

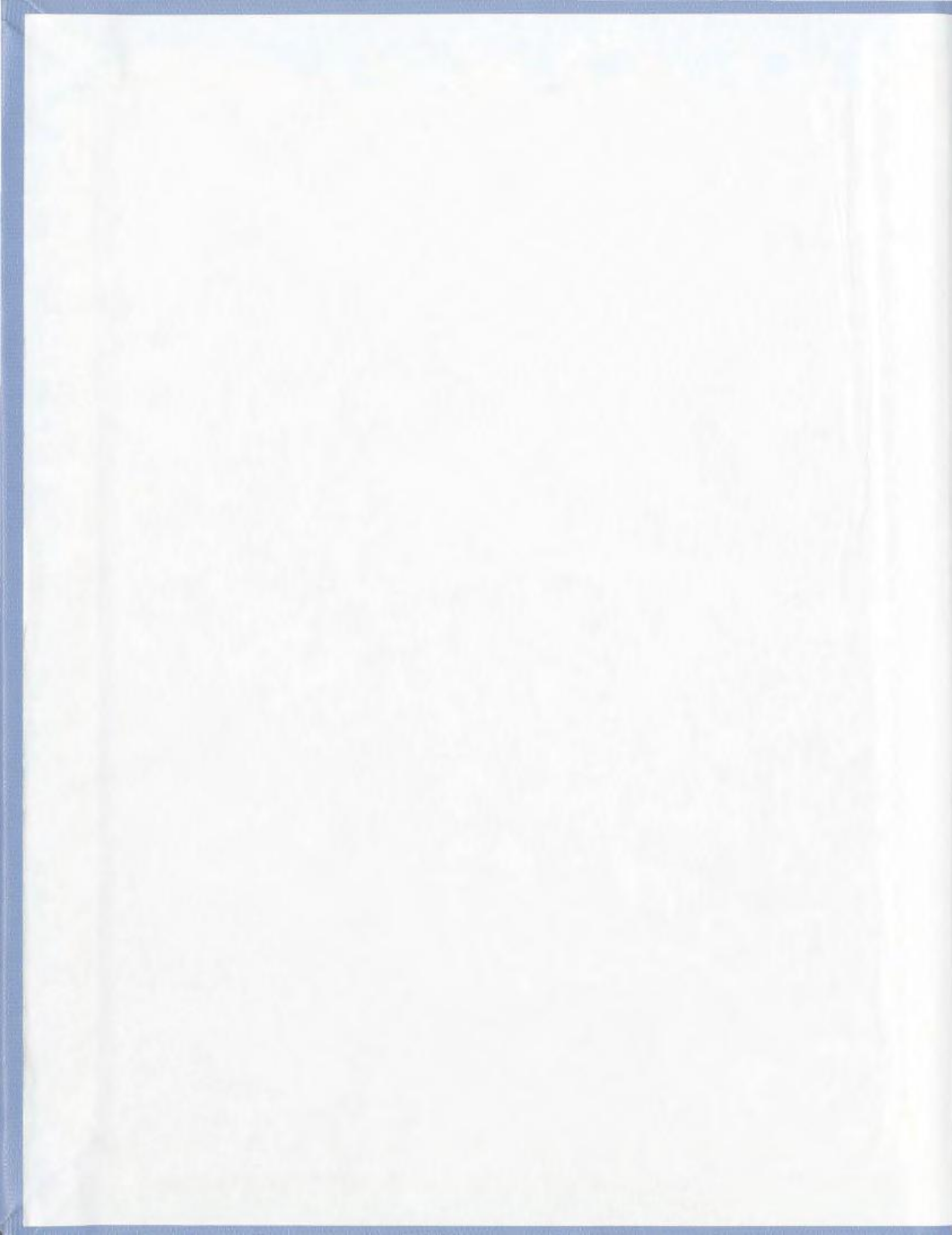
A LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION OF THE
FRENCH SPOKEN ON THE PORT-AU-PORT
PENINSULA OF WESTERN NEWFOUNDLAND

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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MARY GERALDINE BARTER



A Linguistic Description of the French Spoken
on the Port-au-Port Peninsula of Western Newfoundland

by



Mary Geraldine Barter

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the Degree of
Master of Arts

Memorial University of Newfoundland

April 1986

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Abstract

This study is a general survey of linguistic aspects of the French dialect spoken in several small communities on the Port-au-Port Peninsula in western Newfoundland. The study is based on tape-recorded folktales and interviews of free conversation with informants from these French communities made in the past fifteen years, with added interpretations attained from the author's native experience with the dialect.

The study is divided into four chapters. The first chapter is a résumé of the main historical events leading to the establishment of French settlers on the Newfoundland shores and a discussion of the history of this small population to the present.

Chapter II gives a general description of the grammar and syntax of the language. Noun, pronoun, adjective and verb forms are described and each point discussed, with few exceptions, is illustrated by direct quotations from the recorded corpus.

Chapter III is a study of the vocabulary of the local French language, arranged in the following categories: The Land, The Sea, The Family, Human Affairs and Social Attitudes, and Other Terms, all presented with evidence of local pronunciation and typical contexts. This chapter concludes with a section on anglicisms used in the speech of the inhabitants.

The final chapter describes aspects of the phonology of the local speakers, with an account of the distinctive consonants, vowels, diphthongs, and an indication of their principal phonetic qualities. The following features in particular, are discussed: palatalization, voicing and unvoicing, and methathesis.

The study concludes with a selection of transcriptions of the connected speech of speakers from three of the main French-speaking communities, presented in a form of spelling suggesting the pronunciation.

Introduction

The existence of a live and vibrant francophone culture on the Port-au-Port Peninsula in western Newfoundland only came to light a little more than fifteen years ago. This population is the remnant of the European French presence in Newfoundland during the historic period when French fishing rights obtained on the shores of Newfoundland. Despite lack of contact with other French-speaking populations and the lack of formal instruction in the French language, the French dialect of the Port-au-Port has survived to the present as a vital linguistic medium. The evolution of a language under such conditions forms the back-drop for the present description of Port-au-Port french speech.

Although the population of the Port-au-Port Peninsula was predominantly French-speaking during the French Shore period and subsequent years, today the number of French speakers has diminished to between two or three thousand speakers. This population is concentrated on the extreme points of the Port-au-Port Peninsula with others found scattered in other communities on the Peninsula and in Bay St. George. The main French-speaking communities of the Peninsula include Cap-St-Georges (Cape St. George), Degras, Ruisseau Rouge (Red Brook), and La Pointe à Luc (Marches Point) at the southwestern extremity; L'Anse-à-Canards (Black Duck Brook) and Maisons d'Hiver (Winterhouses) at the northeastern tip; and La Grand'Terre (Mainland) at the

northwestern extremity. Although these communities have been physically isolated from each other and have been exposed to several external influences, the French spoken by French Newfoundlanders is fairly homogeneous.

The present study is based on part of the tape-recorded corpus of Newfoundland French speech as it appears in folk narrative and free conversation, recorded in the French communities in recent years. In an effort to present a broad view of the spoken language, informants from all three of the French-speaking areas of the Peninsula have been chosen to provide the corpus upon which this study is based. The primary material analyzed includes half-hour recordings of three informants from Black Duck Brook and Cape St. George and two from Mainland. The secondary material is made up of recordings from which examples were drawn to illustrate points discussed. This includes recordings of two speakers, Mme Eugénie Morazé of La Grand' Terre, who appears in a recording with her daughter, Elizabeth Barter, and M. Guillaume (William) Robin of Cap-St-Georges. Another valuable informant is Mme Marie-Josèphe Dubé, also from La Grand'Terre, who provided the Breton terms discussed in the third chapter of this study. Further data on the informants and the tape-recordings are found in the Appendices of this work.

The present description of the French speech of the communities on the Port-au-Port Peninsula is divided

into four chapters. The first chapter is a summary of the historical events which led to the establishment of the French in Newfoundland. The various treaties which resulted from the bitter struggle between England and France for sovereignty of the island and ways in which this struggle retarded the development of the West Coast of Newfoundland are discussed. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the current situation of the French-speaking population of the Port-au-Port Peninsula vis-a-vis government policies concerning French language minorities.

The second chapter describes aspects of morphology and syntax of the dialect. Noun, pronoun, adjective and verb paradigms are described with each point discussed, illustrated with a direct citation from one of the tape-recordings of the corpus. The chapter ends with a discussion of aspects of syntax.

The third chapter describes vocabulary terms used by the French of the Port-au-Port. An introductory section discusses borrowings through contact with other ethnic groups of the region over the years. The final section of this chapter is a description of the anglicisms in local French speech, since English has had the greatest impact on the local French language. These items are also illustrated with direct quotations from the corpus when they appear. The vocabulary items included in this description are presented in five categories: The Land, The Sea, The Family, Human Affairs and Social Attitudes, and Other Terms.

The final chapter describes aspects of the phonology of Port-au-Port French speech. The significant vowel and consonant phonemes are described. Among the phonological points discussed are word boundaries, nasalization and denasalization, presence of the aspirate h phoneme, palatalization, voicing, unvoicing and metathesis. As with the other chapters describing aspects of the language, each of the phonological aspects described is illustrated with direct quotations from the tape-recordings of the corpus or, when necessary, one drawn from the author's knowledge of the language.

The study concludes with recorded texts of free conversation from each of the three French-speaking areas on the Peninsula in order to give a composite view of the local speech and to illustrate the grammar and syntactical features described in the preceding chapters.

Abbreviations

The following is a list of abbreviations which have been employed in the present study.

adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
adv. phr.	adverb phrase
ang.	anglicism
arch.	archaic
BDB	Black Duck Brook
C	reference in MUNFLA tape collection
cf.	compare with the following term
conj.	conjunction
cpd.	compound
CSG	Cape St. George
<u>DC</u>	<u>Dictionary of Canadianisms</u>
def. art.	definite article
demons. adj.	demonstrative adjective
demons. pr.	demonstrative pronoun
disj. pr.	disjunctive pronoun
DNE	<u>Dictionary of Newfoundland English</u>
Eng.	English
exclam.	exclamation
Fr.	French

G	<u>Glossaire</u>
H	Harrap
i.e.	that is to say
imp.	imperative
indef. art.	indefinite article
inf.	informant
int.	interviewer
interj.	interjection
interrog. pr.	interrogative pronoun
IPA	International Phonetic Association
LGT	La Grand'Terre
M	Massignon
ms.	manuscript
MUNFLA	Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive
n.	noun
naut.	nautical
n.f.	noun feminine
n.f.pl.	noun feminine plural
n.m.	noun masculine
n.m.pl.	noun masculine plural
n.pl.	noun plural
num.	numeral
p.	page

per. pron.	personal pronoun
phr.	phrase
pl.	plural
poss. adj.	possessive adjective
p. part.	past participle
prep.	preposition
pres. part.	present participle
R.	Robert
rpt.	reprint
sing.	singular
v.	verb
var.	variant
v. phr.	verb phrase
v. refl.	reflexive verb

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CHAPTER I

THE FRENCH OF THE PORT-AU-PORT PENINSULA AND BAY ST. GEORGE: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Newfoundland's French population on the West Coast of the island has a long and varied history dating from the late eighteenth century through to the early twentieth century. This was the period of the French Shore, when fishermen of France exercised exclusive fishing rights along the entire length of the island's western shore. Although permanent settlement on the Shore was prohibited by the British government, many French families were well established in the area when the French Shore rights were terminated in 1904. A number of the Frenchmen who remained on the Newfoundland shores, or came to the island subsequent to 1904, were "deserters" who wished to avoid military service. Due to the nature of these defections, many of the records relating to this portion of Newfoundland history are unavailable or untrustworthy. Consequently, no comprehensive study encompassing the various aspects of the French presence during this period has been made. Therefore the present account will be limited to a summary of the main events which led to the settlement of the French on the Port-au-Port Peninsula and Bay St. George and a description of the small population of French Newfoundlanders down to the present.

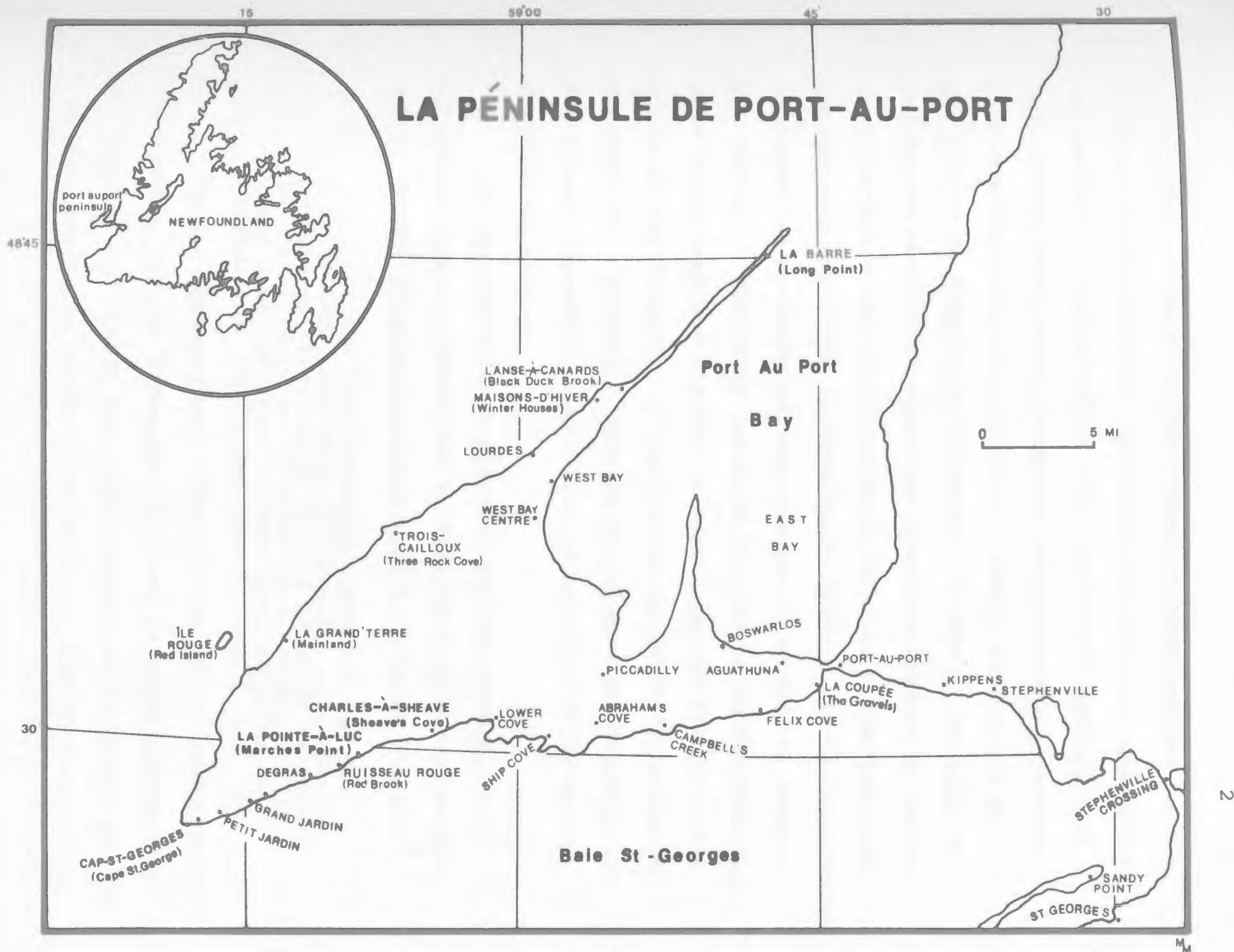


Figure 1. Map of the Port-au-Port Peninsula

The discovery of the island of Newfoundland is generally attributed to John Cabot and his son, Sebastian, who sailed to the island in 1497. However, some writers have argued that other Europeans had established contact with Newfoundland prior to 1497. Robert Perret, in La géographie de Terre-Neuve, states: "C'est au Portugal et aux Açores que furent armés les premiers navires de pêche de Terre-Neuve dont la présence du Nouveau Monde nous soit révélée par des actes authentiques" (229). Perret's assertion is supported by Newfoundland toponymy scholar E.R. Seary, who writes: "The first names to be imposed in Newfoundland were Portuguese which occur in maps produced within a few years of the discovery of the island in 1497" ("The French Element" 5). However, there is no documentary evidence of Portuguese voyages to the island before that of Gaspard Cortreal in 1500.

It has also been suggested that the French, too, conducted fishing activities in Newfoundland waters before 1497. In Nos pêcheurs de haute mer, A. Acloque states:

. . . , il est fort nettement démontré que dès l'année 1404, des pêcheurs basques, normands et bretons se livraient déjà à la pêche de la morue sur le littoral de l'île de Terre-Neuve, sur le Grand Banc qui porte le même nom, et jusqu'à l'embouchure du fleuve Saint Laurent. (24)

Perret suggests the raison d'être of the Newfoundland cod-fishery for the fishermen of these European populations. The fishery had always been the mainstay of the people as the land was generally unsuited to farming. Furthermore, since

the groups were Catholic there were many days in the year when meat could not be eaten, "Nos ancêtres mangeaient beaucoup moins de viande que nous; ils observaient les lois catholiques du jeûne et de l'abstinence" (229).

Although the date of the first French landing on the shores of Newfoundland is unknown, available records do indicate the sites of the earliest landings. According to de la Monrandière, the "partie de la côte de Terre-Neuve qui va depuis le cap St. Jean jusqu'au cap Normand à toujours été l'apanage presque exclusif des malouins" (I:385). This area extended from White Bay to Quirpon on the island's Northern Peninsula and was later known as Le Petit Nord (Prowse 50). Although it is possible that Bretons were first acquainted with this part of the Newfoundland shore as crew members on Basque whaling vessels, there are no records which verify this (Musset 7).

The paucity of documents relating to the presence of the French prior to 1504 is largely due to the loss or destruction of pertinent records (Musset 14). Furthermore, Bretons and Normans, in order to avoid competition with other groups, did not want their fishing activities to be widely known (Acloque 24). However, with the discovery of enormously abundant fish stocks on the Grand Banks, this attitude was abandoned by the end of the fifteenth century.

Between 1497 and 1550, records show that 168 ships from the port of La Rochelle alone sailed for Newfoundland and North America (Musset 13-20). Large numbers of vessels

departed for the Newfoundland fishery to exploit this valuable resource. The French were the first, however, to take advantage of the fishery and soon acquired a virtual monopoly on the Newfoundland fishery. While this monopoly may not have been officially recognized by other nations, any captains of ships wishing to engage in the fishery had to consult with the fishermen of Saint-Malo (Harvut 8). This monopoly may have resulted from the political aspirations of the French Government, which recognized at this early stage the value of the seasonal migratory fishery as a means of training men for the French navy (de la Morandière II: 519-20).

Despite the documented seasonal activity of fishing vessels prior to 1534, the voyage to the island in that year by Jacques Cartier is commonly recognized as the first by a French vessel. Cartier sailed from Saint-Malo with two ships and sixty-one men (Cartier 1).

The French participation in the Banks fishery continued to increase, and by 1578, 150 vessels were involved. In the same year Spain had 120 to 130 vessels on the Banks, Portugal fifty, and Britain thirty to fifty (Acloque 26).

The magnitude of French involvement in the fishery was viewed by the British as a threat to their claim of sovereignty over the island, and in 1583 Humphrey Gilbert was sent to Newfoundland to reassert the claim. The Newfoundland fishery was becoming more and more important to the British. The trade of Bristol had been compromised by losses inflicted by the French fishery in 1558, and in

1591 British captains asked the municipal council of Saint-Malo for permission to go to the Newfoundland fishery (Perret 229).

Englishmen came to the island and settled on the territory between Cape Race and Cape Bonavista. These men were not fishermen but rather men of various occupations, often poor, who wished to leave England to find better lives elsewhere. Other small groups of colonists came to settle at the beginning of the century in bays around St. John's and the Southern Shore, the stretch of coast south of St. John's.

In the seventeenth century the Newfoundland cod-fishery began to take shape. Although several European nations sent large numbers of fishing vessels to Newfoundland, Britain and France emerged as the main contenders for this valuable resource. Charles de la Morandière gives the best description of French fishing activity in Newfoundland and the author has drawn extensively from his account in the following pages.

In 1607 a company was formed in England with John Guy as head. The company included a number of merchants from Devonshire and later received privileges on the shore from Cape St. Mary to Cape Bonavista. In 1610 Guy sailed to Newfoundland with some companions on three ships and landed at what is now known as Cupids, where they built three houses and a fort (403-04). However, the establishment of the colony failed because the Devonshire fishermen feared that a governor

would be placed there and would interrupt their seasonal fishery conducted on the island.

The seventeenth century was filled with wars and lesser conflicts. In 1620 violent disputes arose between the British and the Portuguese. Raging quarrels occurred between the English and the French as each tried to remove the other from the Newfoundland fishery. The French had the best fishing grounds on the Banks and the northern coast as well as near the southeast coast off the islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon. The British, in an attempt to secure the most productive fishing grounds, sent a complaint to the British Government charging that the French were interfering with their fishing activities.

In an attempt to resolve the dispute King Charles I of Britian granted French fishermen permission to cure and dry cod in Newfoundland in exchange for a certain percentage of the total fish caught. In 1648 at the end of the Thirty Years' War, both nations intensified their efforts to gain control of the island. To further solidify their presence, in 1662 the French fortified and garrisoned their establishment at Placentia.

In 1688 war broke out between England, France and Holland. At the end of the war a treaty of neutrality was signed between Louis XIV, King of France and James II of Britain. However, when King James was driven out and was replaced by William of Orange, the agreement was invalidated (418).

In 1689 the British and the French were again at war in Europe as well as in Newfoundland. On the island the French won the greater number of battles, resulting in the capture of nearly all the British settlements along the shores of Conception and Trinity Bays. In 1690 the English invaded Placentia by land and destroyed everything except the small fishing boats. While this was going on, a few British ships went to Saint-Pierre and burned everything belonging to the French fishermen (461).

Although peace was made in 1697 with the signing of the Treaty of Ryswick, neither nation emerged as triumphant. One provision of the treaty upheld France's claim to Placentia.

In 1698, in another attempt to discourage French fishing activities in Newfoundland, Britain introduced a bait act which restricted the sale of bait to subjects of the United Kingdom. The French ignored the act and continued to fish, acquiring bait illegally from local fishermen. French fishing activities continued at a high level and between 1699 and 1713 the French had four hundred vessels and 15,000 to 30,000 men involved in fishing operations in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and the Gulf of St. Lawrence (Thompson 7).

Relations between Britain and France did not improve and in 1701 the two nations were again fighting, this time in the War of the Spanish Succession. In 1713 the war ended with the British triumphant. The Treaty of Utrecht signed

in the same year gave Britain considerable territorial compensation, including sovereignty over the island of Newfoundland. France, however, was allowed to retain fishing rights along the northern coast of Newfoundland between Cape Bonavista to Pointe Riche. The treaty further specified that while the French could construct stages and small buildings for the purpose of drying fish, dwellings and other structures of a permanent nature were prohibited.

It soon became clear that the goal of the British government was the eventual withdrawal of the French from Newfoundland. In fact, this was a policy which extended to the mainland of North America. Finally, in 1755, the English governor of Nova Scotia executed the long-planned deportation of the Acadian population from his colony.¹ Of the 3,450 persons deported, 1,300 died on the voyage across the Atlantic from starvation and disease caused by unsanitary conditions on the ships. Some, however, escaped to the woods; others dispersed into New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. Still others fled to New England and parts of Quebec, especially the Magdalen Islands and the tip of the Gaspé Peninsula (Massignon 22-31). This infamous expulsion is known today as Le Grand Dérangement.

At the end of the Seven Years War in 1763, the Treaty of Paris was signed, ceding all of North America to Britain. The only territories excepted were the islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, which remained French possessions. Although a fifty man police force was to be permitted

on the islands, no further military presence of fortification was to be allowed under the terms of the treaty.

Although it might appear that the French would no longer present a threat to the British, conflict between the British and the French in Newfoundland did not end. In 1777, Montagu attacked Saint-Pierre and removed all the French as well as the Acadians who had taken refuge there. Upon learning of this action, France threatened to withdraw completely from the fishery if the nation were not given a place from which to fish. This alarmed the British, as they feared that such an action would not be taken lightly by other European nations which formed the principal market for their trade. Consequently, they were forced to make concessions.

In 1783, another Treaty of Paris confirmed French ownership of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon and also shifted the boundaries of the French fishing territory along the shore of Newfoundland. Under the terms of this treaty, the new zone would extend from Cape Ray to Cape St. John. The French, therefore, were forced to relinquish Notre Dame Bay and Bonavista Bay in exchange for new territory along the island's entire west coast. At this time French fishing activities were conducted from ships and there is very little in the way of records of any men or women permanently settling on the island.

In 1793 Saint-Pierre and Miquelon were again taken by the British. In 1802 the signing of the Treaty of Amiens

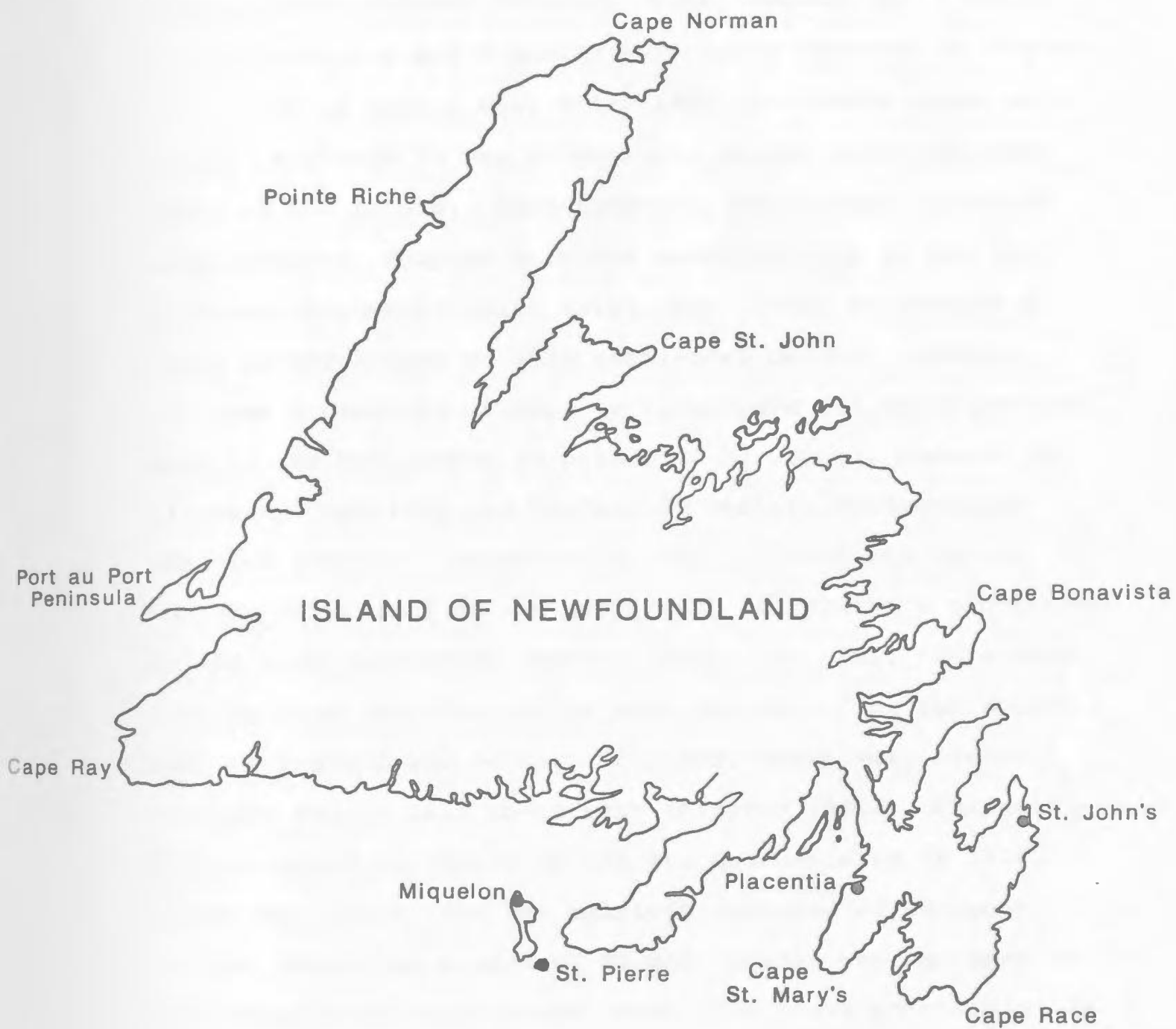


Figure 2. Locations Relevant to the French Presence in Newfoundland

brought peace between Britain, Spain, Holland and France, and Saint-Pierre and Miquelon were again returned to France.

It is likely that after 1802 the French began to settle, although it was illegal, in places along the West Coast of the island. Unfortunately, the illegal nature of this activity, coupled with the unreliability of the few pertinent documents which exist, has tended to prevent a clear understanding of this settlement period. Perhaps the most successful attempt to illuminate the early settlement of the West Coast is presented by John J. Mannion in his essay "Settlers and Traders in Western Newfoundland" (Mannion 234-75). According to Mannion, Bay St. George was the first area on the west coast to receive a population in the late eighteenth century (234). In 1801, there were four or five families in the area who were from the southwest of England and Jersey. In 1808, there were eleven families and in 1813 there were thirteen (234). Chappell, writing about his visit to the St. Georges area in 1818, notes that apart from the thirteen families of European origin, there was a band of Micmac Indians who had come to the region from Cape Breton about five years previously. He also observed that of the total of ninety-seven Micmacs, eleven were "styled English Protestants" and the rest "styled French Catholics" (Chappell, 85-86).

Mannion reports that later some English protestants from the south coast of Newfoundland came to join the English of St. Georges (234). After 1820, Acadian French

came to the area from Cape Breton to fish for cod and herring. Cormack, who visited the area in 1822, reports twenty families in St. Georges totalling 100 individuals. The majority of these came from England and Jersey and were occupied with salmon fishing and fur trapping (Cormack, 90). He also notes that adult males made at least one voyage annually to either Halifax or St. John's in order to sell their fish and furs. Apparently, local settlers had nothing in the way of regular religious or educational services, since Cormack remarks "There is here neither clergyman, schoolmaster, church, nor chapel" (93).

Clearly, Cormack was very impressed by the abundance of fish and other marine life in the area, and asserted that the "French Shore of Newfoundland [i.e., the West Coast] is the most valuable on the globe for fisheries" (90). He also observed that the French Shore is "in summer occupied by hundreds of French ships, which send forth their thousands of bateaux and men brought from France, all eager in the pursuit of the cod-fishery" (93).

Following the signing of the 1783 Treaty of Paris, the French attempted to claim that they were entitled to exclusive fishing rights along the shore assigned to them by the treaty. The British, however, insisted that the French rights were not exclusive, and their fishing activities were intended to be concurrent with those of British fishermen. Despite the protestations of British fishermen in Newfoundland and some officials in London, little was done to enforce the British interpretation of the treaty.

Furthermore, British attempts to establish a concurrent fishery on the west coast were averted by the fact that the French occupied all the best harbors and fishing grounds (Thompson 24). Consequently, by 1832 the treaty shore had effectively become the "French Shore".

Jukes, who visited the St. Georges area in 1842, reports that the population seemed to be half French, with the remainder being English Jerseymen and a few Indians. The total population, according to Jukes, might be five or six hundred people "but they are mostly transitory inhabitants. The French all leave in November to return in May, and most of the others retire either to more distant settlements or to houses in the woods on the opposite shore during the winter" (120). In recent decades there have been oral accounts of French deserters but all the details are very obscure. These will be discussed later in this chapter.

William Wonders reports that in 1844 the Acadians came to settle in the St. Georges Bay area:

In 1844 the first Acadian French arrived with their families in fishing boats from Margaree in Cape Breton Island and located at what is now Stephenville on the north shore of St. Georges Bay. More followed and the settlement grew. Subsequently, some moved west to Port-au-Port, some moved to Sandy Point and St. Georges. (139)

Later, in 1848, the Reverend M. Brosnan notes in his: Pioneer History of St. George's Diocese :

"Besides the members of the Church, in number about 200, there is a settlement of Acadians who are professed Roman Catholics but they have been left for many years without the ministration of religion, and are in a deplorable state of poverty" (30). The Acadian settlement which Brosnan refers to is probably modern Stephenville. Further, he also mentions that there was a schoolmaster at Sandy Point who was a Frenchman from Jersey, a Mr. Meek (31).

In the 1850s, according to Mannion, the Acadians were joined by settlers from Saint Pierre and single males from France, mainly Normandy and Brittany, and a few Catholics of Irish and Scottish descent from Cape Breton (237). The Port-au-Port Peninsula was the last part of this area of the West Coast to be populated (238). According to census records for 1857, at that time there were only thirty-nine people in Port-au-Port East and Port-au-Port West (Abstract Census cited in Mannion 120).

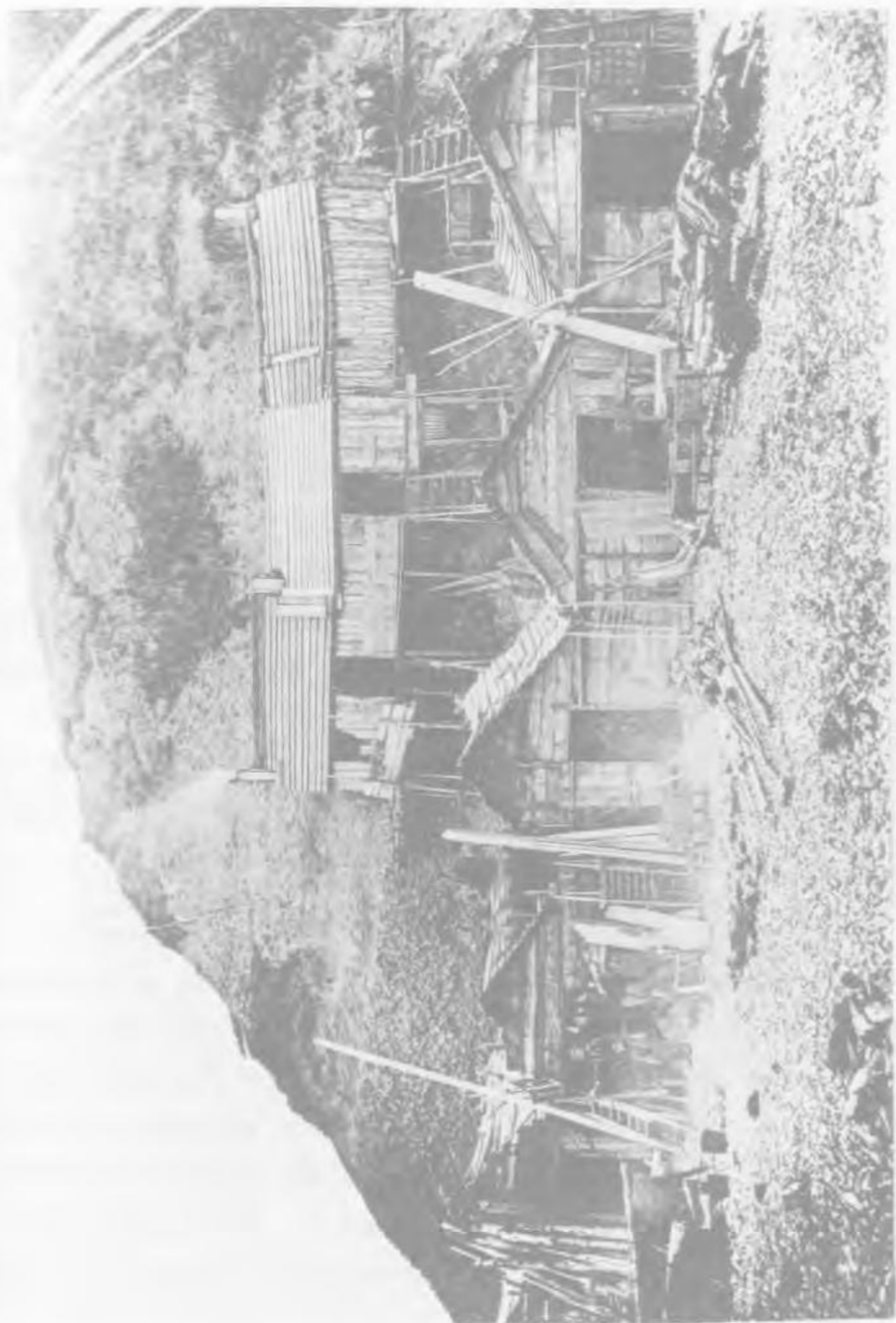
Because of their impact on settlement, the French fishing stations on the west coast cannot be ignored. In his report of 1857, Perley notes five French fishing stations: Codroy Island, St. Georges, Red Island, Port-au-Port, and Petit Port (Bay of Islands). At the Codroy Island fishing station, Perley noted, 3,300 quintals of fish had been taken during the season. He also observed that the fishermen returned to France in October, leaving their fishing equipment behind in the care of a guardian (9). The fishing station at St. Georges was relatively

inactive because the cod stocks had been seriously depleted (8-9). At Petit Port, he reported, two hundred and fifty French fishermen had been employed during the season. The Port-au-Port station was on the narrow isthmus which connects the Peninsula to the rest of the island, and was "free and common to all French vessels fishing in the Gulf" (10). Previously, the French had had a fishing station at Long Point on the North-eastern extremity of the peninsula (locally known as La Barre) but had abandoned it about four years before Perley's visit (10-1).

The most important of all of the fishing stations was on Red Island. The significance of this site is illustrated by the fact that permanent title to the island had been granted by the Government of France to the Compagnie Générale Maritime de France. At the end of the fishing season the island was left in the care of an Acadian family from Cape Breton. The fishing premises were "at the northeastern end where there is a narrow beach at the base of the cliff on a sort of a plateau about half the height of the island and are reached by a long stair from the beach" (9-10).

The Red Island station was especially productive because codfish were abundant and bait fish were readily procured. During the season that Perley visited the island fishing was good and catches "averaged more than 50 quintals per man, sometime before the season closed" (8-9).

Figure 3. (from Prowse, opp. p. 256)



PHOTOGRAPHED BY J. H. HARRIS

The French Government's awarding of Red Island's title to a single company was not well received by other French fishing companies, and a formal complaint was lodged. However, it was ruled that:

"La place de l'Île Rouge est comprise parmi les havres réservés aux petites goëlettes de St. Pierre et Miquelon. Si le gouvernement a cru devoir concéder cette place à la Compagnie Générale Maritime, c'est probablement dans le but de prévenir l'envahissement de l'Île Rouge par les populations anglaises qui occupent déjà la Baie St.-Georges, et les côtes adjacentes (Perley 10).

It was resolved that the matter of the Compagnie Générale Maritime should be brought to the attention of the Minister of Marine (10). Apparently, however, the minister did not disallow the exclusive grant to the island.

Gobineau, who visited this area in 1851, also noted the significance of the fishing station on Red Island:

L'établissement de l'Île Rouge est un de ceux qui, sur la côte occidentale, donne le plus constamment les meilleurs produits et mérite le plus d'intérêt (141).

Gobineau also provides us with a vivid, though somewhat romantic, account of the lives of the settlers of the area. He notes that all basic materials, such as cloth and furniture, could be acquired through the St. John's merchants, who took the local fish in exchange for manufactured commodities. During the fishing season the men fished in inshore waters with handlines and trawls, and

women and children provided shore-side help by tending to the "making," that is, curing of catches. The women also looked after small household gardens and went berry picking. The people had little in their lives apart from work, and what leisure activities there were, such as "frolics," were often centered around work activities. The people lived without formal governmental services, medical care, and other amenities. However, following the establishment of a sawmill at Corner Brook in 1865, the fishermen of the area had the opportunity to supplement their annual wages by cutting wood for the mill (Mannion 253).

Although the Treaty Shore was rich in minerals, attempts at opening mines and developing other industrial prospects were aborted by the French Government as were developmental attempts. As McGrath notes in his publication Newfoundland in 1911:

The famous refusal of the French Government in 1874, to permit the trans-insular railroad to have a terminus on the shore is recorded in the blue-books; this action postponed the project for twenty years, and woefully retarded the development of the western seaboard. (146)

Throughout the nineteenth century the population of St. Georges grew steadily through natural increase. Between 1850 and 1868, 750 Catholic children were born on the Peninsula and in the St. Georges Bay region. Another significant source of population increase was the influx of Catholic Gaelic-speaking settlers of High-

land Scottish origin who came from Cape Breton. During the middle of the century, this group occupied Highlands, Newfoundland, and in following years some moved to Campbell's Creek on the Port-au-Port Peninsula (Mannion 237). By the end of the century, the population of the Peninsula had grown to 1600 (238). According to Mannion, this population increase "was largely a result of an influx of Acadians from Cape Breton and of French fishermen stationed on Red Island and Long Point who married local Acadian girls and settled" (238). It is important to note that at this time "apart from the inhabitants of Boswarlos and a few families around the isthmus, the population of the Peninsula was almost entirely Catholic and mainly French-speaking" (238).

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, it was became evident that West Coast cod stocks were becoming threatened by over-fishing. By 1875 cod landings had fallen off sharply. As the French occupied the most productive fishing grounds on the west coast, the British were forced to look elsewhere to conduct their fishery. However, in the early years of the following decade, new hope was perceived by British fishermen in the lobster industry. For a time this fishery provided good returns and local people obtained income from establishing lobster factories for the canning of lobster. In these canning operations, men, women and children were employed during the winter and summer (Prowse 556).

In regard to the French migratory cod-fishery, conditions continued to deteriorate. The acquisition of bait still presented problems, and, since the men were turning to other forms of employment with the development of new agricultural methods during the Industrial Revolution, it became increasingly difficult to get a crew together to make the usual long and hazardous boat trip to Newfoundland. The migratory French fishermen tried to establish lobster factories but the British opposed the activity. Later, an agreement was reached allowing existent factories to continue but prohibiting the construction of new factories except by mutual agreement of the two governments (McGrath 147-48).

In 1895, the French government ordered its warships to remove all non-French operations from the Treaty Shore, but it is not clear whether this action was carried out (McGrath 149). According to McGrath, by 1898 there were approximately 20,000 Newfoundlanders settled in 215 harbours along the French Shore, but only 458 Frenchmen involved in the operation of sixteen fishing stations (149). By 1903, the number of Frenchmen had fallen to 402 and the number of stations to thirteen. In 1904, France finally gave up her fishing rights and withdrew from the coast of Newfoundland. As compensation from Britain, she received concessions in Africa, as well as the sum of £55,000, which would go to her dispossessed fishermen (150-51). Thus ended the period of the French Shore.

According to my experience in the locality and interviews with many residents of the area, during the years subsequent to the official end of the French Shore in 1904 a number of Frenchmen refused to return to France. Some of these fishermen had received permission to come to the Newfoundland fishery on the condition that they would serve five years in the French military services. There are accounts of men-of-war coming to the St. Georges Bay area in search of deserters and of others who were stow-aways on these ships. These runaways had cabins in the forests about a mile and a half from their regular habitats, which they called "a farm", and retreated to these areas at any sign of the ships and their gendarmes. The details of these activities were kept secret from children to avoid the possibility of being inadvertently disclosed.

Due to the nature of these defections very little in terms of documented data is available in print. One publication by Tricoche titled Terre-Neuve et alentours (1929) provides important information on the peopling of the French communities on the Peninsula which are the subject of the present work. Tricoche also comments on the origins of the French-speaking population in the Stephenville-St. George's area:

Ces gens-là sont plus ou moins mêlés,
selon la localité qu'ils habitent. La
majorité tout d'abord, sont des Acadiens
dont les ancêtres lors des persécutions
que l'on sait, quittèrent Margaree,
Mabou, et autres lieux du Cap Breton,

en Nouvelle-Ecosse, pour s'établir
en paix à Terre-Neuve. (210)

Tricoche states that during the French Shore period the Acadian population of St. Georges was augmented by a certain number of deserters from the French merchant marine. These were almost always Breton and Norman fishermen and were generally of the same origin as the primitive Acadians.² These individuals settled on the Port-au-Port Peninsula:

Ceux-ci se fixèrent surtout dans la
Presqu'île de Port-au-Port, à Mainland,
à Black Duck Brook, Cap Saint-Georges,
Grand Jardin, Petit Jardin. (210)

It is interesting to note that these communities today still speak the language of these settlers while the other areas in Newfoundland which were once populated by the French have lost the French language completely.³ Therefore, the remainder of this chapter will concentrate on the evolution of these Port-au-Port communities.

Another source that refers to the settlement of deserters on the Port-au-Port Peninsula appeared in 1952:

La Grand'Terre et Cap-Saint-Georges durent
leur premier peuplement aux 'graviers' qui
désertaient les morutiers. Le premier
déserteur fixé au Cap, un certain Guillaume
Robin, natif de la Roche-Derrien, en Bretagne,
y serait arrivé vers 1837. Le long du
XIX^e siècle, ce fut un petit courant de
désertation sévissant parmi les pages moru-
tiers qui peupla peu à peu Cap-Saint-
Georges. (Biays 15)

It is unfortunate that data pertaining to the origins and first settlement of French Newfoundlanders is generally lacking. Published records such as census data and church records are untrustworthy. Details about deserters would likely go unrecorded in the census records. Moreover, from communications with local people, we know that during the early years of settlement there were a number of itinerants who lived in one community for a fishing season and then moved to another at the end of the season (cf. Text 1).

Church records of the early settlement are non-existent largely because there were no priests on the Peninsula. The first priest to serve Mainland, about 1916, was a French-speaking person called Père Pinault (personal communication, Augustus O'Gorman). However, the church which he used at Clam Bank Cove (now Lourdes) burned down and all the records were destroyed. The priest who succeeded Père Pinault was Irish, and though many of the subsequent records are available, most of the names have been anglicized. First names such as Marine and Jacques are registered as Maureen and John.

Family names, too, have been anglicized and have to be examined carefully when studying ethnic origins and genealogies. Names such as Dubois, Leblanc, Marche and Olivier have been recorded in the forms Woods, White, March and Oliver. Similar name changes were also noted by Tricoche in 1929 (211).

Another example which has recently surfaced is the form from which the West Coast name Barter apparently originated. According to Albert Dauzat, the origin of this name is Breton in the form Breterre (28). This has become in the French islands of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon /borterre/ (personal communication, M. Jean Olano), which illustrates a common phenomenon in Newfoundland French in words beginning with a bilabial plosive followed by /R/ (see Ch. 4, p.158). This name, in turn, has been identified with the existent English form Barter on the East Coast of Newfoundland. (In Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon, apparently under the influence of the Spanish Basques of the islands, the written form has become Borthayre).

Moreover, in some instances, mainly due to the defections, certain family names have been changed from one French name to another. One example which is well known to families on the Peninsula is Rioux which has replaced the name Boloche in one family.

All of these different factors make it difficult to trace the origins of French Newfoundlanders and until complete genealogical data are assembled, no definite statement can be made on the origins of many early settlers. Such information would also be valuable in assessing the relative percentages of Acadian and other groups which have populated the French communities on the Port-au-Port Peninsula.

One publication which sheds some light on this question is Geneviève Massignon's Les parlers français d'Acadie. Massignon lists the seventy-six most common Acadian family names (l: 42-68), of which the following are found in the Stephenville area today: Alexander, Leblanc, Cormier, Chaisson, AuCoin, Benoît, Gallant, Gaudon, Gaudet, Doucette, March, Russel and Gabriel (personal communication, Ivan White; see also Thomas, "Some Acadian family names in Western Newfoundland").

Probably due to its proximity to Stephenville, Cape St. George seems to have attracted the largest number of Acadians with these names. Later some of these Acadians moved to Black Duck Brook and Mainland. Acadian family names such as Chaisson, Bourgeois, Cormier, Marche and Benoît are among the Breton, Norman and Basque family names of the Port-au-Port Peninsula: Cornec, Robin, Kerfont, Lagadu, Huon, Scardin, Bozec, Herviou, Dubé, Barter, Leprieur, Lainey, Morazé, Bréand, LeCointre, LeRoi, LeCour, Formanger, Félix, Louvelle, Simon, Crétien, Lemoine, Renouf, Rouzes, Ozon, Tallac and LaCosta, etc.

It is also difficult to assess the relative percentage of the Indian residents in the French communities on the Peninsula. Except for possible physical features, descendants of this population cannot be identified. Furthermore, many of these descendants are, like the French of the area in the recent past, ashamed of their ethnic background and are not always willing to give

details of their family history. They are also difficult to identify because when the Indian families had their children baptized, they were often given Christian names (Erickson 77-85).

As can be seen in the discussion above, the population of the French communities of the Port-au-Port is mixed. The total of population recorded in the Census of Newfoundland and Labrador in 1935 recorded 392 residents at Cape St. George including neighboring communities De Grau, Red Brook, Marches Point and Sheaves Cove; 140 at Mainland; and 236 in the Black Duck Brook area including neighboring Winter Houses and Long Point (1937: 136, 138).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the communities on the Port-au-Port Peninsula were but small clusters of families settled strategically along the shores near the ocean as fish was the mainstay. Also, being at close proximity to the waterways was important as the principal means of transportation of the day was by boat or on foot. Communication systems as we know them today were unheard of in those days and therefore communication was basically restricted to word-of-mouth, and entertainment to work "frolics" and house visiting called veillées. These were evenings spent in the homes of neighbors telling folktales and other folk narratives passed on to them from earlier generations. Isolated as they were, these communities of necessity became quite self-sufficient and intermarriage occurred. Nicole

Lamarre's study in Kinship and Inheritance Patterns in a French Newfoundland Village treats many cases of endogamy at Cape St. George.

In 1937, during the Government Resettlement Program, a group of people from Fortune Bay (Sagona and Miller's Passage) were resettled on the Port-au-Port Peninsula at what was then Clam Bank Cove and was renamed Lourdes. However, due to their isolation and lack of means of transportation, many of the communities were not even aware that this new group of settlers was present in the region.

St. Georges continued to develop and became the most important center on the West Coast. As the population grew on the peninsula more needs were expressed, but basic commodities were not always available. Later, there was a freight boat which brought goods and passengers to communities along the Peninsula, and picked up fishermen's catches. This vessel was locally referred to as "The Bay Boat." This vessel was of great help to people in the most isolated communities, and served to open their communities to contact with the rest of the West Coast.

The merchant house Abbott and Hill (now Abbot and Haliburton) which had operated on the Peninsula since 1886, began to open branches in other communities. While this expansion could be seen as an advantage for area residents, it was, in fact, merely an extension of the

mercantile system. Under this system fishermen "traded" their fish with the merchant for foodstuffs and dry goods. However, since the merchant set the price for fish as well as the prices of all goods sold in his store, the fishermen were continually in debt. This situation continued for some years but a crucial international event which occurred caused radical changes in Newfoundland.

In 1939 World War II broke out and in 1940-41, the American government constructed an air force base in the Stephenville area. This development provided alternative employment opportunities to the west coast of the island. Previously the men of the Port-au-Port Peninsula were obliged to supplement their fishery with lumbering in order to pay their debts. Transportation means being what they were then, the men went on foot to Stephenville Crossing to catch the train that would bring them to the Bowaters lumbering area. The establishment of the base offered jobs in construction, as it was important to the operations of the American allies. A gravel road was constructed connecting the communities on the Peninsula which opened these places to the outside, allowing them a chance to develop. Many fishermen gave up their occupation as fishermen in favor of jobs in construction with the Americans in Stephenville. However, this event had adverse effects on the French culture of the West Coast of Newfoundland.

The Acadian French population were settled in the area most strategic for the installation of an airfield. Again, the Acadians were forced to move out, rebuild their homes and adjust. Most settled nearby and later acquired jobs with the Americans. With this great influx of anglophones in the area, the French, especially in Stephenville, felt the pressure to conform to the dominant anglophone culture. The French people of the Port-au-Port Peninsula did not feel such pressures and were more fortunate.

Although the communities on the Port-au-Port now had better access to move outside the bounds of their area, the women and children remained secluded in their communities. The men travelled outside only when it was necessary, such as when going to work. Therefore, the traditional way of living was continued and the French language was preserved. However, later in 1943, provincial laws were enacted regarding compulsory education up to a certain age (Rowe 69).

Previously, the importance of education did not enter the minds of the people in many of the communities on the Peninsula. They were much too busy trying to survive. It was felt that being able to read was a wonderful thing, but one person per community was sufficient. Their lives were conditioned around their work, and everything else was a waste of work-time. The children were needed at home to help with the chores. Therefore for the young there was little to look forward to except marriage. Con-

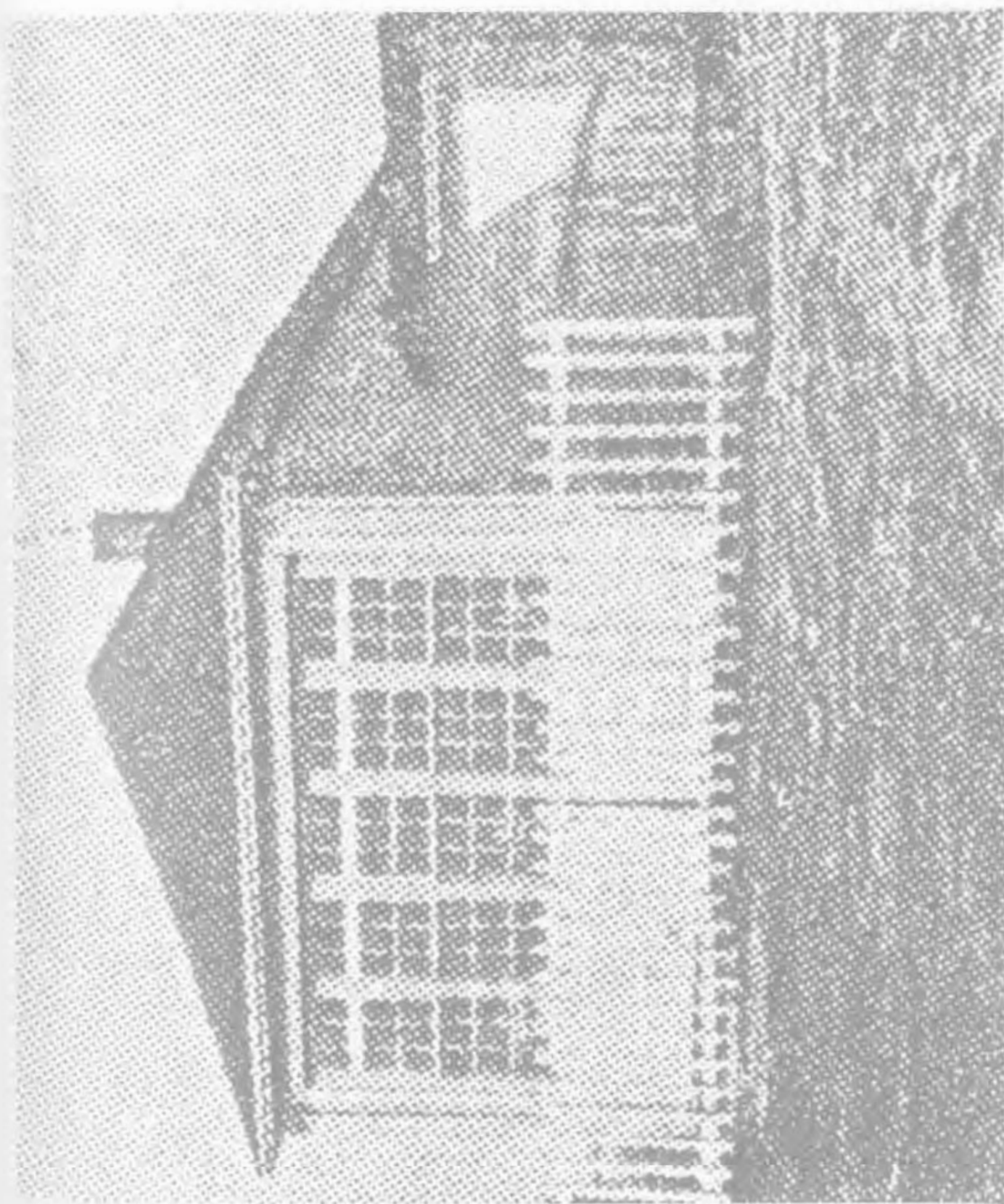
sequently, until fairly recently, the number of high school graduates was very low. This might not have been the case if the communities had been English-speaking. At that time there was a one-room schoolhouse in most of the communities but attendance was not enforced. According to oral sources the first person to teach in the school at Mainland was Clémence Poirier from La Petite Rivière, in Québec. This teacher was succeeded by Olive Garnier, who was also French-speaking. However, these first teachers were prohibited from teaching in the French language (personal communication, Marie-Josèphe Dubé).

Later, as the population grew on the Peninsula, there was a need for larger schools. The community of Lourdes progressed rapidly. In the French communities nothing much changed the people's lives since they remained generally within the bounds of the community. But when in 1949 Newfoundland joined Confederation, material benefits came to the area along with the rest of Newfoundland. Family allowances were introduced -- a tremendous help to the near-poverty state of small communities in Newfoundland.

In 1961, the pupils of La Grand'Terre and L'Anse-à-Canards were transferred to the school in Lourdes. The people of Cap-Saint-Georges situated at the greatest distance from Lourdes refused to leave their school and be bused to another community. Also, by this time, they



Figure 4. The old two-room schoolhouse at Mainland



had trained people from their own community who were able to teach. Consequently, the French language was not totally suppressed by the education system. In recent years the children from the other French communities have attended the schools in Lourdes where French is taught as a subject by anglophones who have a limited knowledge of the French language and are generally ignorant of the regional French culture. In regard to these schools, although the old attitude towards the French population is no longer expressed overtly in the same manner, to date the school board has done little to encourage understanding and appreciation of the French language and culture within the area that it services.

In the 1960s another major change took place in this area which altered the traditional way of life of the French Newfoundlanders. The communities were furnished with electricity services. For the isolated communities, this was a drastic change. Some people refused to connect initially because they feared that it might be another trick on the part of the government to get more money from them. Soon after, telephone and television were introduced. There were no longer the traditional story-telling evenings and house-visiting because television now provided stories live in front of one's eyes. Work was made easier with electricity and eventually work frolics disappeared. The telephone made it possible for a family to converse with neighbors without leaving

home. These services, especially radio and television, exposed the people of this isolated area to innumerable aspects of the outside culture. While this has helped the French population understand and learn to speak English a little better, it has in addition encouraged the use of this language in all realms of daily life. Isolated from any major French-speaking centers, the French language of the Peninsula might have been totally wiped out if changes giving hope for the survival of the French language and culture on the part of the government had not occurred.

Following the Federal Government's introduction of bilingual and bicultural policies in the late sixties, the people of Port-au-Port were quick to take advantage of the new initiatives. Francophone associations were formed in the French communities, the first of which was Les Terre-Neuviens Français at Cape St. George in 1970. Subsequently, French television services were provided on the Peninsula. In 1975, an immersion French program was begun at Cape St. George.

At present, the population of the Cape St. George area including Petit Jardin, Grand Jardin, De Grau, Marches Point and Loretto is 1,470, according to the Municipal Directory 1984; Black Duck Brook and Winter Houses 202; and Mainland, 612. Cape St. George has an annual music festival titled "Une Longue Veillée" which attracts large numbers of French people from other areas

and provinces. Through this activity the Newfoundland francophone population is exposed to other Canadian French groups, thereby having the opportunity to speak French with French people from other parts of Canada.

The people of Mainland, following the initiative of the people of Cape St. George, are requesting instruction in the medium of the French language in their community. With the help of their newly organized francophone association, L'Héritage de L'île Rouge, they have formed a committee of parents which in March 1984 presented a brief to the Port-au-Port Roman Catholic School Board requesting a French elementary school in Mainland. The people of Mainland, as well as other French-speaking communities on the Port-au-Port Peninsula, feel that French schools are crucial to the survival of their French language and culture and to the development of the community and its people.

Summary

In this chapter we have traced the history of the French presence in Newfoundland from the time of the first European contact with the island to the present. In particular, we have noted the struggle between Britain and France for control of Newfoundland's rich fishing grounds and discussed how French losses in European campaigns led to the shrinkage of political power and fishing

territory in Newfoundland. By the turn of the twentieth century, French returns from the cod fishery on the West Coast had fallen off sharply, and British restrictions such as the Bait Act made the continuation of this fishery difficult. Attempting to make the best of a poor situation, in 1904 the French abandoned the so-called French Shore entirely.

A parallel issue was the settlement of the West Coast, and, in regard to the Port-au-Port Peninsula, we have seen a gradual rise in the number of settlers since the early 1800s: Acadians and Micmacs from Cape Breton, French from Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon and the provinces of Normandy and Brittany, and English speakers from eastern Newfoundland and the mother country represented the elements of the ethnic mix of the area. It was pointed out that the economic growth of the area was retarded due to disputes between the British and French over the control of the region, as well as its geographical isolation and distance from St. John's, the seat of government in Newfoundland.

In the twentieth century many changes occurred, such as improvement of transportation and communication facilities, which have diminished the isolation of residents of the Port-au-Port Peninsula. While many vestiges of the French culture remain, the strength of this culture had declined. Aspects of a surviving element of the culture -- the French language -- are the subject of the next chapter.

FOOTNOTES

¹The Acadian French generally originate from the Centre-Ouest region of France: Charentes, Aunis, Saintonge and Poitou.

²We assume that Tricoche means by "primitive Acadians", the first group of Acadian French settlers to come to North America, among whom there were some Bretons and Basques (Massignon 1:31).

³Although the community, Conche, situated on the eastern side of the Northern Peninsula had been originally settled by the Irish, it became a port for the French fishery during the 1880s. The last French speaker from Conche died at the age of about eighty-five in the mid 1960s.

CHAPTER II

The French Spoken on the Port-au-Port Peninsula

The French spoken by the French residents of the Port-au-Port Peninsula is in ways related to North American French and therefore shares many features with other French minority groups in Canada and the United States of America. Newfoundland French is unique because it has evolved in its isolation and survived to the present as an oral form of European French despite the speakers' lack of education in the French language and its position vis-à-vis the dominant anglophone milieu.

The constant contact with the English language, for example, has resulted in modification caused by the apparent adaptation of local English speech sounds. Some of the vowel phonemes have lost much of the rounding which is characteristic of French phonology. Certain consonant phonemes have been replaced by other phonemes and the rules governing the use of liaison in modern French are not followed in Newfoundland French speech.

The vocabulary has retained forms and expressions which are obsolete in modern French as well as a large number of technical terms which were adapted during the early days of settlement and passed down through the generations that followed. Furthermore, with the absence of institutional grammatical constraints, the language has

been subject to processes such as analogy, anglicization, and phonological change. Verb conjugations are regularized and many syntactic and grammatical rules have been reformulated. It is the aim of this study to provide a broad view of the various aspects of Newfoundland French with the further motive of encouraging interest in its study, for it has much to offer to the discipline of language study.

Previous Research

The first attempt to describe Newfoundland French speech appeared in 1964 in an article published by the late Professor John T. Stoker of Memorial University's French Department. This article, titled "Spoken French in Newfoundland", describes a number of the most conspicuous features of local speech. However, the study is marred by the absence of contextual data. Although Stoker indicates that he visited the Bay St. George - Stephenville-Port-au-Port Peninsula area, it is not always evident where certain items were attested. While many seem possible in the Bay St. George - Stephenville area, they appear inaccurate for the Peninsula, where the language is still spoken.

A few years later, Professor Gerald Thomas, also of Memorial University's French Department, investigated the area and discovered the wealth of the local culture

for potential study in many disciplines. The variety and quantity of material collected and recorded by Thomas justified the introduction of a new university course in January 1975 titled "The Traditional Culture of French Newfoundlanders". The course includes a field trip to the communities on the Peninsula where the students are required to interview local French speakers on tape concerning various aspects of their culture. In November 1975, the Centre d'Etudes Franco-Terreneuviennes was established under the aegis of the Memorial University Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA) and housed in the French Department. It holds copies of documents relating to French Newfoundlanders as well as all the tape-recordings and field-trip reports related to the Peninsula French. It is largely from this extensive corpus that the present work has been derived.

Following the establishment of the Centre, various studies began to appear. In 1976 a B.A. (Honours) dissertation was compiled dealing with the presence of anglicisms in Newfoundland French speech. The study concentrates on the speech of one middle-aged female informant of Mainland recorded on tape by Gerald Thomas. The author concludes that anglicisms constitute about 1% of the informant's speech (Sellars).

In 1977, the present author compiled "A Critically Annotated Bibliography of Works Published and Unpublished

Relating to the Culture of French Newfoundlanders" which also appeared in the form of a B.A. (Honours) dissertation. Of the 155 items described, less than a dozen are related to aspects of the language.

Later in the same year, Professor Thomas completed a Ph.D. thesis at Memorial University titled "Stories, Storytelling and Storytellers in Newfoundland French Tradition" which includes a chapter on the language. The three-volume thesis describes the narrative art of four French Newfoundlanders, and their narratives abundantly illustrate the particular features of Newfoundland French.

In 1978 H. Kelvin Darby completed an M.A. thesis on the vocabulary titled "A Survey of the Lexicon of Fishing, Farming and Carpentry in the French Community of Cape St. George". Darby's sample treats 753 items, which is quite extensive and very important, as this type of vocabulary is used less and less with the appearance of innovations replacing the "old" way of doing things.

Also in 1978, an M.A. thesis by Ruth King appeared describing aspects of phonology and morphology and including an appended glossary. King's descriptions are based on tape-recordings made in the Black Duck Brook area. Then in 1980 King published an article titled "A Preliminary Study of Anglicisms in Newfoundland French" which investigates anglicisms in the speech of a wider sample of informants -- sixteen French speakers from the Port-au-

port Peninsula. King concludes that "the social variables age and sex appear to condition the use of anglicisms" (17).

Following this King published further articles on "Hyper-correction" (1981) and "L Deletion" (1982), the latter a sociolinguistic study. In 1982, King with co-author Professor Harold Paddock of Memorial's Linguistics Department published an article which discusses features which are common to the anglophone and the francophone languages of Newfoundland titled "Etudes de certains traits communs au français et à l'anglais terreneuviens". This article was followed by "An Investigation of Language Attitudes on the Port-au-Port Peninsula" by King and co-author Professor Sandra Clarke, also of Memorial's Linguistics Department, which discusses speech stereotypes held by the speakers.

King's research in the area culminated in a Ph.D. thesis titled "Variation and Change in Newfoundland French: A Sociolinguistic Study of Clitic Pronouns" (1984).

To sum up, it is seen that research in Newfoundland French was begun only a decade ago, the small number of related works which have appeared have been sporadic and only one of these studies (King, "Variation and Change") comes close to being an in-depth study of one of its many features. The following is a description of the main features of the language.

Noun Categories

Generally, the use of noun gender in Port-au-Port French follows the grammatical regulations of modern French with little deviation. Variation has been noted in certain nouns such as le cimetièrè, 'cemetery'. In La Grand'Terre a form of this noun using the feminine gender has been attested as well as the same form using the masculine gender.

"...alliont prier à la çomtchèrè" /samtʃɛr /.
[LGT, C2424]

Another resident of the community uses the masculine gender.

"Il alliont dâs l'çomtchèrè". [LGT, C2383]

This type of change may have occurred because the form of the ending is generally found in feminine nouns such as la prière, la misère, la manière, la poussière, etc.

Some masculine nouns have simplified their inflections. For example, the standard French plural of un animal des animaux, is used in both the singular and the plural in Port-au-Port French; un animau, 'an animal', and des animaux, 'some animals'; the pronunciations are identical.

Simplifications also occurs with the following nouns which in standard French also have irregular plural forms. Le journal, 'the newspaper' and le cheval, 'the horse' with plural forms les journaux and les chevaux have distinctive forms in Peninsula French. The most

frequently used forms for these are les jor~~n~~als /le ʒɔʁnæl/ and les chouals /ʃwæ l/.

Other nouns which have irregular plurals in French such as oeuf /œ f/ and boeuf /bœf/ with plural forms les oeufs /lezœ/ and les boeufs /le bœ/ have in the French of the Port-au-Port the plural forms pronounced the same as the singular forms, /lezœf/ and /le bœf/, with unrounded front vowel.

Variation also occurs in nouns which have different forms to indicate natural genders such as le neuf and la neuve. In Port-au-Port French the masculine form is used for both the masculine and the feminine, le neuf and la neuf. In contrast, with le veuf and la veuve 'widower' and 'widow', the feminine form veuve is used for both a female or a male; la veuve and le veuve, with the article signifying the gender. This example, however, is perhaps a special case. According to Grévisse, the form neuve was formerly used in France in the same manner until the sixteenth century as in Newfoundland French today (194).

Personal Pronouns

In Newfoundland French the personal pronouns form a series of paradigms involving several features alone or in combination. There are three persons, labeled first, second and third, and two numbers, singular and plural. The third-person category may indicate two genders, masculine and feminine. The functions are as subjects of the verb,

indirect and direct object preceding the verb, and for disjunctive pronouns, subject, and, object of the preposition. Several of the pronouns exhibit an alternation between a "full" form and an abbreviated form. The forms of the personal pronouns are as follows:

je /₃ε/, j /₃/, and ej /ε₃/ used in the first person singular and first person plural. Some examples of the use of the singular forms follow.

"'Ej la veux pas', i dit, I dit, 'Ej te demande pas pour'". [CSG, C2380]

"I dit, 'Ej voudras aouère douze garçons ou bien don tchinze...'" [CSG, C2380]

"I dit, 'J'pards pas courage'". [CSG, C2380]

"J' sais pas comment qu' ça s'appelle ça". [CSG, C2296]

In the plural, these forms replace the normal French pronoun nous and the meaning is indicated by the verb form.

"Ej usons du savon". [BDB, C2866]

"Ouais, mais ej faisons pas attention". [CSG, C2302]

"J'allons mourir ici". [CSG, C2380]

An emphatic or a redundant phrase can also accompany the subject:

"Nous-autes, ej parlions anglais passe que ma mère tait anglais". [BDB, C2866]

The second person singular has a "full" form and an abbreviated form in Port-au-Port French, tu and t'.

"Tu bouillais ça dans l'eau et là tu mettais ta laine dedans". [BDB, C2868]

"'T'as pas besoin d'aouère peur', i dit, 'j'sus /ɣ/ eune parsonne.'" [CSG, C2380]

"Il aimont mieux aouère la laine qu'est pas lavée, t'sais". [BDB, C2866]

The forms of the third person singular are i and il in the masculine gender and a and alle in the feminine. Before initial vowels the shortened forms are usually employed. Before consonants, however, the full and contracted forms are used.

The brief forms are also found with initial vowels. The following examples will clarify the above-mentioned forms.

"I pousse la porte ouvert". [LGT, C2553]

"Il allait s'coucher pis i tendait [i.e. entendre] toutes sortes". [LGT, C2383]

"I a don arrivé in tout ptit lac". [CSG, C2380]

Examples of the feminine forms are:

"Alle a quasiment tombé quand qu'a l'a vu hein". [CSG, C2380]

"A m'a dit qu'a pouvais pas parler". [LGT, C2383]

Interestingly, the forms of the third person masculine singular are also used in the third person plural to indicate both masculine and the feminine. The following examples will illustrate this point.

"I parliont de ça qui arrivait avant". [CSG, C2296]

"Il aviont des bêtes, des vaches pis il aviont des cochons". [CSG, C2337]

"I ont parti, i tait pâssé minuit". [LGT, C2383]

Like the second person singular, the second person plural form is similar to that in the standard language. Also, it is often accompanied or replaced by the form, vous-autes.

"'Quoi-ce que c'est que vous faisiez ici', i dit, 'vous-autes?'" [CSG, C2380]

But again, more standard forms have been noted in the speech of a speaker of the eldest generation.

"Le prête venait yinque eune fois par an quand vous tiez ptites vous". [LGT, C2424]

To sum up, in Port-au-Port French there is a contrast in the second person--between tu and vous--but in the first and third persons, je and il forms are used for both singular and plural, and al forms appear in feminine singular.

Object Pronouns

In the French spoken on the Port-au-Port the direct and indirect object pronouns are usually the same with full forms and abbreviated forms: me and m', te and t', le and l', la, nous, vous, and les. The indirect third person singular form, lui in standard French, has the form i in Port-au-Port French. The following examples are cited to illustrate these pronouns. The pronoun en behaves as in standard French.

"A m'a dit qu'a pouvait pas parler". [LGT, C2383]

"La ptite chaise, tu la vois pas?" [CSG, C2296]

"'Tu crois d'l'aouère, mais,' i dit, 'tu l'aras pas'". [CSG, C2380]

"I les a toutes orcontré yin par darrière l'aute". [CSG, C2380]

Some examples of the use of the indirect object pronouns are:

"La barbe y tombait en bas à ses pieds". [CSG, C2380]

"I dit, 'T'y a pas donné un morceau d'cochon?'" [CSG, C2337]

"I y donne chaque eune claque pis les têtes a sauté de d'su". [LGT, C2553]

"Il y donne-z en d'son manger qu'il avait à la vieille". [LGT, C2553]

"J'y avais dis qu'ej l'aras prété le tape-recorder". [CSG, C2296]

"J'l'ai demandé la smaine pâssée". [CSG, C2296]

Although the third person plural form leur of standard French is unattested in the local French speech, a variant form yeux has been recorded by Professor Thomas at Cape-St-George.

"I lisient pis après ça i ieux contiont, faut croire". [CSG, C2296]

When the direct object does not precede the verb but follows an imperative, a single form lé is employed with both the singular and plural forms and except from the context it is not possible to know which gender or number is intended by the speaker.

"I dit, 'Prends ton sâbe pis', i dit, 'pique-lé en-dsous le bras gauche', i dit, 'pis tu vas la tuer'". [CSG, C2380]

The next example is extracted from a folktale recorded in La Grand'Terre and refers to a giant:

"Draguez-lé dans l'bois'". [LGT, C2553]

Disjunctive Pronouns

Certain disjunctive pronouns follow closely the usage in the standard: moi, toi and lui. Others always employ the compound usage, nous- and vous-autes, or exhibit phonetic modification: yelle for the feminine and yeusse for the plural in both genders. The following examples are used to illustrate the use of these forms:

"C'est pluz asteure que j'avais appris d'yelle". [BDB, C2861]

"Les filles de l'oroi s'a'ont mis à l'entours de lui". [LGT, C2553]

"J'pense que z-en d'yeusse i lisient pis après ça i l'contient". [CSG, C2380]

"J'avais té m'coucher avec yeusse, avec les ptits". [CSG, C2380]

A further form of this pronoun without initial glide eusse, has been recorded in the Black Duck Brook area by Ruth King:

"Y a des fois i portiont leu manger avec eusse". [BDB, C2861]

As in standard French the disjunctive pronouns are sometimes used as subject pronouns or stressed pronouns:

"ça fa anyway, lui travaillait pis asteure yelle soignait /swɛnɛ/ ça hein". [CSG, C2337]

Relative Pronouns

The relative pronoun usually has the form que which is often contracted to qu'. The form que generally replaces the other relative pronoun forms used in standard French such as qui, lequel, auquel, dequel and dont, etc. This usage is illustrated in the examples below:

"Le ptit-là qu'est dans les bras de la femme...". [CSG, C2296]

"Alle a un garçon là-bas qu'a soixante-dix ans". [CSG, C2296]

"çte vieux que j' te disa là". [CSG, C2296]

Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns differ in form and pronunciation from the standard. The standard for English, "this one" and "that one" are "celle-ci" in the feminine and "celui-ci", or, depending on the proximity when referring to persons and objects not immediately present, "celle-là" and masculine "celui-là". In Newfoundland French, the following complex forms replace the preceding. For close proximity, "cette-là-ici" and "çu-là-ici". For the less immediate, "cette-là-là" and "çu-là-là". In other positions, when the indication of nearness or

distance is required celle-ci and celle-là are expressed cette-là and çu-là.

"Pis l'darnier, çu-là qui manquait, ç'tait Morgain". [CSG, C2337]

"Ej l'ai conté çu-là don j'crois". [LGT, C2553]

"J'ai chanté cette-là aussi". [CSG, C2302]

For the plural forms of the standard ceux-ci and ceux-là Newfoundland French renders: ceuses-là-ici and ceuses-là-là, English 'these' and 'those' ones. If unstressed, the forms are ceuses-ici and ceuses-là.

Although the standard forms are rare, some are attested:

"Non, pas celle-là, y a un aute". [CSG, C2296]

"Oui toute ceux-là qui gardiont des vaches...". [BDB, C2861]

Adjectives

The discussion of adjectives and their use in the French speech of the Port-au-Port presents the content adjectives below. Here, the particles which are similar to the pronouns described in the previous pages will be discussed, beginning with the possessive adjective.

In the section on personal pronouns above, the forms of these pronouns were described, je, tu, i and a, etc. The possessive adjective forms have a similar pattern. The forms of the first person singular are mon, ma, mes, second person singular ton, ta, tes, third person singular

son, sa, ses, note and vote for first and second persons plural, and leu, third person plural. The form of the third person plural is illustrated in the example below:

"Portant, leu père et leu mère parlont comme nous-autes". [LGT, C2424]

"Il alliont à leu crèche yeusse-meme". [CSG, C2296]

The standard form leur has been attested in the Black Duck Brook area by Ruth King:

"Il appreniont avec leur mère". [BDB, C2861]

Because of analogy with forms which have liaison such as mes amis and tes enfants, the third person plural form exhibits an alternation from leur, leuz.

"I veniont avec leuz arois, vois-tu?" [CSG, C2296]

The plural forms nos, vos, and leurs, which sometimes occur, are often replaced by their singular counterparts. For example, it is not uncommon to hear notes enfants and votes livres for nos enfants and vos livres. An example of the third person plural follows:

"'Faut qu' i paque les bagages', i dit, 'pis s'en aller'". [LGT, C2553]

Demonstrative Adjectives

The demonstrative adjective forms ce, cet, cette, and ces in Newfoundland French frequently have reinforcing particles added to the noun: là for 'there' and ici for 'not far off'. For example, ce garçon and ce garçon-là,

'that boy' and 'that boy (there)' have the forms ç' garçon-lâ, çte garçon-lâ and çte garçon-lâ-lâ with the forms ç' garçon-ici-lâ and çte garçon-ici-lâ for closer proximity, 'this boy (here)'.

The masculine singular form has two variant forms in local French speech: /s/ and çte /stɛ/. The form ç occurs in front of singular nouns beginning with a consonant. The form çte occurs in free variation in front of nouns beginning with a consonant or a vowel.

"ç'ptit-lâ dans les bras de çte femme-lâ,
il a marié çte fille-lâ". [CSG, C2996]

There are two plural forms, ces and çte which seem to be used with both the masculine and feminine genders.

"Ces hommes-lâ travaillont hein". [CSG, C2296]

"Oh, ces temps-lâ i contiont qu'i avait
des lutins". [CSG, C2296]

"Ben, il a'ont toutes vnu su l'île Rouge,
çté gârs-lâ". [Appendix]

Where in standard French it is normal to use a pronoun with an adjective to avoid the repetition of the noun, Newfoundland French has a special stress form different from the standard: "C'est leu argent à yeusse". [CSG, C2296] or leu argent with appropriate intonation.

Content Adjectives

While in standard French descriptive adjectives often have contrasting forms for the masculine and the feminine,

in the speech of today's francophones on the Peninsula, especially those younger speakers who do not speak the language too much, the adjective inflection has been simplified with the base form modifying both genders. It is not unusual, for example, to hear such phrases as la maison blanc instead of la maison blanche. An example of this feature is found in Text B in the Appendix in which we find the masculine form with a feminine noun -- chauds instead of chaudes:

"La mais ç'tait meilleur de mette les eaux chauds parce que ça rastait dâs la laine". [BDB, C2866]

The following example has been recorded at La Grand'Terre:

"I pousse la porte ouvert". [LGT, C2553]

Other adjectives such as 'dry', with masculine form sec and feminine counterpart sèche, have the masculine form dominant with the feminine form unattested: Ta robe est sec for Ta robe est sèche.

Verbs

As in other illiterate societies, the verbs used by the French population on the Port-au-Port Peninsula have been considerably simplified. Many of the forms have been contracted and irregularities have been eroded by analogy with regular conjugations. Furthermore, some of the inflections such as the present conditional and the future locally have phonetic forms which are very similar. Also,

some of the standard tenses such as the simple past and past conditional have not appeared in the recordings and transcriptions of the corpus of this study. Although a few cases of the subjunctive and the imperative of irregular verbs have been recorded, they are rare and exhibit forms which differ from the standard forms. However, the number and variety of verbs used in the local speech do represent all the verb groups of the standard language, as can be seen in the descriptions presented here.

The examples used to illustrate the various verb conjugations of Newfoundland French are taken from part of the collection made in the last fifteen years. The identification refers to the area in which the item was collected, and the accession number in MUNFLA. The spellings selected here are used for convenience so as to relate them to standard French. However, it should be noted that, since Newfoundland French does not make use in the verbal system of any liaison phenomena leading to the pronunciation of final written consonants, all the singular inflections are phonetically identical, and in the plural the first and third persons are phonetically the same.

The verb classes in Newfoundland are analyzed according to the verb infinitive and the past participle. The regular -er verb group includes the largest number of verbs and, consequently, their inflection has influenced verbs traditionally in other groups through the analogy of the -er pattern.

In the assembled evidence there are inflectional forms in the indicative for the present tense, the imperfect tense, and the future and conditional tenses. The basic inflectional suffixes are:

Singular		Plural
1st person	-- ∅	1st person -- ons
2nd person	-- ∅	2nd person -- ez
3rd person	-- ∅	3rd person -- ont

The conjugation of simple verbs such as marcher 'to walk', have past participles based on the verb stem -- marché. Verbs which are included in the regular -er pattern are: parler, 'to speak', penser, 'to think', regarder, 'to look', demander, 'to ask', grommer, 'to grumble', peleyer, 'to shovel', peinturer, 'to paint', manger, 'to eat', chanter, 'to sing', laver, 'to wash', etc. All the verbs of this paradigm are conjugated in the manner of the following pattern: je marche, tu marches, i marche and a marche, j'marchons, vous marchez, and i marchont. The following examples are presented to illustrate this conjugation:

"J'pense que z-en d'yeusse, i lisient
pis après ça i l'contiont". [CSG, C2380]

"Et gardez, j'ai in garçon moi, i lève
ses enfants et c'est toute français". [LGT C2424]

In the imperfect the inflections are -ais, -ais and -ait, generally identical in pronunciation, and in the plural forms an -i- appears before the plural inflections

noted for the present forms above: -ions, -iez and -iont.

"ça dépendait d'l'hiver, ça po planter". [BDB C2861]

"Y a des fois i portiont leu manger avec eusses". [BDB, C2861]

"I parliont de ça ce qui arrivait avant". [CSG, C2296]

The future and the present conditional forms are generally indistinguishable, and therefore, the difference between the two paradigms can only be perceived through the context of the utterance. In the conjugation of these an -r appears before the inflectional endings. The singular has -ras, -ras and -ra. The plural forms employ the same system as the present with -rons, -rez and -ront.

"'Quand que tu vas vnir en Spain', i dit, 'c'est assez loin', i dit, 'tu marcheras sus ta peau'". [CSG, C2380]

"'Si tu t'en iras chez nous', i dit, 'avec moi d'ssus...'" [LGT, C2552]

A second group of verbs has an infinitive in -ir and past participle -i: finir, 'to finish', punir, 'to punish', pourir, 'to putrefy' bénir, 'to bless', and mourir, 'to die', fournir, 'to furnish', and servir, 'to serve', etc. The inflections of these verbs are illustrated below: je finis, tu finis, i finit and a finit, je finissons, vous finissez, and i finissent. The verbs of this paradigm which are irregular such as mourir are conjugated in the style of the preceding: je mours, tu mours, i mourt and a mourt, je mourissons, vous mourissez and

i mourissent. The following examples have been recorded:

"Quand tchequ'in mourissait i les enterait,
lui". [LGT, C2424]

"L'homme a mouri pis ça rastait yelle pis
son ptit garçon". [LGT, C2553]

Further verbs which fit into this category of past participle -i are ouvrir, 'to open', couvrir, 'to cover', and courir, 'to run', which in standard French have past participle forms ouvert, couvert and couru respectively. An example of the form used in Port-au-Port French follows:

"J'ai couri au chemin". [CSG, C2337]

Other verbs of the -ir conjugation which have past participles ending in -u are: venir and tenir for example with past participle forms venu and tenu. These are conjugated as follows in Newfoundland French: je viens, tu viens, i vient and a vient, je venons, vous venez and i venont. The verb venir also belongs in the -re verb category discussed further in this section. The following examples have been recorded:

"Les originaux se tnont su l'frant et i
draivont les caribous plusse su les
darières". [CSG, C2302]

"Bien, ça tenait jusse deux barils". [BDB, C3379]

Apart from the -ir verbs there are verbs with the -ire ending such as lire 'to read', dire 'to tell', or 'to say', écrire 'to write', s'assire 'to sit', and suire 'to follow', the latter being a local form of the verb suivre. The conjugation of this group of verbs follows the

pattern of the most commonly used verbs, lire and dire:

j'dis, tu dis, i dit and a dit, j'disons, vous disez, and i disont, with past participle dis:

"Il écrivait pas mais il a appris à lire". [CSG, C2337]

"Tu vas suivre l'amârre à mesure que tu vas monter". [LGT, C2553]

"C'est pareil comme ça m'suisait dans la grange". [LGT, C2383]

"ça fait qu'lâ anyway i s'assit au ras l'lac". [CSG, C2380]

Another verb in the -re paradigm is the verb mettre 'to put'. The conjugation of this verb is based on the past participle 'mis': ej mis, tu mis, i mit and a mit, ej misons, vous misez and i misont. Mettre is also attested with standard French inflections, and mettont appears in the imperfect. Examples of the imperfect follow:

"I s'mettont paré pou aouère eune game de boule". [CSG, C2380]

"ç'temps-lâ, ç'tin deshonneur si les filles misionent des tchulottes". [BDB, C2866]

Another group of verbs which is prevalent in the French dialect of the Port-au-Port includes verbs with -re conjugation which have past participles ending in -u. Some of the verbs in this category include vendre, 'to sell', tendre, 'to set', pendre, 'to hang up', coudre, 'to sew', craindre, 'to fear' and tcheindre, 'to hold', etc. These verbs are conjugated following the normal pattern of regular verbs: j'vends, tu vends, i vend and a vend,

j'vendons, vous vendez, and i vendont. Therefore, the verb coudre is conjugated: je couds, tu couds, i coud and a coud, j'coudons, vous coudez, and i coudont. Craindre and tcheindre have similar conjugations: je tcheins, tu tcheins, i tcheint and a tcheint, je tcheindons, vous tcheindez, and i tcheindont. An illustrative sentence drawn from the author's personal knowledge of the language follows: "Ej tcheindons la porte barrée la nuit". An example of the verb coudre has been recorded in the Black Duck Brook area by Ruth King: "A coudait, yelle". [C2866]

Another -re class includes verbs such as mettre, 'to put', apprendre, 'to learn', prendre, 'to take', surprendre, 'to surprise', etc., which have past participles ending in i. The conjugations of these verbs are like this: j'prends, tu prends, i prend and a prend, j'prendons, vous prenez, and i prendont with the standard forms prenons, prenez, and the third person local form prennont also attested. Examples of the third persons singular and plural are provided:

"I prenait si longtemps à dire sa parole".
[LGT, C2424]

"Fa qu'i l'prennont pis i l'foutont en prison". [CSG, C2380]

There are also verbs with the -oir conjugation in Port-au-Port French, and these have past participle ending in u, such as voir with past participle vu. Other verbs of this paradigm include: pouvoir, vouloir, savoir,

falloir. These verbs are generally conjugated as follows:
je veux, tu veux, i veut and a veut, j'voulons, vous
voulez, i veulent, with past participle voulu. The examples
 below are employed to illustrate the forms of these verbs:

"J'aras bien voulu aouère', i dit,
 enne job'". [LGT, C2553]

"...quand qu'i veulent entrer". [CSG, C2296]

"'Ej porras mette mes hardes dessus encore
 /a koR/'". [BDB, C3379]

"I dit à l'oroi, 'Ej voudras bien aouère
 enne job'". [LGT, C2424]

The verb falloir is different because it is an im-
 personal verb and therefore has only one person. Some of
 the forms of this verb have not been attested in the re-
 corded corpus. The forms used in Port-au-Port French are
i faut in the indicative, i faudra in the future and the
 conditional and i foulait in the past tenses with past
 participle fallu rare in the speech of younger speakers.
 The following forms have been recorded:

"C'est dans les mésons qu'foulait qu'il
 allait aouère la commignon /kaminjɔ̃/'. [LGT, C2424]

"'C'est toi qui va faulouère que tu t'en
 alle'". [CSG, C2380]

The irregular verbs faire, 'to do or make', and
taire (Fr. être) 'to be', have past participles fait /fe/
 and té. Faire has the following forms in its conjugation:
je fais, tu fais, i fait and a fait, je faisons, vous
faisez, i font. Two examples of the imperfect inflection
 are presented:

"'Quoi-ce que c'est que vous faisiez
ici?" [CSG, C2380]

"Dans l'hiver, i faisaient des bûcheries".
[CSG, C2296]

Although some of the standard forms of the future and conditional are used, especially by older adults, an alternate form based on regularized conjugation occurs. An example of the use of the conditional form:

"'Si par cas', a dit, 'tu viens en Spain',
a dit, 'ta barbe faisra ton suit'". [CSG, C2380]

The verb taire is conjugated like the verb être,
'to be': je sus, tu es, il est and alle est, je sons,
vous êtes and i sont. The examples below illustrate the
usage:

"I sont supposés d'taire chéinés aussi".
[CSG, C2302]

"'Quand l'eau va câsser la troisième fois',
a dit, 'la bête va taire ici". [LGT, C2553]

The preceding verb is also attested with the
infinitive forms ête and yête. An example of the in-
flectional yête follows:

"'La troisième journée que tu vas yête chez
nous', a dit, 'mon père', a dit, 'va te
demander trois questions'". [CSG, C2380]

A number of the inflected forms are illustrated in these
sentences:

"Ej tions fiers, ej tions jènes". [BDB, C3379]

"Alle tait pas bâtie comme les autes
moutons". [BDB, C3379]

"'Mais', a dit, 'il allont pas trouver mon

père asteure', a dit, à ioù-ce que nous sons', a dit". [LGT, C2553]

"Dans l'printemps, i tiont à la méson". [BDB, C2861]

The past participle is té:

"Il a té back chez yeusse". [CSG, C2380]

This verb also has future and conditional inflections in Port-au-Port French: je sras, tu sras, i sra and a sra, je srons, vous srez and i sront. An example follows:

"Bien moi, j'sras assez fière, les gârs". [CSG, C2337]

A form of the subjunctive has been recorded by King in the Black Duck Brook area:

"ça soye la lune qui vient ou qu'a s'en va, c'est la même affaire". [BDB, C2861]

Another of the most frequently used verbs in Port-au-Port French is the irregular verb avoir, /awɛr/ with past participle yu, standard French eu. This verb has the following inflectional forms in its conjugation: j'ai and j'as, tu as and t'as, il a and alle a, j'avons, vous avez, and il avont. Interestingly, phoneme /v/ is often omitted in the enunciation of the third person plural form and in the infinitive form. Examples are quoted to illustrate:

"les chouals a'ont disparu d'avant nous-autes". [LGT, C2383]

"Y avait près comme trois ou quate mésons, su La Grand'Terre". [Appendix A]

"pis il aviont eune bouchure âtrâs
les [entre] deux". [BDB, C3379]

This verb also has future and conditional forms in the local dialect which are generally identical: j'aras, t'aras, il ara and alle ara, j'arons, vous arez, and il aront.

"'Tu crois de l'aouère mais', i dit, 'tu l'aras pas'". [CSG, C2380]

"J'y avais dit qu'ej l'aras prété le tape-recorder". [CSG, C2296]

Although the subjunctive forms are rare in Port-au-Port French, avoir has the form alle used by the elder speakers.

"'C'est toi qui va foulouère qu' tu t'en alle'". [CSG, C2380]

However, a form which is closer to the standard has also been attested:

"I sont enchénés parce qu'il faut qu'il ayont un licenne [licence], un parmis". [CSG, C2302]

Finally, the irregular verb aller used in Newfoundland French has the following inflectional forms: j'vas, tu vas, i va and a va, j'allons, vous allez, vont and il allont. The first person plural also has an alternate form, j'vons. The following are examples of the aller conjugation forms (see p. 69 for past participle forms):

"Y en a deux [brebis] qui vont bien vite avener". [CSG, C2296]

"A dit, 'J'allons pas trouver mon père asteure a ioû ce que nous sons', a dit -- I dit, 'J'vons les trouver!" [LGT, C2553]

"Quand qu'i venient il alliont dans les écoles". [LGT, C2553]

"Oh j'allions dans l'bois". [CSG, C2296]

As in the verbs studied above, the future and conditional forms are generally indistinguishable: j'iras demain and si j'iras demain are pronounced exactly the same. The following examples have been recorded:

"Si tu t'en iras chez nous", i dit, 'avec moi d'sus...' [LGT, C2424]

"'Si vous iras', a dit, 'vous, à la côte', a dit, 'pis', a dit, 'vous trouverez des têtes...'". [LGT, C2553]

The imperative inflections also appear in the corpus: dis-le, viens avec moi, prends le patchet, assisez-vous, etc, as in the standard. However, the irregular verb imperative forms which exist do vary from standard forms: French soit has the form seille for some speakers, and others have the form saille as in saille pas si sotté [saʃ]. There is also an imperative form for the verb avoir which is used in the dialect: aille /aʃ/ as in aille pas peur. An example of the imperative form of the verb faire is presented:

"'Par les paroles de l'âroi', i dit, 'fais que ça marche'". [CSG, C2380]

Apart from the finite forms discussed above, there are non-finite forms. These include the present participle which, for the regular verbs, is accompanied by preposition en. However, such forms are rare in the speech of younger

speakers and variant forms of expression are used. The following examples have been recorded:

"'Ej pourras dècaréter ça en oyant [voyant] qu'ej as pas grand'chose à faire le jour'".
[CSG, C2380]

"En disant la parole, le fagot d'bois pârt avec lui dessus". [LGT, C2424]

To form the past tenses, the auxiliary verbs être and avoir are used with the past participle of the verb in the sentence or phrase. Certain verbs require in standard French the être auxiliary while others require the auxiliary avoir. In Newfoundland French of the Port-au-Port, however, the auxiliary, avoir is dominant and generally replaces the other. The following examples are used to illustrate:

"Ej vous as toute conté ça qu'ej savais, vois-tu hein". [CSG, C2337]

"Il a don arrivé in tout ptit lac". [CSG, C2380]

Inflections of the pluperfect and past conditional which have been attested are the following:

"'J'arais voulu', i dit, 'aouère un grand orpas', a dit, 'pis un grand spree /spri/'".
[LGT, C2553]

"J'y avais dit qu'ej l'aras prété le tape recorder". [CSG, C2296]

An important development in phrasal verbs in Port-au-Port French speech is a double system of auxiliaries used with certain past participles, most frequently noted with verbs of motion such as: venir, mourir, partir, and

arriver, for example. Apparently, verbal aspect has developed in the local verb system with the inflection using the auxiliary avoir indicating that the action is removed in time from the speaker, and the être indicating the immediate present, very close to the speaker. The following examples will help clarify this description:

"Il a don arrivé untout ptit lac". [CSG, C2380]

The alternate form J'sus arriveé rather signifies 'I am here', 'I have arrived'.

Like the verbs of motion described above, the past participle of aller, with the form été, takes the auxiliary avoir. As a consequence, other means of expressing the past tenses have to be found. For ils allaient tuer, for example, local French speech employs i tiont pour les tuer. The following citations are provided to illustrate:

"I tiont por tuer Roquelore ac des roches".
[LGT, C2553]

"I ta pou m'faire un tape là avec des chansons françaises". [CSG, C2996]

The past form il n'est pas allé is expressed as follows:

"Mais il a pas té si loin /lwɛ/ que Jack avait été". [BDB, C3379]

The indicative inflections of the verb aller are used as auxiliaries to compose the immediate future tense of verbs. However, these forms are more frequently used than the regular future forms in the dialect and have become dominant. The following examples illustrate this usage:

"'Quand l'eau va câsser la troisième fois',
a dit, 'bien la bête va taire là'". [LGT, C2553]

"Tu vas descende dans la cêve pis en d'dans
là tu vas trouver un sâbe'".

"Quand qu' c'est', i dit, 'que tu vas aouère
fini d'manger là', i dit, 'tu vas suivre le
ptit russeau', i dit". [CSG, C2380]

"M'en vas aller ouère si l'ornard m'a
conté la varité'". [CSG, C2380]

Reflexive verbs such as s'assire, se laver, se mettre, se tromper and se faire, etc., which is standard French, use the auxiliary être, have the auxiliary avoir in the French speech of the Port-au-Port. The following examples have been chosen to illustrate:

"A s'a viré en jibier et pis là a s'en a
été". [CSG, C2380]

"Pis là i s'prend à s'batte avec la bête".
[LGT, C2553]

"Bien lui, i s'avait jamais battu avec eune
femme pis tandis qu'i pensait là comment il
ara yu fait là alle a tout en grand pris".
[CSG, C2380]

"A s'a mis au pied de l'âbe". [CSG, C2380]

"ça fait qu'là anyway, i s'assit au ras
l'lac". [CSG, C2380]

"Le garçon s'a perdu su la montagne lui,
hein". [LGT, C2424]

Selected Aspects of Syntax

The above cited examples in this chapter have exemplified many interesting features of local French speech. Unfortunately, to discuss these in an in-depth manner is beyond the boundaries of the present work and therefore only a number of the most conspicuous points will be discussed here, beginning with adverbs.

The adverbs in local French speech are of two kinds: those modifying the verb and those modifying adjectives. Some of the most commonly used adverbs include souvent 'often', bien 'well', assez 'enough', and encore 'again'. These, which normally appear before verbs in standard French constructions, take a different position in the French of the Port-au-Port. The following illustrative example is in the tape-recordings for this study:

"Portant alle a filé assez". [Appendix B]

In other examples this adverb appears after the adjective, which is uncommon in standard speech:

"T'es vieux assez asteure pou gagner ta vie".
[LFT, C2553]

"Pas conté souvent assez hein". [LGT, C2424]

Some of the adverbs, especially those ending in -ment, are generally abbreviated to the base form. An example follows:

"...dans sa chése pis i s'borçait si aimabe".
[LGT, C2553]

The prepositions à 'to' or 'at' and de 'of' or 'from' are used with the interrogative pronoun forms to construct other interrogative forms, such as de quelle couleur 'what color?' and à quelle heure? 'what time?' In Port-au-Port French, due to the brief forms of the contact English language, the prepositions are omitted in many instances. When referring to time in a statement, the preposition à is frequently omitted.

"Tchuisa in gros scoff de viande et pis sept, huit heures du souère faisons enne danse". [CSG, C2296]

It is also omitted in other contexts:

"Il a don arrivé un tout ptit lac". [CSG, C2380]

Another interesting point concerning prepositions is the replacement of the preposition de by à. Therefore la maison de mon frère 'my brother's house' is expressed la maison à mon frère.

Although the preposition en is used in such contexts as en France for example, this preposition is frequently replaced by the prepositional form dans. An example follows:

"Oh dans l'automne avant l'hiver vnait". [LGT, C2424]

"L'Assomption /asãpsjõ/, ç'tait dans mai, quarante jours après Pâques". [LGT, C2424]

As is illustrated in the example below the comparative form que is used with plus instead of normal de, as in plus d'un an.

"Moi, j'peux faire plus /plys/ qu'un bas dans 'n journée". [BDB, C2866]

"Ya trente ans d'ça, plusse que trente ans". [BDB, C2866]

A further syntactic point is that often the definite article does not contract with an accompanying preposition. An example is presented to illustrate:

"J'avons yu des scattered prétes là [in Lourdes] tu sais avec les autes pou donner la main à les autes". [LGT, C2424]

Agreement in Newfoundland French presents a number of distinctive usages. With forms requiring the auxiliary être to form the past tenses, the past participles in standard French normally agrees with the subject. This agreement is rare in local French speech, for one reason because so few verbs appear with être. One of these is s'assire (s'asseoir).

Instead of alle est assise, the French of the Port-au-Port has alle est assis. However, standard forms can still be heard in the speech of the elder members of the communities. The following example was recorded by Professor Thomas at Cape St. George:

"Ç medecine /mɛdsɪn/ -la alle est faite avec ça mais y'n tappée d'autes choses dedans". [CSG, C2302]

The auxiliary form avoir consistently replaces the être auxiliary required in the standard French language. An example is:

"A s'a viré en jubier pis là a s'en a été". [CSG, C2380]

Verbs often have singular forms after plural subjects. For instance with the verb avoir it is common to hear "A y donne chaque eune claque et les têtes a sauté" [LGT, C2553] instead of les têtes ont sauté. And:

"Y en a deux [brebis] qui va bien vite avener".
[CSG, C2296]

Similarly, when the disjunctive pronoun forms occur as subjects and are followed by relative pronoun qui, the singular auxiliary form a is used with all the persons to form the past tense; c'est vous qui a dit ça and c'est yeusse qu' a dit ça, for example, are quite prevalent.

Furthermore, agreement between the past participle and the direct object is usually lacking in local French speech. For example, only the masculine past participle form is used whether the object is masculine or feminine: Je l'ai pris for feminine form je l'ai prise.

The collective noun tout le monde uses the plural form of the third person instead of the singular form.

The following example demonstrates this usage:

"Quasiment tout l'monde pouviont coude un [æ] peu t'sais". [BDB, C2866]

Because the language is a purely oral one, the negative structure ne + verb form + pas is rare in the speech; instead, only the form following the verb is present; La femme est pas grande. Although such negation is also found in standard French speech, it is restricted to everyday speech and rarely occurs in writing or formal

speech. A Port-au-Port example is:

"J'sais pas comment ça s'appelle ça, p'arien d'dans j'crois pas". [CSG, C2296]

In the French of the Port-au-Port simple interrogative forms do not ordinarily appear. Instead, compounds occur in forms: tchi-ce qui for qui and quoi-ce que for que and quel:

"J'sais pas tchi-ce qu'a mangé ac Peter". [LGT, C2424]

"A dit, 'Jean, j'ai yu un aute visitor'. --- I dit, 'Tchi-ce qu'il est?'" [CSG, C2337]

"Ah, j'me rappelle pas tchi-ce qui m'a conté ça". [CSG, C2337]

"Quoi-ce que tu fais là toi?" [BDB, C3779]

"I dit, 'Quoi-ce que c'est', i dit, 'vous faisiez ici', i dit, 'vous-autes?'" [CSG, C2380]

"'Quoi-ce qu'est la cause que tu tcheins pas d'viande?'" [CSG, C2337]

The interrogative form 'when' (in the standard quand est-ce que) is expressed by quand c'est as illustrated below:

"Quand c'est qu'vous partez?" [CSG, C2296]

The interrogative form est-ce que is not used in Port-au-Port French. The interrogative is expressed by placing an i (i.e. il) after the verb with liaison form -t- of the standard phrase est-il. For example i demande -t-i (*demande-t-il). An example of this usage is presented below:

"'Vous avez-t-i èté à vote shed, 'i dit',
'danpis qu'j'sus ici?'" [CSG, C2380]

The particle -t-i (discussed above in interrogative structures) is also used after auxiliaries in other contexts to express emphasis:

"'Ben mon garçon', a dit, 'ça m'a -t-i don fait du bien'". [LGT, C2553]

The particle où is also embedded in interrogative compounds with several phonetic forms: ioù, ailloù and a ioù, all meaning 'where'. The following examples illustrate some of these forms:

"Il a demandé ioù-ce que tait Morgan". [CSG, C2380]

"Aillou-ce que tu vas toi?" [CSG, C2296]

"'Mais', a dit, 'j'allons pas trouver mon père asteure', a dit, 'à ioù-ce que nous sons'".
[LGT, C2553]

The conjunction quand has alternate forms quand que c'est and quante que appearing in the corpus. The following is an example extracted from a folktale:

"Quâ qu'alle a vu que sa tête tait proche assez du trou...". [LGT, C2553]

"Quand qu'i venient il alliont dans l'ècole".
[LGT, C2424]

"Quand qu'c'est que le giant a pâssé ac Gordon Berrio', i dit, 'i nous enchéné ici'".
[CSG, C2380]

"Qui, mais dame quante j'en avions ben là ej mettions toutes en bouteilles". [BDB, C2861]

"I pâssont leur journée à l'ècole et quante qu'i venont ben..." [BDB, C2861]

The conjunction que is sometimes absent in sentences where it is normal in standard. An example follows:

"I dit, 'Quoi-ce que c'est', i dit, 'vous faisiez ici', i dit, 'vous-autes?'" [CSG, C2380]

"Parce vous savez y en avait tout l'temps de resse d'un année à l'aute". [BDB, C2861]

Regular liaison forms such as with words ending in a consonant followed by words with initial vowel are often absent in Port-au-Port French. For example, C'est une grande table /sɛtyn grɑ̃d tabl^ə/ is pronounced /seɛn grɑ̃d tab/ in Newfoundland.

This chapter has presented the salient points of the parts of speech of the local French dialect; nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbal forms, adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions have been discussed, as well as aspects of the morphology and syntax, with few exceptions, the various aspects have been illustrated with cited examples.

CHAPTER III

The Vocabulary

The lexical items described in this survey of Port-au-Port French are terms which are currently used in local speech. They vary in form or meaning from their counterparts in modern standard French. They are terms which came to my attention at the beginning of my study of the standard form in 1972. Other terms included here were brought to my attention through the reading of lexical studies of various francophone areas in North America.

Although it would be difficult to trace the anomalous forms to their origins in Europe because the dialects of France have their own histories, many can be related to North American French minority languages of Québec, Saint-Pierre-Miquelon, and Maritime and Louisiana Acadian. Studies of these varieties are important because they often indicate areas in France from which the French Newfoundlanders are known to have come.

The vocabulary in Port-au-Port French reflects the historical era of the settlement of the French in Newfoundland before and during the period of the French Shore. Like other North American minorities who have maintained their native tongue, French Newfoundlanders have retained many archaisms and other words which are obsolete in standard French. Geneviève Massignon's study of the lexicon of

Acadian French identifies three hundred archaisms (732). The majority of these, in fact, are found in other North American French dialects, with regional variation. The Newfoundland French dialect is among these. Awareness of these differences has discouraged French Newfoundlanders from using their native tongue with speakers of the standard language.

Another conspicuous feature of the vocabulary is the use of technical terms which differ from the standard application. These terms relate to the fishery and subsistence farming. An example is chavirer 'to capsize', used in everyday speech with the meaning 'to spill'. Such senses have probably developed due to the lack of contact with other less isolated French-speaking populations, and consequently independent semantic equivalents have arisen.

One way of catering to this need for special senses in Port-au-Port French is extending the application of a French word to a new notion. For example, a 'tyre', pneu, is la roue in local speech. Att  rir, of an airplane 'to land', in the French of the Port-au-Port is poser, the word normally used for a 'bird's alighting'.

In other instances, adapting an old French word is not adequate because it has been retained with its original sense and is used to specifically refer to the object used in the past. For example, the term la voiture is known by the speakers, but as the concept has changed, the only

alternative is to borrow the market name--in this case an anglicism, 'le car'. La voiture was used in the past to indicate 'a horse-drawn carriage'.

Another problem which is present in an illiterate society is synonymy, which usually causes a change of form or the addition of an alternate term with a specific sense. In Port-au-Port French, for example, the word for the noun 'work' is l'ouvrage instead of le travail, however with travailler used as the verb form.

In other instances, words which have exactly the same form as in standard French have a different meaning in the French of the Port-au-Port. The word le drapeau 'a flag' is used with the sense of a 'diaper' for a baby. Another example is fier 'proud', which in Port-au-Port French has the meaning of 'happy, pleased', as is illustrated in the following example:

"Bien là i tiont fiers asteure parce qu'ej
savions que note père ara té content".
[BDB, C3379]

Another aspect to note is the prevalence of specialized genres which have employed standard forms such as la hune, le village, le fils and caresser, etc. The preceding are used exclusively in the folklore: the telling of tales, the singing of songs and child-lore. The following examples have been extracted from folktales recorded in Mainland and Cape St. George:

"I a rivé un grand village, y avait des
grosses bâtisses". [CSG, C2380]

"pis là, a l'carassait, i tait si ptit, a l'carassait pis tout en grand". [LGT, C2553]

"'Mon fils', a dit, 'c'est up à toi'".
[LGT, C2553]

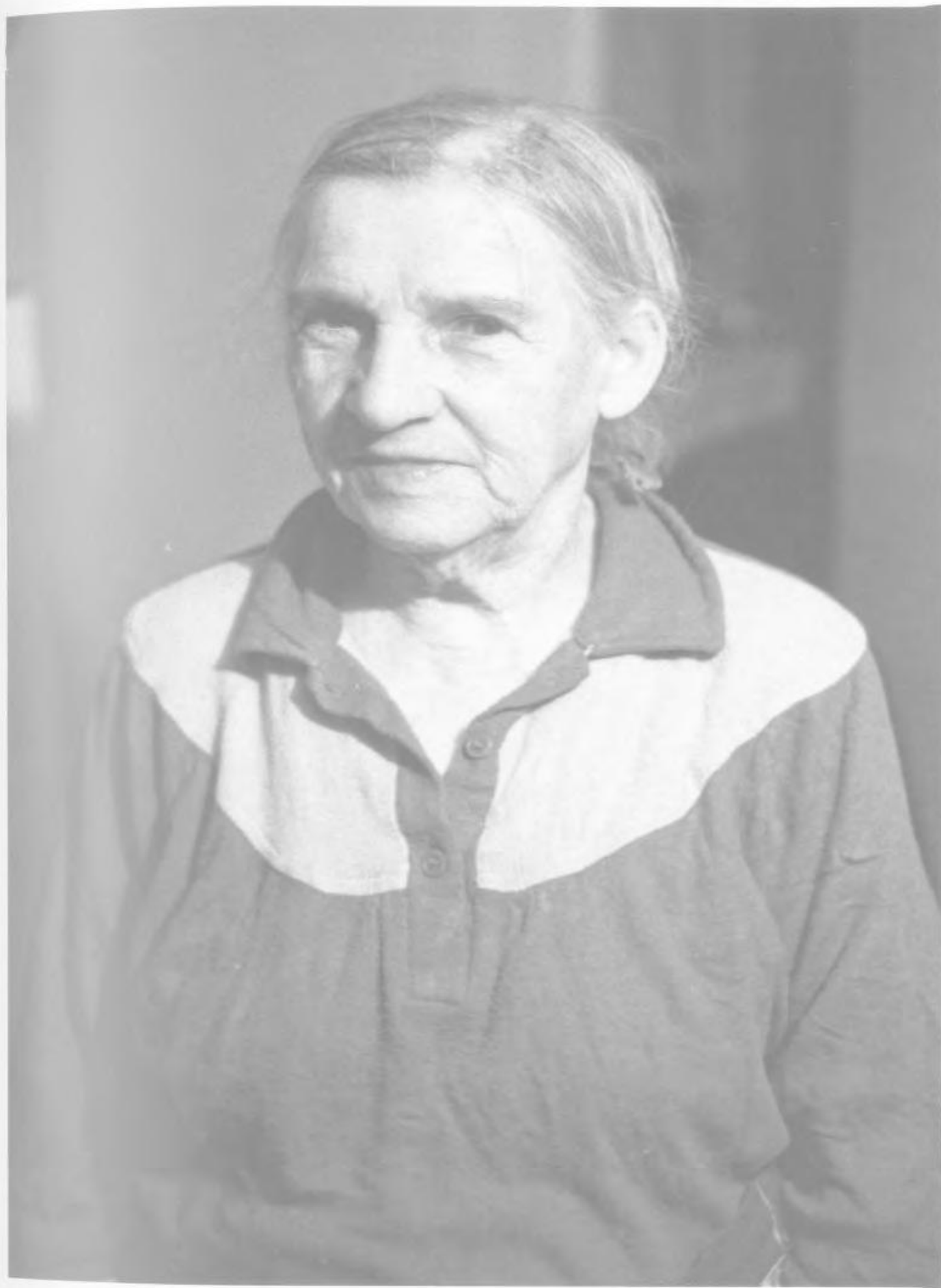
Although the process is barely perceptible, standard forms have infiltrated the local French speech of the Peninsula, especially since the early 1970s following the introduction of the bilingual and bicultural policies of the Federal Government. As we noted in the first chapter of this study, francophone associations have been organized and French television made available in some parts of the Peninsula. An annual folk festival begun at Cape St. George has permitted the local French population to have contact with French-speakers from other areas of French Canada. A number of researchers and students, especially from Memorial University of Newfoundland, have come to the area and spent many hours interviewing and recording conversations in the communities. This exposure may have encouraged the entry of standard words such as maintenant, attested in recent years as an alternate form for the locally used asteure.

The Breton language, which was once a live language among some French speakers of the Peninsula, is no longer spoken. Although the influence of the Breton dialects on the local French speech of the Port-au-Port has not been given systematic study, this influence may have been greater than it appears. For example, the form yah /ja/ meaning 'yes' in Breton is widely used in the Peninsula speech and

it would be very difficult to determine whether this form occurs because of contact with the English language or whether it is a survival from Breton speakers. According to oral sources, in earlier years the Breton language was used to discuss topics that speakers did not wish other people to understand. Two summers ago I was able to record a number of Breton words from an elderly resident of La Grand'Terre, Madame Marie-Joseph Dubé. These words and their meanings in French were recalled quite naturally. They include: nic e guer /nik e gwer/ 'just kidding, it's a joke'; kig /kik/ 'meat'; bara /bara/ 'bread'; and ya /ja/ 'yes'. With the exception of the first word in this list, all of these with the same meaning are found in the Breton dictionaries (see Hémon vocabulary).

The contact of various French speakers with the Scots Gaelic in the Codroy Valley area during the years when France had a fishing station on Codroy Island resulted in interchanges between the two ethnic groups, that is, Scots and French. Margaret Bennett Knight, who did research in the Codroy area of Newfoundland, published an article in 1972 in which she discussed the macaronic speech that is present in the folklore of the ethnically mixed Codroy Valley (Knight). However, to be able to estimate the number of Gaelic words in Newfoundland French speech, study of etymology is necessary. One example related to food and foodways is bannach meaning 'unleavened bread'. The French

Figure 5. Mme Marie-Josèphe Dubé



of Newfoundland do not normally use unleavened bread but use the term bannachs for loaves of their home-made white bread when they do not rise as they should.

Similarly, the contact of the Micmac Indians with the Acadian population of Bay St. George has led to Indianisms in the Acadian French there. A number of these were brought to the Peninsula with the migration of Acadians to the area. The degree of this influence remains difficult to assess until more intensive study of the local vocabulary is undertaken. Although there are descendants of Micmac ancestors, no information has been acquired from these valuable sources. Furthermore, many individuals do not wish to discuss possible Micmac forebears.

The available sources on the Micmac language such as the admirable work of Reverend Silas Rand, Rand's Micmac Dictionary, understandably do not have all the possible variant forms to make the identification of Indianisms an easy task. Furthermore, like all languages, the language of the Micmac has probably changed in certain ways since Rand made his collection in the nineteenth century. Moreover, the sound system of this native language is quite different from the English and French systems. Professor John Hewson of Memorial's Linguistics Department, who has done much research on the language of the Micmac, points out that there is a total of twenty-two distinctive vowels and consonants (ii). Another point to consider when trying to

identify Micmac loanwords is the alteration which may take place in borrowing. For example, the vowels may be misinterpreted, initial sounds may change phonetically, or, depending on the context of the transmission of the word, only some of the syllables may be retained. These points become evident in the discussion of examples of Indianisms in the French speech of the Port-au-Port.

The most frequent Indianisms are those which can be easily integrated into the syntax of the language. Therefore, most Indianisms found in Newfoundland French are generally related to the flora and fauna of the area. Some of the following are common in mainland Canada and are included in standard dictionaries as Canadianisms.

Everyone is aware of the noun moccasin in the English language because it was borrowed from Indian tongues and the footwear has become a popular commercial article. It is a form which is easily assimilated in the phonology of both English and French. It denotes a specialized referent for which English and French have no word in their vocabularies.

Another example is mariagouin /mariagwẽ/ 'mosquito', which is used in many French-speaking areas of North America with the form maringouin for European French moustique. The mosquitoes of North America are of a different species than those of France and therefore a new word has been adopted (Robert moustique). Another example of this type of Indianism is boucane for fumée.

Several of the Indianisms related to flora and fauna are as follows: machcoui to indicate the 'thin peel on the surface of birch bark', mecoke /mɪkɒk/ 'the local cranberry', moyac /mɔɪjæk/ 'sea duck' and les michequiches /mɪʃkwɪʃ/ 'sheep-ticks'. This last word is not found in Massignon's study but she does include a similar form mascouèche meaning the 'red lynx'. This latter form is not attested in the French speech of the Port-au-Port as well as the remainder of Indianisms found in Acadian by Massignon.

There are further words in Port-au-Port French which look like Indianisms but are not included in Rand's study. One is calavanjos or galavanjos. However, another entry in the Micmac dictionary offers some possibility of identification. The Micmac term mimskwojās appears in the vocabulary meaning 'conch, periwinkle, spiral shell' (100). This latter form may be related to the form calavanjos of the Peninsula to indicate the 'hard-shell clam'.

Another term which is suspected to be of Indian origin is the local word for the 'crow-berry', kakakton /kəkəktɔ̃/. A form with some similarity to the Newfoundland French form is found in Rand: kakakoojemenul meaning 'boxberries, crow-berries' (58).

Two other examples will conclude this section on Indianisms in the French Newfoundland dialect. The following words are both euphemistic forms for 'vagina'. One of these forms is la pook /pʊk/, used mainly by parents to

affectionately tease their little girls. Words in the Micmac dictionary in which this word may have its roots are pookootuleskēskētc 'black bird'; pookskek 'long grass'; and pookuntcowe 'long porcupine quill' (Rand, 112).

The second example is the form tchoune /tʃun/. Because of the tendency to palatalize velar /k/ in certain vowel environments, the original word seems likely to have had /k/ as initial. Some possible origins of this word may be found in Rand. One possible root may be kunaole 'to put in where it will be secure, safe; let him be appended' (82). The preceding examples demonstrate how difficult it can be to trace loans to their precise sources. This concludes the section on Indian borrowings in Port-au-Port French.

The Presentation of Selected Local Words

The words in the following collection are arranged arbitrarily in topical categories. The headword is in the Port-au-Port French form and is followed by a phonetic transcription complying with the IPA alphabet. Except for singular nouns, an indication of the part of speech follows the phonetic transcription. Then an equivalent form of the standard language is listed with a translation from standard English. It should be noted that a special effort has been made to avoid any use of Newfoundland English in these glosses because these may prevent a clear understanding of the sense. Next is the indication of comparable usages in

other reference works, following this scheme: (M-111) refers to the section in the Geneviève Massignon study where a parallel form is located. Others such as the Robert and the Harrap, (R-111) and (H-111), refer to page numbers in these dictionaries where articles are found (see Bibliography). Cited contexts of the words are included where this might be helpful.

The small lexical corpus is grouped under the following headings: The Land, The Sea, The Family, Human Affairs and Social Attitudes, and Other Terms.

The Land

le champ /ʃɑ̃/ le jardin, 'the yard, the garden'. In standard French this term refers to 'a wide open field such as a meadow'. In Port-au-Port French it is used to refer to a portion of land of any size which is, or has been in the past, marked and separated from adjacent fields by a fence of some sort. It is used consistently to indicate the lot of land upon which the house stands. This name is a logical one for the French people who settled on the Island, for they were the pioneers of the region (see R-283). An example is presented:

"I contont c'est chez nous dans l'champ-là".
[LGT, C2424]

le jardin /ʒardẽ/ le jardin, 'garden'. This term refers to a specific portion of a designated lot of land marked off

and used to grow potatoes, vegetables or flowers. For example, le jardin à fleurs, à choux, etc. An illustrative example is presented:

"'Passe', i dit, 'j'avons un grand jardin d'choux'".
[CSG, C2337]

les petits jardins /le pti ʒardẽ/ n.m. pl. jardins à légumes 'vegetable gardens'. This form is used to describe the vegetable patch whether it be small or extensive. It is used in contrast with the form les grands jardins where, traditionally, potatoes were grown. The size of the potato garden reflected the importance of this crop to the survival of the early inhabitants. Another reason for the selection of these terms is that the French word for 'vegetable', légume, is not commonly used in Port-au-Port French. Instead, one specifies the name of the vegetable, the most common being turnip, cabbage, and carrot, as is stated by an informant from Black Duck Brook:

"Ej faisions pousser des patates, des choux et des choux-raves". [BDB, C2861]

le plantage /plãtæʒ/ plantation 'planting of vegetables'.

This form was formerly used in France to mean the process of cultivating a garden and was later replaced by the form plantation. An example of the usage of le plantage follows:

"Dame, quâd ça vnait por le plantage yinque les pus grands donnaient la main vous savez". [BDB, C2861]

le chou-rave /ʃuræv/ le navet 'turnip or swede'. This term was formerly used in France to express 'a variety of the

cabbage which was cultivated for its roots' (R-311).

La patate /pætæt/ la pomme de terre 'potato'. According to Robert, the form patate in France refers to another vegetable, the 'sweet potato'.

La butte /byt/ la pente, la colline 'hill, slope'. In France, according to Robert, this word is used to signify 'a mound, hillock'. An example of the Port-au-Port usage follows:

"Il est en haut sus la butte chez Pat Murray
à descende". [CSG, C2337]

La plaine /plɛn/ le marais 'marsh'. On the Port-au-Port, this word signifies 'a large portion of land which is covered with low growth and is generally very wet'. The marshes in Newfoundland are valuable berry-picking areas. An illustrative example follows:

"Dâs les plaines-lâ, les plaines en bas-lâ".
[LGT, C2383]

La bouchure /buʃyʁ/ la clôture 'fence'. The term clôture is not attested in the vocabulary of Newfoundland French speech. The following is an example of the local usage:

"Pis il aviont enne bouchure âtrâs [entre]
les deux". [BDB, C3379]

La fontaine /fõtɛn/ /fotɛn/ le puits 'well'. In France, the term la fontaine is used to describe the man-made fountain found in front of monuments. In Port-au-Port French it is used to indicate 'a well generally used only by the family'.

La carriole /karʒal/ 'hand-made wooden sleigh pulled by a horse and equipped with seats facing forward used to transport people'. The definition in Robert is very similar, 'a small elegant carriage on runners which was stable on snow' (259). This type of winter vehicle has been replaced by modern machines.

"Si tu te mariaais l'hiver, pas d'châr, un choual pis enne cârriole". [CSG, C2296]

(The term châr used in this example is probably a Québec usage of this speaker.)

la traîne /tren/ le traîneau 'sled, sledge'. Robert says that this term was used in France to describe a vehicle with runners used to transport wood on snow (R-1996). On the Port-au-Port there were several models of this type of sleigh: one to transport wood from the forest with a horse, one to use with a dog to transport groceries from the neighborhood store, and the third, a small model for children.

La charrette /ʃaʁet/ wagon 'cart, wagon'. Before the advent of mechanized vehicles, this term was used in France to refer to a two-wheel vehicle used to transport various items (R-291). On the Port-au-Port, this type of vehicle is still used in the appropriate seasons.

chailler /ʃaje/ v.t. emporter 'to carry something from one place to another'. Robert's definition is 'to transport something in a cart'. In Port-au-Port French it signifies carrying in any fashion, as in the arms, in a bucket, etc.

Haler /hæle/ v.t. tirer 'to pull, to haul, to tow'. This term consistently replaces the standard use of tirer in the local French speech. In standard French this term is used only in its occupational sense, of wood 'to haul' and of a boat 'to tow'. The following examples illustrate the usage in Port-au-Port French:

"Le bois tait toute halé". [CSG, C2302]

"Et là mon ptit bonhomme, i halait dsus".
[CSG, C2380]

tirer /tire/ v.t. traire 'to milk a cow'. This usage is also found in Acadian French (M-844). An example from Port-au-Port French follows:

"Pis là le souère il orveniont po les tirer".
[BDB, C2861]

Avener /ævne/ v.i. vêler 'to calve'. This form with the same meaning is also found in Acadian French with phonetic variation, amener (M-834-5). An example from the Port-au-Port follows:

"Y en a deux qui va bien vite avener".
(CSG, C2296)

Le michon /miʃɔ̃/ 'a new-born lamb which has to be hand-fed with a bottle'. This term originates from the term bichon(ne), which is used in France in familiar speech as a 'terme d'affection' (R-180). In Acadian French this term has the form bichon.

La graine /gʁɛn/ la bée 'berry'. This is the generic term for the many kinds of berries which grow in Newfoundland.

An example of this usage is presented below:

"Toutes les sortes de graines que j'avais".
[BDB, C2861]

La belvet /bɛlve/ 'blueberry'. In French Canada the related word is bleuet, but on the Port-au-Port this distinct variant is employed.

La bérie /beri/ 'small round red berry'; the Newfoundland 'partridgeberry'. The following example illustrates this usage:

"Y a 'n aute graine qui se garde bien, c'est les patridge berries-lâ, les béries". [BDB, C2861]

La pèpinant /pɛpinã/ 'berry produced on vines growing up trees in wooded areas'; the Newfoundland 'squashberry'. These berries are opaque with an oval flat pit inside (see A Dictionary of Canadianisms (DC): pembina 554, mooseberry 485, and highbush cranberry 334).

La patebière /pætbiɛr/ an 'orange-yellow colored berry which grows in marshes'; the Newfoundland 'bakeapple'. There are variant forms in the pronunciation of this term within the community of French Newfoundlanders, such as platebière and plakebière. The last term is also the term recorded by Massignon for Acadia. Massignon found versions of this word in her documents but its origin remains obscure.

The Sea

A large number of the fishing terms included in this section were elicited by the present writer from a retired

fisherman from the community of La Grand'Terre in 1979 for a graduate term paper entitled "Towards a Questionnaire for the Elicitation of Data concerning the Fishery in the French Newfoundland Dialect" (Folklore 6501). As a result, very few of these terms are illustrated with direct quotations from local speech. They are simply presented in the list with an English equivalent. Interestingly, the majority of these terms are found in the Inventory of Articles in French Fishing Stations on the Coasts of Newfoundland, 1905.

Le canot /kəno/ 'small open motorized fishing boat made from wood'. Before the availability of motorization, wooden oars were used. Robert gives 'a Caribbean canoe which was used in the seventeenth century. At present, he says, this term is used in Canada to indicate all small boats' (246).

"J'avions un canot nos-autes, i tcheindait à l'entours de dix barils, j'pense". [BDB, C3379]

Le pic-e-poc /pIkɛpɔk/ 'onomatopoeic term to describe the small wooden fishing boat motorized by an engine with the mark "Marine"'. The following example illustrates this usage:

"Des pic-e-poc, ouais des Marine engine".
[BDB, C3379]

Le douri /duri/ le doris 'dory'. This is the flat-bottom wooden boat. These boats were used by Newfoundlanders in the nineteenth century (R-570).

L'âtable /atəl/, /ætəl/ l'étale 'wooden table similar to a picnic table but higher, used for splitting and gutting

cod-fish'. The following cited example describes this item:

"Un âtale, c'est eune tabe et pis y a un morceau
d'clouter d'sus et là morue va la por la trancher".
[CSG, C2302]

La boueille /bwej/ La bouée 'float used to mark fishing
berths and in fishing equipment'. This term is also found
in the Robert (204).

Le tolet /tʌle/ 'a wooden peg used as an oarlock'; Newfound-
land 'thole pin'. This term had its origin in Scandinavia
and was adopted by Norman fishermen who apparently carried
it to Newfoundland (R-1974).

La turlutte /tyrlyt/ 'hooked device for catching squid';
Newfoundland 'squid jigger'. This term was originally used
in France to designate an 'Engin de pêche, constitué par une
tige de plomb armée d'hameçons disposé en couronne' (R-2040).
The Port-au-Port French term appears to be an extension of
this word.

La pigasse /pigæs/, /pikæs/ 'wooden anchor'; Newfoundland
'killick' (DC).

L'aviron /æviro/ n.m. la rame 'oar'. This term is also
found in the Inventory.

Plange /plãʒ/ adj. calme, lisse, of water, 'calm, flat'.
This term is also attested in Massignon. She notes that
this word was used by sailors of Poitou, Saintonge and Aunis
to indicate 'a calm sea', 'mer unie' (8).

L'escoffe /lɛskɒf/ n.m. 'bailer, originally made of wood, to empty water in a boat'.

La ret /lɑrɛ/ n.f. le filet 'fishing net'. We read in Robert that this term was used in France in the sixteenth century to indicate 'traps for fish or birds' (1704).

La civière /sivjɛr/, /cibjɛr/ 'hand-barrow used to transport dry codfish'. This sense was originally used in France for a hand-barrow used to carry a heavy load: 'Dispositif muni de bras destiné à être porté par les hommes et à transporter des fardeaux' (R-321). In standard French today, this word indicates a stretcher used to carry people.

Le boyard /bwajɑr/ 'hand-barrow for transporting newly caught codfish'. This term is also attested in Massignon (609) and is present in the Inventory with the meaning 'barrow'.

Le havenet /hævne/ épuisette 'dipnet'. Massignon's definition for salabarde describes this object well: 'un filet monté autour d'un cercle de fer d'un ou deux pieds de diamètre, muni d'un manche' (575).

Le vigneau /viŋo/, /viŋõ/ 'wooden platform upon which split codfish are put to dry in the sun'; Newfoundland 'flake'. These were generally positioned on or near the beach.

Calfeuter /kælfɛtɛ/ v.t. calfeutrer 'to caulk'. A further detail is in the Robert: 'Boucher les fentes avec une

lisière, un bourrelet, pour empêcher l'air de pénétrer' (238). On the Port-au-Port, this term refers especially to the caulking of boats. The form reported by Massignon for Acadia is galfeuter (1160).

La bouette /bwɛt/ l'appât 'piece of fish, etc. used as bait'. According to Robert, this term originates from Breton boued meaning 'food to attract fish, bait' (see Kirwin 12).

Le nauve /nov/ colonne vertébrale 'backbone of codfish'; Newfoundland 'sound-bone'. An illustrative example of this usage is presented below:

"On usa un couteau à trancher croche pis i fend la morue pis i 'lève le nôve". [CSG, C2302]

La rogue /Rɑg/ 'eggs of fish, roe'. This term originates from the Breton word rog indicating 'oeufs de poisson (morue et parfois hareng) utilisés comme appât pour la pêche à la sardine' (R-1725).

La tchulottine /tʃylɔtɪn/ culottine 'sac in codfish containing the roe'; Newfoundland 'breeches'. This organ has a shape like a pair of pants like the French culotte or 'knee-pants' (DNE breeches).

La drêche /drɑʃ/ 'fish offal, guts'. On the Port-au-Port, this refers to the unpleasant greasy residue on the beach. It is also used figuratively to describe phrases and expressions which are disgusting: "Tchelle drêche!" [CSG, C2337]

The following terms are technical in the standard language and are used very specifically in such contexts.

However, as will be made evident, many technical terms related to the land and sea have been generalized in everyday speech in Port-au-Port French. An illustrative sampling is presented below.

Amârrer /əmaʁe/ v.t. attacher 'to attach, to tie'. In addition to its use in the technical sense of 'tying with a rope' (as of boats), this term is used to describe the 'tying of various things with various types of attachments'. One example of this usage is provided below:

"... un rouban blanc amârré à l'entours d'son bras". [LGT, C2424]

Dêmârrer /dɛmaʁe/ v.t. détortiller 'to untie, untwist'.

In standard French, however, contrasting with amârrer, this term signifies 'to unmoor, to cast off'.

Chavirer /ʃavire/ v.t. renverser 'to spill'. In the standard language, the term chavirer is nautical only, 'to turn (a boat) upside down' (R-623). Here is an example of the Port-au-Port usage:

"Quâd qu'il arrivait à son assiette, au jène gârs-lâ, i chavirait du vin dâs son assiette".
[LGT, C2553]

Embarquer /əbaʁke/ v.i. monter 'to climb up into or upon'.

In standard French, the term embarquer is used only in the technical sense: 'to board' (a ship or an airplane). On the Port-au-Port, it is used to describe 'climbing in or on an object'. The following is an example of this usage in the local French speech:

"Embarque su mon dos". [CSG, C2380]

Débarquer /debarke/ v.t. descendre 'to descend, climb down'. In Port-au-Port French speech, this term is not only used as in the standard 'to disembark from a ship or an airplane'. It is used to express 'to get out of an automobile and from higher altitudes such as a child standing on a high object.'

Larguer /large/ v.t. laisser tomber 'to drop'. In the standard this term is used to refer to the loosening or releasing of the ropes of a sail. In Newfoundland French, this nautical term is used for ordinary daily activities, such as j'ai largué mes bottes 'I dropped my boots'. An example is quoted from a folktale collected by Professor Thomas at Cape St. George:

"Bien l'égue [aigle] a chauffé le pigeon si dur qu'il a largué l'effe [oeuf]." [CSG, C2380]

Virer /vire/ v.t. tourner, retourner 'to turn, to turn around'. In standard French this term is used to indicate 'to turn a ship around', virer un navire (R-2098). In Port-au-Port French it is used this way along with its technical sense:

"A vire sa tête par la fille". [LGT, C2553]

This verb also has a reflexive form in the language:

"A s'a viré en jubier pis là à s'en a èté".
[CSG, C2380]

Dévirer de bord /devire dbor/ v. refl. 'to turn around'.

This term is synonymous with virer de bord. An example is:

"L'oroi es [se] dèvire de bord". [CSG, C2380]

Le bord /bor/ le côté 'side'. Except for the 'side of the human body' the form bord dominates.

"Ma grand-mère sus l'bord de mon deffunt père".
[CSG, C2296]

"Il a parti d'son bord et pis là Pèpin arrive
chez l'oroi". [LGT, C2553]

Souquer /suke/ v.t. serrer 'to hug someone; to haul a rope taut'. This nautical term is commonly used to express serrer in any context in Port-au-Port French. A quotation is provided relating to the washing of fleece wool:

"Faulait souquer ça de d'dans". [BDB, C2866]

Brocher /braʃe/ v.t. tricoter 'to knit'. In standard French, the term brocher is restricted to the making of nets by hand for the fishery. However, in Port-au-Port French this term is used for all types of knitting, including the knitting of wool. For example, 'j'cardais la laine, filais et brochais' [BDB, C2866]. Further, knitting needles, les aiguilles à tricot in French, are called les broches in local speech, which is an extension of the word for needles used to "knit" nets.

Gréyer /greje/ v.t. gréer 'to equip or garnish, to dress'. Whereas in the French of educated societies this verb is used only to refer to ships and the fishery, the French speech of the Port-au-Port uses it for simple household tasks: 'to set the table, to get dressed'.

"Anyway i s'greye pis i sort la porte". [CSG, C2337]

"I a'ont greyé sa place à lui (i.e. à table)".
[LGT, C2553]

Le calimaçon /kælimæsɔ̃/ 'small sea-snail, periwinkle'.

Robert tells us that this term was used mainly by the picards in the sixteenth century. This form is also attested in Massignon (M-451).

Le bigorneau /bigɔ̃rno/ 'the small sea-snail, periwinkle'.

This term is used more widely for the 'periwinkle' than calimaçon but the former term is also used as an affectionate form with children.

La mouque /muk/ la moule 'mussel'. This usage for describing the mussel is also attested in Acadia (M-529).

Le pitôt /pito/ 'deep sea clam'. This crustacean is about two inches in length and red in color and is found in the stomach of the codfish.

Les eplans /lezɛplã/ n.m. pl. les erpelans 'smelts'.

Le caplan /kæplã/ 'small fish similar to the smelt'.

"I ramâssiont du hareng ou du caplan pis
là i finissaient leur jardinage avec ça".
[BDB, C2861]

The Family

le garçon /gɑ̃ʁsɔ̃/ le fils, 'son'. The male children of families on the Port-au-Port are consistently called garçons. This phenomenon may have been due to the contact

with the English speech of the area which also uses 'boy' to refer to 'a son' (DNE boy).

"Alle a un garçon là-bas qu'a soixante-dix ans". [CSG, C2296d]

la femelle /fɛmɛl/ filles 'young woman'. In the standard language femelle and male are not used to indicate the sex of people but are common in the French of the Port-au-Port. This form originates from the form femella meaning a 'small woman' (R-769). An example of this usage is found in Text A of the Appendix:

"I s'mettiont avec les femelles, i tiont jènes
i s'mettiont ac les femelles hein".

La jeunesse /ʒɛnɛs/ les jeunes 'young people'. This term was formerly used in France to designate 'the period of life from birth to adult-hood' (R-1077). The same usage is also heard in Acadian French (M-1719). The following is an example of this usage in Port-au-Port French:

"La jènesse est pas allouée là-d'dans".
[CSG, C2296]

Le jeune /ʒɛn/ petit ami 'boyfriend'. Because of this specific sense in Port-au-Port French, the standard French le jeune which indicates 'a young male' cannot be used without additional forms, such as gârs, for example, meaning 'a male person'. The two usages are illustrated here:

"C'est son jène". [LGT, C2553]

". . . l'jène gârs-là, i voulait pas qu'alle
avait un party". [LGT, C2553]

La fille /fi/ petite amie 'girlfriend'. This term meaning 'girlfriend' is used in contexts such as ma fille, sa fille, etc. in I danse avec sa fille. The term la fille is also used to indicate 'daughter' as in standard French:

"Il a marié çte fille-là hein". [CSG, C2296]

L'élève /ɛlɛv/ n.m. enfant élève 'foster child'. This term refers to a child who is raised by foster parents without the formalities of the law. This term is from éleveur 'a hired guardian of someone's plants or farm animals' (R-618).

Les bessons /bɛsɔ̃/ n.m. pl. jumeaux 'twins'. 'Old word for jumeaux' (G-115). This term is also present in Acadian French (M-1699). The following is an example from Port-au-Port French:

"Pis là toute d'un coup la vieille yelle, a trouve un set de bessons hein". [LGT, C2553]

Parenté /parɑ̃te/ adj. parent à 'related to'. The Glossaire reports parent à from the dialects of Lyon, France and Switzerland: "Il est parenté à" (G-474). In Newfoundland French the form is: parenté avec.

"Les Chaisson sont pas parentés avec nous-autes". [CSG, C2337]

L'usse /lɪs/ n. le sourcil 'eye-brow'. This Newfoundland French form is not present in the Glossaire nor in Massignon's study.

La babine /bæbɪn/ la lèvre 'lip'. In the standard, this term is used to indicate the 'jowls of animals' (R-149).

In the speech of the Port-au-Port it consistently replaces the form lèvre.

La couvarte /kuvart/ la couvarture 'blanket'. This word is also used in Québec to indicate a 'blanket for a bed and a blanket for a horse' (G-240).

"I faisient des couvartes ac ça, des gras d'lit, des draps". [BDB, C2866]

La couvarture /kuvartyr/ le toit 'roof'. This term was formerly used in France to designate 'the exterior layer of the roof of a building'. Subsequently, it was used to indicate 'blanket' (R-414). The following is an illustration of this term:

"Ailloû-ce que c'est qu'il tait ç'tait parail comme d'un (i.e. dans un) yarde /jard/ hein, y avait pas d'couvarture". [CSG, C2380]

Le lambris /lābri/ le mur 'wall'. This is the only term used in local French speech to refer to the walls of the interior of a house. In the Glossaire, this term has the sense of 'new boards on the exterior of a wall' (417).

Le châssis /ʃa:si/ la fenêtre 'window'. In standard French, this term currently indicates le cadre d'une fenêtre, the frame surrounding a window pane (R-293). The Port-au-Port French usage is illustrated below:

"Roquelore lève le châssis . . . pis i s'assit dans l'châssis". [LGT, C242]

La place /pləs/ le plancher 'the floor'. In the past, this term was used in France to designate 'a specific area or

place where activities of various sources took place'.

Later, these evolved into 'places publiques' such as la Place De Gaulle. The French of Newfoundland use this word

with an extended meaning, the floor of their houses and other buildings. It also has another meaning, that of a community:

un village; une place: 'I vnont pas d'la même place'. Here are two examples of place used to indicate the floor:

"Là i s'met sus la place po danser ac yenne des filles de l'oroi". [LGT, C2424]

"Tombais adormi sus la place à tende le monde conter des contes". [LGT, C2424]

La toile /lətwɛl/ revêtement-plancher 'linoleum'. From the Glossaire we learn that this term was used to refer to a plasticized material, canvas (G-666). In the local speech of the Port-au-Port linoleum is still referred to as 'canvas'.

Dèloger /dəlɔʒe/ v.t. démémager 'to move house'. Formerly, déloger was used in France to express an abrupt move to settle oneself in a new place of lodging (R-483). An illustrative example from Port-au-Port usage is:

"Alle a tout en grand dèlogé ses affaires yelle-même". [CSG, C2337]

La macanique /məkənɪk/ machine à coudre 'sewing machine'.

According to Robert, this term came in use following the advent of mechanization and the new objects were referred to as mécaniques (R-1171). An example of this usage is found in Text B of the Appendix at the end of this work.

La commode /kɔmɔd/ 'a china cabinet'. In France this term is used to indicate 'a chest of drawers in which clothes are

kept'. By extension, this term in Port-au-Port is used to indicate 'a china cabinet'.

La cambuse /kãbys/ 'a room or cabinet in or near the house where food is kept'. In Robert, we find: this term originally indicated a place for storing food on boats: 'Magasin du bord où sont conservés et distribués les vivres, les provisions' (R-241).

Le paletôt /pælto/ le manteau 'coat'. This term was used in old French to designate 'a sort of jacket, a coat which buttoned down the front' (250). This term is used in Port-au-Port to indicate 'coats' in general.

La capote /kæpɔt/ 'a long light-weight coat'. Originally, this term referred to a 'military coat' (R-250). An example of this usage is:

"Tire ta capote hein". [CSG, C2337]

Les culottes /tʃylɔt/ le pantalon 'trousers'. The form pantalon is not attested in Port-au-Port French and the variant form is always in the plural probably due to the influence of the English form 'pants'. An illustrative example follows:

"Ç'temps-là ç't'un dèshonneur si les filles mettaient enne paire de tchulottes". [BDB, C2866]

Le sabot /ləsəbo / 'the traditional wooden shoe, clog'.

Although this type of foot-wear is no longer worn, the term is still used in an extended manner. This word is used in both the French and the English dialects of the area to

indicate a rubber boot which has the leg cut off with only the foot remaining. This type of shoe is very popular with the French of the Port-au-Port as they can be slipped on and off with ease. These boot-shoes are mainly worn around one's own property and are removed upon entry to the house.

Les caneçons /kənsõ/ n. pl. culotte 'ladies undergarment, panties'. Caneçons is the local pronunciation of the French word calçon. As the term culottes, pronounced tchulottes, is used to express another notion in Port-au-Port French, a related word has been adapted to avoid confusion. According to Robert, this term, calçon, has been used in the sixteenth century to indicate 'an undergarment for men' (238).

Les hardes /le hard/ n. pl. les vêtements 'clothes'. Formerly, this term was used to indicate an assortment of personal apparel and portable furniture. In modern French, this term signifies vieux habits 'old clothes, rags' (R-813). Unlike standard French, the French speech of the Port-au-Port consistently used this term to indicate all types of clothing.

"A dit, 'Donne-moi mes hardes'". [CSG, C2380]

Picoté /pikote/ adj. 'polka dotted'. This term, according to Massignon, was used in the popular speech of France in the early seventeenth century to indicate 'spotted' (M-1600). Through Robert, we learn that it signified 'marqué de petites taches, de petits points' such as a freckled face (1431). In the French speech of the Port-au-Port, this term is used

especially of material which has a polka-dot pattern.

Tapiné /təpine/ adj. tacheté 'spotted, freckled face'. On the Port-au-Port, tapiné also refers to the red spots on a face and body caused by allergies.

Se pimper /pẽpe/ v.t. se maquiller 'to put make-up on'.

This term may be derived from the adjective pimpan meaning 'elegant, well-groomed'.

La catin /kætẽ/ la poupée 'doll'. In standard French this form has evolved and changed meaning from a 'doll' to 'a prostitute'. A quoted example from Port-au-Port French speech follows:

"Quãd j'tais ptite-là ej faisais mes hardes de catin". [BDB, C2866]

la guenille /gɛnij/ chiffon 'cloth, rag'. Term used in seventeenth-century France to indicate modern le chiffon (R-813). This item is also included in the Glossaire with a different sense (G-386).

Le poêle /pwe:l/ la cuisinière 'a cooking stove'. In the past, this term in France designated a 'fourneau à gaz, à pétrole, électrique'. In Newfoundland and other parts of French Canada, this term is still used regularly (G-527). The following is an example quoted from a folktale recorded by Professor Thomas at Cape St. George:

"'Ej tcheins mon âme', i dit, 'dans la clé du poêle'". [CSG, C2380]

Fricasser /frikæse/ v.t. frir 'to fry'. According to Robert, this term is probably a combination of the word and the sound of food, such as eggs, frying (828).

Le fricot /frikɔ/ le ragoût 'a stew'. This term was originally used in France to indicate 'food grossly prepared'. In Port-au-Port French the term ragoût is not attested and le fricot is used to describe all types of stews.

la crossignole /kɾɔ siɲal/ beigne 'donut'. In Acadian French and on the Port-au-Port Peninsula this term refers to 'donuts made from the bread-mix and fried in a frying pan which is served with molasses or butter' (M-1220).

Crogzé /kɾagze/ adj. 'of milk', caillé 'curdled'. The term caillé is also used in local French speech and it has not yet been determined from which source the form crogzé originates.

Human Affairs and Social Attitudes

Fier /fjɛr/ adj. content, heureux 'pleased, willing'. In the Peninsula French speech, a special sense of this word is used in phrases with a following infinitive: 'pleased, happy to (answer your question)'. This may be due to the influence of the contact language, the English dialect of

the Port-au-Port Peninsula, in which the term proud also has the sense of 'pleased' (DNE 393). An example of the Port-au-Port usage is included in Text A of the Appendix.

Lâche /laʃ/ adj. & n. paresseux 'lazy'. This term was formerly used in French to denote 'une personne avec peu d'énergie' (R-1065). In standard French of today, it indicates 'a coward, a cowardly person'.

Vaillant(e) /vajã/ adj. diligent 'diligent'. This term describes a favorable characteristic of a person and evokes respect for the person to whom it is applied. It contrasts with faignant and lâche.

La cagne /kaŋ/ la paresse 'laziness'. Before the nineteenth century, this same term was used in France with the sense of 'lazy'. This term is still quite current in Port-au-Port French speech.

Andouille /ãduj/ n. & adj. imbécile 'stupid, retarded'. This term was also used during the nineteenth century in France to indicate 'an imbecile' (R-67). It also appears in Québec dialects with the sense: 'homme mou et résolu sans caractère' (G-40). An illustrative example from the Peninsula French is provided below:

"Il a rosté là comme un andouille". [CSG, C2380]

Emplâte /ãmplat/ n. & adj. stupide 'stupid'. This word with the same meaning is also attested in the Glossaire (314) and in Massignon in the form empâte (1765).

La vinette /vɪnɛt/ peur 'fright'. This is a very old French word no longer heard in standard French (R-1662). It is not attested in the Massignon study.

Vilain(e) /vilɛ̃/, /vilɛn/ laid(e) 'ugly, unattractive'. In the standard language, this term is used to designate 'une personne méchante'; 'villainous'. In the Peninsula French it is used solely to refer to physical appearance.

Bavasser /bavæse/ v.i. papoter 'to gossip'. This term has a negative connotation in Port-au-Port French because it does not indicate simply 'chatting' but 'talking maliciously'.

Blaguer /blæge/ v.i. bavarder 'to chat, to discuss'. This term unlike the previous has no unfavorable connotations, just talking in a friendly way. An example of the usage is

"ça fait qu'il avont blagué un bout". [CSG, C2380]

La nêgoce /nɛgɔs/. This term is very frequent in the Peninsula dialect. According to Robert, it was used in France in the past and was related to business negotiations.

Le carillon /karjɔ̃/ bruit 'unpleasant noise, clatter'. This word in France originally referred to an 'ensemble de cloches accorde à différents tons' (R-256).

À la valdrague /vældræg/ phr. en désordre 'in disorder'.

This term refers to a number of objects which are out of place such as kitchen and other tools which are scattered in different areas of the house; unassembled. Also attested in Massignon (1239).

zirable /ziɾæb/ adj. dégoûtant 'disgusting'. This term also has a verbal form in Port-au-Port French faire zire. The term zirable is also attested in Acadian French by Massignon. However, the verbal form of this term in Acadian speech differs from the Peninsula French: ça zire meaning ça dégoûte (1752).

Mauvais /mave/ adj. méchant 'nasty'. This term refers to persons or animals with spiteful character. The form méchant is generally unattested in local speech. The term also refers to bad weather as in the standard language.

Le forban /fɔɾ bɑ̃/ pirate, escroc 'pirate; trouble-maker'. Robert explains that this term was used in France in the past to denote 'a pirate'.

La volée /vole/ raclée 'beating'. In the Robert, we learn that this term was formerly used in France to indicate 'a rapid and violent movement' and, in addition, the technical sense 'to hammer' (R-2113). Massignon presents this term with the same sense as in Port-au-Port French but in the masculine gender (M-1805).

La douille /duj/ 'beating'; synonym of volée above. The meaning of this term given by Robert is far different from that of the Franco-Newfoundland usage. However, the Newfoundland sense can be related to the figurative speech of France, in which this term was formerly used to designate 'the extreme end of an electric wire; a metal cylinder' (R-274). Also in the Glossaire (295).

Pauner /pone/ v.t. paumer, claquer 'to slap someone'. This term is very current in Port-au-Port French speech and it is used to indicate 'beating' in the manner described for volée above. The following is an illustrative example of its usage:

"Fa anyway i commence à pauner, 'Pis qu'ej te paune, pis qu'ej t'astique'". [CSG, C2380]

Astiquer /æstike/ v.t. This term is synonymous with the term pauner above as it is illustrated in the accompanying illustrative example. This term is also found in the Massignon study of Acadian vocabulary with a variant sense, 'to clean floors' (1227).

Astiner /æstine/ v. refl. se disputer 'to argue'. We find this term also in the Glossaire with the sense 'soutenir, . . . confirmer avec astination' (69). An example of the Port-au-Port usage follows:

"Quoi-ce que vous avez à vous astiner?" [CSG, C2337]

Attiner /ætine/ v.t. taquiner 'to tease'. According to Massignon this form is from the archaic French form atainer 'to irritate (someone)' (1777).

Attarquer /ætärke/ v.t. 'to set upon, to pounce upon'. This term is not found in Massignon's study nor in the Glossaire and the Robert. An example from the Port-au-Port usage is:

"I tiont bien attarqués pis i soulsaviont et tout en grand". [LGT, C2553]

Gaboter /gabate/ v.i. 'to travel within the community exchanging information on the way'. The derived noun is gaboteur. In standard French, the term caboter signifies "Navigation à distance limitée des côtes" as, for example, vessels which travel from port to port were called caboteurs (R-230). An example of the Port-au-Port usage is the following:

"Y en a toujours qui pâssent, qui gabotent".
[CSG, C2302]

(The term Le Gaboteur has been selected as the title of the first Newfoundland French newspaper begun in Fall 1984).

Avenant(e) /ævnã/, /ævnãt/ adj. aimable, agréable 'friendly, pleasant'. This term was formerly used in France to indicate: "Qui plaît par son bon air, sa bonne grâce" (R-142).

Tricoler /trikole/ v.i. tituber 'to stagger'. This term with the same meaning is also recorded in the Glossaire: "marcher en zigzag" (679). An example of this usage in Port-au-Port French is as follows:

"A tait blanche et a s'en vnait tout croche,
en tricolant". (LGT, C2853]

Magané /mægæne/ adj. épuisé 'exhausted'. This term is frequently used in Port-au-Port French meaning 'fatigued to the point where every bone in the body aches'. A verbal form maganer meaning 'maltraîter, malmener (quelqu'un)' as "Un écolier qui se fait magané par ses camarades = qui se fait maltraiter", 'beaten up, disentangled' (430).

Other Forms

Asteure /æstœR/ adv. maintenant 'now'; 'well'. This term has evolved from the French form à cette heure, literally 'at this hour'. Through rapid pronunciation emerged the form asteure, which is commonly used in North American French. Massignon describes this usage: "Cette locution est l'expression favorite des Acadiens qui l'insèrent à tout propos, spécialement au commencement et à la fin" (1403). An example from the Port-au-Port is presented below; the frequency of this form is illustrated in numerous quotations throughout this study:

"Asteure ça prend pas d'temps hein". [CSG, C2296]

Dèmèment /dɛməmə/ conj. comme 'since, as'. This term probably derived from de même. An illustrative example of the usage of this term is:

A dit, 'Dèmèment que t'es si bon à moi, j'm'en vas t'donner un souhaite'. [LGT, C2553]

Quasiment /kæzimã/ adv. presque 'nearly, almost'. This word was formerly used in France to express presque (R-1577). An example is cited from Port-au-Port French:

"C'est quasiment toute dans les magasins".
[BDB, C2841]

Accoutumé /akutyme/ v. part. habitué 'accustomed'. This term was formerly used in France with the sense "... l'avoir pris comme habitude" (R-15).

Qu'ri /kri/ v.t. chercher 'to get, fetch'. This term is from the verb quérir of archaic French and occurs idiomatically after aller. In Port-au-Port French only the form above has been retained, as in: vas m'qu'ri du bois for va m'chercher du bois. The term chercher is more frequently used in the contexts of 'looking for, searching for' (cf. R-1580).

Fameux, -euse /famø/, /famøz/ adj. célèbre 'famous; healthy'. The Robert records that these forms were used in France in the same contexts as they are currently used in Port-au-Port French speech today. Furthermore, these terms have an additional sense, 'healthy'.

Paré(e) /pare/ adj. prêt(e) 'ready, all set'. This term is from the verb form parer of archaic French which indicated: "Qui porte des ornements, une parure". Later it was used to indicate "Muni du nécessaire pour faire face à, se protéger", for example, against the cold weather, etc. It was also used to indicate the preparation of meat to be cooked (R-1358). The senses of this term have been retained in Port-au-Port French. There is also a verbal form in local French speech: 'mettre parer' se préparer. The following example illustrates this usage:

"I sont tout parés, yinque mette le suc dedans".
[BDB, C2861]

"I s'mettiont paré pou aouère enne game de boule".
[CSG, C2380]

Massacrer /mæsəkʁe/ v.t. abîmer 'to spoil, to ruin'. In French, the verb massacrer is used to indicate literal slaughter of people or butchering of animals. In Port-au-Port French it is used in all contexts and means 'to make anything unfit, unsatisfactory or upset' as is illustrated in the example below:

"Quâd tu l'as un ptit peu d'fun y a tout l'temps tchèqu'un po vnir l'massacrer anyway". [LGT, C2424]

De rang /dɛ ʁɑ̃/ phr. de suite 'consecutively, in a row'. In Robert, we find that this term was once used to designate a row of persons or things. The Newfoundland French usage is more general as follows:

"Faulait que sa fille aller à ras la rivière po trois matinées de rang". [LGT, C2553]

Suer /swe/ v.i. transpirer 'to perspire'. This term was formerly used in France with the same meaning as we find in Port-au-Port French speech today. The standard form transpirer is unattested.

Joliment /ʒalimɑ̃/ adv. beaucoup 'many, very much, a lot'. Formerly, this term was used in France meaning gentil and agréable. Later, it was used as in Port-au-Port French today (R-1049). The local usage is illustrated:

"I fait joliment nouère ici-d'dans". [CSG, C2296]

"Y a joliment des paroles qu'i disont pas comme j'les disons nous-autes". [LGT, C2424]

Allouer /ælwe/ v.t. permettre 'to permit, to allow'. According to Robert, this term was once used in France signifying

'to place, to put'. Later it became used in the sense permettre (52). An example of this usage is:

"La jènese est pas alloué là-d'dans". [CSG, C2296]

Au ras /a^{RA}/, /a^{RA}/ prep. près de, à côté de 'near, beside'. Although this term is sometimes used with the standard French sense, it is also used for others not in the standard language. Apart from the contexts in the following examples, there are other common uses, for example, 'je suis au ras la maison'; 'tu es au ras lui'.

"ça fait qu'là anyway, i s'assit au ras l'lac".
[LGT, C2380]

"I s'assit â râs l'lac". [LGT, C2553]

Creux, creuse /k^Rø/ k^Rø z/ adj. profond(e) 'deep'. Formerly, this term was used in France to mean 'hollow': "Qui est vide â l'intérieur". Later, it was used to describe deep hollow objects such as "une assiette creuse" (R-422). In Port-au-Port French this term is used with the extended meaning of any kind of deep hollow filled with liquid. For example, 'the well is deep' is expressed 'la fontaine est creuse'.

Le portrait /p^{OR}tre/ la photographie 'photograph'. This term is generally used to indicate a 'picture, drawing, any picture taken by a camera'. The French term photographie and its abbreviated form photo are not used in Port-au-Port French. The following is an example to illustrate the usage:

"J'ai l'portrait d'mon père et d'ma mère".
(CSG, C2337)

Installer /ɛstɛle/ v.t. réparer, arranger 'to repair; put in order'. This term is also from archaic French designating 'arranger, mettre en place' (R-1012).

Gricher /grɪʃe/ v.t. crisser (of hair) 'to stick up; to crackle'. In the Glossaire the term gricher has a similar meaning: 'grincer, crisser' 'to grind, crunch, crackle' etc. (382). An illustrative example of the Port-au-Port usage is:

"I disait que le crin d'son choual tait tout l'temps toute griché". [LGT, C2383]

Haïr /hair/ v.t. abhorer, détester 'to hate'. The term haïr is no longer common in standard French speech but on Port-au-Port it is used in speech to express distaste for people and happenings.

There are many other interesting terms employed by the French population on Newfoundland's west coast but, unfortunately, it would be impractical to include them all in this study. However, it is hoped that the present sampling has given an adequate profile of the vocabulary to arouse interest in the study of French Newfoundland lexicology.

Anglicisms

By far, anglicization has had the greatest impact on the local French speech. It has penetrated all realms of the language-- lexicon, morphology, syntax, and the phonology. The magnitude of this influence has been largely due to the

sociocultural factors described in the previous chapter. To reiterate the most important points, the Newfoundland population continues to be one of the most isolated of Canada's French minority groups, and due to the general lack of status of the French language in Newfoundland, education and development have been primarily directed towards the dominant anglophone population. However, despite such adverse influences, Newfoundland French has survived to the present in a form which is recognizably a variety of the French language.

Anglicization is a phenomenon well known to linguists and dialectologists who have studied languages in contact with English. It is not restricted to the French language groups of North America. Jean Darbelnet, in his study of anglicisms in Québec, states: ". . . il ne faille jamais oublier que l'anglicisme est un phénomène commun à tous les pays francophones. . ." (79).

Indeed we are aware of the anglicisms in the French speech of France which appear in the French dictionaries: the names of sports such as le football, technical terms such as le drive /dʁaiv/, driver /dʁaive/, and driveur /dʁaivœʁ/ (R-579), as well as very basic vocabulary such as le week-end for la fin de semaine. In view of the geographical proximity of England and France, the historic events shared by these two countries, and parallel cultural development, borrowing seems quite natural. The French influence on

the English language, for example, is witnessed in Newfoundland English in terms such as alley-coosh which, according to the editors of the Dictionary of Newfoundland English, appears in the English Dialect Dictionary in the form of allee-couchee, meaning 'go to bed' (6).

Gilles Colpron, in his study of anglicisms in Québec, speaks of a group of anglicisms which he labels "provincialismes" because they were brought to Québec by the Normans. He states that these words are explained ". . . par le fait que ce sont les Normands qui ont envahi et dominé pendant trois siècles l'Angleterre et que les Normands étaient fortement prépondérants parmi les ancêtres des Canadiens français" (18). This type of information is very helpful in determining the precise identification of anglicisms.

Geneviève Massignon, in her study of Acadian French, speaks of "faux anglicisms", items which may appear to be anglicisms but are in fact survivals from Old French. One example given by Massignon is mouver /muve/ 'to move' (750). Similar forms may exist in Newfoundland French but until more in-depth studies of the anglicisms appear, researchers have to proceed with caution. Nevertheless, valuable information can be drawn from the examination of anglicization in other francophone areas.

Studies of the French minority languages of North America, for example, seem to suggest that all of these groups share a common body of anglicisms with, however, some

regional or local variation. This is not unusual in view of the fact that the ancestors of these populations came here from Europe and had to adapt to life in North America, a newly discovered continent. Even residents of the islands of Saint-Pierre-Miquelon who have direct contact with their native France and whose children go to France for post-secondary education have such anglicisms.

This is witnessed in a study by Felix Park of Memorial University of Newfoundland's French Department. Of the total of seventy-nine anglicisms included in this study more than 95% with the same form and meaning are also found in Port-au-Port French speech. Yet contact between the two groups is virtually non-existent (Park).

Although anglicisms in Newfoundland French speech have been noted by outsiders and researchers who have had some contact with the French communities, to date the subject of anglicisms has generally been little studied.

The first study devoted to the subject appeared in 1976 in the form of an honours dissertation. This work is an analysis of anglicisms in the narratives of one French Newfoundlander. Through the examination of several tape-recordings, the author concludes that in the whole corpus, anglicisms amount to less than one percent (Sellars).

Another survey appeared in 1978 in a graduate term paper prepared by the present writer (Barter "Anglicisms"). This work treats categories of anglicisms which came to light, along with commentary to explain their presence and function.

In 1980, the only published study on this aspect of Newfoundland French, by Ruth King, appeared in Papers from the Third Annual Meeting of the Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association. This work examines anglicisms in the speech of a wider sample of speakers, sixteen informants from Black Duck Brook-Winterhouses and Cape St. George. The study also considers sociolinguistic factors and arrives at the same conclusion as the study prepared by Sellars, that anglicisms amount to about one percent of the whole (King "Preliminary Study"). This completes the list of previous research on anglicization in Port-au-Port French.

This review of research clearly indicates, therefore, a further aspect of the language which merits more intensive study. The aim of the present discussion is to reveal a selection of the types of anglicisms which are used by French speakers of the Port-au-Port which may serve as a guide for future study.

The anglicisms included here are among the most commonly used of the language. A substantial number of words and phrases have been extracted from tape-recorded interviews and others are drawn from the author's personal knowledge of the speech of French Newfoundlanders. The present writer, like Colpron, excludes any anglicisms which also exist in the French language of the European continent recorded in French dictionaries (18).

A large number of the nominal anglicisms in Port-au-Port French speech are direct borrowings from the dominant

English language discussed earlier. It should be noted that the gender assigned to nouns reflects local usage, not that of standard French. Although it is not yet known how gender is assigned to these borrowings, it is interesting to note that with few exceptions, the attributed gender is generally consistent within the region. Another interesting point concerning these borrowings is that they are pronounced in the same manner as the English, except for substituting French pronunciation of certain sounds. One of the most common is the use of French uvular /R/ for Canadian English /r/ in certain linguistic environments, for example crowd pronounced /kRɔ̃d/.

The words included in the category of direct borrowings derive from several sources. The process began a long time ago with intermarriage between the French- and English-speaking populations of the area. Another source was the community stores whose owners acquired their supplies from English merchants such as Abbott and Haliburton (originally Abbott and Hill) mentioned in the first chapter of this work. Due to their isolation from large French centers, it was impossible for the French speakers of the Port-au-Port to learn the names of new products and therefore the market names were naturally adopted.

Other anglicisms which fit into the category of direct borrowings were brought to the communities by the males who travelled to outside areas to acquire additional work at the end of the fishing season, for example, to the

Bowater lumber camps and, later, the American Air Force base in Stephenville. A further source is attributed to the appearance of English language television which was made available following the introduction of electricity services to the communities on the Port-au-Port Peninsula in the early 1960s.

Before this period, very few conveniences were present in the homes of the people of the Port-au-Port with the exception of radio. When electrical items began to appear, the French population of the Port-au-Port had no way of adopting the French designations. Consequently, they were left with two alternatives: adapting a French word or adopting an English equivalent. Some common adapted forms include le pouvoir /lə puw ɛʁ/ for électricité and la baille /baj/ for la baignoire.

Today, although it may be possible to learn standard French words for new commodities, internal factors deter the process. For example, some of the needed French words are already being used in local speech with a different meaning or different connotation. For example, la bulb /bɔlb/ consistently replaces French l'ampoule in local usage. The term l'ampoule, as used in Newfoundland French, means 'a blister'. Therefore, it is likely that if this word was introduced, the anglicized form would be favored to avoid homonymic clash, especially by the older generations. Another example is le plug-in /plʌɡɪn/ for French la prise. (The latter term is also used in Newfoundland French speech

but as a euphemism for the 'vagina' and it would therefore not be used in everyday speech.)

Numerous anglicisms are related to the transportation and communication systems: la plane for l'avion, le truck /lə træk/ for le camion, le phone for le téléphone, le T.V. for la télévision. One also hears le mail /lə meil/ for le courrier and le mailman for le facteur. This may be explained by the fact that the mail system was introduced by the government with services exclusively conducted in the English language. Similarly, postage stamps are referred to as les stamps /lə stæmp/ with standard timbres unattested.

Modern tape-recording machines are very popular in the area today and these, of course, have taken the market name. Le tape and le tape-recorder, for example, are used as if they were part of the local French lexicon. The vocabulary related to innovation and modernization has been greatly influenced by the marketplace and the media. Unable to read the advertisements and labels which appear in the French language, the French of the Port-au-Port have no way of learning the French names for the floods of new products which appear. With rapid modernization, the old way of life has changed and former terms for sleighs, tools and appliances have been replaced by others. Today, wood is hauled with la skidoo, not with horse and sleigh, and le drill /dri:l/ and le sander /sændə/ are used as easily in the local French speech as in the local English.

The same applies to household appliances. With electric refrigeration, le fridge appeared. Because the old

cast-iron wood stoves have been replaced by modern wood-burners, the culinary habit of toasting bread and roasting salt dry cod directly on the surface of the wood-stove has given way to le toaster /tostə/, and dried salt cod is now roasted in the electric oven. Among the compounds we find le can-opener /kənopənə/, le vacuum-cleaner /vækjymklinə/ and le cake-mixer /keikmiksə/.

A most interesting group of nominal anglicisms which is prevalent in Port-au-Port French can be named 'Newfoundlandisms'. These are related to socializing and eating. Among these are un break-down /breikdaʊn/ and un grand break-down, which in Newfoundland mean 'a noisy rollicking' dance or 'a lively square dance' (DNE 63). A similar example is un spree /spri/. Another of these terms is un scoff, which indicates a meal of cooked meat and vegetables eaten especially at night. In the past, the ingredients were often stolen from local residents (cf. DNE 438-9).

Another interesting nominal anglicism is the term busy-nose /beʒinoz/ meaning a 'busy-body, a nosy person'. There is no direct one-word translation to express the nuances of this term in the French language, hence an anglicized compound has arisen, le busy-nose.

Finally, other anglicisms among the nouns may have resulted from the similarity in the sound of the French counterparts, under the pressure of the prestigious contact

language. An example is la blouse /blauz/ for French la blouse /bluz/.

In the class of adjectives, anglicisms are naturally less frequent but by no means less interesting. For example, the adjectival form all in /alin/ is used as well as the similar French term fatigué. Another adjectival anglicism is smart /smart/. This adjective has two meanings: one meaning 'in good health', and the other, 'intelligent; quick'.

Similar to the noun above, busy-nose can be used as an adjective to express affairé, officieux as in il est busy-nose. Another is the use of the term right /rajt/ indicating 'correct', in such phrases as: c'est la right clé.

In the adverb class we also find the term right /rajt/ replacing vraiment or bien as in (mettre quelque chose) right à coté, from local English 'just beside, right beside' (cf. DNE right). (It is interesting to note that the French uvular /R/ is used in these contexts while the local English /r/ is employed in affirmative right /rajt/ and in the idiom right on.)

A particularly interesting feature of anglicisms among the verbs used by the French of the Port-au-Port is the addition of the adverbial back to verbs as a reinforcement of the French verbs which have prefixes with a similar meaning such as in retourner back and aller back.

The assimilation of English verbs into Port-au-Port French is very frequent. The process is quite simple. Any English verb which is more expressive or less cumbersome

than the local French counterpart is gallicised by the addition of French inflections. For example 'to dump', jeter, has the anglicized form dumper /dampe/. Other verbs are not as easily adapted in the French language. This is true of phrasal verbs, which are quite common in local French speech, such as 'to slow down' il a slowé down /slo we daun/. Another example of this type is keep on 'to express persistence': il a keep on, with, however without French inflection.

Finally, further anglicized terms are heard in the local expressions. Some fit into the French idioms very smoothly. For example, English 'don't worry' is 'worry pas' in local French speech. Another like the preceding is 'don't mind that' which is expressed min' pas ça.

The presentation of the anglicisms generally follows the order of the preceding discussion. Each anglicized term appears as a gloss which is followed by a phonetic transcription and a standard French equivalent. An illustrative example from the corpus or from the author's personal knowledge of the language is also provided for each entry.

Le bachelor /bætʃɛlɔ/ le célibataire. The following citation is taken from a local description of the custom of Mardi Gras:

"çu-là qu'ara yu l'bouton ara té un bachelor".
[LGT, 2424]

Le suit /sut/ le complet, costume.

"Et i met son suit tout en boutons". [LGT, C2424]

La crowd /kraud/ la foule, les membres d'une famille.

"Quand j'avons commencé à 'ouère des enfants nous-autes, ç'tait la crowd à deffunt John Moore". [LGT, C2424]

"Toutes les souères y avait des crowds là".
[LGT, C2383]

(see the comparable usage in Newfoundland English DNE crowd)

La game /geim/ le jeu, la partie

"I s'mettiont paré pou aouère eune game
de boule". [CSG, C2380]

La choice /tʃais/ le choix.

"'Si la bête te tue pas', i dit, 'ej vas
t'tuer, moi,' i dit, 'bien, t'as pas
d'choice du tout'". [LGT, C2553]

Le mail /mel/ le courrier: "C'est ton mail".

Le mailman /melmæn/ le facteur: "Le mailman est là".

Le stamp /stæmp/ le timbre: "J'ai pus d'stamp".

La boarding house /bordɪŋ aus/ la pension. When the men from the Peninsula acquired jobs in Stephenville, there were very few automobiles, most of the Peninsula was without adequate roads and therefore it was impossible for the men to return to their communities every day; thus a boarding house was crucial. Here is an example of the usage:

"Fa anyway, il a té à sa boardin (h)ouse".
[CSG, C2380]

Le lunch /lʌntʃ/ le goûter.

"I prendra pas l'temps d'aouère un lunch".
[CSG, C2302]

La job /dʒɔb/ le travail, l'emploi.

"Oh, travailler au foin, belle job". [CSG, C2296]

La power-saw /paʊə sa/ scie mécanique, scie à chaîne. Before the advent of mechanization, wood was cut with handsaws and

axes. The 'power-saw' introduced a totally new method of working. An illustrative example is presented:

"ç'temps-là, y avait pas d'power-saw ni arien". [CSG, C2296]

Le grader /gredeʁ/ La niveleuse

"Pis c'in grader j'appelons ça". [CSG, C2302]

Le tractor /trɔktɔʁ/ le tracteur.

"Y avait pas d'tractor ni arien". [BDB, C2866]

Le truck /tra k/ le camion.

"J'aspère le truck à l'huile". [CSG, C2337]

Le car /lə kar/ la voiture. The term la voiture as discussed earlier in this chapter, is generally only used in folktale narration while le car is the general referent for French 'la voiture': "Il a peinturé son car l'année pâssée".

Le bus /lə bas/ l'autobus /lotobys/: "Le bus va à Stephen-ville tous les mardis".

La plane /plein/ l'avion.

"Quand la plane a pâssé hein". [LGT, C2424]

La skidoo /skidu/. The brand-name of one of the early models of the snowmobile.

"Asteure i sont en skidoo". [CSG, C2296]

Le snow-suit /snosut/ combinaison de neige.

"Ej faisais les snow-suit, ej faisais tous leu hardes". [BDB, C2861]

La bulb /bɔlb/ l'ampoule: "La bulb est blowé /bloe/".

Le plug in /plʌg in/ la prise: "Ya pas d'plug-éen là".

Le toaster /tostə/ le grille-pain: "Dèplug le toaster".

Le vacuum-cleaner /vækjymklinə/ l'aspirateur: "Il a acheté un vacuum-cleaner".

Le drill /dri:l/ la perceuse: "C'est mon drill ça".

Le sander /sændə/ la ponceuse: "I m'prête son sander".

Le can-opener /kənopənə/ l'ouvre-boîte: "Alle a câssé le can-opener".

Le fridge /frɪdʒ/ le réfrigérateur: "Mets ça dans l'fridge".

Le T.V. /lə tivi/ la télévision.

"Y avait pas d'TV., y avait pas arien". (CSG, C2296]

Le phone /fon/ le téléphone: "Le phone est là".

Le tape /tep/ la bande magnétique, la cassette:

"I ta pou m'faire un tape avec des chansons français". [CSG, C2396]

Le tape-recorder /rikordə/ le magnétophone:

"J'y avais dit que j'l'aras prêté le tape-recorder". [CSG, C2296]

Le time /taim/ la soirée, la fête. This term is from Newfoundland English time meaning 'a party' or a 'celebration' (DNE time). An example of this usage in Port-au-Port French is:

"Y avait un grand time en haut-là l'aute souère".

Le break-down /brekdavn/ la partie, la soirée, la fête.

This term is a version of Newfoundland English break'er down indicating 'a lively rollicking square dance' (DNE break'er down).

Le spree /spri/ la fête, la partie, la célébration.

"'J'orais voulu', a dit, 'aouère un grand orpas pis', a dit, 'un grand spree'. (LGT, C2511]

Le scoff /skɔf/ le festin, un grand repas.

"Tchuisa un gros scoff de viande pis sept et huit heures du souère, faisons enne danse". [CSG, C2296]

La bad-mess /bædmɛs/ cpd. une grande quantité de.

"Y avait enne bad-mess de contes avant". [LGT, C2553]

Le busynose /bɛzinoz/ personne affairée. This term is very frequently used in Port-au-Port French to indicate a 'busy-body': 'C'est un vrai busynose'. The term busynose is also used in an adjectival context: 'Il est busynose'.

Smart /smart/ adj. intelligent, astucieux, habile. This anglicism has probably resulted because it is so frequently used in Newfoundland English speech with similar meaning (DNE smart). An illustration of one usage is taken from a folktale:

"Ej trouve ça dur que c'est toi parce t'es l'pus smart de la famille". [CSG, C2280]

The same term is also used to indicate 'in good health': elle est smart for elle va bien.

Scattered /skætəd/ adj. plusieurs.

"J'avons yu des scattered prêtees là, tu sais, avec les autes, pou donner la main à les autes. [LGT, C2424]

Right /rait/ adj. juste, adéquate.

"I pouviont pas trouver le right homme pou la marier". [LGT, C2553]

All right /al rait/ adj. bien, oké, d'accord, ça va. As in the local English speech, this phrase is used in several contexts:

"A dit 'C'est all right si tu peux les raponde, dame', a dit, 'si t'es pas capable, bien,' a dit, 'c'est ta mort'". [CSG, C2380]

It is also used to indicate 'well, in good health': "I tait malade mais il est all right asteure". In certain contexts the phoneme /l/ of 'all' is dropped and the phrase sounds like ah right.

Right /rait/ adv. vraiment, bien.

"'Mets ta tête right â bas â la terre". [LGT, C2553]

Clean /klin/ adv. complètement.

"Là i tappe la tête, la tête s'en va clean de d'sus l'géant / j /". [LGT, C2553]

Back /bæk/ adv.

"Il a bârré la bârrière p'il a té back chez yeusse". [CSG, C2380]

"Le lendemain matin, i s'pointe back â l'ouvrage". [LGT, C2424]

"'Là', i dit, 'allons back chez ton père'". [LGT, C2553]

"I ont té mette les croix back comme qu'i tiont". [LGT, C2383]

Up /ʌp/ adv. in the phrase 'up to you', 'c'est up à toi'. This phrase is very frequent in Port-au-Port French because it is neater and briefer than the French language equivalent.

"'Mon fils', a dit, 'c'est up à toi'". [LGT, C2553]

Anyway /ɛniwe/ adv. en tout cas, de toute façon.

"ça fait anyway, all right . . .". [CSG, C2380]

Not at all /nætətəl/ phr. pas du tout.

"Na-te-tall [not at all], pus d'fun asteure b'y".
[LGT, C2424]

Bad /bəd/ adj. très, beaucoup. This term is taken from local English usage as a noun modifier. This usage is illustrated 'Y avait enne bad crowd de monde là'. It is also used to express a heavy storm: 'J'avons yu un bad starm hier â souère'. (see also bad-mess in nouns above.)

Boarder /borde/ v.t. demeurer, se mettre en pension.

"Bien, foulait qu'i boardiont en haut-là".
[BDB, C2866]

Grader /grede/ v.t. niveler.

"I sont /so/ en train de grader /g ede/ l'chemin".
[CSG, C2302]

Coaxer /kokse/ v.t. cajoler 'to coax'.

"A voulait pas mais anyway, i l'a coaxé assez, alle a té qu'ri la hache". [CSG, C2380]

Dumper /dʌmpe/ v.t. jeter.

"Ej voudras que ç'câilliou sra tiré de d'là asteure et dumpé en bas l'cap". [LGT, C2553]

Jumper /dʒʌmpe/ v.i. sauter.

"I jumpont d'sus i l'arrachont les yeux pis i le draguont dans l'bois, i l'quittont là".
[LGT, C2553]

Dropper /drɔpe/ v.t. laisser tomber, placer.

"Bien là les femmes, le plus qu'i faisaient, i mettient la graine, droppiont la graine".
[BDB, C2861]

Dèplugger /dɛplʌge/ v.t. débrancher: "Il a dèpluggé la lampe".

Driver /draive/ v.t. poignarder.

"ça fait i prend son sâbe p'i l'drive /draiv/ à travers du corps". [CSG, C2380]

Timer /taime/ v.i. sortir ensemble 'to date'.

"Le souère, lui pis sa fille â trâs d'timer, j'pense". [LGT, C2383]

Blaïner /blaine/ v.t. (i.e. blinder) rendre aveugle.

"Il a blainé deux gârs un coup". [LGT, C2383]

Maïner /maine/ v.t. ça lui a fait rien 'to mind'.

"Il a pas miné ça lui". [LGT, C2553]

In the following example, this verbal anglicism is used of English 'to proceed ignoring restrictions':

"Bien i miniont pas, i contiont". [CSG, C2337]

Faïner out /faine avt/ v. phr. apprendre une nouvelle 'to find out'.

"A voulait pas dire mais j'ai finé out quand-même".

Slower down /slowe daun/ v. phr. ralentir.

"Alle a slowé down là". [LGT, C2383]

Sizé up /saize ap/ v. phr. regarder de près, examiner. This usage is illustrated in a quote from a folktale:

"L'oroi qui pâsse pis i gardait pis i sizait up le derrière à Roqueloire". [LGT, C2424]

Keep on /kip an/ v. phr. continuer, persister.

"Il a keep on tout l'tour de la tabe hein". [LGT, C2553]

Plugger in /plage in/ v. phr. brancher: "Il a pluggé-een le tic?".

Give up /gɪvʌp/ in phrase 'faire give up', abandonné.

An interesting comparison can be made here with the Acadian French form guivoper which, according to Massignon, is employed to indicate renoncer, abandonner (751). An illustrative example of the Port-au-Port usage is:

"Quand ç'a monté à dix j'ai pas té souvent moi, j'ai fait give up". [LGT, C2424]

In addition to the words and vocabulary described above there are a number of collocations which are translations of English, linguistically known as calques. A few examples will be illustrated to indicate some of the types. For example, English 'I miss you' is translated Tu me manques in standard French. However, due to the influence of the English language, the French speakers of the Port-au-Port use a literal rendering: 'Je te manque'. Another example is the use of premier cousin to express 'first cousin'. In standard French 'first cousin' is expressed as follows: cousin(e) germain(e) or cousin(e) au premier degré.

Two other examples of calques which have also been noted by Ruth King are: 'Il a tenu ça à aller' to express 'Il a continué', and 'I s'intéressait dans ça' for standard French, s'intéressait à ("Preliminary Study"). Another example is the translation of the phrase 'to be down or depressed' by 'j'sus en bas'.

There are many more examples of anglicization in Port-au-Port French which cannot be described within the scope of this study for obvious reasons but some interesting

topics for further, more in-depth study have surfaced. These include the question of gender of loans, the use of French uvular /R/ in some contexts and its replacement in others, the structure of calques and loan translations, and the sociolinguistic factors related to the frequencies of anglicisms in formal and informal situations.

CHAPTER IV

Phonetic Aspects

The phonology of Newfoundland French, as would be expected, has many features in common with those of other North American French populations. The study of its various phonological aspects is especially interesting because Newfoundland French is a language which has survived to the present in its oral form only. The factors which permitted this language to survive were discussed in earlier chapters of this study: isolation and absence of any formal instruction in the French language. These, in turn, were seen as the effects of the general disregard of the French settlements in Newfoundland.

At present, although changes have taken place in the past decade, the situation remains basically the same, with minimal contact with other varieties of French and massive English interference. The constant contact with the prestigious Anglophone tongue is, by far, the major factor causing change in Newfoundland French. This influence is especially interesting in the phonology of the language because of the tendency of speakers, especially in loan words, to imitate the phonetic qualities of the contact language. Most interesting is that Newfoundland French is still evolving independent of any rules prescribed in grammars and is exclusively oral. Its many aspects offer a wide variety of features to students interested in the study of phonology.

previous Studies

As with most of the systems of Newfoundland French, very little in the way of a broad study of phonology has been completed. This does not mean that aspects of Newfoundland French phonology have not been examined by the researchers who have done field work in the area but that, except for Ruth King's linguistic research, no linguistic or dialectological studies on the subject have appeared.

In 1978, King completed an M.A. thesis describing phonological and morphological aspects of the French of Black Duck Brook and Winterhouses ("Le parler français"). This work was followed by a study dealing with a more specific aspect, l deletion ("L Deletion"). This article is the first linguistic study to examine distribution of phonological aspects according to age, sex and locality. From this account of previous research, it is evident that Newfoundland French phonology offers a wide spectrum of possible studies to the interested student and researcher.

Methodology

The phonological features treated in this section have been derived from the same corpus chosen for this work. No attempt is made to compare Newfoundland French phonology systematically to that of other North American French varieties. However, some similarities may be appropriately indicated. Forms and phrases cited from the corpus are used to illustrate the features described and to point to the wealth of phonetic detail available for future study.

Following is an analysis of the significant vowels and consonants from part of the corpus of Newfoundland French collected in recent years. Each phoneme is illustrated with the Newfoundland French term, in standard spelling however, followed by a phonetic transcription using the symbols of the International Phonetic Association (IPA). The phonetic transcription of the standard French form is then presented and an English gloss is provided. Finally, a number of quotations with some ad hoc spelling and identification as to source are given so as to illustrate sample contexts. Following is a list of the phonemes in Newfoundland French.

<u>Proposed</u>	<u>Transcriptional</u>	<u>Standard Fr.</u>	<u>Standard Eng.</u>
<u>Phoneme</u>	<u>Variants</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>Example</u>
/i/	i I	<u>ici</u>	
/e/		<u>église</u>	
/ɛ/		<u>mettre</u>	
/æ/	æ a		mat
/ɔ/	ɔ A	<u>bonne</u>	
/o/		<u>mot</u>	
/u/	u U	<u>tout</u>	
/y/	y Y	<u>pure</u>	
/ø/	ø ø:	<u>feu</u>	
/ɛ̃/		<u>matin</u>	
/ɑ̃/		<u>penser</u>	
/õ/		<u>bon</u>	
/ə/		<u>semaine</u>	

Semi-Vowels

/j/	similar to the sound before /ɛ/ in <u>Pierre</u>
/w/	similar to the sound before /ɛ/ in <u>avoir</u>

<u>Consonants</u>	<u>Standard Fr. Example</u>	<u>Standard Eng. Example</u>
/p/	<u>partir</u> , <u>appétit</u>	
/t/	<u>temps</u> , <u>attendre</u>	
/k/	<u>cabane</u> , <u>qui</u>	
/b/	<u>abri</u> , <u>abréviation</u>	
/d/	<u>danse</u> , <u>addition</u>	
/g/	<u>gant</u> , <u>bague</u> , <u>baggage</u>	
/f/	<u>fou</u> , <u>photo</u> , <u>neuf</u>	
/s/	<u>salle</u> , <u>celle</u>	
/ʃ/	<u>tache</u> , <u>chat</u>	
/tʃ/		<u>cheat</u> , <u>cheese</u>
/v/	<u>vous</u> , <u>avoir</u>	
/z/	<u>maison</u> , <u>zéro</u>	
/ʒ/	<u>jambe</u> , <u>manger</u>	
/dʒ/		<u>job</u> , <u>jar</u> , <u>jam</u>
/l/	<u>lait</u> , <u>aller</u>	
/R/	<u>roue</u> , <u>argent</u>	
/m/	<u>femme</u> , <u>mal</u>	
/n/	<u>nous</u> , <u>année</u>	
/h/		<u>house</u> , <u>ham</u>
/ŋ/		<u>bang</u> , <u>wing</u>

Transcriptions

Because the evolution of Newfoundland French has been different from that of standard French, certain conventions have been adopted to attempt to represent the local French speech. For the purposes of this study, it has been necessary at times to use arbitrary spellings in an effort to

illustrate the various features of the language. These spellings are based on the regular conventions of the spelling of standard French and will therefore permit any literate French speaker to read and understand the various features of local speech.

Words which contain vowel phonemes that are different from the standard French pronunciations are respelled so as to suggest the vowels whose sound is similar to the one presented. For example, the use of o instead of the normal e in rester symbolizes a mid-back vowel like /ɔ/: roster. Similarly, the phoneme /ɛ/ when it appears before the phoneme /R/ followed by a plosive is replaced by a phoneme which sounds close to the [a]. These are represented by replacing the vowel e with the vowel a: varte for verte.

When the spelling ou precedes the /R/ phoneme, it is lowered and sounds close to the /ɔ/ phoneme. This is represented by substituting the o spelling for the spelling ou: portant for pourtant.

In other instances when a back vowel occurs where standard French has a more fronted variety, a circumflex accent is placed on the vowel: ramâsser, bârrer, and câve for ramasser, barrer, and cave, for which standard European French uses the phoneme /a/.

The raising of phoneme /ɛ/ is regular in the forms which contain the circumflexed ê: bête, tête, and fête. This is indicated in the present study by replacing the circumflex accent with the more suitable acute accent: bête, tête, and fête.

Similarly, the lowering of the phoneme /e/ is indicated by replacing the acute accent é with the more appropriate grave accent è: èglise for French église and dèbarasser for Fr. débarasser. When this occurs in a closed syllable in which pronunciation may be ambiguous, as in the case of défunt pronounced /dɛfɛ̃/, the following consonant is doubled, deffunt.

The indefinite article une /yn/, which has lost much of its rounded quality in Newfoundland French, is represented with the form eune /ʏn/ and enne /ɛn/.

The palatalization of stops which occur in words such as quinze /tʃɛ̃z/, pitié /pitʃe/ and guerre /dʒɛ̃ʁ/ are represented by these spellings: tchinze, pitché, and djerre.

When phoneme v is followed by the sequence -oir Fr. /waʁ/, the v is lost in the French of the Port-au-Port. The orthography adopted to express these forms is as follows: voir /wɛ̃ʁ/, ouère; avoir /awɛ̃ʁ/, aouère; pouvoir /puwɛ̃ʁ/, pouère.

In some linguistic environments, the enunciation of this /v/ phoneme is weak. When this occurs in the texts and citations, the v appears as a superscript. The example in the corpus is venu represented in the form vnu.

In other instances, the phoneme /v/ is totally lost in the articulation. For example, in dialectal forms j'avons and il avont, the v is simply omitted: j'a'ons and il a'ont Fr. nous avons and ils ont.

When pronunciation cannot be unambiguously symbolized by orthography, the pronunciation is suggested by symbols between slashes: halé /hæle/, to indicate the aspirate /h/.

Glides which commonly occur before forms with initial vowels are represented by a prothetic y or i: yelle, Fr. elle; yeusse, Fr. eux; yinque, Fr. rien que; yu /jy/, Fr. past participle eu /y/; yin, Fr. numeral un /œ̃/ 'one'; ieux /jœ̃/ local form of the Fr. indir. obj. pron. leur /lœ̃R/.

Nasal phoneme /œ̃/ is consistently replaced by nasal /ɛ̃/ in local French speech. Because of the frequency and consistency of this occurrence, no orthographic change is used to represent the pronunciation /ɛ̃/ of words such as un /ɛ̃/, lundi /lɛ̃di/, etc. However, in a few instances in which the interpretation of the un appears ambiguous, the phoneme /ɛ̃/ is represented with the spelling in, as for example, with the numeral 'one' un pronounced yin /jɛ̃/ in Port-au-Port French.

Forms such as dans une baille pronounced /danbaɟ/, Fr. /dɑ̃zɛn b aɟ/ are represented in the form: da' 'n bâille.

In other instances where nasalization is unpredictable the symbol -n- is inserted or omitted. Some examples in the corpus are: ramasser pronounced /ramɑ̃se/ and dans /dɑ̃/, represented in the forms ramanser and dâs.

Agglutinated forms are presented as other normal forms: nonc' for oncle; and zoiseau for Fr. oiseau.

Other arbitrary forms which may appear to be confusing to the reader are followed by the standard French form in brackets: for example the form qté /ste/ for ces and pesse for parce que.

In addition a number of diacritical symbols are used. The symbol ~ over a vowel in the phonetics indicates nasalization while a straight line over a vowel in the spelling indicates denasalization: bōn /bo/.

The apostrophe is used to indicate omissions of sounds and abbreviation.

Quotation marks are used to indicate a direct citation from an informant: " ". Single quotes are used to set off a quote within a quote: ' '.

Three dots within a sentence indicate that part of an informant's speech recorded on tape has been omitted while three dots at the end of a sequence indicate that the sentence or phrase is incomplete. Four dots at the end of or within a sentence indicate that several sentences have been eliminated.

Brackets are used to indicate that a sequence of the speech is indecipherable. Authorial explications related to the citations are also enclosed in brackets.

Dashes followed by a comma indicate that the sentence structure has changed after the initial segment of the utterance. The presence of a colon after a phoneme designates lengthening of the phoneme.

Underlining is used for contrast when a speaker shifts from one language to another. Anglicisms are in normal English form and underlined.

/i/

The phoneme /i/ has two variants in Newfoundland French: one with a higher pronunciation [i] and the other with a lower according to the environment--[I]. The first to be discussed is the long i variant similar to the sound of this vowel in French ici.

lire /li^R/ v.t. Fr. /li^R/ 'to read'.

"Le monde', j'dirons, savait pas lire,
hein". [CSG, C2380]

ici /isi/ adv. Fr. /isi/ 'here'.

"Ici, y a un portrait de ma grand-mère".
[CSG, C2296]

lit /li/ n.m. Fr. /li/ 'bed'.

"I s'cachiont end'sous du lit des fois".
[CSG, C2296]

lui /i/ per. pron. Fr. /l^{ui}/ 'to him'.

"I dit, 'T'y a pas donné un morceau
d'cochon?'" [CSG, C2337]

merci /ma^Rsi/ excl. Fr. /m^{ER}si/ 'thanks'.

"'Marci le bōn Dieu', i dit, 'j'ai mes deux
yeux'". [LGT, C2553]

pire /pi^R/ adj. Fr. /pi^R/ 'worse'.

"'Ej l'aras yu rapondu joliment pire que ça',
i dit". [LGT, C2553]

hiver /iv^{ER}/ n.m. Fr. /iv^{ER}/ 'winter'.

"L'hiver t'avais d'la viande fraîche".
[CSG, C2296]

The second variant is a lowered, lax vowel [I] as in English 'sit'. This variant, which does not exist in standard French, is very common in Port-au-Port French. It occurs especially in closed syllables.

boutique /butɪk/ n.f. Fr. /butik/ 'shop'.

"Alle a eune dèblâme por aller à la boutique".
[CSG, C2337]

vite /vIt/ adv. Fr. /vit/ 'quickly, soon'.

"Ej m'en 'ouère ça bien vite". [CSG, C2296]

ville /vIl/ n.f. Fr. /vil/ 'town, city'.

"'Moi', i dit, 'm'en vas aller en ville', i dit,
'ouère si j'peux trouver de l'ouvrage'".
[LGT, C2553]

minute /mInyt/ n.f. Fr. /minyt/ 'minute'.

"Yinque enne minute là". [CSG, C2296]

milron /mIlRɔ̃/ n.m. Fr. /milRɔ̃/ 'hay stack'.

"Enne fois qu'il est chessä un peu là, on
l'râte et pis on l'met en milrons".
[CSG, C2302]

mille /mIl/ n.m. Fr. /mil/ 'mile'.

"'Mon homme', a dit, 'travaille cinquante milles
d'ici'". [CSG, C2380]

mine /mIn/ n.f. Fr. /min/ 'look of acknowledgement'.

"Il a pas fait mine de moi". [CSG, C2337]

signe /sɪn/ n.m. Fr. /siɲ/ 'signal'.

"J'ai courri au chmin, j'ai fa sine de même".
[CSG, C2337]

/e/

The following illustrations of the phoneme /e/ are placed in groups according to the spelling of standard French to call attention to the divergent pronunciations in western Newfoundland.

In its accented position in words such as fête, bête, etc., this phoneme is lengthened and sounds close to the English vowel of april.

pêche /peʃ / n.f. Fr. /pɛʃ / 'fishery'.

"I faisient leu pêche". [BDB, C2866]

prêcher /preʃe/ v.t. Fr. /preʃe/ 'to preach'.

"Il ara yu prêché un ptit peu l'dimanche â français". [BDB, C2861]

bête /bet/ n.f. Fr. /bɛt/ 'beast'.

"'Oh', i dit, 'les bêtes farouches parlont par ici'" (from a folktale). [CSG, C2380]

tempête /tāpet/ n.f. Fr. /tāpɛt/ 'storm'.

"Eune tempête, tu woyais arien". [CSG, C2296]

chaise /ʒez/ n.f. Fr. /ʒɛz/ 'chair'.

"J' vas te montrer les vieilles chéses". [CSG, C2296]

aisé /eze/ adv. Fr. /ɛze/ 'easy'.

"C'est pas aisé su la macanique". [BDB, C2866]

vinaigre /vineg/ n.m. Fr. /vinegr^ə/ 'vinegar'.

"I brâssait l'pot pis i disa ça: 'Le bon Dieu nous enweye du vinége'". [CSG, C2337]

portrait /pɔrtre/ n.m. Fr. /pɔrtre/ 'photograph'.

"Ç'portrait-là doit aouère pâssé cent ans". [CSG, C2296]

lait /le/ n.m. Fr. /lɛ/ 'milk'.

"Y en a yeune qui donne du lait". [CSG, C2296]

princesse /pʁɛ̃sez/ n.f. Fr. /pʁɛ̃sɛs/ 'princess'.

"Il a trouvé l'habis d'eune princêse".
[CSG, C2380]

pressé /pʁese/ p.p. Fr. /pʁɛse/ 'hurried'.

"'Bien', a dit, 'Pèpâ', a dit, 'c'est pas si
préssé qu' ça, ' a dit, 'pou nous marier'".
[LGT, C2553]

This pronunciation is also present in other contexts
such as the ending of -er verbs and in the imperfect tense
of all verbs. The following examples illustrate this aspect.

aller /æle/ v.i. Fr. /al / 'to go'.

"C'est pas souvent qu'a l'laissait aller à
nulle pârt hein". [CSG, C2296]

demander /dɛmɑ̃de/ v.t. Fr. /dɛmɑ̃de/ 'to ask'.

"'Tout quoi tu vas demander, que tu voudras
bien dure', a dit, 'que ça va s'accorder',
a dit, 'ça va s'arriver'". [LGT, C2553]

passait /pɑ̃se/ v.t. Fr. /pase/ 'pass'.

"La mer pâssait drouette [droite] par-dessus
l'canot, comme ça". [BDB, C3379]

/ɛ/

The phoneme /ɛ/ similarly occurs in words where in
standard French a different phoneme is employed. It is
present in words which have standard /e/ as initial, as well
as in certain closed syllables such as sel 'salt'.

lettre /lɛt/ n.f. Fr. /lɛtr(ə)/ 'letter'.

"Tout ce qu'i avont appris, ... c'est les
grosses lettres". [CSG, C2337]

écrire /ɛkʁiʁ/ v.t. Fr. /ekʁiʁ/ 'to write'.

"Il ècrisait pas mais il a 'pris à lire'".
[CSG, C2337]

école /ɛkɔl/ n.f. Fr. /ekɔl/ 'school'.

"Il allont à l'ècole". [CSG, C2380]

église /ɛgliz/ n.m. Fr. /egliz/ 'church'.

"Le tchinze d'août, c'est eune grande fête.
Le monde allait à l'èglise s'i y avait
un èglise dans la place". [LGT, C2424]

débarasser /dɛbaʀase/ v.t. Fr. /debaʀase/ 'to tidy, to clear'.

"Et 'près que tout en grand tait fini d'manger,
il a'ont dèbarassé toute, pis là ç'tait à
conter des contes". [LGT, C2553]

déjeuner /dɛʒɛne/ v.t. Fr. /deʒɛne/ 'to breakfast'.

"Faulait que tu dèjeunais quand tu péchais".
[BDB, C2861]

péché /pɛʃe/ adj. Fr. /peʃe/ 'sinful'.

"I s'fâchont, i juront, i dit c'est pèché".
[LGT, C2383]

seule /sɛl/ adj. Fr. /sœl/ 'alone'.

"ça fait, il a rentré, a tait tout selle".
[CSG, C2380]

heureux /ɛʀø/ adj. Fr. /œʀø/ 'happy, content'.

"I paraissent si heureux, hein". [CSG, C2380]

oeuf /ɛf/ n.m. Fr. /œf/ 'egg'.

"Bien là, l'aig' a chauffé le pigeon assez
dure qu'il a largué l'oeuf" (from a
folktale). [CSG, C2380]

jeune /ʒɛn/ adj. Fr. /ʒœn/ 'young'.

"Ej tions fiers, ej tions jeunes". [BDB, C3379]

meuble /mɛb/ n.m. Fr. /mœbl(ə)/ 'furniture'.

"Deffunt Grand-père a acheté son meub'".
[CSG, C2296]

/æ/

The phoneme /æ/ has two variants in Port-au-Port French: [æ] and [a]. The first to be presented is the [æ] variant which indicates that this phoneme sounds close to the vowel in English cat. The following examples illustrate this usage:

abri /æbri/ n.m. Fr. /abri/ 'shelter from the elements'.

"I [les bateaux] venient ici à l'abri".
[CSG, C2296]

année /æne/ n.f. Fr. /ane/ 'year'.

"Alle est morte asteure des années". [CSG, C2296]

tapper /tæpe/ v.t. Fr. /tape/ 'to hit, tap, knock'.

"La bête va po l'tapper". [LGT, C2553]

habitant /æbitɑ̃/ n.m. Fr. /abitɑ̃/ 'resident of a place; Newfoundland Eng. livyer'.

"Y avait yinque un habitant, le vieux Jacques Carnac". [CSG, C2302]

patte /pæt/ n.f. Fr. /pat/ 'paw; leg'.

This example is taken from conversation related to sheep-shearing:

"Non, non, moi, j'commence toujours sus [sur] la patte". [BDB, C2866]

sale /sæl/ adj. Fr. /sal/ 'dirty, soiled'.

"C'est sale le printemps dans les granges".
[CSG, C2296]

salle /sæl/ n.f. Fr. /sal/ 'room'.

The following example is taken from a folktale recorded at Mainland:

"'Mes trois filles', i dit, 'sont dans la salle à manger'". [LGT, C2424]

malle /mæ^l/ n.f. Fr. /mal/ 'trunk'.

"C'est des vieilles malles ça". [CSG, C2296]

paque /pæ^k/ v.t. Fr. /pak/ 'to pack'.

"Là toujours, l'lendemain matin Jack paque un patchet pis i s'pointe". [LGT, C2553]

A variant of this phoneme which is very similar to French /a/ is also heard in Port-au-Port French. It occurs in closed syllables following or preceding the phoneme /R/. This usage is illustrated in the examples below:

parti /pa^rti/ p.p. Fr. /pa^rti/ 'left, gone'.

"I yont parti i tait pâssé minuit". [LGT, C2383]

réveiller /^rava^je/ v.t. Fr. /^reve^je/ 'to wake'.

"Grand-mère nous ravailait". [LGT, C2424]

répondre /^rap^od/ v.t. Fr. /^rep^od^r/ 'to answer'.

"Tu m'as mal rapondu". [CSG, C2380]

verge /va^r₃/ n.f. Fr. /ve^r₃/ 'yard, i.e. three feet'.

"Y avait pas grand hardes à 'cheter, dans ç'temps-là, ç'tait tout à la varge". [BDB, C2866]

différence /difa^r_s/ n.f. Fr. /dife^r_s/ 'difference'.

"Mais ça fait pas d'diffarence, tu peux aller pareil". [CSG, C2380]

fermier /fa^rm^je/ n.m. Fr. /fe^rm^je/ 'farmer'.

"Asteure, en bâs-là, c'est toutes des farmiers". [BDB, C2261]

orange /aʀɑ̃ʒ/ n.f. Fr. /oʀɑ̃ʒ/ 'orange'.

"La fleur d'ognon, c'est manière de couleur d'arange". [BDB, C2866]

An anomalous situation occurs in the speech of a number of speakers, especially in Cape St. George, who use a pronunciation which sounds very close to the standard French /a/. It occurs in the imperfect tenses of verbs which have the /ɛ/ in the standards. This usage is illustrated in the examples below:

avait /ava/ v.t. Fr. /avɛ/ 'had'.

"Il ava 'ttention d'orgarder iou-ce que c'est que la bouchure arâ té bâsse assez qu'il arâ pu sauter". [CSG, C2380]

finissait /finisa/ v.t. Fr. /finisɛ/ 'finish'.

"Finissa pas l'conte çte souère-lâ, ç'ta trâp long". [CSG, C2296]

A variant which also sounds close to French /a/ is present in words which contain the sequence vowel plus semi-vowel /j/.

soleil /sɑlaj/ n.m. Fr. /sɔlɛj/ 'sun'.

"Le soleil shinait" (from to shine). [LGT, C2553]

bouteille /butaj/ n.f. Fr. /butɛj/ 'bottle'.

"I sont dans la boutaille". [LGT, C2553]

feuille /faj/ n.f. Fr. /fœj/ 'leaf, sheet'.

"'Ah, non', a dit, 'j'avons yinque yu des failles'". [BDB, C2861]

This variant is also present in the pronunciation of the spelling -au- as described in the examples below, for which the standard uses the open /ɔ/.

aurait /a~~ro~~/ cond. of avoir. Fr. /~~ore~~/ 'would'.

"Il ava 'ttention d'orgarder ioù-ce-que c'est
qu'la bouchure arâ té bâsse assez qu'il
arâ pu sauter". [CSG, C2380]

/ɔ/

The open o phoneme has two variants in Newfoundland French: [ɔ] and [ʌ]. It occurs in words with standard -oi /wa/ and in many words with preceding and following r. The first to be discussed is the [ɔ] variant.

bois /bwɔ/ n.m. Fr. /bwa/ 'wood'.

"J'allions dans l'bois". [CSG, C2296]

barré /b~~ore~~/ p.p. Fr. /ba~~re~~/ 'locked'.

"Quais, alle est bârré". [LGT, C2383]

rat /~~ro~~/ n.m. Fr. /~~ra~~/ 'rat'.

"Pis il aviont pas d'argent, ah, i tiont,
pauves comme des rats". [BDB, C3399]

part /p~~or~~/ n.f. Fr. /pa~~r~~/ 'part; place'.

"Asteure faut qu'i resse tchèque pârt ailleurs".
[LGT, C2424]

mars /m~~os~~/ n.m. Fr. /ma~~rs~~/ 'March'.

"Quand j'ai quitté dans mäs, darnier jour
de mäs...". [CSG, C2302]

poisson /pw~~os~~s~~3~~/ n.m. Fr. /pwas~~3~~/ 'fish'.

"I donniont la main après l'poisson".
[BDB, C2861]

cave /k~~ov~~/ n.f. Fr. /ka~~v~~/ 'storage, cellar'.

"Quand tu vas arriver eune distance en haut',
i'dit, 'tu vas trouver eune cêve'"
(excerpt from a folktale). [CSG, C2380]

avare /av^əR/ adj. Fr. /ava^r/ 'miserly'.

"Ces vieux-là, là, ç'ta avâre por la terre, ça". [CSG, C2296]

bas /b^ə/ prep. Fr. /ba/ 'down'.

"I resse avec son premier cousin, en bas là". [CSG, C2296]

ras /R^ə/ n.m. Fr. /Ra/ 'edge'.

"Faulait que sa fille allait â ras la rivière po trois matinées d'rang" (extract from folktale). [LGT, C2553]

diable /dj^əb/ n.m. Fr. /djabl^ə/ 'devil'.

This example is from Mainland on the subject of legends:

"I 'tendait l'diâbe tous les souères". [LGT, C2383]

berceau /b^əRSO/ n.m. Fr. /b^ɛRSO/ 'cradle'.

The following is an example taken from a folktale.

"Roqueloire avait les borceaux d'fait et tout en grand". [LGT, C2553]

This is consistent in all words with this type of phonological sequence: 'percer', 'bercer', 'traverser', etc.

The second group of the /^ə/ phoneme includes words with the â circumflex in standard French.

pâques /p^ək/ n.f. Fr. /pa^k/ 'Easter'.

"L'Assomption, c'est quarante jours après Pâques". [LGT, C2553]

râteau /R^əto/ n.m. Fr. /Ra^to/ 'hay rake'.

"ça, c'est mon râteau". [CSG, C2296]

château /ʃ^əto/ n.m. Fr. /ʃa^to/ 'castle'.

The following is an example from a folktale.

"Le grand château, bien c'est là qu'i resse".
[CSG, C2380]

An example is taken from recorded conversation in Black Duck Brook, referring to the informant's sheep.

bâti(e) /b^oti/ p.p. Fr. /b^ati/ 'built'.

"Alle tait pas bâtie comme les autes borbis".
[BDB, C2379]

It also occurs in the first syllable of French bre- words: /b^oR-/.

brebis /b^oRbi/ n.f. Fr. /b^{re}bi/ 'sheep'.

"J'encore six borbis à avener". [CSG, C2296]

The same occurs in bretelles, Breton, Bretagne, Breterre, etc.

A phoneme which sounds like /^o/ is also attested for the ou spelling when there is an /R/ phoneme following.

pourrais /p^ora/ cond. of pouvoir, Fr. /pu^{re}/ 'could'.

"A dit, 'moi, ej porras monter l'cap mais,' a dit, 'toi, tu porras pas l'faire'". [LGT, C2553]

pour /p^oR/ prep. Fr. /pu^R/ 'for'.

"ça fait, il avont dmandé à Morgan por aller avec yeusses" (from a folktale). [CSG, C2553]

Another sample is taken from a folktale recorded in Mainland:

"I tiont por tuer Roqueloire". [LGT, C2424]

fourmis /f^oRmi/ n.f. Fr. /fu^Rmi/ 'ant'.

"'Les ptites formis, toutes les ptites bêtes', i dit, 'avont ça d'mangé y a longtemps'".
[CSG, C2380]

journée /^oRne/ n.f. Fr. /^uRne/ 'day'.

"Eune journée i orconte un homme" (from a folktale). [CSG, C2380]

A similar pronunciation has been noted in the word rester. This may have been caused by the initial /R/ which, as we have seen, often influences the vowel phoneme in its environment.

rester /R^əste/ v.i. Fr. /R^ɛste/ 'to remain, to stay'.

"Il a rosté là comme un andouille". [CSG, C2380]

A similar form is taken from a folktale recorded at Mainland.

"L'homme a mourri pis ça rostait yelle pis son ptit garçon". [LGT, C2424]

(Although this usage is common, a form closer to the standard is also used by some speakers.)

Finally, this phoneme is heard in all words beginning with the prefix re-.

repas /^ərp^a/ n.m. Fr. /R^əp^a/ 'meal'.

"Ça, c'est des orpas". [BDB, C2861]

"Ah, i' faisaient un orpas, vous savez".
[LGT, C2424]

ressembler /^ərs^əbl^ə/ v.t. Fr. /R^ɛs^əbl^ə/ 'to resemble'.

"Ç'orsembe les vieilles malles de vieux pirates". [CSG, C2296]

The second variant of the open /^ə/ phoneme is very similar to the vowel in English 'but'. Even to a careful listener, this variant in Newfoundland French is difficult to recognize. Following are examples of the usage of this variant:

octobre /^əkt^əb^ə/ n.m. Fr. /^əkt^əb^ə/ 'October'.

"Ah, i va les arracher dans l'commencement d'octobe". [CSG, C2302]

poli /p_Δli/ adj. Fr. /p_əli/ 'polite'.

"M'orsembe c'est pas poli, hein". [CSG, C2337]

combien /k_Δbjɛ/ adv. Fr. /k_{ɔ̃}bjɛ/ 'how many'.

"Cobien d'souèrées Grand-mère nous a ravaillé d'sus la place, nous-autes". [LGT, C2424]

commencer /k_Δm_əse/ v.t. Fr. /k_{ɔ̃}m_əse/ 'to begin'.

"Ç'temps-là, tu commençait l'matin et pis tu travaillais toute la journée". [CSG, C2296]

commignon /k_Δm_ɪɲ_{ɔ̃}/ n.f. Fr. /k_{ɔ̃}m_ɪɲ_{ɔ̃}/ 'communion'.

"C'est dans les mésons qu'foulait qu'il aller aouère la commignon". [CSG, C2424]

moitie /m_Δtʃe/ n.f. Fr. /mwatje/ 'half'.

"A tait motché bête â bas et un giant en haut". [LGT, C2553]

The phoneme /o/ occurs in words which contain -au- and -eau- spellings as well as in words with o such as mot. It also occurs in syllables when the o appears before the phoneme /R/, such as in port and bord, etc. The following quotations are given to illustrate this usage:

mot /mo/ n.m. Fr. /mo/ 'word'.

"Des fois ç'allait bien, mais des fois y avait des gros mots". [LGT, C2383]

pauvre /pov/ adj. Fr. /pov^ə/ 'poor'.

"Vlà le pauve diâbe, pas d'argent". [CSG, C2337]

faute /fot/ n.f. Fr. /fot/ 'fault'.

"Mais ç'tait pas d'leu' faute". [BDB, C2866]

gauche /goʃ/ n.f. Fr. /goʃ/ 'left'.

"Y avait yin à drouète et yin à gauche".
[LGT, C2553]

beau /bo/ adj. Fr. /bo/ 'pretty, beautiful'.

"Quâd q'il arrache sa tête, deux beaux yeux bleus dans sa tête" (from a folktale).
[LGT, C2424]

peau /po/ n.f. Fr. /po/ 'skin'.

"'Tu marcheras', a dit, 'sus ta peau'" (from a folktale). [CSG, C2380]

mort /mor/ n.f. Fr. /mɔʁ/ 'death'.

"'Si t'es pas capable de raponde, bien', a dit, 'c'est ta mort'". [CSG, C2380]

bord /bor/ n.m. Fr. /bɔʁ/ 'side'.

"Ma grand-mère sus l'bord de mon deffunt père". [CSG, C2291]

fort /for/ adj. Fr. /fɔʁ/ 'strong, potent'.

"Pis ç'a vnu assez fort...". [BDB, C2861]

encore /ãkor/ adv. Fr. /ãkɔʁ/ 'again'.

"Tu m'as conté des menteries encore".
[CSG, C2380]

confesser /kofese/ v. Fr. /kɔ̃fɛse/ 'to confess'.

"Yingue aller à l'êglise, aller cofésser et commigner l'lendmain matin". [LGT, C2424]

Similarly, the phoneme /u/ has two variants: [u] and [ʊ]. The [u] variant of this phoneme occurs in words which have the -ou- spelling: nous 'we'. The following are examples illustrating this usage:

jour /ʒur/ n.m. Fr. /ʒur/ 'day'.

"C'est quarante jours après Pâques".

mouri /mu³ri/ p.p. local p.p. of Fr. /mu³riR/ 'died'.

"L'homme a mouri". [LGT, C2424]

bout /bu/ n.m. Fr. /bu/ 'the end, extremity of'.

"Eune chève, si le bout d'enne lisse est en bâs d'même, a va marcher d'sus pis a va sauter en d'dans". [CSG, C2302]

toujours /tu³u³/ adv. Fr. /tu³u³/ 'always'.

"Moi, j'commence toujours sus la patte". [BDB, C2866]

fou /fu/ adj. Fr. /fu/ 'foolish'.

"I dit, 'T'es fou hein?'" [CSG, C2337]

ruisseau /³uso/ n.m. Fr. /³yiso/ 'stream'.

"I m'a dit quâd qu'il a viré au rousseau là, les chats l'quittent" (excerpt from a ghost legend). [LGT, C2383]

tout /tu/ adv. Fr. /tu/ 'very'.

"A tait yinque tout ptite yelle". [LGT, C2424]

The second variant of the /u/ phoneme is a lowered vowel which occurs in closed syllables. This usage is exemplified below in the cited quotations:

bout /bvt/ n.m. Fr. /bu/ 'a while'.

"Un boute après, i s'avont mis en qurelle". [CSG, C2337]

boule /bvl/ n.f. Fr. /bul/ 'ball'.

"I s'mettiont paré pou aouère eune game de boule". [CSG, C2380]

route /³ut/ n.f. Fr. /³ut/ 'road, path'.

"'Asteure', i dit, 'faut qu' ej quittons d' route; toi, tu vas aller d'un bord et moi, de l'aute'". [LGT, C2553]

toute /t^ut/ Fr. /tut/ 'all'.

"C'est toute des fermiers ça". [BDB, C2261]

farouche /fa^ruʃ/ adj. Fr. /fa^ruʃ/ 'wild'.

"'Oh', i dit, 'les bêtes farouches parlont par ici'". [CSG, C2380]

poule /p^ul/ n.f. Fr. /pul/ 'hen'.

"Tous ceux-là qui gardiont des vache et gardiont des poules...". [BDB, C2861]

In Port-au-Port French, there are two variants of the phoneme /y/: [y] and [ỵ]. The first variant [y] occurs in open syllables while the second is common in closed syllables especially in front of plosives. Examples of this usage are presented to illustrate the first:

dure /dy^r/ adv. Fr. /dy^r/ 'difficult, hard, set'.

"I boit pas mal, i boit dure hein". [CSG, C2296]

sur /sy/ prep. Fr. /sy^r/ 'on'.

"... I pâssait ses outils su des clous". [CSG, C2296]

sûr /sy^r/ adj. Fr. /sy^r/ 'sure'.

"Ej pourras pas dire sûr combien ce qu'ils n'avont yeusse, mais il avont toujours trois et quate, anyway". [CSG, C2302]

fusil /fyzi/ n.m. Fr. /fyzi/ 'rifle'.

"Des vieux fusils". [CSG, C2296]

jurer /ʒy^re/ v.t. Fr. /ʒy^re/ 'to swear'.

"I juront, i dit c'est pêché". [LGT, C2383]

juillet /ʒy^jet/ n.f. Fr. /ʒy^j je/ 'July'.

"Le quatorze de juyette et le tchinze d'août /aut/, toutes les fêtes-là dans août i fétiont". [LGT, C2424]

Examples of the usage of the [ɣ] variant are the following:

butte /bɣt/ n.f. Fr. /byt/ 'hill; a rise in terrain'.

"Il est en haut sus la butte chez Pat Murray, à descendant". [CSG, C2337]

habitude /əbitɣd/ n.f. Fr. /abityd/ 'habit'.

"Il a fait comme d'habitude, il a té à la shed du roi". [CSG, C2302]

lune /lɣn/ n.f. Fr. /lyn/ 'moon'.

"Foulait qu'i'speriont que la lune s'en allait, vous savez. Mais ça, c'est d'la follerie". [BDB, C2861]

sucré /sɣk/ n.m. Fr. /syk/ 'sugar'.

"T'as-ti du suc'e?" [CSG, C2337]

minute /minɣt/ n.f. Fr. /minyt/ 'minute'.

"Yinque enne minute là". [CSG, C2296]

une /ɣn/ num. Fr. /yn/ 'one'.

"Eune journée i orconte un homme" (from a folk-tale). [CSG, C2380]

musique /mɣzik/ n.f. Fr. /myzik/ 'music'.

"Pis quand qu'il avait eune musique, i dansiont". [LGT, C2424]

/ø/

Similarly, phoneme /ø/ has two variants: [ø] and [ø:]. The [ø] variant is present in words such as feu, peu, leu', etc. as in standard French. The following quoted examples are presented:

peu /pø/ adv. Fr. /pø/ 'a little'.

"Sa femme tait un peu jalouse, j'crois". [CSG, C2265]

feu /fø/ n.m. Fr. /fø/ 'fire'.

"... Du bois à feu hein". [CSG, C2296]

yeux /jø/ n.m. pl. Fr. /jø/ 'eyes'.

"Quâd qu'il arrache sa tête, deux beaux yeux bleus dans sa tête" (from a folktale). [LGT, C2424]

leur /lø/ poss.adj. Fr. /lœr/ 'their'.

"Il allont à leu crêche yeusse-même". [CSG, C2296]

"I veniont avec leuz ârois, vois-tu". [CSG, C2296]

milieu /miljø/ n.m. Fr. /miljø/ 'middle, center'.

"I fait ça dans l'milieu du chmin". [LGT, C2424]

malheureux /malœrø/ adj. Fr. /malœrø/ 'unhappy'.

"'Mes douze frères', i dit, 'sont si heureux pis', i dit 'moi, j'sus aussi malheureux'". [CSG, C2380]

The second variant [ø:] is heard in words when the -eu- spelling appears before phoneme /r/ in which the standard language employs the /œ/ as in fleur /flœr/. The following examples are used to illustrate the usage of Port-au-Port French:

peur /pø:r/ n.f. Fr. /pœr/ 'fear'.

"ça fait anyway là, la peur l'a pris". [CSG, C2380]

fleur /flø:r/ n.f. Fr. /flœr/ 'flower'.

"Il avont pris tout en grand les fleurs qu'avait sus l'poêle p'il avont été décorété [décorer] la roche dans l'jardin". [CSG, C2380]

heure /ø:r/ n.f. Fr. /œr/ 'hour'.

"Lui, mon deffunt père, il a jamais yu un heure d'ècole, lui". [CSG, C2337]

couleurer /kulø:R/ v.t. /kɔlɔ:ree/ 'to color'.

"I mettient du bleu à hardes dedans po couleurer bleu". [BDB, C2866]

humeur /ymø:R/ n.f. Fr. /ymœR/ 'mood'.

"'Dans la souèrée i va t'demander quoi-ce qui fait ça qu't'es en bonne humeur'". [CSG, C2380]

voleur /vɔlø:R/ n.m. Fr. /vɔlœR/ 'thief'.

"'Pâsse de branche en branche por pas qu'les voleurs t'entend hein'". [CSG, C2337]

/ə/

In most conversations, this vowel is very slightly enunciated or completely omitted. This is indicated throughout this study by the omission of the vowel e or by an apostrophe. The following examples illustrate this usage:

demain /dəmɛ/ adv. Fr. /d(ə)mɛ/ 'tomorrow'.

"'S'i t'dit pas à souère,' i dit, 'i va t'dire demain' au souère'". [CSG, C2380]

le /lə/ Fr. /lə/ def. art. 'the'.

"T'es le plus smarte de la famille" (excerpt from a folktale). [CSG, C2380]

This laxing of /ə/ also occurs in que.

que /kə/ conj. Fr. /kə/ 'that'.

"C'est tchorieux que Robin a pas venu, hein". [CSG, C2296]

"'Folle que t'es', i' dit, 't'sais bien que c'est pas là'" (excerpt from a folktale). [CSG, C2380]

Moreover, the frequency of deleting this phoneme in Newfoundland French may have contributed to its deletion in words which, in the standard, are consistently pronounced.

These are more conspicuous and sometimes hamper comprehension if the listener is not aware of this feature.

belette /blɛt/ n.f. Fr. /bɛlɛt/ 'weasel'.

"Non, eune weasel, c'enne blette". [CSG, C2302]

Semi-Vowel

/w/

The semi-vowel /w/ occurs, as in standard French, in certain initial positions, after consonants and intervocally. The last group has /v/ in standard French.

cheveux /ʃwø/ n.m. pl. Fr. /ʃøvø/ 'hair'.

"Ç'tait eune femme, alle avait deux têtes, pis les chveux là s'allongeaient des varges par darrière yelle" (from a folktale). [CSG, C2380]

avoir /awɛr/ v.t. Fr. /avwaR/ 'to have'.

"'Mais aujourd'hui,' a dit, 'tu vas aouère à faire à moi'" (from a folktale). [CSG, C2380]

It also occurs in other words which have the -oi- spelling.

boîte /bwet/ n.f. Fr. /bwat/ 'box'.

"C'est eune boête qu'il ava fa". [CSG, C2296]

croire /krwɛr/ v.t. Fr. /krwaR/ 'to believe'.

"'C'est l'bon Dieu qui nous a sauvé faut croire". [BDB, C3379]

In words which in the standard have two vocoids together with both pronounced separately, the French of Newfoundland tend to compress them instead. This is true of Noël /nwɛl/, French /nɔɛl/, and tuer /twe/, French /tɥe/, etc.

tuer /twe/ v.t. Fr. /tue/ 'to kill'.

"'Pique-lé en d'sous du bras gauche', i dit,
'pis tu vas la tuer'" (extract from a folktale).
[CSG, C2380]

"Quand /kət/ qu' ej l'ai tuer, a'tait pas bâtie
comme les autes borbis". [BDB, C3879]

The semi-vowel /j/ is inserted initially and after certain consonants. The following examples illustrate the usage of the /j/ in Newfoundland French:

être /jet/ v.i. Fr. /ɛtr^ə/ 'to be'.

"La troisième journée que tu vas yete chez
nous...". [CSG, C2380]

une /jyn/ num. Fr. /yn/ 'one'.

"J'en ai yeune". [CSG, C2296]

user /jyze/ v.t. Fr. /yze/ 'to use; to wear out'.

"'Parce', a dit, 'tu vas yuser en masse et en
masse de souliers'" (from a folktale).
[CSG, C2380]

In a few cases, the /j/ appears between a consonant and a following vowel. A very common instance of this is in the word seau:

seau /sjo/ n.m. Fr. /so/ 'bucket'.

"Parce des fois i 'trapiont des coups d'siaux
d'eau, hein". [LGT, C2424]

This form is also attested at Black Duck Brook.

"Il avait un sieau, lui, pis à mesure qu' la
mer rentrait dans l'canot, i vidait l'eau
'vec le sieau". [CSG, C3379]

A brief variant of this phoneme is heard in words with the -ille ending such as douille /duj/, vielle /vjaj/, etc. Two examples are provided to illustrate:

andouille /ãduj/ n.m. imbécile 'imbecile'.

"Il a rosté là comme un andouille". [CSG, C2380]

chamaille /ʃamaj/ n.f. /ʃamaj/ 'quarrel, squabble'.

"C'est tout l'temps en chamaille". [LGT, C2424]

Prothetics

A further interesting aspect of Newfoundland French phonology is the presence of prothetic vowels. As no analysis of this phenomenon has appeared to date, this study can only provide a rather superficial description of forms which do exist. For example, the vowel a appears before initial r or rien: arien. This usage is illustrated below: rien /aRjɛ/ ind. pr. Fr. /Rjɛ/ 'nothing'.

"ça fa, anyway, all right, il a pas dit arien".
[CSG, C2380]

From the same recording we hear in the recounting of a folk-tale:

"'Avec ça à ton côté,' i dit, 't'aras pas peur d'arien'".

Similarly, a phoneme which sounds close to the open o is pronounced before the /k/ of copeau 'wood chip': ocopeau /ɔkɔpo/. It is also heard before the /r/ in roi 'king' and rouet 'spinning wheel', producing forms which sound like the following: oroi /ɔRwa/ and oroi /ɔRwa/. The following are examples illustrating the usage of the last two:

"Les filles de l'oroi s'a'ont mis à l'entour de lui...". [LGT, C2424]

"I venient avec leuz oroits". [CSG, C2380]

(Cf. the variant pronunciation in Black Duck Brook in Text B of the Appendix.)

In addition, phoneme /e/ appears prothetically before the past participle of naître 'to be born': éné, for French né: 'Quand qu'i tait éné...'.
 10

tabelier /tæbɛlɛje/ n.m. Fr. /tablije/ 'apron'.

"Les filles de l'oroi s'a'ont mis à l'entour
de lui ac un tabelier plein de roches"
(from a folktale). [LGT, C2424]

This concludes the discussion on the vowels employed in Port-au-Port French.

Consonants

The consonants of Newfoundland French were listed above among the phonemes, and in general are very similar to those in the standard. Some of the divergencies are interesting. We have witnessed a number of these differences in the illustrative quotations in earlier chapters. This section will describe some of these differences.

We have noted earlier that in languages which are exclusively oral, the tendency to simplify and abbreviate has free rein. A conspicuous example of this in Newfoundland French is the simplification of final consonant clusters. The following quotes will exemplify the prevalence of this aspect.

être /jet/ v.i. Fr. /ɛtr(ə)/ 'to be'.

"'La troisième journée que tu vas yête chez nous', a dit, 'mon père', a dit, 'va te demander trois questions'". [CSG, C2380]

oncle /ɔk/ n.m. Fr. /ɔkl̥/ 'uncle'.

"Mon onc' i va ptete vnir". [CSG, C2296]

octobre /ɔktob/ Fr. /ɔktɔb R(ə)/ 'October'.

"Ah, i va les arracher dans l'commencement d'octobe". [CSG, C2302]

pauvre /pov/ adj. Fr. /pov R(ə)/ 'poor; deceased'.

"Vlà le pauve diabe, pas d'argent" (from a folktale). [CSG, C2337]

aigle /eg/ n.m. Fr. /ɛgl(ə)/ 'eagle'.

"I vient d'à ioù ce qu' y avait un belier et un aige, pis un pigeon" (from a folktale). [CSG, C2380]

This type of simplification also occurs in the -st- cluster, as in rester and juste for example. In these cases, the cluster is reduced to s: il resse for il reste. This change, of course, may be due to the influence of the dominant contact language. In the Anglophone dialect of the area, the st cluster is simplified to s: "I don't have time to res'". An illustration of the usage of juste is presented below:

juste /ʒys/ adj. Fr. /ʒyst(ə)/ 'exact'.

"A tait jusse à motché route d'à ioù faulait qu'alle aller". [CSG, C2380]

Reanalysis of Word Boundaries

In local French speech, words which commence with a vowel sometimes have an added initial consonant. The most frequent residual consonant is z-, probably from the influence of liaison in plurals with possessive adjective forms, mes, tes, ses and the plural form of the definite article les.

oiseau /zwazo/ n.m. Fr. /wazo/ 'bird'.

"Ç'un beau conte, le conte du zoiseau bleu". [CSG, C2296]

yeux /zjø/ n.pl. Fr. /jø/ 'eyes'.

"'Tu vas pas vnir me dire que tu vas marier un homme de même ac pas d'zyeux'". [LGT, C2553]

affaires /zafɛR/ n.f. Fr. /afɛR/ 'items, things'.

'Y a 'n tappée d' zaffaires qu'il appelont qu'y a des faux noms". [CSG, C2302]

en /zɑ̃/ pron. Fr. /ɑ̃/ 'some'.

"J'pense que z-en d'yousse, i lisient pis après ça i l'contient". [CSG, C2380]

The same form is also found in Mainland:

"I y donne z-en d'son manger qu'il avait, à la vieille". [LGT, C2553]

In the case of uncle, oncle, the inserted sound is the n of possessive mon 'my', 'mon nonc', nonc Adolphe.

"Y avait Nonc' Martin, y avait Nonc' Mike, et ...". [cf. Text A of Appendix]

Another consonantal phoneme which has become agglutinated to words with initial vowels is the lateral phoneme /l/. It occurs before the verb aimer and in the

finite form of the verb avoir. The following are examples to illustrate:

"Pis là moi, j'laimais pas ça". [LGT, C2383]

"Quand tu l'as un ptit peu d'fun y a tout l'temps tchèqu'un po vnir l'massacrer". [LGT, C2424]

Nasals

The use of the nasal phonemes in Newfoundland French varies somewhat from the standard French language. Several of these differences have been noted by students and researchers who have visited the area. This study will begin with the phonemes which are present in the most frequently used vocabulary.

/ɛ̃/

This phoneme is present in the masculine form of the indefinite article un:

un /ɛ̃/ indef. art. Fr. /œ̃/ 'a, an'.

"Pis j'avais un ami là, comme deux cent varges de chez nous". [BDB, C3379]

This use of the phoneme /ɛ̃/ is related to the use of the /ɛ/ phoneme for the /œ/ phoneme in words which do not contain a nasal phoneme such as boeuf and oeuf described above. Therefore, this phoneme is extremely frequent in Newfoundland French speech. Two more examples will conclude the section on /ɛ̃/:

cousin /kuzɛ̃/ n.m. Fr. /kuzœ̃/ 'cousin'.

"I reste avec son promier cousin". [CSG, C2296]

In the following example we notice this phoneme used in three of the words of the citation:

lendemain /lã dmẽ/ n.m. Fr. /lãdmẽ/ 'tomorrow'.

"Le lendemain matin /mætẽ/ i s'pointe /pwẽt/
back à l'ouvrage". [LGT, C2424]

/ã/

This phoneme is used in Port-au-Port French in words which have en and an spellings. The following examples are presented to illustrate:

caplan /kãplã/ n.m. Fr. /kaplã/ 'caplin, a small bait fish'.

"I ramâssiont du hareng et du caplan pis là
i finissiont leur jardinage". [BDB, C2861]

fendre /fãd/ v.t. Fr. /fãdR(ə)/ 'to split'.

"On usa un couteau à trancher /trãʃe/ pis on
fend /fã/ la morue pis lève le nôve".
[CSG, C2302]

brisant /brizã/ n.m. 'large wave, whitecap'.

"ça c'est les brisants qu'on appelle".
[CSG, C2302]

/õ/

This phoneme, which is parallel to the French phoneme /ɔ/, is employed in Port-au-Port French in several phonological arrangements. This is exemplified in the following examples:

"A dit, 'J'allons pas trouvé mon père ailloù-
ce que nous sons' a dit. --I dit, 'J'vons le
trouver'". [LGT, C2553]

bon /bõ/ adj. Fr. /bõ/ 'good'.

"C'est bon pou enne parsonne qu'a un lourd
rhume". [CSG, C2302]

/ŋ/

Where standard French has a nasal consonant with the pronunciation /n/ in such words as gagner and accompagner, Newfoundland employs the pronunciation /ŋ/. This sound is possibly reinforced by the /ŋ/ in the contact language, English. It appears usually in the sequence /ŋj/.

gagner /gāŋje/ v.t. Fr. /gaŋje/ 'to win'.

"'T'es vieux assez asteure pou gagner ta vie'" (from a folktale). [LGT, C2553]

mignon /mɪŋjõ/ adj. Fr. /miɲ ɔ̃/ 'nice; darling'.

"ça srait mignon". [CSG, C2337]

agneau /ɛŋjo/ n.m. Fr. /aɲjo/ 'lamb'.

"Dans l'été il n'en tusient aussi comme des agneaux". [BDB, C2861]

This phoneme is also heard in words with a nasal consonant followed by semi-vowel /j/:

grenier /grɛŋje/ n.m. Fr. /grɛɲje/ 'attic'.

"Montons ouère au grenier". [CSG, C2296]

Other words of this type which have this phoneme in Port-au-Port French include: dernier /daŋje/, panier /paŋje/, etc.

Nasalization in Newfoundland French is not limited to the preceding classes. The influence of the dominant prestige language has possibly upset nasal vowels in Newfoundland French. Phonemes which are not normally nasalized in standard French are often nasalized in the French of the Port-au-Port. In other instances, the normal nasalized forms are denasalized. The following examples will help to exemplify the discussion of nasals:

ramasser /~~ra~~m^ãse / v.t. Fr. /~~ra~~mase / 'to put away, pick up, to put back in its place'.

"Il a trouvé l'habis d'eune princése pis il l'a ramansé" (from a folktale). [CSG, C2380]

avant /~~av~~^ã / prep. Fr. /av^ã/ 'before'.

"ç'tait anvant la darnière djerre". [LGT, C2424]

depuis /~~d~~^ãpi / prep. Fr. /d^əpyi / 'since'.

"Vous avez-ti 'té à vote shed', i dit, 'danspis que j'sus ici?'" [CSG, C2380]

A final and particularly interesting example of aberrant nasalization is heard in the local pronunciation of French interjection gare pronounced /g^ẽR/. The following example illustrates this usage:

gare /g^ẽR/ interj. Fr. /gaR/ 'look! watch out'.

"Guëre, c'est le ptit garçon qu'il a claquédantôt" (from a folktale). [LGT, C2553]

(See DNE geary for comparative usage.)

Denasalization

Examples of denasalization are more numerous than those of added nasalization. The examples offered here are few, but they provide a general picture of the process.

encore /~~ɛ~~koR/ adv. Fr. /~~ɑ̃~~koR/ 'again'.

"Tu m'as conté des menteries âcore". [CSG, C2380]

This type of denasalizing has fostered deletion, as in the following:

"J' âcore dix borbis à avener". [CSG, C2296]

"Pis là lui, i s'pointe âcore avec yelle". [LGT, C2553]

"Ej pourras pas mette mes hardes de d'ssous
âcore". [BDB, C3379]

This aspect was attested in all three of the major French-speaking areas of the Port-au-Port Peninsula as the above examples illustrate.

Another interesting example of denasalization occurs in en train de:

en train de /ɔ̃trɔ̃də/ prep. Fr. /ɑ̃tʁɛ̃də/ 'in the process of'.

"I tait âtras de faucher". [LGT, C2424]

fontaine /fotɛn/ n.f. Fr. /fɔ̃tɛn/ 'fountain'.

"Çu-là qui alla à la fôtaine pis qui vna
back et trouva comme un chien...". [CSG, C2337]

combien /kɑbjɛ/ adv. Fr. /kɔ̃bjɛ/ 'how many'.

"Combien d'souèrées Grand-mère nous
ravaillait d'sus la place, nous-autes".
[LGT, C2424]

It may be important to note that not all speakers of Newfoundland French denasalize to the extent described in the present study.

/h/

The aspirate /h/ is present in the French speech of the Port-au-Port. It occurs in English loanwords and in many French words where standard French has h in the spelling. According to modern research, this aspirated phoneme was, in the past, used in the dialects of Normandy and other provinces in the Centre-Ouest of France and would therefore have been present in the speech of French emigrants who came to Canada (Léon).

haler /hæle/ v.t. Fr. /ale/ 'to haul'.

"Et là, mon ptit bonhomme, i halait d'sus, hein". [CSG, C2380]

hardes /hard/ n.pl. Fr. /ard/ 'clothes'.

"Lui, i saute par-dessus la bouchure pis i s'en va dans--pis i tire ses hardes, pis i commence à tuer des poux". [BDB, C3379]

hausser /hose/ v.t. naut. Fr. /ose/ lever, 'to lift, put higher'.

'Pis là hausser la chéne plus vite". [LGT, C2383]

haut /ho/ prep. Fr. /o/ 'high'.

"J'allons monter en haut chez nous". [CSG, C2296]

Palatalization

Palatalization is another conspicuous aspect of Port-au-Port French. The prevalence of this feature in local French may be similarly related to that of the aspirate /h/ discussed above. According to Chidaine, the apico-alveolar /ʃ/ in words such as charette /ʃaʀet/ and dimanche /dimãʃ/ is palatalized in saintongeais and in Canadian French, and this produces a dorso-velar phoneme /tʃ/: tcharette and dimantche. In Port-au-Port French the same phoneme occurs but in different phonological environments.

/tʃ/

In Port-au-Port French there are two palatalized phonemes: /tʃ/ and /dʒ/. The first to be discussed is the /tʃ/. This phoneme occurs in words which have, in standard French, the phoneme /k/ followed by the phonemes /y/, /ø/,

/ɛ/, /i/ and the /ɥi/ cluster in certain linguistic contexts. The examples below illustrate this rich usage:

culottes /tɥɛlɔt/ n.m. pl. Fr. /kylɔt/ n.f. 'trousers'.

"Il a tiré ses tchulottes faire montrer son darrière". [LGT, C2424]

cuire /tɥwir/ v.t. Fr. /kɥir/ 'to cook'.

"I dit, 'Quoi-ce qu'est la cause que tu tchuis pas d'viande?'" (taken from a folk-tale recorded at Cape St. George). [CSG, C2337]

coeur /tɥø:ʁ/ n.m. Fr. /kœʁ/ 'heart'.

"Il est bon tchoeur, i fra du bien à n'importe tchi". [BDB, C3379]

quelle /tɥɛl/ inter. pr. Fr. /kɛl/ 'which'.

"M'en t'dire pou tchelle raison que c'est là ça". [CSG, C2302]

quelque /tɥɛk/ adj. Fr. /kɛlkə/ 'some'.

"Asteure faut qu'i resse tchèque part ailleurs". [CSG, C2296]

quelqu'un /tɥɛkœ̃/ ind. pron. Fr. /kɛlkœ̃/ 'someone'.

"Quand tchèqu'un mourissait, i les enterrait, lui". [LGT, C2424]

qui /tɥi/ inter. pr. Fr. /ki/ 'who'.

"Ah, j'me rappelle pas tchi qui m'a conté ça". [CSG, C2337]

(In the preceding example we note the employment of the /tɥ/ phoneme in the interrogative pronoun, which thus contrasts with relative pronoun qui /ki/ in local speech.)

This palatal phoneme also occurs in the -ti- cluster, pronounced /tj/ in standard French. It is emitted in the

same manner as the k palatalization, which makes the /tʃ/ phoneme more frequent than the /dʒ/ in Newfoundland French. The following quotes will demonstrate this usage in Newfoundland French.

pitié /pitʃe/ n.f. Fr. /pitje/ 'pity'.

"Alle a pris pitché sus yeusse, alle a 'cheté çte maison-là por yeusse". [CSG, C2337]

moitié /mʌtʃe/ n.f. Fr. /mwatje/ 'half'.

"A tait motché bête en bas et un giant en haut" (from a folktale). [CSG, C2553]

cimetière /sʌmtʃɛr/ n.f. Fr. /simtjɛr/ n.m. 'cemetery'.

"Aller prier à la çomtchère". [LGT, C2424]

tiendre /tʃɛd / v.t. Fr. tenir 'to hold, to keep'.

"Ailloû-ce-que c'est que tu tchins ton âme?" [CSG, C2380]

/dʒ/

The second palatalized consonant in Newfoundland French /dʒ/ occurs when gu- precedes standard French e and i and the cluster /wi/. The following examples illustrate this usage:

anguille /ʌdʒi/ n.f. Fr. /ʌgij/ 'eel'.

"L'andjille a sordu avec l'effe dans la djeule" (from a folktale). [CSG, C2380]

guerre /dʒɛr/ n.f. Fr. /gɛr / 'war'.

"C'est après la djerre, qu'il avont vnu là yeusses". [LGT, C2424]

aiguilles /ɛdʒwi/ n.f. Fr. /ɛgɥij/ 'knitting needles'.

"Y en avait qui faisaient leu-z-aidjuilles ac du wire". [BDB, C2866A]

guérir /dʒeRiR/ v.t. Fr. /geRiR / 'to cure, to heal'.

"Dans ç'temps-là, y avait pas d' medecine
por djérir pis d'quoi d'même, hein".
[CSG, C2380]

gueule /dʒɛl/ n.f. Fr. /g œl/ 'mouth'.

"L'andjille a orsordu avec l'effe dans la
djelle" (from a folktale). [CSG, C2380]

Other examples include: La guêpe /dʒep/ Fr. /gɛp/ 'wasp';
déguiser /dɛdʒize/ Fr. /degize/ 'to disguise'; Guillaume
/dʒijom/ Fr. /gijom/ 'William'; figure/fidʒyR / Fr./figyR/
'face', etc.

Voicing and Unvoicing

The phenomena of voicing and unvoicing are common in many illiterate languages. It occurs in a number of Port-au-Port words in certain consonants and so differs from the standard. However, as very few of these appeared in the corpus used for this study, direct illustrative examples cannot be provided for all the words. Nevertheless, a representative sampling is presented to demonstrate this usage.

dantôt /dãto/ adv. Fr. tantôt 'in a while, soon'.

"J'ai dit son nom dantôt là, hein". [CSG, C2337]

"'C'est l' ptit garçon qu'il a claqué là',
a dit, 'dantôt'" (from a folktale).
[LGT, C2553]

In a similar variation, the velar /k/ is replaced by velar /g/. The following example illustrates this usage:
gaboter /gãte/ v.i. Fr. caboter 'to travel within the
community exchanging information along the way'.

"Y en a toujours qui pâssent, qui gabotent".
[CSG, C2302]

Conversely, many consonants have become unvoiced in Port-au-Port French speech. The following examples are used to illustrate:

picasse /pikæs/ n.f. Fr. pigasse 'anchor', Newfoundland English 'killick'.

bècassine /bɛkæsɪn/ n.f. Fr. bégassine 'snipe'.

The plosive /b/ is unvoiced in ciboulette and cabestan:

cipoulette /sɪpuleɪt/ n.f. Fr. ciboulette 'chives'.

capestan /kæpestɪ/ n.m. Fr. cabestan 'capstan'.

Three very interesting consonant substitutions which do not fit in the categories described are the following:

esprès /ɛspɾe/ adv. Fr. exprès /ɛkspre/ 'intentionally'.

le michon, Fr. le bichon, 'a pet lamb'.

pauner /pone/, v.t. Fr. /pome/ 'to slap with the palm of the hand'.

"Fa anyway, i commence à pauner, pis qu'ej paune, pis qu'ej t'astique!" [CSG, C2380]

Metathesis

The last aspect of Newfoundland French phonology to be discussed in this work is metathesis, which is the transposition of neighboring sounds in words. We have seen earlier that the vowel /ə/ metathesizes when it is preceded by the cluster br-. Some of the examples noted were Bortagne /bɔrt æŋ/ for French Bretagne; Borton /bɔrt o/ for French Breton; Borterre /bɔrt ɛr/ for French Breterre; bortelles

/bɔʁtɛl/ for French bretelles 'shoulder braces'; and borbis /bɔʁbi/ for French brebis. The last is illustrated below in a quotation:

brebis /bɔʁbi/ n.f. Fr. /brɛbi/ 'sheep'.

"Vous savez, j'avais 'n borbis". [BDB, C3379]

The same occurs if the re- cluster is preceded by the /g/ phoneme: grelot /grɛlo/ is pronounced gorlot /gɔʁlo/ 'moth', and grenouille /grɛnuj/ French /grɛnuj/ 'frog'.

A special situation involving metathesis exchanges two consonants in some words which contain sibilants. These include chousse /ʃvs/ for French souche /suʃ/ 'tree stump', and chesser /ʃɛse/ for French sécher /seʃe/ 'to dry'. An illustrative example is provided:

"Eune fois qu'il est chessé un peu là, on
l'râte et on l'met en milrons". [CSG, C2302]

There are more examples of metathesis in Port-au-Port French but the present study is limited to this sampling.

This work is a descriptive account of the collected evidence of the French that exists on the Port-au-Port Peninsula and suggested analyses have been made. Occasional comparative comments as to other varieties of French and to the Acadian and Quebecois varieties. The large amount of material presented in this work fully merits further indepth studies of the various aspects of the language as well as more research on the Newfoundland French ethnic minority.

APPENDICES

Informants

1. Mme Marie-Josèphe Dubé
Born: November 13, 1908 at La Grand'Terre
Parents: Théophile Dubé and Julienne Rivolan
2. Mme Joanna Cornect
Born: May 25, 1912 at La Grand'Terre
Parents: Adolphe Lainey and Marie Félix
3. Mme Eugénie Morazé
Born: July 17, 1898 at La Grand'Terre
Parents: Adolphe Lainey and Rachael Levis
4. Mme Elizabeth Barter
Born: April 14, 1928 at La Grand'Terre
Parents: Pierre Morazé and Eugénie Lainey
5. M. Joachim Benoît
Born: November 19, 1916 at L'Anse-à-Canards
Parents: Amédé Benoît and Adeline Duffenais
6. Mme Margaret Huon
Born: August 15, 1897 at Winterhouses
Parents: John Lainey and Marcelle Duffenais

7. Mme Marguerite LeCour

Born: January 4, 1910 at Winterhouse

Parents: Louis Lainey and Maggie Bruce

8. Mme Blanche Ozon

Born: October 13, 1906 at Cap-St-Georges

Parents: Adolphe Simon and Joséphine Renouf

9. M. Emmanuel Simon

Born: March 27, 1935 at Cap-St. Georges

Parents: Paul-Marie Simon and Véronique Louvelle

10. Mme Lucie Simon

Born: April 10, 1930 at Cap-St-Georges

Parents: Adolphe Simon and Cecilia Lainey

11. M. Guillaume Robin

Born: October 8, 1902 at Cap-St-Georges

Parents: Guillaume Robin and Elizabeth Simon

Died: July 27, 1984

Figure 6. Mme Joanna Cornect



Figure 7. Mme Eugénie Morazé



Figure 8. Mme Elizabeth Barter





Figure 9. M. Joachim Benoît



Figure 10. Mme Margaret Huon



Figure 11. Mme Blanche Ozon



Figure 12. M. Emmanuel Simon



Figure 13. Mme Luvie Simon



Figure 14. M. Guillaume Robin



Tape Recorded Interviews

Interview with Elizabeth Barter and Eugénie Morazé of La Grand'Terre (Mainland). Interviewed on December 12, 1974 by Geraldine Barter and Gerald Thomas. Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA) accession number C2424.

Interview with Elizabeth Barter of La Grand'Terre. Interviewed by Geraldine Barter on April 30, 1975. (MUNFLA) accession number C2553.

Interview with Joanna Cornect of La Grand'Terre. Interviewed on December 6, 1973 by Gerald Thomas. (MUNFLA) accession number C2383.

Interview with Elizabeth Barter of La Grand'Terre interviewed by Geraldine Barter on April 21, 1980. Author's own collection.

Interview with Guillaume (Willy) Robin of Cap-St.-Georges. Interviewed by Gerald Thomas on August 24, 1971. (MUNFLA) accession number C2302.

Interview with Blanche Ozon of Cap-St.-Georges. Interviewed by Gerald Thomas on December 21, 1972. (MUNFLA) accession number C2337.

Interview with Lucie Simon of Cap-St.-Georges. Interviewed by Gerald Thomas on June 8, 1973. (MUNFLA)accession number C2380.

Interview with Joachim Benoit of L'Anse-à-Canards (Black Duck Brook). Interviewed by Janette Planchat on May 6, 1977. (MUNFLA)accession number C3379.

Interview with Margaret Huon of L'Anse-à-Canards. Interviewed by Ruth King on May 11, 1977. (MUNFLA)accession number C2861.

Interview with Marguerite LeCour of L'Anse-à-Canards. Interviewed by Ruth King on May 24, 1977. (MUNFLA)accession number C2866.

Recorded Texts

The following texts have been extracted from tape-recorded interviews with two French Newfoundlanders. Local pronunciations are indicated by ad hoc spellings, and in case of unclear forms transcriptions based on the IPA alphabet are included with slash lines. Dialect grammatical forms are similarly glossed with standard French or English words set within brackets. A form followed by [?] is unclear on the tape.

A. Transcription of a tape recording of Mme Elizabeth Barter (Inf) of La Grand'Terre collected in April 1980; recorded and transcribed by author (Int). The subject is related to the original settlers of the community. Unaccessioned tape in author's collection.

Inf: Tu vas prende les Français asteure hein, pis les Français d'la France, i a'ont ^Vnu d'la France, y en a d'yeusse qu'a pas vnu d'la France mais y en a d'yeusse qu'a vnu d'la France hein. Tu ^Vas prende deffunt Boloche et deffunt Grand-père, tau [ton] deffunt--, le deffunt grand-père à tau père, à Dada //dɛdæ/ là, bien asteure lui, il a vnu d'la France aussi, et tu ^Vas prende deffunt Payot /pejo/, il a vnu d'la France aussi lui, pis yeusse i a'ont toutes vnu d'la France. M'asteure y en a qu'a vnu, qu'a vnu d'Saint-Pierre et y en a d'autes qu'a vnu d'un

diffarent, diffarent place hein. Ben il a'ont toutes vnu su l'Île Rouge çté [ces] gârs /g~~ar~~ /-là. C'est là qu'il avont vnu asteure, su l'Île Rouge là. Il avont pas vnu right /ra~~it~~/ à La Grand'Terre quâ [quand] qu'il avont quitté d'la France, d'ces places-là, il avont pas vnu à La Grand'Terre, il avont vnu su l'Île Rouge là. Y avait toutes sortes là: y avait eune boutique y avait toutes sortes là su l'Île Rouge. Y avait du monde qui gardait des bêtes, des bêtes à cornes, tout en grand là su l'Île Rouge. I plantiont des patates, i plantiont des choux, des chouraves. Il aviont tout en grand là le sarvice /sa~~r~~vis/ hein. Pis c'est là qu'il avont parduvnu [parvenu] asteure de vnir à faire d'la pêche asteure. I faisiont leu pêche là à l'Île Rouge pis i s'faisiont des belles pêches hein, i faisiont d'l'argent en masse hein.

Int: Ouais.

Inf: Pis c'est comme ça qu'il a'ont parduvnu de faire leu vie là su l'Île Rouge. Pis là d'su l'Île Rouge, ben là s'i faisait beau les samedis, t'sais--, bien i auront jamais travaillé dimanche.

Int: Non?

Inf: Jamais qu'il aront travaillé su dimanche. I pouviont taire [être] aussi diâbe comme qu'i voulient, il aront pas yu travaillé su l'dimanche. Quâ ç'arrivait samedi après-midi, tout en grand tait halé /h~~a~~le/, tout en grand tait mis clair tu sais, du mauvais temps pis clair des brises hein. Tout en grand tait râmansé quâ ç'arrivait le samedi

après-midi. Pis là il aront yu travorcé là le samedi après-midi à La Grand'Terre là, pis là, tu sais, i s'mettiont avec les fumelles là, i tiont jeunes bien i s'mettiont ac les fumelles hein. Bien là ptéte, y en avait ptéte qu'ara té à Black Duck Brook, y avait ptéte du monde de L'Anse-à-Canards à l'Île aussi à pécher à l'Île hein, pesse i s'orcontiont à pécher hein, t'sais.... Pis là ç'tait comme ça qu'il avont vnu à orcontrer leu femmes. Denne [then] bien y en a qui s'a, s'a--, rosté à L'Anse-à-Canards, y en a d'outes qu'a vnu roster à La Grand'Terre, les fumelles a'ont Vnu roster à La Grand'Terre, pis là y en avait qu'ara té roster au Cap. Asteure les pé--, les gârs du Cap, bien i veniont à l'Île aussi pécher, faisaient la pêche aussi, pis au Câillou Porcé [Pierced Rock]. C'est comme ça qu'i pardionvnu à s'orcontrer tout l'temps hein.

Int: Ah ouais, ouais....

Inf: Mais y avait pas grand monde à La Grand'Terre denne, de ces temps-là.

Int: Non.

Inf: Ej te garantie, le monde qu'y avait à La Grand'Terre denne, i tiont pas épais... Pesse y avait yingue eune coupelle de maisons hein. Ptéte cinq /sẽ/ maisons dâs ces temps-là, hein.

Int: Ouais.

Inf: Mais là après ça ben, deffunt Papa /papa/ s'a marié, le deffunt Sonne s'a marié, le deffunt Noel /nwɛl/ s'a marié,

le deffunt vieux Anatole s'a marié. Asteure de çte [cette] jeunesse-là. asteure là hein, bien là i s'ont marié là, pesse ça commençait à mette des mésons ici et là hein, vois-tu /voty/?

Int: Oui, oui.

Inf: Bien steure dâs ces temps-là, dâs ces vraies temps-là là, bien po t'dire la varité, y avait yinque deffunt Nonc' Joe Lainey, le vieux, pis le deffunt LeCointe, et deffunt LeBouban et l'deffunt John Moore /mɔʁ/ dans ces temps-là steure, les temps deffunt Papa vnait, i tait jeune, i tait jeune garçon là.

Int: Ouais.

Inf: Y avait près comme trois ou quate mésons, su La Grand'Terre?

Int: Et ils étaient toutes--, ils habitaient toutes à La Grand'Terre?

Inf: Tchi ça asteure?

Int: Tous ces gens-là qu'vous parlez là?

Inf: Bien oui....

Int: Mais quand c'est qu'il a'ont commencé à bâtir à La Grand'Terre?

Inf: Il avont commencé à bâtir à La Grand'Terre, po t'dire bâtir; alentour de trente, trente-cinq, antour de quarante ou trente ans d'ça qu'il avont commencé à grandir La Grand'Terre hein.

Int: Ouais.

Inf: À bâtir des mésons hein. Pis là après ça là, ç'a,

tu sais, ç'a mouri là ptête eune coupelle d'années là steure qu'y avait ptête, ptête pas /ka/? bâti hein. Pis là denne quâ qu'la jeunesse de çte [ce] monde-là a commencé à grandir, bien ç'antour de, spère nous dirons, antour de vingt-trois ans. Antour de vingt, dâpis vingt-trois ans asteure la, La Grand'Terre a bâti d'même.

Int: Ah ouais.

Inf: Bien quâ moi et deffunt Dada nous a marié, y avait pas grand mésons denne à La Grand'Terre, quâ qu'ej nous ons marié nous-autes.

Int: Hm, hm.

Inf: Pesse y avait Alphonse LeCointe, y avait Grand-père Barter /bartə/ là, p'il avait deffunt--, y avait Nonc' Martin [Barter], y avait Nonc' Mike [Barter], et là y avait deffunt Noel [Bréand]. Pis là d'chez deffunt Noel, y avait deffunt vieux Carnac et Willie Carnac, et deffunt Nonc' Sonne Lainey, et Anatole Lainey, et deffunt Nonc' Joe Lainey, le vieux d'toutes, deffunt John Moore pis deffunt Emile [Caoutret], pesse c'est tout ce qui tait là dâs les mésons-là qu'avait en haut /ho/ chez nous quâ j'nous ons marié nous-autes.

B. Transcription of a tape recording of Mme Marguerite LeCour (Inf) of L'Anse-à-Canards collected by Ruth King (Int) in May 1977; transcribed by the author. The conversation is related to wool carding, spinning and dyeing. Munfla C2866.

Int: Et, comment est-ce qu'on lavait la laine?

Inf: Bien auparavant on l'lavait, ç'tait de l'eau. L'on lavait promier à l'eau pis là la chaudait après pesse...

Int: Dans quoi?

Inf: Da' 'n bâille.

Int: Dans une baille. Vous avez, vous laviez avec du savon ou....

Inf: Pas p--, auparavant parce que ça la foulait trop, m'asteure ej usons du savon, pis c'est po ça qu'les moulins voulont pus qu'ej lavons la laine; il aimont mieux aouère la laine qu'est pas lavée, t'sais.

Int: Ouais.

Inf: C'est pus aisé à carder et c'est pus, c'est pus aisé su les macaniques /mekanik/.

Int: Ouais. Il faut longtemps pour laver la laine?

Inf: Ah, non, c'est po la chesser qu'est l'pire.

Int: Oui.

Inf: ça prend pas d'temps à la laver pesse c'est pas beaucoup sale /sæl/ anyway.

Int: Qù est-ce que vous séchez la laine?

Inf: Su l'harbe la motché du temps, eune touèle [i.e. sur une toile].

Int: Ouais. Il faut combien de temps?

Inf: ça prend eune coupe de jours [?] qui fait bien bon.

Int: Ouais. Vous teintiez jamais la laine?

Inf: Oh oui.

Int: Oui. Avec quoi? Avec quelle sorte de teinture?

Inf: D'la teinture, des fois--, auparavant il alliont arracher d'la mousse su les arbres.

Int: Oui.

Inf: La plure d'oignon /bɔ̃ʝɔ/.

Int: La fleur d'oignon?

Inf: La p--, ouais, c'est...

Int: ça donnait des teintures de quelles couleurs?

Inf: La fleur d'oignon, c'est couleur, manière /mɑ̃ʝjɛr/ couleur d'orange /ɔ̃ʝɔ/.

Int: Ouais.

Inf: Pis la mousse, c'est pus nouère hein, c'est / un--, teindu d'la mousse, ç'un /bobri/ brown /braʊn/.

Int: Ouais?

Inf: Pis là ej mêlions ça avec d'la blanche pis ça faisait un, un light beige /be:dʒ/ hein.

Int: Ouais.

Inf: Faisons des mitaines ac ça, nous-autes.

Int: Ouais. Vous aviez aussi des teintures achetées?

Inf: Ah ouais.

Int: Ils étaient de quelles couleurs?

Inf: Oh, toutes sortes de couleurs; y avait d'la varte et rouge et brown et nouère, y avait toutes sortes de couleurs de teintures hein.

Int: Ouais. Mais pour ramasser les mousses et les fleurs d'oignon pour faire les teintures, quand est-ce qu'on les ramassait? Pendant quelle saison?

Inf: Oh, dans l'été [sound of cuckoo clock].

Int: Dans l'été.

Inf: Dâs l'hiver aussi des fois quant qu'ej allions, s'i voulient aller dans l'bois, si j'voyions d'la mousse su un arbe, ej la ramâssions.

Int: Mais comment vous obteniez la couleur de la mousse, et des fleurs d'oignon?

Inf: Oh ben, foulait bouillir ça dans l'eau hein. Mais, tu bouillais ça dans l'eau et là tu mettais ta laine dedans. Comme les chaudes laines ou bien don d'la laine crute comme ça. Mais ç'tait meilleur d'mette les eaux chauds parce que ça /sæ/, ça rastait dâs la laine hein. Faulait souquer ça de d'dans. M'asteure, y en a qui tiriont la mousse de d'dans premier pis laviont la laine après.

Int: Et après la laine était lavée--, teintée, on la cardait?

Inf: Ouais, filait, pis là...

Int: Comment vous le cardez?

Inf: Vec des écardes.

Int: Oui, avec les écardes.

Inf: Ici qu'mes écardes, j'croyais qu'j'avais des écardes, ici mais j'en as pas. [Informant leaves to look for cards, shifts to English.] Ej les avais donné à Mary, pis j'les les oryu [orjy]¹ encore quoi.

Int: Comment i marchent comme ça?

Inf: Hein?

Int: Comment ils marchent, c'est comme ça?

Inf: M'en vas aller qu'ri [i.e., quérir] d'la laine pour vous...

Int: Oui, d'accord.

Inf: C'est motché anglais et motché français. [Informant returns with wool and demonstrates] ...

Int: Comment est votre rouet? Your spinning wheel?

Inf: L'arouet /a~~r~~we/. Comment vieux vous dise?

Int: Ouais, comment est-ce que--, voulez-vous le décrire? Tell me about your spinning wheel, how old is it?

Inf: Ohh! dame j'n'sais pas, eune vingtaine d'années, I guess. C'est pas l'mien çu-là, ça c'est à Jean /dʒin/.

Moi, j'en avais un tout ptit, un joli. Papa qui m'l'avait fait.

Int: Ouais.

Inf: Pis j'l'ai donné à un amaritchaine qu'est vnue ici, pis a m'a tant [?] ben j'tais obligée d'y donner. Asteure, ej pensais jamais que j'aras ortourné à filer. [Informant

spinning; break in interview].

Int: C'est pendant quelle saison que vous faisiez la fileture, que vous filliez?....

Inf: Ah, my gosh, danpis [depuis]; porras pas dire au sûr mais, oh, y a--, pense qu'y a dix ans ou plus j'avais pas cardé et filé. Ej croyais pas j'aras pu filer, mais dame ej file, pis Mary a seyé, yelle, pis a peut pas. Portant alle a filé assez.

Int: Mais auparavant, quand est-ce que vous filiez? C'était en été que vous filiez?

Inf: Été pis hiver, tout l'temps.

¹Here the speaker utters a nonce form which in French might be rendre, i.e., to get them back.

C. Transcription of a tape-recording of Mme Lucie Simon (Inf.) Cap-St-Georges collected by Gerald Thomas (Int.) in April 1973; transcribed by the author. The conversation is related to the tradition of folktale telling.

Int: Tchi-ce qui vous a conté ç'conte-là?

Inf: Bien ça, ç'tait l'deffunt Papa hein.

Int: Ah oui.

Inf: Le deffunt Papa, il allait toujours dans l'bois hein pis ç,temps-là, y avait pas d'radio, y avait arien d'même hein, et deffunt Papa, il avait té au--, il avait té dans l'bois pis quand qu'c'est qu'il a vnu back hein, il a dit d'même qu'i machina trois contes, il avait promis--, il avait appris trois contes dans l'temps qu'i tait dans l'bois hein. ça fa quand qu' ça 'steure qu'i vnait d'dans l'bois d'même, y avait toujours des hommes alentours, j'dirons, qu'allaient pas dans l'bois hein, ça fait qu'là, i venient saouère des nouvelles de bois pis s'il aviont su des contes. Bien là, i contiont des contes hein et, tu sais Nonc' Narcisse-là, t'sais hein?

Int: Ouais, ouais.

Inf: Il a vnu chez nous ç'souèrée-là et y avait eune coupelle de jours qu'i tait vnu anyway. ça fait i le dmandiont ouère s'il avait appris des contes dans l'bois. Il a dit, 'Oui, ej n'appris trois'. Anyway il ava appris Morgan, çu-là, et pis eh, 'La Chatte Nouère'.

Int: 'La Chatte Noire'.

Inf: Oui, pis là, là, 'Le Conte de Mopeppe'. 'La Chatte Nouère', ç'ta eune princése et j'dirons, alle tait enchantée en grosse chatte nouère hein, d'un [dans un] moulin. çu-là aussi, j'le savais mais ej l'ai oublié. Ptéte bien Monita l'sais, ptéte Monita l'saras.

Int: Et quoi-ce que c'est le troisième conte?

Inf: Bien, ç'tait 'L'Conte de Mopeppe'.

Int: Ouais.

Inf: Ouais, ç'un tchorieux nom, t'sais.

Int: Ouais.

Inf: [to her husband] Tu te rappelles, t'as entendu Papa nous l'dire qu'i faisait chier l'argent là, de sa jument. ç'un conte fou.

Int: C'était à où dans les bois qu'il avait appris ça, dans tchel bois?

Inf: Ah oui, dans l'lumberwood-là hein.

Int: Ah oui.

Inf: Il alliont bûcher hein.

Int: Près de Deer Lake-là, par là hein?

Inf: [and husband simultaneously] Oui, par là, oui.

Int: Ah oui, ça fait, ça fait longtemps que vous connaissez ç'conte-là?

Inf: Eh oui oh my God, bien tu 'ouis note maison qu' a brulé hein, pus longtemps d'ça hein, oh my God, j'pense-- comment d'temps d'ça, oh my God, j'pense, j'crois pas que j'avais douze ans, j'crois pas.

Int: Ouais.

Inf: Ej crois pas qu'j'avais douze ans quand l'deffunt Papa m'a--, i nous a promis, eh--, i nous avait conté ç'conte-là hein, i nous avait conté ces trois contes-là hein, pis le lendemain ej pouvions les conter.

Int: Ah oui?

Inf: Ouais, c'est d'même que ç'tait hein. Il allait dans l'bois quand qu'il arrivait i savait des contes hein, bien si i les ara conté eune fois hein.

Int: Oui?

Inf: Oui, yinque eune fois 'steure.

Int: Oui.

Inf: Le lendemain, j'les savions toutes.

Int: Oui.

Inf: Ouais, c'est tchorieux hein?

Int: Oui, mon Dieu, oui. Et quand c'est que la dernière fois que vous avez conté ç'conte-là?

Inf: Ah bien, j'm'en rappelle pas le darnier coup que j'l'avais conté, mais un bout de ça hein, Edouard tait pas à la maison, i tait parti à, l'est et eh j'avais té m'coucher avec yeusse, ac les ptits. ça fait qu'là, j'ai dit, 'Bien', j'ai dit, 'j'crois bien qu'ej vas vous conté un conte'. ça fait j'ai commencé à conté çu-là hein.

Int: Ouais.

Inf: Bien là après ça bien j'ai dit, là j'ai dit j'ava oublié des partes dedans hein après si longtemps [part of the informant's speech is unclear].

Int: Mais vous avez conté ces contes-là aussi dans les veillées?

Inf: Dans les veillées?

Int: Dans les veillées, aux veillées, aux fileries et tout ça?

Inf: Ah oui, oui, ouais.

Int: ça fait combien longtemps qu'on fait plus des fileries et des veillées de même?

Inf: Oh, my God, le darnier que j'as été moi, oh my God, y en entour de quoi, oh my God, y en entour d'eune trentaine d'années, j'pense.

Int: Une trentaine d'années!

Inf: Oh oui, vingt-cinq, vingt-sept, vingt-huit ans pou sûr.... Bien ç'temps-là, j'dirons, y avait pas d'radio, y avait pas d'T.V., y avait pas arien pis d'dirons, l'monde j'dirons, savait pas lire hein, quand même qu'y avait des lives, i saviont pas lire, i saviont pas lire hein so c'est la selle [seule] affaire qu'il aviont hein. J'pense que z-en d'yeusse i lisiont pis après ça i ieux contiont, faut crouère, faut crouère c'est d'même que ç'tait.

Int: Mais tchi-ce que c'est qui avait appris ce conte-là à votre père, c'était des Français qui avaient conté ça à votre père?

Inf: Ah oui, des Français oui.

Int: Des Français oui. D'ici ou du Cap ou?

Inf: Eh non. [Informant's husband in distance utters 'les Canadiens'].

Int: Des Canadiens français?

Inf: Ouais [whistling in background. Informant's husband partakes in conversation in support of his wife's statements].
Parce à tout en grand les fois qu'il alliont dans l'bois, y avait des, il avait des Canadiens français. M'asteure y a pus d'contes de conté hein.

Int: Non.

Inf: Passe asteure y a des T.V. le radio...

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