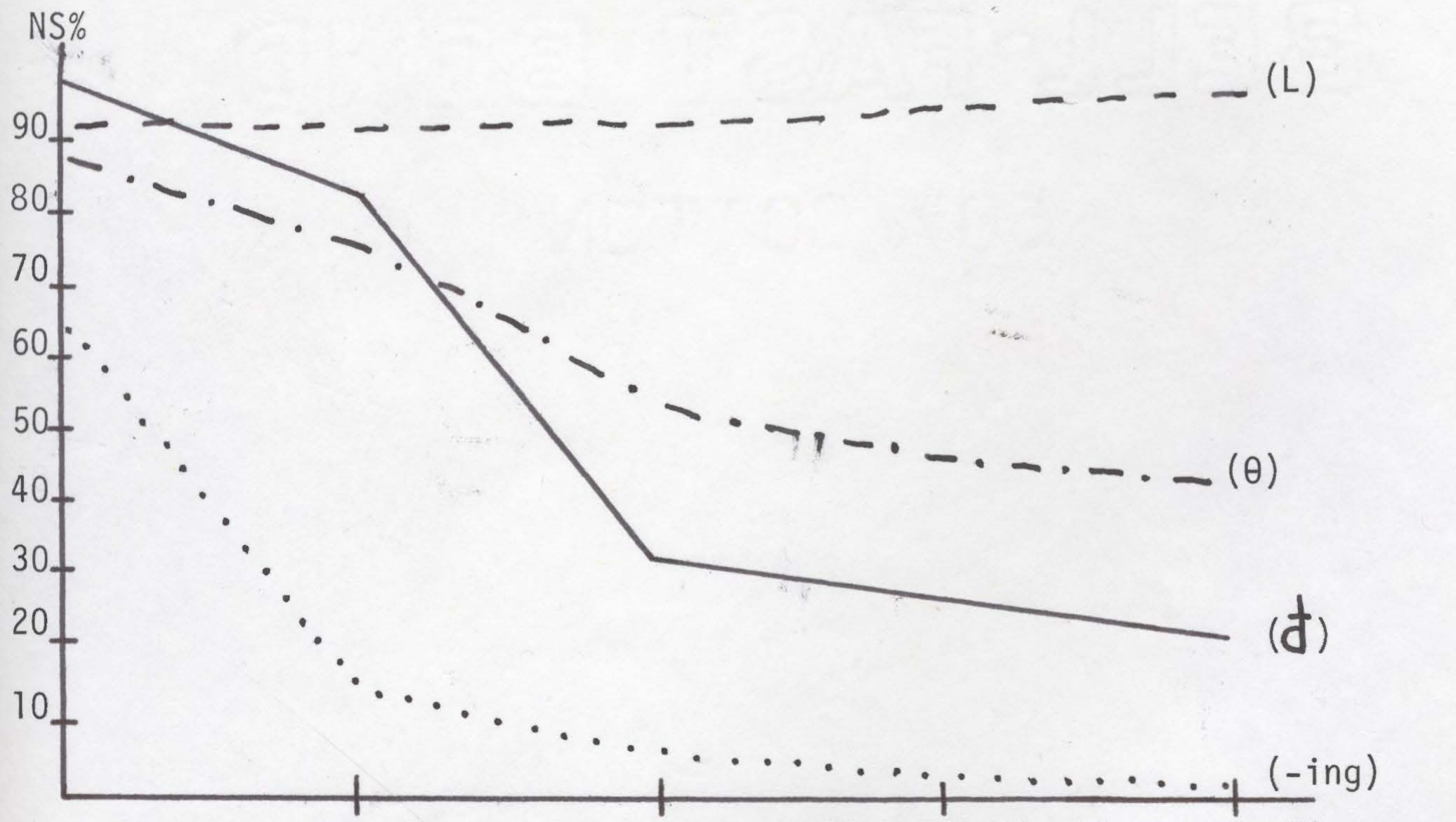

Figure 3.2 Consonantal variables and (-ing) in varying contextual styles

This suggests that if a variable is highly stigmatized then the speaker will tend to eliminate it when reading but if it is not stigmatized then the reader proceeds similarly to the way he would in normal speech. This is strong evidence that (I), (ei), and (Or) are dialect markers on Long Island and that, overall, vocalic features are more stigmatized than consonantal features; only (E) with the least perceptual differences between its lax vowel variants behaves similarly to the consonants.

(-ing) was the only morphological variable to appear in all five contextual styles. Its behaviour was identical to that of the consonants (see Figure 3.2). The other three morphological variables occurred only in the structural elicitation and casual speech sections of the questionnaire and in all three cases casual speech was much more NS (see Table 15 above).

3.2 Interaction of style with other social variables

Table 16 presents the NS usage of each individual cell in all five contextual styles. One can see from this table that for the most part all cells conformed to the overall informal-formal style continuum found.

Table 16. NS usage in each contextual style for each of the eight cells

Cell	Min. pr.	Wd. list	Str. elict.	Rd. pass.	Cas. sp.
-EOM	37.8	43.6	50.3	55.3	63.9
+EOM	43.8	60.0*	49.7	50.9	63.3
-EOF	32.8	29.6	41.3	44.4	58.2
+EOF	34.3	34.7	39.0	35.9	48.9
-EYM	23.6	30.5	36.5	38.6	63.2
+EYM	29.3	29.1	35.4	38.0	60.0
-EYF	27.6	24.0	36.1	39.0	59.9
+EYF	25.4	29.6	34.6	29.7*	48.7

It can be seen that there are three cases where the word list is slightly more S than the minimal pair list, showing that there is not much of a style shift elicited between these two very similar sections. However, one interesting point is the 16.2 percent difference that occurred between these two sections for educated older males. This group for some reason found the word list section (60.0% NS) almost as informal as the casual speech section (63.3% NS). This may have had to do with the self-confidence of this particular group. When they started the interview they were under no particular strain but as they proceeded they more fully realized that I was investigating language usage and then may have tried to give the "correct" responses. The only group to have the reading passage section more informal than the structural elicitation section was the educated younger females.

They were the most S group throughout all the data. Therefore, it is understandable that all variables would be stigmatized for them so that they had an overall style pattern for all variables that all other groups had only for the more stigmatized vocalic variables.

Table 17.A shows that the overall stylistic pattern for males and females always conformed to the style continuum outlined above.

Table 17.A. Sex differences and stylistic variation

	Min. pr.	Wd. list	Str. elict.	Rd. pass.	Cas. sp.	Range
M	33.6	40.8	43.0	45.7	62.6	29.0
F	30.0	31.9	36.5	37.3	53.9	23.9
Sex Diff.	3.6	8.9	6.5	8.4	8.7	5.1

In all contextual styles females are more S than males.

Table 17.B shows that older and younger speakers also always maintained the same style continuum.

Table 17.B. Age differences and stylistic variation

	Min. pr.	Wd. list	Str. elict.	Rd. pass.	Cas. sp.	Range
O	37.2	42.0	43.8	46.6	58.6	21.4
Y	26.4	30.8	35.7	36.3	58.0	31.6
Age Diff.	10.8	11.2	8.1	10.3	0.6	-10.2

Younger people are consistently more S than older people. Several interesting points arise when the stylistic variation conditioned by age differences is compared to that conditioned by sex differences. In all cases except for casual speech we can see that the differences conditioned by age are much larger than those conditioned by sex, suggesting that age is the most important social variable to interact with style. It is also interesting to note that there is a much wider range between the most S and most NS styles for the younger groups than for the older groups - 31.6 percent versus 21.4 percent or 10.2 percent wider to be exact. This suggests that younger speakers are much more likely to switch to a more S style than older people are. That age is the most important social variable for style is further suggested by the fact that the difference between the ranges for males and females is much less than the difference between the ranges for old and young; males are only slightly more likely to switch to a more S style than females but the younger are much more likely to switch than the old. The figures indicate that the young can switch further up the style scale (see their 26.4 percent in Table 17.B). Furthermore, we must note that the casual speech figures are almost identical for old and young.

It must be noted, however, that one must not forget the influence of the interviewer on the style switching of informants. Style is very much different from the other social variables since the informant can easily switch from one style to another whereas the informant has no control over his or her sex, age, or education at the particular time of the interview. Thus the status of the interviewer is very much a part of the study being carried out on style.

(discussed above) as opposed to the relative social instability of the uneducated speakers; educated speakers tend to talk the same in all situations whereas the uneducated speakers will more likely shift styles depending on the situation. The uneducated are the people who have to quite often travel off the Island to cities such as Toronto to obtain work, therefore, when they return home on holidays or socialize with fellow Newfoundlanders in these cities they would naturally speak more NS than when talking to employers, department store workers, or any of the more S speakers they must come into contact with. And in the interview situation with the taperecorder, the questionnaire, and the interviewer it seems quite reasonable that this style switching would be more evident for these less educated speakers.

Thus we have seen that when style interacts with the other social variables age conditions the greatest difference in language use, sex conditions the second greatest difference, and education is least important. The influences of age and sex are even more influential when the two together interact with style, as Table 18 reveals.

Table 18. Interaction of age, sex, and style

	Min. pr.	Wd. list	Str. elict.	Rd. Pass.	Cass. sp.	Range
OM	40.8	51.8	50.0	53.1	63.6	22.8
Others	28.8	31.3	36.3	37.6	56.5	27.7
Diff.	12.0	20.5	14.7	15.5	7.1	-4.9*

The fact that I was a young, educated, local male who for the most part knew the younger informants more personally than the older ones surely must have contributed to the differences in style switching between the older and younger groups. I am quite sure that if anyone else carried out a similar study with these same people the results for style would be different depending upon the perceived status of that interviewer. Thus we see the "observer's paradox" as outlined by Labov being extremely crucial when studying style; there appears to be no way around this particular problem, yet it cannot be ignored.

Both education groups also maintained the same informal-formal style continuum as the other groupings, as we see in Table 17.C.

Table 17.C. Education differences and stylistic variation

	Min. pr	Wd. list	Str. elict.	Rd. pass.	Cas. sp.	Range
-E	30.5	34.1	41.1	44.3	61.3	30.8
+E	33.2	37.4	38.4	38.6	55.2	22.0
Ed. Diff.	-2.7*	-3.3*	2.7	5.7	6.1	8.8

Again we see that education is the least influential social variable; the differences in NS usage between less educated and more educated groups are less than those attributed to either sex or age. However, it is interesting to note that the less educated speakers have a wider range between most NS and most S than do the more educated speakers - 30.8 percent as opposed to 22.0 percent. This has probably to do with the relative social stability of the educated speakers

Here we see that all other groups combined are much more likely to be more S in all contextual styles than older males.

3.3 Bidialectalism

When looking at Table 15 (on page 80) one also cannot help noticing the huge differences between casual speech style and the other styles - there is a mean difference of 22.3 percent between casual speech and the next most informal style, the reading passage. One can be assured that without the taperecorder, and the questionnaire, and the interviewer, the percentages of NS variants would be even higher. As it is, casual speech has a narrower range between the most NS group and its most S group than does any other style - 15.2 percent as compared to 20.2, 36.0, 16.0, and 25.5 percent for the minimal pairs section, the word list, the structural elicitation section, and the reading passage, respectively. This suggests that in normal conversation there is a greater tendency for all Long Islanders to talk alike than in any other style.

This leads me to believe that Long Islanders, except perhaps for the older males, are to a large extent becoming bidialectal. The NS dialect and the S dialect are becoming two different codes. The local dialect is used when talking to members of the community, friends, and so on. In fact, just about all of the more standardized informants admitted that they would use the more stigmatized features only when they were angry, or joking, and so on. This local dialect is used to express the most intense emotional experiences; [grɛə t] for <u>great</u> is much more emphatic than [greɪt]. This suggests that the

S dialect is still too remote from the people to express the more personal things in their lives.

On the other hand, many informants often mentioned that they did not speak "proper English" and expressed a negative attitude towards the way they talked. This attitude is similar to what Thelander (1976) found in Sweden; i.e., the dialect is looked down upon as a sub-standard form of speech by its own speakers. It is seen as a sign of ignorance, low class, low education, poverty, and so on. Therefore, it is little wonder that these people switch to more standardized speech when in the presence of individuals who appear to occupy higher social positions than themselves.

These two attitudes exist side by side. Anyone who uses language features too far removed from the local dialect is immediately labelled as conceited (or "stuck-up" to use their own term). And, similarly, anyone who uses features of the local dialect that are too far removed from the S dialect is often ridiculed.

This suggests that the local dialect is still to some extent a sign of membership in the community while the move towards the S dialect is in response to the fact that these people must live in the modern world. Long Islanders are keeping a foothold in both worlds, it seems.

4. LINGUISTIC CONDITIONING

One must not ignore the effects of certain linguistic environments on language variation. Such variation occurs at different rates depending partly upon the linguistic environments in which the variable occurs. Consequently, I will now present the linguistic constraints that I found operating on the features that I investigated.

4.1 Phonological conditioning of the (E) and (I) variables by following environments

Table 19 displays the linguistic environments that followed all occurrences of NS (E). It must be pointed out I concentrated mainly on following environments because of the time available for this study and because of the fact that as Ladefoged (1975: 92) points out anticipatory assimilation "is by far the commonest cause of assimilation in English". As Table 19 shows, NS (E) occurred more often in some environments than in others. When place of articulation of the following consonant is considered, there is a very high percentage of NS occurrences of (E) when the following consonant is a bilabial or alveopalatal consonant. One can easily understand the fact that alveopalatal consonants, with their high place of articulation, would condition vowel raising but why did bilabials condition slightly more NS raising than alveopalatals?

Table 19. Phonological conditioning of (E)

Place	Manner	Voicing
- [bilabial] (kept, hem...) $\frac{132}{150}$ = 88.0%	- [nasal] (ten, hem...) $\frac{554}{578}$ = 95.8%	- [voiced] (fed, hem...) $\frac{782}{1193}$ = 65.5%
- [alveopalatal] (mesh, edge...) $\frac{60}{71}$ = 84.5%	- [affricate] (vegetable...) $\frac{37}{43}$ = 86.1%	- [voiceless] (let, desk...) $\frac{332}{595}$ = 55.8%
- [alveolar] (pet, fed, pen...) $\frac{990}{1503}$ = 65.9%	- [stop] (net, led...) $\frac{574}{963}$ = 59.6%	
- [labiodental] (Effie, seven...) $\frac{27}{74}$ = 36.5%	- [fricative] (best, seven...) $\frac{74}{319}$ = 23.2%	
- [velar] (neck, next...) $\frac{9}{33}$ = 27.3%	- [retroflex] (here, bear...) $\frac{6}{92}$ = 6.5%	
- [interdental] (death, weather...) $\frac{0}{60}$ = 0%	- [lateral] (bell, fell...) $\frac{0}{230}$ = 0%	

This is even more puzzling when before labiodental consonants there are very few NS occurrences. The latter case, it seems, can be explained by the fact that English has only fricatives in the labiodental place of articulation and when we look at manner of articulation in Table 19 we see that before fricatives there is a lower occurrence of NS variants of (E) than before any other of the manners of articulation (except for the liquids /l/ and /r/). Before velar consonants there are also few occurrences of the NS variants which is probably due to the fact that velars are articulated in the back of the mouth while [I] is a high front vowel. One even gets lowering or laxing of [i:] in this dialect in this environment as when such words as week, cheek and creek are pronounced [wIk], [tʃIk], and [krIk] respectively. However, this lowering and laxing did not occur in other examples of /CVk/ words such as peak, beak, meek, leak, etc. The fact that no occurrences of NS (E) occurred before the interdental fricatives [θ] and [ð] is probably a combination of the fact that before fricatives we get low occurrences of NS variants of (E) and the fact that these fricatives are relatively rare in the dialect so that when they do occur a speaker is being very conscious of standardizing his or her speech. Therefore when (s)he produces the S consonant (s)he also produces the S vowel. In general, it can be said that the farther front the lingual articulation is and the higher the lingual articulation is the greater is the tendency to raise /ɛ/ to /I/. Although this does not explain why bilabial consonants appear to encourage raising (this is to be dealt with later), it does account for the behaviour of (E) before the other places of articulation. This is emphasized by the

frequency with which NS variants occur before alveolar consonants. It is significantly 18.6 percent lower than before alveopalatal consonants with their higher place of articulation (99% confidence) and 38.6 percent higher than before velar consonants with their back place of articulation (99% confidence). This is further supported by looking at the behaviour of (E) before the lateral in words like bell and fell. In all of these cases the post-vocalic lateral is velarized and the S variants occur 100 percent of the time. Before the retroflexed consonant /r/ there is also a low occurrence of NS variants. In fact it is almost universal in this dialect that not only is there very little raising of (E) before /r/ and/l/ but there is also a fair degree of lowering of [I] or [i:] in these environments; for example, in words such as bill, beer, etc.

Looking at manner of articulation, it can be seen that NS variants of (E) occur more often before certain manners of articulation than before others. Nearly always before nasals we get NS (E). And affricates also have a very high occurrence of NS variants preceding them. When (E) precedes oral stops there are far fewer occurrences of NS variants than when (E) precedes nasal stops and affricates, but far more than when it occurs before fricatives. This suggests that when the air flow is checked or stopped in the oral cavity we are more likely to get NS variants of (E). This may be a kind of assimilation of constriction in that the "closer" palatal vowel [I] tends to precede the "closer" consonants (which have complete oral obstruction) while the more open palatal vowel [ɛ] tends to precede the more open consonants (which have incomplete oral obstruction).

We must also consider the interaction of place and manner of articulation. For example, the nasals are either bilabial or alveolar, two places of articulation that always have a high percentage of NS variants of (E) preceding them. Also, affricates are always alveo-palatals in English, which always have a high percentage of NS variants of (E) before them. The oral stops, on the other hand, are bilabial, alveolar, or velar which have (respectively) high, moderate and low occurrences of NS forms of this variable before them, causing the NS percentages before stops to average out at the moderate level of 59.6 percent. Similarly, the fricatives are partly composed of the labio-dental and interdental fricatives that had low occurrences of NS (E) before them. However, after we account for these labiodental and interdental fricatives there is still a very low percentage of occurrences of NS variants before the remaining alveolar and alveo-palatal fricatives - 29.0 percent to be exact. Therefore it appears that if some front part of the mouth, either the lips or the tip or front of the tongue, is involved in stopping the flow of air through the mouth then there is a tendency to get a higher percentage of NS variants of (E).

It also appears that voicing also plays a role in this phenomenon. The 9.7 percent difference between the NS occurrences before voiced and voiceless consonants proved significant (99% confidence). This is understandable in that vowels become longer before voiced consonants than before voiceless ones as Ladefoged (1975: 53) points out. This voiced sound that lengthens the vowel seems to encourage raising because it provides the necessary time for the

articulatory gesture of tongue raising to be made.

In conclusion, it can be said that it was found that consonants with high and front places of articulation such as alveopalatals and alveolars have a greater likelihood of having NS occurrences of (E) preceding them than do consonants which have back places of articulation such as the velars and the velarized laterals have. In addition to this it was also found that if the consonant following (E) lengthened the vowel as the voiced consonants did then there is a greater tendency to get NS raising because it provides the necessary time needed to make the extra articulatory gesture of tongue raising. In light of the behaviour of (E) in front of voiced consonants we can perhaps understand why bilabial consonants appear to encourage NS occurrences of (E). Bilabial articulation is also relatively slow which provides the time for this extra articulatory gesture of tongue-raising to occur.

The preceding consonantal environments may also be having an effect on the occurrence patterns of (E). We know that preceding consonants can be a conditioning factor; for example Chambers and *Trudgill (1980: 128) show how preceding labial obstruent consonants* favor the retention of rounded [U] in certain dialects in the South of England in words such as pull, bull, push and bush. It is therefore unfortunate that I was not able to look at the effect of the preceding consonants for this phenomenon. This was caused by the limitations of time and scope in a Master's thesis and the fact that I had not anticipated this problem when designing the questionnaire.

It must also be pointed out that this raising of [ɛ] is also lexicalized to a certain extent. Certain words such as yes nearly

always have the S form while other words such as mess nearly always have the NS form.

The question now arises as to whether or not the linguistic behaviour of (I) corresponds to that found for (E). Table 20 presents the linguistic environments that follow all NS occurrences of (I).[1]

Table 20. Phonological conditioning of (I)

Place	Manner	Voicing
- [velar] (pig, wig ...) $\frac{77}{103}$ = 74.7%	- [stop] (pig, wig ...) $\frac{77}{117}$ = 65.8%	- [voiceless] (if, fish ...) $\frac{180}{464}$ = 38.8%
- [velarized](lateral) (pill, fill ...) $\frac{51}{83}$ = 61.5%	- (velarized)[lateral] (pill, fill ...) $\frac{51}{83}$ = 61.5%	- [voiced] (pig, pin $\frac{247}{915}$ = 26.9%
- [alveopalatal] (fish, wish ...) $\frac{136}{266}$ = 51.1%	- [fricative] (fish, if ...) $\frac{180}{423}$ = 42.6%	
- [labiodental] (if, skiff ...) $\frac{44}{180}$ = 24.1%	- [nasal] (in, pin ...) $\frac{119}{683}$ = 17.4%	
- [alveolar] (in, pin ...) $\frac{119}{682}$ = 17.4%	- [affricate] (which ...) $\frac{0}{23}$ = 0%	
- [bilabial] (rib, him ...) $\frac{0}{63}$ = 0%	- [retroflex] (fir, sir ...) $\frac{0}{48}$ = 0%	

[1]The lateral occurs under both place (because of its "secondary" place of articulation; i.e.; velarized) and manner (sometimes lateral and sometimes vocoid but always velarized).

The highest percentage of occurrences of NS variants of (I) occurs before velar or velarized consonants - 74.7 percent before the voiced velar plosive [g] and 61.5 percent before the voiced velarized lateral or its velarized vocoid allophones. These are followed closely by the voiceless palatal fricative [ʃ] which has 56.0 percent of NS occurrences of (I) before it. (We get this figure by subtracting the influence of the voiceless affricate [tʃ] in the alveopalatal place of articulation). Therefore, it appears that a high place of articulation for the tongue body may be instrumental in conditioning the raising and subsequent tensing of [I] to [i·]. Here we see again that the time required for articulatory gestures may be important. It takes much more time to raise the main body of the tongue for alveopalatal and velar consonants than it does to raise the blade and apex of the tongue for alveolar consonants. It appears that this extra time is used to raise and tense /I/ to [i·], when /I/ occurs before these consonants with high places of articulation of the tongue body.

When we compare Tables 19 and 20 we have to say that the restricted (following) environments in which NS (I) occurs make it difficult to compare (I) with (E) which has a wider range of (following) environments in which the NS variants occurred. NS (I) only occurs before [g], [ɣ]~[ɬ], [ʃ], [f], and [n] whereas NS (E) occurs before all consonants except (θ) and (ð) and the velarized allophones of /l/. Furthermore, the NS variants of (I) never occur before bilabial consonants yet it was before this environment that the second most NS variants of (E) occurred. Similarly /I/ sometimes becomes [i·] before the lateral /l/, but (E) does not become [I] before the same sound.

In fact, as I pointed out above, some speakers even lower /I/ to [ɛ] before /l/ on Long Island. It is also interesting to note that the voicing effect found for (I), shown in Table 20, is the opposite of that found for (E) in Table 19.

This raises the question as to what extent we can deal with the variables (I) and (E) as a single phenomenon. In fact the non-occurrence of NS (I) before bilabials indicates that (I) is a highly conditioned change due to lingual co-articulation effects - i.e., raising/fronting of the tongue body for the following consonant naturally raises/fronts it for the preceding vowel. Also, the genioglossus muscle required to raise and front the tongue body also raises the hyoid bone which in turn raises the larynx to shorten the vocal track and raise the resonant frequencies (formants) of the vowel, which tenses it (Lieberman 1977: 113). Thus we see that the muscle involved in raising the tongue-body for such consonants as [g], [ʃ] and so on is the same one involved in vowel tensing, making the NS tensing of [I] before these consonants a highly conditioned sound change. On the other hand, the high occurrence of NS (E) before bilabial consonants indicate a rather different kind of conditioning (if in fact there is any real phonetic conditioning of (E)). If phonetic conditioning is real, as Table 19 appears to suggest, perhaps it is based on timing of articulation rather than on overlapping use of the same articulation. Thus any following sounds which lengthen the vowel seem to encourage NS raising of /ɛ/ to [I]. This accounts for the high incidence of NS (E) before (voiced) nasals and all voiced sounds. Since bilabial articulation is much slower than lingual articulation

it may also account for the high incidence of NS [ɛ] before bilabial consonants.

Since nasals have by far the highest incidence (95.8%) of NS occurrences of (E) before them, we can hypothesize that this sound change began before nasals. This hypothesis is supported by dialects (such as in the American South) where such raising occurs exclusively (or almost exclusively) before nasals.

The overall occurrence of NS (E) and (I) indicate that (I) is much more stigmatized than (E) and as a result has been standardized to a much greater extent. NS variants of (I) occurred only 32.5 percent of the time whereas NS variants of (E) occurred 64.8 percent of the time.

What seems to be the case in this dialect is that the sound change of /I/ to [i.] was much more widespread in the dialect at one time (see page 13 of introduction to (I)). But it was probably never as generalized as the change of /ɛ/ to [I], otherwise it would not likely be so rare today. Speakers have eliminated the raising and tensing of /I/ today almost entirely except when /I/ occurs before consonants which require a strong raising of the tongue body, and except for its retention in a few lexical items. In fact, in the two environments that did not have a high place of tongue articulation (before labio-dentals and alveolars) the word <u>if</u> accounts for all forty-four occurrences of NS (I) before the labiodental fricatives and the word <u>in</u> accounts for 95 (or 15.0%) of all the NS occurrences of NS (I) before alveolar nasals, leaving only 3.7 percent that occurs in other words. Thus, NS (I) occurred almost solely before consonants with a

high place of lingual articulation when we remove these two lexical exceptions.

4.2 Phonological and historical constraints on (ei)

The NS variants of this vowel occurred in all possible environments with a very similar frequency. This variable occurred 1,972 times in the data; a more than ample opportunity for some pattern based on manner of articulation, place of articulation, or voicing to clearly emerge if there was one. As Table 21 reveals, voicing appears to have some positive effect on the occurrence of NS variants. However, it is only on the historical foundation discussed above (see page 11 of introduction to this variable) that any real pattern can be established, as we shall shortly see.

Table 21. Phonological conditioning of (ei)[2]

Place	Manner	Voicing	Orthography	Other
- [bilabial] table, ape 76/196 = 38.8%	- [fricative] chafe, ace 37/123 = 30.1%	C^{vd} - C^{vd} made, mane 96/227 = 42.3%	C ey* they, prey 56/92 = 60.9%	# - C age, ade 44/161 = 27.3%
- [velar] flake, bake 76/226 = 33.6%	- [nasal] pane, flame 57/205 = 27.8%	C^{vl} - C^{vl} face, fate 79/256 = 30.9%	C ay* day, bay 113/421 = 26.8%	CC - C flake, flame 53/201 = 26.8%
- [labiodental] cave, safe 15/46 = 32.6%	- [stop] bake, made 171/628 = 27.2%	- C^{vl} ape, ace 147/536 = 27.4%	C ai* C plain, faith 22/261 = 8.4%	-C# V aching, baking 268/1004 = 26.7%
- [alveolar] made, mane 98/488 = 20.1%	-*[affricate] age, wage 3/48 = 6.3%	- C^{vd} ade, age 121/496 = 25.8%	C ei* C vein, seine 0/18 = 0%	C - # bay, play 191/744 = 26.4%
- *[alveopalatal] age, wage 3/48 = 6.3%				

[2]-ey, -ay, and -ai indicate conventional English spellings of the [ei] vowel.

When one keeps in mind that the NS variants of (ei) occurred 28.4 percent of the time it can be seen that no less than thirteen of the twenty-one environments listed in Table 21 are within 5 percent of the overall percentage of NS occurrences - differences that cannot be considered significant. Among the eight remaining environments it is understandable that we get the S variants, which are upgliding diphthongs, when (ei) precedes alveopalatal consonants (which also happen to be all affricates in my data) with their high, front place of articulation. We see that velars with their high, back articulation are preceded by the NS variants 33.6 percent of the time, a slight 5.2 percent more than the overall average of 28.4 percent. The fact that a high, front articulation of a following consonant is important in conditioning S variants of (ei) is also seen by looking at bilabial and alveolar consonants when they follow (ei). Bilabials have 10.4 percent more occurrences preceding them than the overall 28.4 percent of NS variants of (ei) that occurred. This is very understandable since bilabials have no lingual articulation at all, so they should be neutral in their effects on tongue height. It is therefore significant that the highest occurrences of NS [e$^{\breve{}}$:] and [eə] types occurred before bilabials. In other words, since no assimilatory raising was required of the tongue for the following (bilabial) consonant, the tongue was "encouraged" to stay low and the S palatal glide was omitted quite often. Alveolars, on the other hand, had 8.3 percent fewer NS occurrences preceding them than the overall 28.4 percent of the NS variants of (ei) that occurred. Thus the tongue in this case was "encouraged" to rise and the S palatal glide was quite often present

because the tongue tip and blade had to rise anyway to form the following alveolar consonant. Therefore, it appears that the higher the place of articulation of the tongue for forming the consonants following (ei), the more likely it is that there will be a S high palatal glide realization of (ei); whereas, if the lingual articulation of the tongue when forming consonants following (ei) is neutral in their effects on tongue height, the more likely it is that there will be a NS centering glide or monophthongal realization of (ei).

We also see that the voicing of neighbouring consonants tends to encourage the realization of NS variants of this variable, second only to one other environment - C<u>ey</u>. This is understandable in light of the fact that before voiced consonants vowels tend to be longer as Ladefoged (1975: 53) points out. It appears that when voicing conditions vowel lengthening for this particular variable there is a greater tendency for the vowel to become a long monophthong or centering glide rather than a palatal upglide.

However, it is in light of historical factors that we see the most systematic variation of (ei). When the vowel is spelled -<u>ei</u> (often from Middle English [ɛI]) there are no occurrences of NS variants. And when the vowel is spelled -<u>ai</u> (often from Middle English [æI]) we get NS variants only 8.4 percent of the time, with all but one percent of those being caused by the frequent occurrence of one lexical item - <u>again</u>. This is definite evidence that there is still a remnant of a phonemic distinction that Middle English had between the monophthong /ā/ in words such as <u>pane</u> and <u>made</u> and the diphthong /æI/ in words such as <u>pain</u> and <u>maid</u>. However, the data also shows that speakers are

quickly making such pairs homophones as in the S dialect. It is interesting to note that when the vowel has the word-final spellings -ey or -ay the NS variants occur quite frequently. This is due to the high frequency of usage of certain lexical items (i.e., the two words they and say account for 42.4 percent of the NS variants in the -ey words and 17.1 percent of the NS variants of the -ay words, respectively).

This data involves at least three Middle English vowels. These include the Middle English diphthong /æI/, (with allophones or variants [æI] and [ɛI]). The other two middle English vowels postulated that relate to the realizations of this variable on Long Island are the two Middle English monophthongs /ɛ̄/ (usually orthographic ea in beat, seat, speak, great and so on) and /ā/ (usually orthographic aCe in debate, mate, grate and so forth). Many of the minimal pairs formed by these vowels are often still kept apart on Long Island. This is especially true of those words containing reflexes of Middle English /ā/ and /æI/ as in such pairs as made and maid given above. And the dialect nearly always keeps apart the minimal pairs formed by reflexes of Middle English /ā/ and /ɛ̄/, as in such pairs as mate and meat and (de)bate and beat; but these same reflexes are often merged in some pairs such as grate and great with both words having the S form [greIt] or the NS form [greət]. Thus, words such as beat, seat, speak, sea and so on went to the S /i:/ only through the effects of standardization in recent years. And /ɛ̄/ often went to /i:/ without the normal

development via [e:] or [eI] in these words.

In summary, it can be said that apart from the slight influence of high, front places of lingual articulation of consonants following (ei) and the influences of neighbouring voiced consonants, the only "constraint" on whether or not the words containing reflexes of Middle English monophthong /ā/ (and sometimes /ɛ̄/) have the S or NS variants of (ei) depends largely upon the speaker's desire to standardize. We can also see that words that have reflexes of Middle English diphthong /æI/ ([ɛI] and [æI]) have (except for a few lexical items) retained a diphthongal vowel form very similar to the S form.

4.3 Phonological conditioning of the variable (Or)

Table 22 presents the NS occurrences of (Or) in the various linguistic environments that preceded it. I might point out that I examined preceding environments for this variable because I felt that the presence of /r/ following the vowel was by far the single most important influence on the lowering, unrounding and fronting of the vowel.

Table 22. Phonological conditioning of (Or)

Manner	Place	Other
[lateral] - lord, Lorne $\frac{14}{70}$ = 20.0%	[labio-velar] - worry, warm $\frac{30}{107}$ = 28.0%	# - horse, order $\frac{14}{165}$ = 8.5%
[nasal] - north, norm $\frac{23}{195}$ = 11.8%	[labiodental] - fork, form $\frac{23}{243}$ = 9.5%	
[fricative] - fork, short $\frac{31}{384}$ = 8.1%	[bilabial] - born, morning $\frac{51}{541}$ = 9.4%	
[plosive] - born, pork $\frac{21}{551}$ = 3.8%	[alveolar] - north, Doris $\frac{28}{312}$ = 9.0%	
	[velar] - score, corner $\frac{11}{122}$ = 9.0%	
	[palatal] - majority $\frac{6}{89}$ = 6.7%	

In the eleven preceding environments listed above only two environments (the semivowel [w] and the lateral [l]) have a percentage of occurrences of NS variants of (Or) that is more than 10 percent above the overall occurrence of NS variants, which was 9.6 percent. In

fact, when we look at the three preceding environments with the highest occurrence of NS variants we see that they are all consonants. These consonants account for 50.4 percent of all the NS variants of (Or). Further investigation reveals that fricatives account for 23.3 percent of all the NS variants and 8.5 percent is accounted for by no preceding consonant; this means that 82.2 percent of all the NS variants of (Or) occur where there is no preceding sound or there is a sound that has the sonorant or continuant feature. This accounts for the fact that stops condition the lowest occurrence of NS forms when they precede (Or). Paddock (1966, 1975: 50-51) points out that "the major sonority distinction [in English] is between sonorants (i.e., nasals, liquids, and all vocoids) on the one hand and obstruents (stops, affricates and fricatives) on the other." In light of this in Table 22 we see a perfect hierarchy of sonority in the manner column going from semivowel (the most sonorous manner) via lateral, nasal, and fricative (in this order) to stop or plosive (the least sonorous manner). Since low vowels are the most sonorous vowels (as compared with the mid and high vowels) we see here a kind of assimilation of sonority, with the Middle English short or lax /ɔ/ becoming a more sonorous low vowel after the more sonorous consonants. And in the case of the Middle English [-war] words we see that the most sonorous manner, the semivowel, actually prevented the lax, low [a] vowel from becoming the rounded [ɔ] vowel as it did in the standard dialect. As a result, the contrast between Middle English [-war] and [-wɔr-] words was lost when these two vowels neutralized to an unrounded vowel of the [ɐ~a] type. The

contrast was also lost in the standard dialect but the neutralization was towards a rounded vowel of the [ɔ] type.

However, we must not forget that the most important phonological feature here is the presence of /r/. It is this sound that causes the lowering of Middle English lax [ɛ] (as in farm and barn) and the lowering, unrounding, and fronting of Middle English lax [ɔ] (as in form and born in this dialect). /r/ alters the realization of all vowels that precede it in this dialect; for example, there is nearly universal lowering of all high front and high back vowels before /r/. The preceding sound only serves to influence how often this lowering will occur now that these -or and -ar words are taking the S forms.

4.4 Phonological conditioning of the variables (θ) and (ð)

Table 23 gives the NS occurrences of (θ) in the various linguistic environments in which it occurred.[3]

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[3] # represents a word boundary, while $ represents a syllable boundary in this data.

Table 23. Phonological conditioning of (θ)

Initially		Total
# —— C (three)	# —— V (thigh)	
$\frac{85}{85}$ = 100%	$\frac{153}{219}$ = 69.8%	78.2
Finally		
V —— # (bath)	C —— # (north)	
$\frac{144}{267}$ = 53.9%	$\frac{64}{142}$ = 45.1%	50.9
Medially		

C —— C	V $ —— V	V C —— V	V —— $ V	V —— C	
(months)	(everything)	(wealthy)	(without)	(baths)	
$\frac{7}{7}$ = 100%	$\frac{93}{120}$ = 77.5%	$\frac{31}{62}$ = 50.0%	$\frac{15}{35}$ = 42.9%	$\frac{8}{21}$ = 38.1%	62.8

As we can see, there is a greater tendency for NS (θ) variants to occur at the beginning of words than anywhere else. However, it must be pointed out that initially before consonants the 100% occurrence of the NS (θ) is related to the fact that (θ) is followed by /r/ in all cases. When this happens in this dialect the resulting sound is neither [θ] or [t] but rather a retroflex affricate sounding like [tʃ]. It is understandable that this sound itself is not stigmatized since one often hears it in the S dialect as well for words spelled tr-. Thus three and tree begin with the same retroflex affricate in this dialect.

At the end of words NS (θ) variants occur much less often than initially - 53.9 percent and 45.1 percent of the time when preceded by a vowel and a consonant, respectively. When (θ) occurs medially several situations occur. The NS variants always occur in a three member consonant cluster as in a word such as months; it is just too much for these speakers who are just beginning to use [θ] to handle the articulatory processes involved in such a long cluster. However, when (θ) is in a cluster with only one other consonant, then the NS variants do not occur so often - 50.0 percent of the time when (θ) occurs after the other consonant and 38.1 percent of the time when it occurs before the other consonant. And when (θ) occurs medially, beginning or ending a syllable, it replicates the situation we saw when (θ) begins or ends words. Thus when it ends a syllable the NS variants occur 42.9 percent of the time and when it begins a syllable they occur 77.5 percent of the time. We see that NS variants of (θ) occur more often at the beginning of words and syllables than they do at the end of words or syllables.

In summary, these speakers produce the S variant 21.8 percent of the time when (θ) occurs word initially, 37.2 percent of the time when it occurs medially, and 49.1 percent of the time when it occurs word finally. This strongly supports Wolfram and Fasold (1974: 135) who claimed that th- words must be treated separately when th- occurs at the beginning of words from when th- occurs inside of or at the end of words. They go on to point out that the stop pronunciations of these words are "much less common at the ends of words, but sometimes occur." My data support this but the situation on Long Island is not

the same as Wolfram and Fasold (1974: 135) found in Vernacular Black English when (θ) occurs medially. They found that "the use of t for the voiceless th in the middle or at the end of words is very rare." Long Island speakers treat (θ) much the same medially as they do initially or finally. The important thing is whether or not it occurs at the beginning or end of a syllable.

The data for (ð) are very interesting in light of the claims by Wolfram and Fasold and what was found for (θ). Table 24 presents the NS occurrences of (ð) in the various linguistic environments in which it occurred.

Table 24. Phonological conditioning of (ð)

Initially	Medially		Finally
# —— V	V $ —— V	V́C$ —— V	V —— #
(then, thy...)	(other, father...)	(farther...)	(bathe...)
$\frac{780}{874}$ = 89.2%	$\frac{94}{291}$ = 32.3%	$\frac{18}{61}$ = 29.5%	$\frac{5}{19}$ = 26.3%

As with the NS variants of (θ), we see that NS variants of (ð) occur more often word initially than in any other environments. And the fact that NS (ð) occurs 10.6 percent more often in this position than NS (θ) further supports Wolfram and Fasold (1974: 135) who claimed that "of the two cases, the use of d for the voiced th- is less stigmatized." This may have to do with the fact that in Modern English [ð] only occurs initially in very few words as Pyles (1971: 59) points out. Except for a few archaic and literary words these are the

very common the, this, that, these, those, they, their(s), them, then, there, though, than, thus. These are all function or grammatical words rather than full or lexical words. As function words they tend to be unstressed, and therefore the NS variants are less perceptible than they would be for the voiceless [θ] which usually begins full, lexical words such as thought, thief, thighs, etc. that are often stressed. Furthermore, the voicing of (ð) also tends to mask the lack of friction noise in the NS variants of this variable whereas the lack of voicing would draw attention to the lack of friction noise for the NS variants of (θ). Therefore, there is little wonder that NS (ð) is less stigmatized when word initial than NS (θ).

Wolfram and Fasold point out that the stop pronunciation for the voiced (ð) is the rarest in word final position, just as I found. However, they also go on to claim that medially the NS variants of (ð) are "fairly common", whereas I found that in medial position one is more likely to get NS variants of (θ) rather than NS variants of (ð). This is very interesting in light of the historical fact that Old English had [ð], occurring only medially and never initially or finally (Pyles 1971: 59). It appears that on Long Island we still find a remnant of this distribution, in that [ð] seems to have survived in medial position, whereas speakers can produce the S [θ] in any environment only after considerable concentration. The same is true of the S [ð] except when it occurs medially. This is probably another reason why the (ð) variable is not as stigmatized as (θ) on the Island, in addition to those suggested by Wolfram and Fasold, dealt with above. This may have to do with assimilation. For vowels the

tongue does not make contact with the roof of the mouth and the air-stream passes between the tongue-tip and the roof of the mouth, which is similar to the passage of the airstream between the tongue-tip and the upper teeth in the production of the interdental fricative [ð]. Furthermore [ð] is even voiced like vowels. Therefore, in light of historical and articulatory factors it seems plausible that if speakers were to produce S forms of th words the V—— V environment for (ð) would be the easiest environment in which to do it. The same situation also holds for the VC—— V environment because in all cases here we do not get a phonetic contoid before (ð) but rather the r-coloured vowels in words such as northerly and farther.

4.5 Phonological conditioning of the (L) variable

Table 25 presents the NS occurrences of (L) in the linguistic environments in which it occurred. The most striking fact with this variable is that /l/ is always delateralized when it precedes a consonant which is in the same syllable (i.e., with which it formerly formed a coda). This suggests that if this sound change was allowed to go unchecked we would eventually see many more words in this dialect like the few words such as folk, yolk, calm and psalm, where even in the S dialect the /l/ has been deleted. We also see that at the end of CVL words such as pool, pale and so on (L) is nearly always delateralized, although we can see that there is a slight tendency to get more delateralization after back vowels than after front vowels. This probably reflects the historical progression of the delateralization, which occurred earliest after low-back vowels but later after high-front

Table 25. Phonological Conditioning of (L)

V - C #	V - #	Other
[æ] - C # calm, palm $\frac{5}{5}$ = 100%	[o] - # hole, foal $\frac{281}{284}$ = 98.9%	V́ - # V sell it, all over $\frac{64}{75}$ = 85.3%
[ɛ] - C # belt, felt $\frac{69}{69}$ = 100%	[u/U] - # pull, pool No data[4]	VC - # cattle, bottle $\frac{119}{194}$ = 61.0%
[I/i] - C # built, field $\frac{46}{46}$ = 100%	[ɑ] - # all, small $\frac{181}{188}$ = 96.3%	V́ - $ V fallow, yellow $\frac{33}{168}$ = 19.6%
[ɑ] - C # fault, bald $\frac{23}{23}$ = 100%	[i/I] - # eel, fill $\frac{60}{63}$ = 95.2%	# C - V flake, blow $\frac{0}{464}$ = 0%
[o] - C # colt, old $\frac{115}{115}$ = 100%	[ɛ] - # well, bell $\frac{298}{335}$ = 89.0%	V $ - V́ delight, relit $\frac{0}{84}$ = 0%
V diphthong C # child, spoiled $\frac{46}{46}$ = 100%	V diphthong # file, tile $\frac{15}{17}$ = 88.2%	
Total $\frac{304}{304}$ = 100%	Total $\frac{835}{887}$ = 94.1%	

[4]There is no data for (L) when it follows [u] or [U] because these vowels are lowered to [o] types before (L) in this dialect.

vowels. This is also the same as Wolfram and Fasold (1974: 141) report for white Southern dialects and Vernacular Black English in the United States. In addition to this, I also found that when (L) is preceded by a diphthong there is a greater tendency not to delateralize. This is probably due to the fact that many speakers often insert an additional vowel, [ə], after the diphthong and before the lateral in words such as oil, boil, foul, aisle, file and so on. As a result these words become two syllables and the lateral is retained very often in its syllabic function - the same as we saw in the VC - # environment.

When we look at other conditioning environments several interesting points arise. When (L) occurs medially as the onset of a syllable we get no delateralization. We get the same phenomenon when (L) occurs initially as the second member of an onset consonant cluster, as in flake. In fact, the lateral occurs universally in this dialect at the beginning of words and syllables whether alone or in a consonant cluster. When word or syllable final we get a different situation. At the end of a word which is followed by another word (or a syllable which is followed by another syllable) if the second word or syllable begins with a vowel, (L) is delateralized 85.3 percent of the time. It seems that the retention of the lateral is favored to separate the two vowels. Wolfram and Fasold (1974: 141) report the same behaviour for (L) in Vernacular Black English. In fact when (L) occurs at the end of a stressed syllable and followed by an unstressed syllable beginning with a vowel in words such as fallow, yellow, fully, and so on we get delateralization only 19.6 percent of the time. And when (L) occurs as a syllabic consonant word

finally as in cattle, bottle, ladle and so on we get delateralization only 61 percent of the time.

In summary, the data show that (L) is delateralized in most post-vocalic positions (although there is a slightly greater tendency to delateralize after back vowels than after front vowels) and that delateralization always occurs post-vocalically preceding tautosyllabic consonants. More moderate degrees of delateralization occur when post-vocalic (L) is followed by a vowel or when (L) is syllabic. The only environment in which the lateral variant occurred all the time was at the beginning of syllables (and therefore of words). This suggests that, except when (L) occurs intervocalically and syllabically, the lateral [l] and its vocoid variants such as [ɤ] are in complementary distribution in this dialect. The lateral variant occurs pre-vocalically (i.e., in codas of syllables). If there is any significant trend to standardize this variable it is only just beginning.

4.6 Conditioning of morphological variables

For most of the grammatical variables phonological conditioning is not as important as for the phonological variables. This is especially true of the morphosyntactic ones - (PP) and (GG). Phonological conditioning is more important for the morphophonological variables, however. But for (an) there is only one environment that is important which is whether or not the noun that the indefinite article precedes begins with a vowel (or historical [h]) or not. The situations that arise when this happens are dealt with in the introduction to this variable and in the sociolinguistic analysis of it. This leaves only

(-ing) which is conditioned not only phonologically but also morphologically.

4.7 Phonological and grammatical constraints on (-ing)

Table 26 presents the NS occurrences of (-ing) depending on the morphological environments it occurred in; i.e., when it ended verbs, nouns, adjectives, and pronouns. Here we see that the NS

Table 26. Morphological conditioning of (-ing)

Verb	Adjective	Pronoun	Noun
$\frac{199}{593}$ = 33.6%	$\frac{4}{26}$ = 15.4%	$\frac{20}{156}$ = 12.8%	$\frac{3}{84}$ = 3.6%

variants of (-ing) occurred more often when it occurred on a verb than on a noun. And despite the small number of tokens for adjectives, the 18.2 percent difference between verbs and adjectives is significantly reliable (99% confidence) and so is the 11.8 percent difference between the nouns and adjectives (95% confidence).

The percentage of NS occurrences of (-ing) on adjectives is very interesting in light of the debate in transformational-generative circles as to whether or not adjectives should be treated as more like nouns or more like verbs in the deepest (semantic) structure. In fact all of the traditional parts of speech have come under attack since Ross (1973) and others have showed that some nouns are more nouny than others. The same has been said of verbs, adjectives, and so on.

As a result for my (-ing) words I recognized the fact that there might not be any iron-clad boundaries between the different classes. This is well demonstrated by means of the following three groups of sentences.

1. (a) She was running in a race.

   (b) She ran in a race.

There is no doubt that running and ran here are very verby.

2. (a) Running water tore away the road.

   (b) Red apples are ripe.

There is no doubt about the similarity of the functions of running and red in the above sentences; just as there is no doubt about their differences. They both restrict the meaning of the nouns that follow them but since we do not say *"very running" as we do "very red" they cannot be identical. Red is therefore said to be more adjectival than running.

3. (a) Running is good for you.

   (b) Sleeping is good for you.

   (c) Sleep is good for you.

In this group we see that the -ing words are quite nouny. We can even pluralize and say "There will be six runnings of the race."

Despite the fact that the distinction between the word classes for the -ing words may be fuzzy in places, we can certainly see that there is a strong basis for putting the three different groups into three different classes. I see running of group one as more of an "event", in group two as more of a "quality", and in group three as

more of a "thing"; in other words as verbs, adjectives, and nouns, respectively (Bolinger 1968: 149). The difference that we see within the groups can be attributed to different kinds of nouns, verbs or adjectives or whatever the word class may be.

The results that I elicited on Long Island support arguments for positing the three different classifications called nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Verbs had NS variants of (-ing) occurring 33.6 percent of the time, nouns 3.6 percent of the time while adjectives lay almost in the middle, with 15.4 percent (the exact middle being 18.6 %). It is also interesting to note that the indefinite -thing pronouns, which were included for comparison purposes, lie between adjectives and nouns in this verb-noun continuum.

The NS occurrences of (-ing) were also phonologically conditioned. Table 27 presents these occurrences in the phonological environments that follow them. As would be expected, we get more S

Table 27. Following phonological environments that condition NS (-ing)

- [labial]	- [vowel]	- [alveolar]	- [alveopalatal]
$\frac{36}{67}$ = 53.7%	$\frac{76}{175}$ = 43.4%	$\frac{106}{245}$ = 43.3%	$\frac{1}{3}$ = 33.3%
- [labio velar]	- [velar]		
$\frac{8}{39}$ = 20.5%	$\frac{4}{24}$ = 16.7%		

occurrences of (-ing), i.e. [ŋ], before the velar consonants. And since the velar environments followed nouns on only two occasions while they followed verbs twenty-one times, one cannot say that what I am calling

grammatical conditioning is accidental, unintended phonological conditioning; because most of the following velar environments in the data followed verbs rather than nouns. In other words, the S form of (-ing) on nouns was not phonologically conditioned by a high frequency of velars following nouns.

One thing that is obvious, however, is that (-ing) always occurs word finally so that any phonological conditioning by a following environment is across a word boundary. Thus the effect of following phonological environments is not as strong as it would be without this word boundary. Because of this I checked the preceding phonological environments of (-ing) to see if they were having more effect than the following environments. However, in all cases I found that any potential effects of the preceding environments were prevented by the vowel of (-ing). Therefore any effect that the place of articulation a preceding consonant would have had was prevented by this intervening vowel. This, I am positive, is further proof that speech elicited in the interview situation, no matter how relaxed, is still not totally natural as in ordinary everyday conversation. In ordinary casual speech on Long Island I have often heard this vowel segment deleted resulting in the consonant segment of (-ing) being assimilated to the preceding phonological environment. Thus after labial stops in a word such as <u>wrapping</u> one often hears [ræpʔm̩], and for <u>rubbing</u> we get [rʌb m̩] and so on. Paddock (1966: 36) found the same thing in Carbonear. We even get such realizations as words like <u>shoving</u> becoming [ʃʌb m̩]. This mutual assimilation is also described by Hollett (1977: 113-4) in another Newfoundland community in

Bonavista Bay. Hollett, however, found this to occur in allegro speech which would hardly be likely to show up in the type of interview carried out for this study. In light of the above it is quite obvious other places of articulation cause corresponding place assimilation of (-ing) when the unstressed vowel segment is deleted in the most casual and rapid styles of speech.

5. CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Local conclusions

This study has shown that there is extensive variation in the speech of Long Islanders; both between various groups of people and within the same group or individual. I have shown that this variation is conditioned by five factors: the true social variables sex, age, and education (of which sex is the most important and education the least); the stylistic context that the speech occurs in; and finally, the linguistic context of each feature.

The results suggest that speakers on the Island can be divided into two main groups: the older males (who in all cases were the most NS for each feature investigated) and all other groups - the younger males and females plus older females. This division, it appears, has been brought about mainly through the effects of the three social variables. Older females, who use their speech patterns as signs of social status (largely because they have no other way to raise their social status on the Island), are very much more S than their male counterparts. This aligns them with younger males and females, who are much more alike than the older males and females in their language usage because of the effects of formal education and the alterations occurring in the traditional male and female roles in today's society. At least there is a much less sharp division than between the older males and females, although overall the younger males are more NS than any other group except older males, and overall the younger females

are the most S of all the groups (see Figure 2.12, p. 72 above). The latter situation, it appears, is conditioned largely by education and, again, the social framework of the Island. The young educated males can afford to be more NS than their uneducated counterparts because, with more education, they are assured employment in the immediate area of the Island whereas many of the uneducated younger males must move *off the Island to find employment, often for long periods in cities* such as Toronto. In a similar way younger females, now that education has given them a chance, must move off the Island where standardization is more widespread, if they want employment that will allow them to move "up the ladder". Because of this, the two latter groups - less-educated younger males (-EYM) and more-educated younger females (+EYF) - have had to standardize for very practical reasons.

It therefore appears that time will see the Long Island dialect become even more standardized. Once the "keepers of the dialect", the older males, die off, the only way that the dialect will survive is if what I consider the current trend towards bidialectalism continues. If people become more sophisticated at code-switching, then the younger residents might continue to speak a distinctively local dialect in casual speech on the Island and might shift quite easily to a more standardized dialect when off the Island or when using more formal styles on the Island. This conclusion is based on the huge difference of 31.2 percent more NS usage in the elicited casual speech than in the other four more formal styles, which showed a much smoother continuum from more formal to less formal than the sudden "quantum jump" conditioned by the casual style. We must remember

too that the normal difference is even greater, because I failed to elicit the most casual styles of speech, as the retention of the vowel in (-ing) shows (see p. 121 above).

These findings tend to support many of the claims made by Labov (1972) in his classical island study of Martha's Vineyard. Although there are differences between Long Island and Martha's Vineyard, these differences are not nearly as significant as the similarities. Most importantly, both are islands connected to the mainland by ferry whose geographical isolation makes them ideal for maintaining a way of living and speaking distinct from the nearby mainland areas. Despite the fact that Martha's Vineyard has a relatively much longer history than Long Island there are many social and economic similarities. To put it quite briefly, people who chose to live on these islands struggle to maintain a traditional lifestyle in light of the steady encroachment of the standards of a modern North American society.

Overall, the present study strongly supports Labov's (1972: 3) claim that "one cannot understand the development of a language change apart from the social life of a community in which it occurs." Furthermore, many of Labov's specific claims are paralleled in this study. I found, as he did, that language features are used to identify speakers as members of the community (Labov 1972: 36). In fact, when Long Islanders meet one another they usually exchange a few words of "broad" dialect as a kind of identification ritual. For example, one often hears some of the more standard Long Island

speakers greeting one another with a very NS phrase such as "'Ow biss dee gettin' on?", etc. However, at this stage in the history of Long Island one cannot say that Long Islanders pride themselves on these differences from mainland Newfoundland as Labov (1972: 29) claimed Vineyarders did on their differences from the mainland of Massachusetts. But this will not at all be unlikely on Long Island if the present trend towards bidialectalism continues.

Despite the fact that Labov's findings on Martha's Vineyard were different from mine on Long Island in that his rural speakers were mainly "single-style speakers" as opposed to the multi-style speakers found in larger urban centers (Labov 1972: 21), many of his observations concerning stylistic usage are very similar to my findings. He found that fishermen between the ages of thirty and sixty years old were more NS than "any other social group on the island" (Labov 1972: 30) while I found the same for male speakers above age fifty on Long Island. He also claims that the people who made a deliberate choice to stay on the Island were the ones who were the more NS (Labov 1972: 30). This is the same as I found for the younger educated males who, because they were able to find steady employment on Long Island, deliberately chose to settle there. Furthermore, he found that younger speakers who intended to leave Martha's Vineyard showed "little or no" de-standardization (i.e., centralizing of the diphthongs) of the linguistic variables he investigated which is very similar to my findings for the young uneducated males who were forced to leave Long Island to obtain employment.

Very importantly, Labov (1972: 31-37) found on Martha's Vineyard, as I did on Long Island, that the older males were the most NS. In fact, he even identifies the older males ("the old-timers") as the most important group for maintaining the dialect of Martha's Vineyard, as I did for Long Island.

5.2 General Conclusions

There is little doubt that co-variation exists between the linguistic and social variables investigated in this study. At least ten of the linguistic variables investigated ((L) being the only exception) exhibited a definite pattern of co-variation with the three true social variables of sex, age, and education.

Overall it can be said that the frequency rate at which the NS variants of the variables occurred depended mainly upon the degree of stigmatization (and hence standardization) of the variable. Post-vocalic (L) was the variable the least stigmatized and its NS variants occurred 92.9 percent of the time and the lowest individual NS frequency rate was 86.0 percent. The ten other variables divided into two groups. First of all were those variables that were not highly stigmatized because they were not easily perceived as NS (see above discussions under the individual variables as to why). This group includes (E), (θ), and (ð). These three variables all have NS frequency distributions in the upper half of the frequency range, i.e., from very high to the fifty percent level at the middle of the frequency range. In all cases most speakers lie somewhere between

these two extremes causing a gradual decline from the highest NS frequency rate to the lowest. The second group includes six of the other seven variables investigated. These were the variables that had NS frequency distributions in the lower half of the frequency range, i.e., from the middle of the frequency range to the extreme low end. This group included the variables of (I), (ei), (Or), (-ing), (an), and (GG). And again there was a gradual decline from the highest NS frequency rate to the lowest (sometimes the NS variants had disappeared altogether from the speech of the most standardized cell, as can be seen in Figures 2.4 and 2.8 on p. 40 and p. 58 above) with most speakers lying somewhere between the two extremes. This leaves only one other variable investigated which was (PP). This variable was the only one to have a NS frequency distribution ranging from extremely high to extremely low. (See discussion below for a possible explanation of this exceptional behaviour of the (PP) variable).

This pattern of co-variation based upon the degree of stigmatization and standardization of a linguistic variable is very different from the pattern described by Wolfram and Fasold (1974: 127). As can be seen above, both main groups of variables include grammatical as well as phonological variables. Wolfram and Fasold, however, claim that grammatical variables obey a different socio-linguistic pattern than phonological variables do. They claim that grammatical features have either high or low frequencies of occurrences of the NS variants with few speakers near the fifty percent frequency

range while phonological variables have most speakers near the middle of the frequency range with few speakers having extremely high or low frequencies.

The reason for this discrepancy between my results and Wolfram and Fasold's observations is probably due to the fact that the most significant social division in my sample was between the older males and all other cells combined. The only "quantum jump" in frequencies of NS variants occurred between these two groupings. Therefore, naturally one would find that there would be only small differences in the NS frequency distribution of all the speakers of the second grouping which includes eighteen of my twenty-four informants. Thus there was little opportunity for sharp stratification of the various cells in my sample. In fact, the second claim made by Wolfram and Fasold (1974: 127) about the difference between the sociolinguistic patterns exhibited by grammatical and phonological variables does not apply at all to my data, no doubt because the communities on Long Island lack any distinct socio-economic classes. Therefore, their claim that NS variants have lower frequencies for the middle and upper classes for phonological variables while the upper classes have no NS grammatical variants at all occurring in their speech does not apply to this study.

Thus while my data do not support the Wolfram and Fasold (1974: 81) claim that grammatical variables are more "socially diagnostic" they do suggest that at least in some cases they are just as socially diagnostic as phonological variables are. This may seem to be in disagreement with Lavandera's (1978: 171) claim that non-phonological variables "may in many cases be unrevealing". However,

a closer investigation may reveal that Lavandera's caution about non-phonological variables is well founded. It must be noted that the one grammatical variable (PP), which involves change in meaning rather than in sound shows an exceptional pattern of distribution. For example, the words did and done of the local dialect are not replaced by new words or pronunciations but are merely assigned (partially) new meanings (i.e., partially new grammatical functions). On the other hand, the other grammatical variables that behaved much more like the phonological variables in all cases involved the simple substitution of a new word or sound from the S dialect to replace the local dialect form. Thus since there was no change in meaning, the variables (an), (GG), and (-ing) behaved more like the true phonological variables than (PP) does.

As a result, while I agree with Wolfram and Fasold (1974) who consider grammatical variables to be just as important socio-linguistically as are phonological variables one must not ignore Lavandera's (1978) caution when investigating grammatical variables. In fact, grammatical variables even have one advantage over phonological variables. It is much easier to determine what to consider NS or S variants of grammatical variables because there are usually no intermediate variants between the NS and S forms; for example, there is little doubt that the past tense form of the verb "to do" is either the S form of did or the NS form of done whereas for a phonological variable such as (E) there are many realizations that have to be judged as S or NS.

In any case ten of the eleven linguistic variables investigated (both phonological and grammatical) tended to show the same general overall pattern of co-variation with the social variables. All linguistic variables followed the overall pattern of having older males the most NS with the other cells occupying relatively adjacent positions on the frequency continuum for each variable with the younger educated females usually the most S. Although some variables had higher NS frequency occurrences than others, this did not change the overall pattern of co-variation because the same cells nearly always occupied the same relative positions on this frequency continuum.

One other point arose from the study concerning the co-variation of the true social variables and the linguistic variables. This was the mutual interdependence of the so-called independent variables. Whenever I was discussing the influences of one of these independent variables I was unable to continue the discussion without talking simultaneously about another independent variable. Therefore, when discussing the correlation of education and the NS usage of a certain linguistic variable I often found that education had a different influence when considered in conjunction with age and sex - for example, education would have a more standardizing influence on young females than on young males.

This study not only established that linguistic variability was conditioned by the true social variables but that it was also conditioned by style. As seen in chapter three I was quite successful in eliciting a wide range of speech styles. However, because of the interview situation with the questionnaire, the taperecorder, and me

as the interviewer I was unable to obtain the most casual end of the style scale (see p. 121 above). This was due to the "observer's paradox". And I am also quite certain that because of my relationship, as a native Long Islander, with my informants that I conditioned varying degrees of style shifting for different informants (see pp. 86-87 above). This is an important factor that should not be ignored in any study of this nature.

It is also interesting to compare the influences of stylistic variation with the influences of social variation. Overall, ten of the linguistic variables (again (L) being the only exception) showed co-variation with both social and stylistic variables. But the influences of stylistic variation were somewhat greater than the influences of social variation. Out of eleven of the linguistic variables investigated seven had higher NS occurrences in casual speech, which included the NS usage of all eight cells in the sample, than they had for the cell (i.e., less educated older males) which was the most NS in usage, which included the NS usage of that one cell in the five contextual styles (see Tables 28 and 29). This is even more interesting when we look more closely at the eleven linguistic variables. By far the greatest discrepancy between the influences of stylistic variation and the influences of social variation was in the NS usage of the four grammatical variables of (-ing), (GG), (an), and (PP). This can be seen more clearly in Table 28.

Table 28. The influences of stylistic and social variation on grammatical variables

Linguistic Variables	% of NS usage	
	Casual speech of all 24 informants	All speech of the most NS cell, i.e., of 3 informants
(-ing)	64.7	39.1
(GG)	88.4	44.4
(an)	69.2	63.6
(PP)	88.4	83.3

The first thing to note here is the big difference in the behaviour of the variables (-ing) and (GG) and the behaviour of the variables (an) and (PP). A quick look at Table 29 (on p.134, below) reveals that the latter two behave more like the phonological variables. This is quite understandable for the morphophonological variable (an). Thus again we see that the variable (PP) is the variable with the exceptional behaviour which is further proof that Lavandera's (1978) caution concerning non-phonological variables cannot be ignored.

However, overall we see that all twenty four informants are more likely to use NS variants of grammatical variables in casual speech than are the three most NS speakers (the most NS cell) in all five contextual styles. This suggests that speakers have a much greater tendency to produce the NS variants of grammatical variables in the less formal style. They produce the S forms of the grammatical variable when they are more conscious of their speech. What we may be

seeing here is that the "quantum jump" in NS usage of grammatical variables associated with class in the larger urban centres is associated with style rather than class on Long Island which as I claimed earlier has no real class structure.

Table 29 shows that for the phonological variables there is not as much difference between the NS usage of the twenty-four informants in casual speech and the NS usage of the three speakers in the most NS cell.

Table 29. The influences of stylistic and social variation on phonological variables

Linguistic variables	% of NS usage: Casual speech of all 24 informants	% of NS usage: All speech of the most NS cell, i.e., of 3 informants
(ð)	96.4	85.2
(L)	92.9	98.6
(θ)	86.8	90.1
(E)	73.5	72.8
(ei)	55.8	61.4
(I)	46.2	45.8
(Or)	35.1	45.9

The fact that there is a wider discrepancy in Tables 28 and 29 for the grammatical variables in Table 28 than for the phonological variables in Table 29 is quite understandable in light of Paddock's

(1981: 621) claim that the structure of a language (the grammar) is more resistant to change than any other level of language. The relatively low occurrences of the NS variants of the grammatical variables for the most NS cell compared to the high occurrences in the casual speech proves that speakers can only produce the S variant (i.e., change the structure of their dialect) when they are really conscious of their speech.

As pointed out above, the greatest influence caused by social variation overall was to set the older males, as a group, off from the other cells in the sample. There was a 19.6 percent difference in the NS usage of the older males (the most NS group) and all other groups combined. On the other hand the greatest discrepancy in NS usage caused by shifting contextual style was between casual speech, the most NS style, and all other styles combined. In fact, there was a 31.2 percent difference in the NS usage found between casual speech and all other styles combined. Thus there is little doubt that the influences of stylistic variation are much greater than the influences of social variation.

Another point worth considering is the interaction of stylistic variation and social variation. When we consider this, we find out that different social groups have different stylistic ranges. The group with the narrowest stylistic range is the older speakers. They have a stylistic range of 21.4 percent (see Table 17.B, p. 85 above). On the other hand, the group with the widest stylistic range is the younger speakers with a range of 31.6 percent (see Table 17.B, p. 85 above). This is further proof to support my contention that

there is a trend towards bidialectalism emerging on Long Island.

It is very interesting to note that this extra 10.2 percent is on the upper end or the more formal end of the stylistic range. This very neatly parallels Trudgill's (1974: 56) reinterpretation of Basil Bernstein's findings. He guesses that working class children (the more NS group) may have "a narrower range of stylistic options open to them" than do middle class children (the more S group). In this study we see that the older speakers (the more NS group) have a narrower range of stylistic options than do the younger speakers (the more S group) (see Table 17.B, p. 85 above). Again we see that the influences that class structure has on language usage in those centres where there is a clearly defined class structure is associated with other social variables such as style and age on Long Island, which is lacking in a clearly defined class structure.

This study also established that the linguistic variability on Long Island is conditioned by linguistic factors as well as social and stylistic factors. It appears that the influences of social and stylistic variation operate within the framework laid down by the language itself; i.e., the language conditions variability. By this I mean that certain linguistic factors often either increase or decrease variability. This can be seen by looking at any of the discussions found in chapter four of this study on the linguistic conditioning of the linguistic variables investigated. This means that to state the influences of social and stylistic variation explicitly one must give the frequency of NS occurrences of the linguistic variable in all the linguistic environments in which the variable can occur. And in

determining the linguistic environments in which variability can occur one must not forget that different types of linguistic conditioning exist. In this study we saw three types of linguistic conditioning: phonological, grammatical and historical.

One final word needs to be said concerning the methodology of this study. This methodology has been very much in line with the methods of sociolinguistics developed largely for urban areas. I contend that one of the major accomplishments of this study is to show that these methods can be applied successfully in more rural areas such as Long Island despite the lack of very distinct socioeconomic classes in such rural communities.

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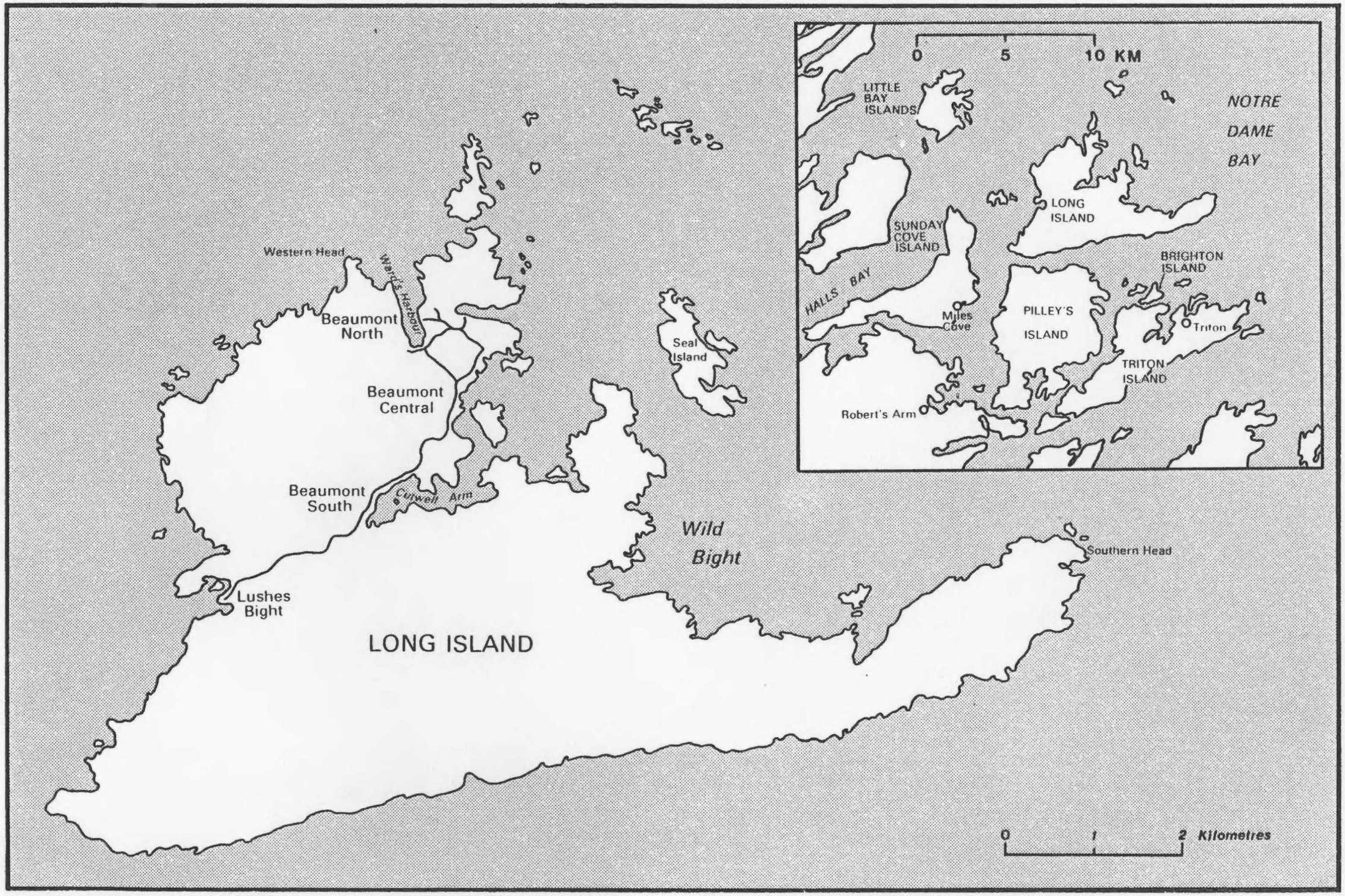
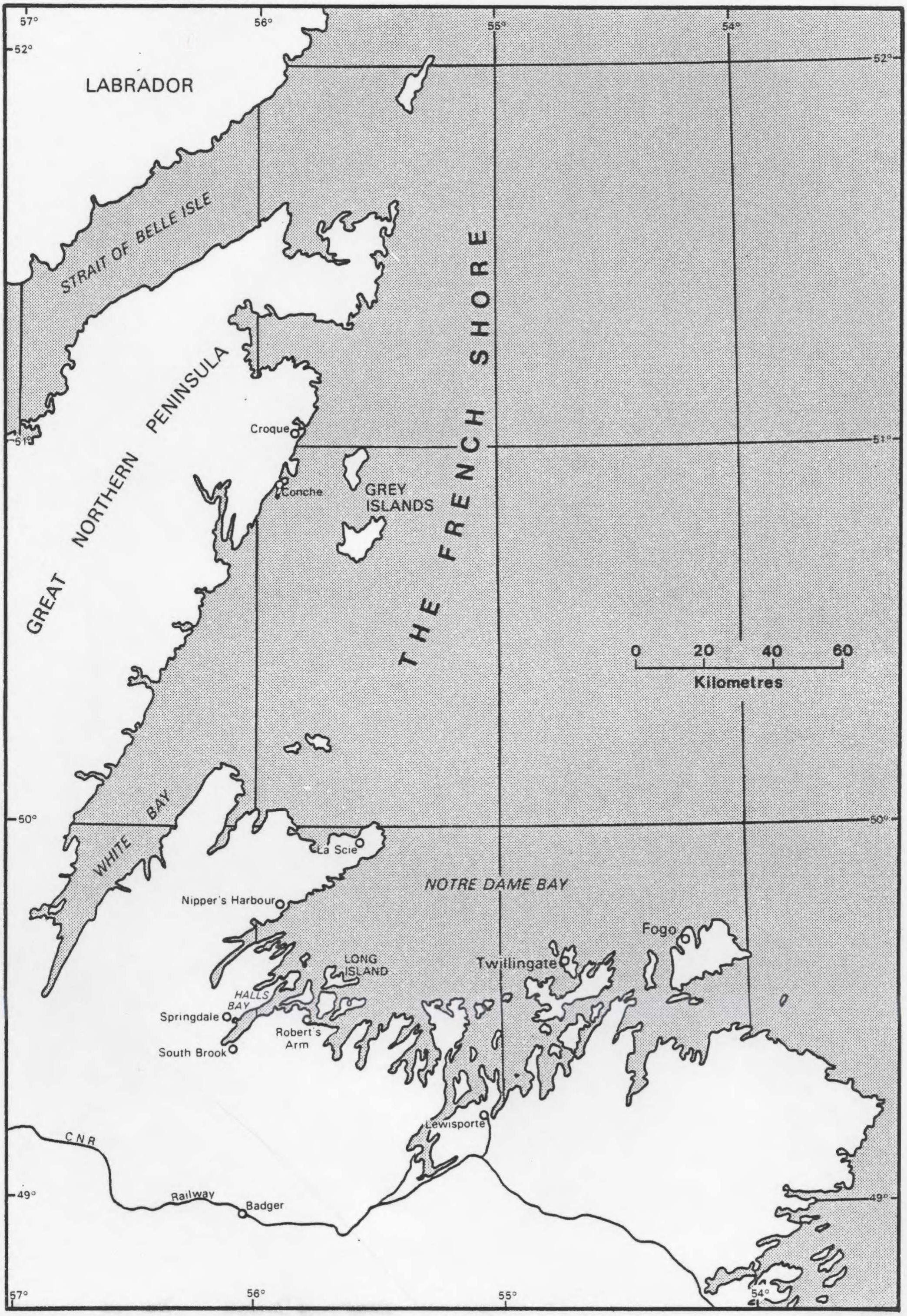
GEOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

The following two maps give the geographical environment of Long Island. On them the reader can see the geographical features discussed in section 1.1 above that are relevant to the evolution of speech on the Island. The first map shows Long Island itself. The second map displays Long Island in relation to the surrounding areas with which the people of the Island have come into contact since the earliest years of settlement on the Island.

The cartography was done by the Cartography Centre of Memorial University's Geography Department.


0 5 10 KM
LITTLE BAY ISLANDS
NOTRE DAME BAY
LONG ISLAND
SUNDAY COVE ISLAND
HALLS BAY
BRIGHTON ISLAND
Miles Cove
PILLEY'S ISLAND
Triton
TRITON ISLAND
Robert's Arm
Western Head
Ward's Harbour
Beaumont North
Beaumont Central
Beaumont South
Curwell Arm
Seal Island
Wild Bight
Southern Head
Lushes Bight
LONG ISLAND
0 1 2 Kilometres


57°
56°
55°
54°
52°
LABRADOR
STRAIT OF BELLE ISLE
GREAT NORTHERN PENINSULA
Croque
Conche
GREY ISLANDS
THE FRENCH SHORE
0 20 40 60
Kilometres
51°
50°
WHITE BAY
La Scie
NOTRE DAME BAY
Nipper's Harbour
Fogo
Twillingate
LONG ISLAND
HALLS BAY
Springdale
Robert's Arm
South Brook
Lewisporte
CNR
Railway
Badger
49°

STATISTICAL APPENDIX

This Appendix contains an illustration of how I determined the significance for differences that my data revealed for the various groupings I carried out. This particular example will show how I determined how certain I could be that it was a "real" 19.0 percent difference I found in the means between males and females when sex was correlated with NS usage of (ei). All other calculations followed identical steps.

The first step involved determining the standard deviation of the groups being composed. This was done using the following formula:

$$SD = \left[\left(\sum_{i=1}^{n} (x_i - \bar{X})^2 / n - 1\right)\right]^{\frac{1}{2}}$$

The standard deviation for males was determined as follows:

$$SD^2 = [(63 - 38)^2 + (27 - 38)^2 + (59 - 38)^2 + (19 - 38)^2 + (17 - 38)^2 + (21 - 38)^2 + (63 - 38)^2 + (56 - 38)^2 + (65 - 38)^2 + (8 - 38)^2 + (24 - 38)^2 + (27 - 38)^2] / 12-1$$

$$SD = \sqrt{\frac{5173}{11}} = 21.69$$

In the same manner the standard deviation for females was determined to be 9.99.

To apply the statistical test being used, (t), the following information is now required:

Population 1 (m)	Population 2 (f)
$S_1 = 21.69$	$S_2 = 9.99$
$n_1 = 12$	$n_2 = 12$
$\overline{x}_1 = 38$	$\overline{x}_2 = 19$

Here S represents standard deviation, n represents sample size, and $\overline{x}$ represents the mean of the sample.

If the population is less than or equal to 30 we use the following t-test:

$$t = \frac{(\overline{x}_1 - \overline{x}_2) - (\mu_1 - \mu_2)}{SP\sqrt{\frac{1}{n_1} - \frac{1}{n_2}}}$$

where

$$SP^2 = \frac{(n_1 - 1)\ S_1^{\,2} + (n_2 - 1)\ S_2^{\,2}}{n_1 + n_2 - 2}$$

$$SP^2 = \frac{(12-1)\ 21.69^2 + (12-1)\ 9.99^2}{12 + 12 - 2}$$

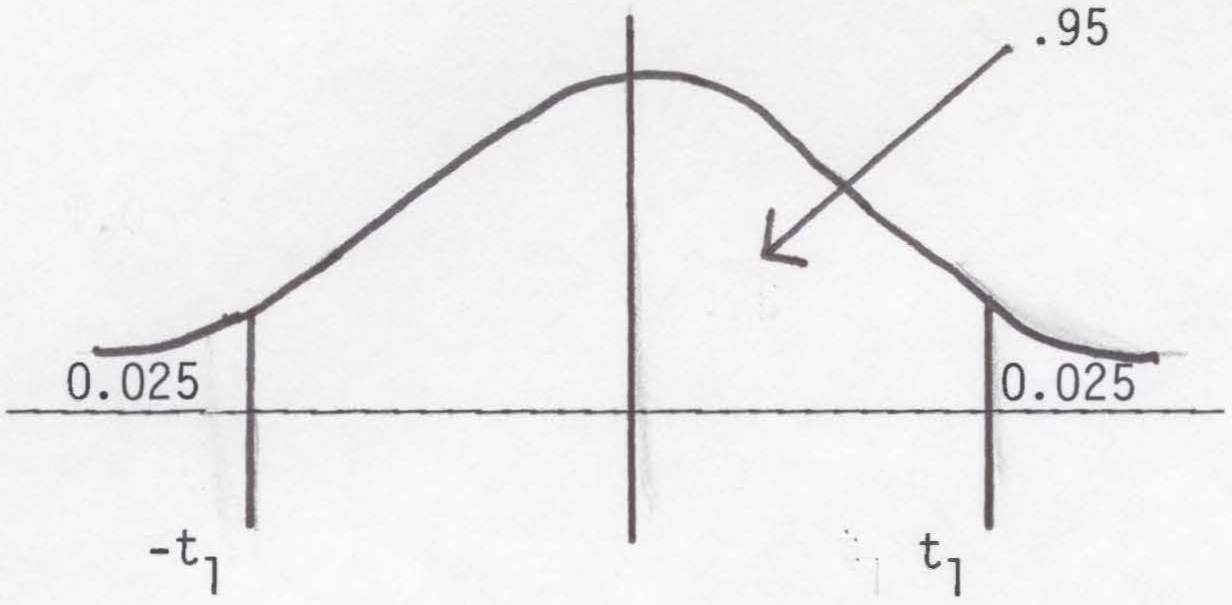
$$SP^2 = 285.13$$

$$SP = 16.89$$

Next we need to know the degree of freedom of the test which is calculated as follows:

$$f = n_1 + n_2 - 2$$
$$= 22$$

Now one must decide what Confidence interval is needed. For this particular case I want a 95 percent confidence interval which means:



which means that

$$pr\ (t > t_1) = 0.025$$

Now with your degree of freedom and your probability factor you look up t_1 in a t table. You find the degree of freedom (22) on the ordinate and the probability factor on the abscissa. A portion of this table is reprinted at the end of this appendix. By looking in this table we see:

$$t_1 = 2.074$$

We can now proceed as follows:

$$pr\ (-t_1 < \frac{(\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2) - (\mu_1 - \mu_2)}{SP\sqrt{\frac{1}{n_1} + \frac{1}{n_2}}} < t_1)$$

$$-2.074 < \frac{(38 - 19) - (\mu_1 - \mu_2)}{16.89\sqrt{\frac{1}{12} + \frac{1}{12}}} < 2.074$$

$$-2.074 < \frac{(19) - (\mu_1 - \mu_2)}{6.90} < 2.074$$

$$-14.31 < (19) - (\mu_1 - \mu_2) < 14.31$$

$$-14.31 - 19 < -(\mu_1 - \mu_2) < 14.31 - 19$$

$$14.31 + 19 > (\mu_1 - \mu_2) > -14.31 + 19$$

$$33.31 > (\mu_1 - \mu_2) > 4.69$$

$$4.69 < (\mu_1 - \mu_2) < 33.31$$

We are 95 percent confident that difference between the true mean for males (μ_1) and the true mean for females (μ_2) lies somewhere between 4.69 percent and 33.31 percent and since the difference I found lies in this interval one can be 95 percent sure that a significant difference exists between the NS (ei) usage of males and females on Long Island.

t-table (partial)

f	0.10	0.05	0.025	0.01	0.005
1	3.078	6.314	12.706	31.821	63.657
2	1.886	2.920	4.303	6.964	9.925
3	1.638	2.353	3.182	4.541	5.841
4	1.533	2.132	2.776	3.747	4.604
5	1.476	2.015	2.571	3.365	4.032
6	1.440	1.943	2.447	3.143	3.707
10	1.372	1.812	2.228	2.764	3.169
18	1.330	1.734	2.101	2.552	2.878
20	1.325	1.725	2.086	2.528	2.845
22	1.321	1.717	2.074	2.508	2.819

QUESTIONNAIRE APPENDIX

Word List

leading
fish
quarter
voice
ankle
gate
low
steer
resign
thank
pig
bat
creek
release
in
fate
head
led
poor
three
plane
band
my
follow
face
fork
ear
length
cheek
ivy
ban
width
cash
milk
horn
ten
hoarse
Effie
let
if
sea
plain
zone
mesh
see
pat

bid
bath
flower
anything
bead
yolk
pore
eat
age
pit
made
calm
door
thin
week
vast
with
flake
naughty
hold
slade
score
lit
pork
victory
said
father
zed
easy
eerie
beef
deal
northerly
tin
fading
putt
blowing
knotty
those
hem
nut
fool
ape
ham
shoving
dish

handle
lord
bed
day
am
wealth
squeeze
put
path
youth
lawrence
pet
sid
by
pour
lid
knee
peg
horse
him
beer

Minimal Pairs

kam - calm
thy - thigh
seek - cheek
ache - age
eel - heal
plane - mane
through - true
lid - led
with - wit
selling - sailing
my - me
den - then
resign - design
put - putt
fork - pork
tale - tail
cheek - creek
sitting - setting
born - barn
biss - best
thought - taught
weak - week
maid - made
pet - pit
tie - toy
they - day
am - ham
day - bay
glitter - bitter
quart - fort
in - end
bill - bell
rid - red
bath - bat
pull - pool
form - farm
sid - said
shove - shore
if - Ef
bare - beer
an - and
faith - fate
zone - phone
by - be
pool - pole
father - farther

sick - week
pain - pane
poor - pour
knotty - naughty
zone - own
horse - hoarse
short - shot
dis - desk
fir - fur
pat - path
him - hem
caught - cot
stair - steer
pour - pore
cash - trash
width - wit
knit - net
platform - flatform
here - hair
either - neither
gash - mash
head - heed
ten - tin
three - tree
pig - peg
see - sea
fate - fade
fool - fade
stair - stare
fodder - father
debt - death
tin - thin
bear - bare
full - fool
bat - bathe
hair - hear

STRUCTURAL ELICITATION

1. What ..... the thing that you dip soup out of the pot with (ladle)
2. What ..... when you are putting oakum in a boat to prevent it from leaking (caulk)
3. Bread is put into the oven to ..... (bake)
4. Seven days make one ..... (week)
5. What ..... a animal used to pull wood (horse)
6. What ..... a wooden platform to spread fish on (flake)
7. The opposite of light weight is ..... (heavy weight)
8. To clean yourself completely you get a ..... (bathe)
9. What do you call (point to cheek) ..... (cheek)
10. What ..... the part of the apple that is not eaten which contains the seeds (core)
11. It takes a hundred what to make one dollar ..... (cents)
12. When a persons voice gets squeaky do to a bad cold you say he's ..... (hoarse)
13. Carrots, potatoes and so on are called ..... (vegetables)
14. When your tooth is causing pain you say it's (aching)
15. Boots are usually made of ..... (leather)
16. In school pupils pass or fail their ..... (tests)
17. What ..... the yellow part of an egg (yolk)
18. When clothes rubs against the skin too much it ..... (chafes)
19. The sun rises every ..... (morning)
20. You catch herring in a ..... (net)
21. Pillows are usually stuffed with ..... (feathers)
22. The part that joins your head to your body ..... (neck)
23. What ..... a homemade wooden anchor (killick)
24. When a baby comes into the world it's ..... (born)
25. A female servant is called ..... (maid)
26. If a question is not too hard, then it must be ..... (easy)
27. Long snake like fish are called ..... (eels)
28. P-u-t spells ..... (put)
29. Someone who never gets sick is very ..... (healthy)
30. What ..... a light fall of rain (drizzle)

31. The word spelled MY ..... (my)
32. If the legs of a pair of pants are too long then you must (hem)
33. The day after Wednesday is ..... (Thursday)
34. A baby sleeps in a ..... (cot)
35. The last letter of the alphabet is ..... (zed)
36. A young horse is called a ..... (foal)
37. What ..... a sudden burst of wind (squall)
38. You drink ..... to get drunk (beer)
39. Something will fall off the table if it is too near ..... (the edge)
40. The type of tree that has the most myrrh .... (fir)
41. You go swimming in a swimming ..... (pool)
42. A lot of people have ..... and eggs for breakfast (ham)
43. The opposite of something is ..... (nothing)
44. What ..... ice formed on trees from freezing rain (glitter)
45. The letter after R is ..... (ess)
46. The number one in cards is called ..... (a ace)
47. You walk on your ..... (feet)
48. C.O.D. stands for ..... (cash)
49. The opposite of this is ..... (that)
50. What ..... shuffling the cards (dealing)
51. A hole in the side of a mountain is called a ..... (cave)
52. The main joint in your leg is called ..... (knee)
53. Most people here drink ..... with their dinner (tea)
54. The opposite of father is ..... (mother)
55. You write with a ..... (pen)
56. What word spelled b-y ..... (by)
57. What ..... the conical shape device for pouring liquids into containers (funnel)
58. The number after twenty-nine is ..... (30)
59. Most people do what for a living here ..... (fishing)
60. The soft part of your face is called ..... (cheek)
61. After third comes ..... (fourth)
62. The colour of blood is ..... (red)
63. What ..... a youngster who gets their own way too much (spoiled)

64. The month after June is ..... (July)
65. The number after nine is ..... (10)
66. At dinner time you sit down to the table to ..... (eat)
67. The number after thirty-nine is ..... (40)
68. C-u-t spells ..... (cut)
69. Animals kept around the house are called ..... (pets)
70. To punish criminals first they must be ..... (caught)
71. Night time you sleep in a ..... (bed)
72. To play base ball you hit the ball with a ..... (bat)
73. Plates, saucers, and so on are called ..... (dishes)

****

Fill in the blanks with the same verb.

Examples: He hits the ball.
I _____ the ball.

He talks a lot.
You _____ a lot.

1. He's going home.
   We _____ going home.
2. They come here often.
   They _____ here yesterday.
3. He doesn't work at the post office.
   You _____ work at the post office.
4. He will run.
   He _____ yesterday.
5. She doesn't smoke.
   They _____ smoke.
6. He's going home.
   You _____ going home.
7. The man will sit down.
   The man _____ down an hour ago.
8. I don't drive a car.
   He _____ drive a car.
9. He doesn't care about that.
   We _____ care about that.
10. He will grow up next year.
    He _____ up last year.
11. I don't fish on Sundays.
    You _____ fish on Sundays.
12. I am here now.
    We _____ here yesterday.
13. I drive the car today.
    I _____ the car yesterday.
14. I worked yesterday.
    I am _____ now.

15. He doesn't work at the post office.
    I _____ work at the post office.

16. He teaches at the school now.
    He _____ at the school last year.

17. He's going home.
    They _____ going home.

18. I will heave the fish upon the wharf.
    I _____ it up yesterday too.

19. We will sit down now.
    I _____ down yesterday.

20. He sees her every day.
    He _____ her yesterday.

21. The woman will set the table.
    I _____ the table yesterday.

22. I don't go to school.
    They _____ go to school.

23. He knows it now.
    He _____ it yesterday.

24. I will do that.
    I _____ that yesterday.

25. She will sing the song.
    She _____ the same song yesterday.

26. I don't smoke.
    She _____ smoke.

27. The wind blows everyday.
    The wind _____ yesterday.

28. I will scrape the pot.
    I _____ the pot yesterday.

29. I will save you
    I _____ you yesterday.

Fill in the blank to complete the sentence using any word or words that fit.

Example: I (am, was) working.

That is (my, your) cap.

1. He is not happy because he (bees) sick all the time.
2. The chair is broke so fix ('in).
3. The book fell on the floor so pick (it/'in) up.
4. He is big but I am (bigger) than him.
5. They will not go with us so (they'm) going with you.
6. The men played the game but they (was, were) beaten.
7. The man would not eat the fish, in fact he would not eat (anything, nothing).
8. That bat is mine and this is (me, my) ball.
9. I don't want a potato, but I will have (a, an) onion
10. Don't give the pen to me, give it to (him, he)
11. He would not leave the house because we (was, were) there.
12. I walk to the church now I (have, got) to walk home.
13. Every day at twelve o'clock I (am, bees) here.
14. I would not sit down until he (sat, sot) down.
15. Winter time it always (is, bees) cold.
16. We don't have any paper except what the teacher gives (we, us).
17. We must leave if (we'm, we are) going.
18. The plane flew 200 miles before (she, it) crashed.
19. That is not my pen he owns ('in, it).
20. We don't like our uncle but he likes (we, us).
21. I don't want that for my dinner, in fact I don't want (anything, nothing) .
22. That ball went through the fence, but the other ball went along (be, by) the fence.
23. I don't want a pear but I will have (a, an) apple.
24. I ran over here but I am not (runnin, running) back.

Answer each of the following questions with a complete sentence, either in the Affirmative or Negative.

Example: Did you see ten men?

Sample answer: No, I saw fifty men.

Are you going to the store?

No, I am not going to the store.

1. Did you see one man?

_____

2. Has he ever won a game?

_____

3. Did you see one child?

_____

4. Are we going home?

_____

5. Is a giant as big as you?

_____

6. Did you walk ten miles?

_____

7. Did you walk along by the fence?

_____

8. Is that board six feet long?

_____

9. Did he ever give you either apple?

_____

10. Are you five feet tall?

_____

11. Did he take your cap?

_____

12. Are you going home?

_____

13. Did you get 100 lobsters?

_____

14. Is a hen bigger or smaller than an egg?

_____

15. Did he ever give you anything?

_____

16. Do you have some fish?

_____

17. Did he ever eat any eggs?

_____

18. Are you going to win some games?

_____

19. Do you want some candy?

_____

20. Do you ever get sick?

_____

21. Are they going home?

_____

READING PASSAGE

THE HOUSE I WAS BORN IN*

My house had a thin latch on the door. It was made of fir wood and you could lift it up on the outside. If you were inside and were tall enough you pulled on a piece of line coming in through two small holes in the door. This was tied to the latch outside.

That was in the porch. There was a box in the end of the porch about seven feet in length with a cover on it. You could sit on it like a bench and it was the wood box which I hated to fill.

The wood box was cleaned out in the spring. It would be full of all the trash made up of rind that came off the knotty wood. Sometimes we would find cash, sometimes as many as a hundred coppers the one time. These had fallen out of the pockets of people sitting there during the winter.

There was canvas on the floor in the porch painted dark green. In the corner there was a little hole with a brass ring around it which used to be a sail on an old Labrador schooner.

There was a big water barrel in the porch by the other end of the wood box and half the cover was on hinges. There was a tin mug on it to get a drink.

Our house was as good as living out doors because you could hear everything that was going on out there. It was built like this. There was a big rock at each corner for the foundation and wooden shores driven into the ground all around.

The frame was made out of sticks with some of the rind still on them and the clapboard was nailed on the frame outside. On the frame inside were boards and in between we had put sawdust to keep out the draft.

Down stairs the ceiling was low with beams running across and it was low upstairs too. On the walls inside there were many layers of

news paper and bought wall paper all done out in flowers.

On the roof there was tarred felt and in hot days in the summer I could smell the tar upstairs in my room. When there was thunder and lightning on sultry nights and the rain poured down I could hear it upstairs in my bed just like in a camp.

In the kitchen there was a table always decorated by a vase of flowers except when we ate our meals and drank our tea. Our maid would bake every week, the delicious cakes we youngsters enjoyed so much.

In the store room dad kept all his tools such as axes, saws, files and so on. We also kept our food here. I still remember the hams dad cured himself. Mom also kept her dishes there.

In the front room there was the daybed and the cot that all us naughty children were reared up in.

In the yard, enclosed by a picket fence, was our pig pen. We kept five pigs and fed them mostly fish. There was a dog house I had built. I kept my pet here. Father would mend the meshes in his nets on the grass here. And we boys spent many hours with a sponge ball and a bat playing rounders on this grass.

And a mile away across the water you could hear every single rock rattling as the water smashed up the broad beach and rolled out again. This was our swimming pool and bath room which was very cold for bathing in. Across the path and under the cliff, a floating tin can bumped against the strouters on the wharf like a sunken bell when the north wind blew.

Even when it was almost stark calm the wind was always cutting around the corners and under the eaves of my house. In the winter when there were northerly gales, every window pane creaked and rattled and it got worse and worse until you'd think the walls were bending. The house shook and shuddered and your hair would stand on your head until my father would pat us on the head and said it was all right and to go back to bed.

That's the house I was born in. It had everything we desired and was beyond value.

* An adaptation of "When I Was Small" in Ray Guy's That Far Greater Bay (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1976, pp. 139-142).

CASUAL SPEECH

Each informant was encouraged to talk freely for fifteen to thirty minutes. If they had no topic in mind I would suggest that they talk about recreational activities of their childhood.