OAT AND A BOAT:
DIPHTHONGS AND IDENTITY IN POST-INDUSTRIAL
CAPE BRETON

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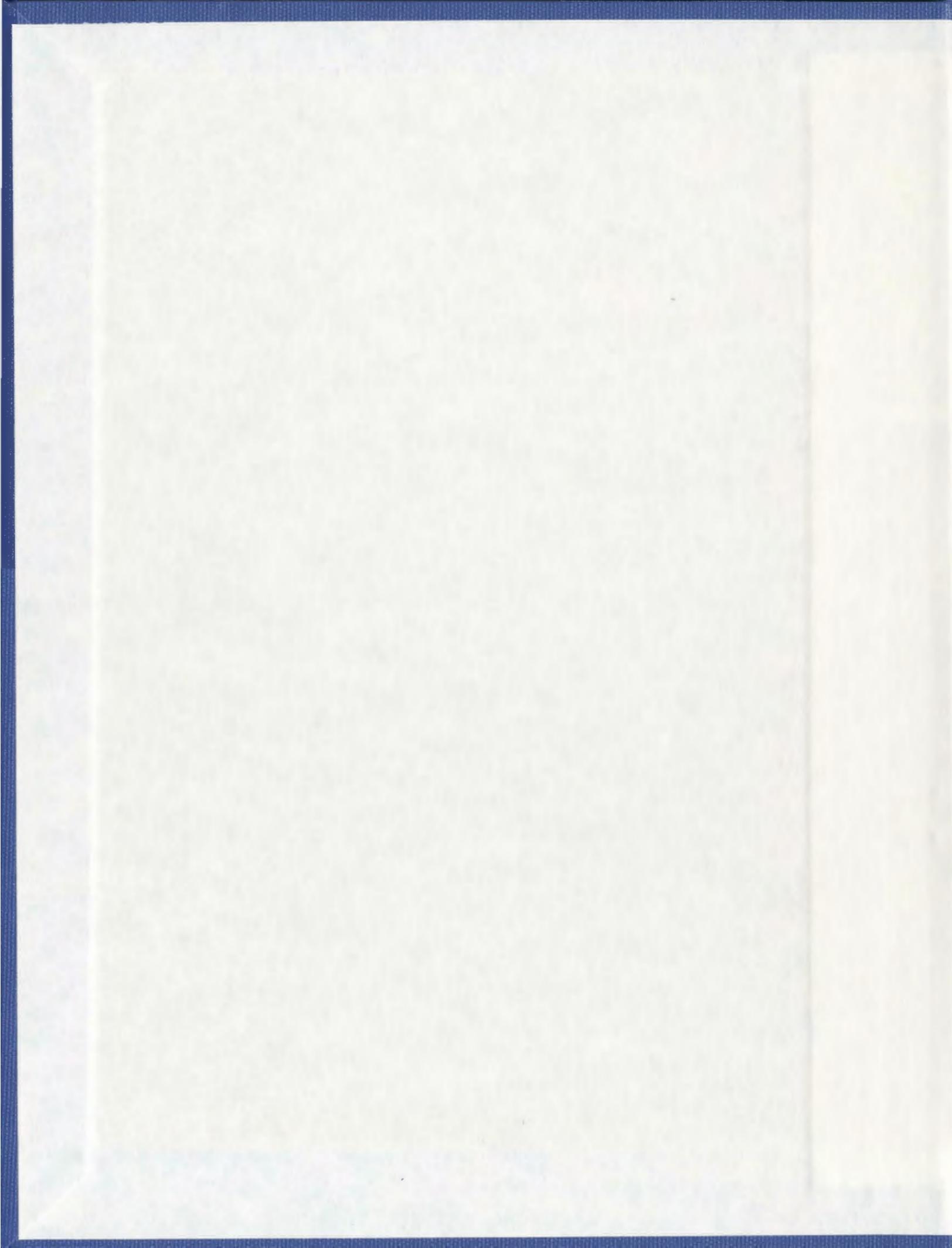
OAT AND A BOAT:

DIPHTHONGS AND IDENTITY IN POST-INDUSTRIAL CAPE BRETON

by

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Abstract

The following paper examines the use of /aʊ/ variation by high school age speakers in Industrial Cape Breton, on Canada's east coast — a community undergoing rapid social change and for which there exists a stigmatized local vernacular. I suggest that these high school students construct their individual and group identities with reference to local norms and broader archetypes from popular culture. Through an qualitative ethnographic and quantitative sociophonetic investigation of Riverview Rural High School, this paper examines the sociolinguistic realities of archetypal social groups like "jocks" (i.e. keepers of the institution), "burnouts" (i.e. rebels against the institution), and "nerds" (i.e those that define themselves as neither of the two), which appear consistently in both sociolinguistic enquiries and public/popular representations of high school culture.

In Cape Breton, the standard Canadian pronunciation of /aw/ before tautosyllabic voiceless consonants (i.e. with a mid-central nucleus) competes with both a traditional and an incoming form (with a mid-back and a mid-front nucleus, respectively) (cf. Chambers, 1973; 2006; Hung *et al.* 1993; Boberg, 2008). My hypothesis marks self-identified "cafeteria people", similar to Eckert's (1989; 2000) "jocks", as the leaders in the use of the incoming or the standard /aw/ pronunciation. "Cafeteria people" and "smokers" (similar to Eckert's "burnouts") are the most significant and numerous of the various social groups at Riverview. They also represent the two extremities of the social spectrum at the school. A small group of "nerds" (cf. Bucholtz, 1999) at the school are the self-professed

"gamers", who brag about their enjoyment of non-mainstream culture and disinterest in broad or mainstream cultural practices.

A multivariate analysis of data (N=1080) taken from sociolinguistic interviews with 18 students, stratified by gender and three social groups, and coded for both social and linguistic factors, shows the "gamers" leading the use of the standard Canadian form and "smokers" and males leading the use of the incoming non-standard form, while the "cafeteria people" and women defy sociolinguistic expectations and lead the use of the traditional non-standard form.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Overview of Research

Worldwide connectivity via television and especially the Internet, coupled with significant local demographic and cultural changes, is forcing speakers of traditionally distinct varieties of Canadian English to re-evaluate their own vernacular usage under the pressures of localization and globalization (cf. Meyerhoff & Niedzielski, 2003). In these situations of rapid social change, strongly iconic local vernacular features can show a trajectory of change that confounds traditional sociolinguistic expectations (Childs *et al.*, 2009). I suggest this is because local social change often results in the changing of local social norms, but also because young speakers in particular now construct their individual and group identities with reference to both local norms and specific and archetypical identity practices present in popular culture.

Industrial Cape Breton offers a unique opportunity to study the use of iconic local vernacular forms amid rapid demographic change. From 1996 to 2006, following the shutdown of the local fishing, steel and coal industries, the population of Cape Breton Island's industrial urban core had the largest percentage population drop of any census division in Canada — largely due to outmigration by job- and education-seekers (Statistics Canada, 2007; Environmental Design and Management Ltd., 2008; see Figure 1). Smith-Piovesan (1998) describes this exodus as significant to local culture and identity. She concludes that as residents' relationship with traditional culture changed, so too did their expression of that culture — an expression that includes the use of linguistic forms. The teenagers of Cape Breton, who must decide at the end of

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high school whether to stay at home or seek success off-island, offer a unique opportunity to study the use of iconic forms in a rapidly changing community by speakers who are very clearly in the process of identity construction and for whom the use of stigmatized local vernacular forms has tangible and potentially serious social and academic consequences. Young people sounding too local, or being overly invested in a local identity, is considered to be undesirable by community members. Young people who choose to stay in the community are often perceived as not smart enough to attend off-island universities, or not skilled enough to obtain off-island employment.

Cape Breton Regional Municipality Population 1891-2006
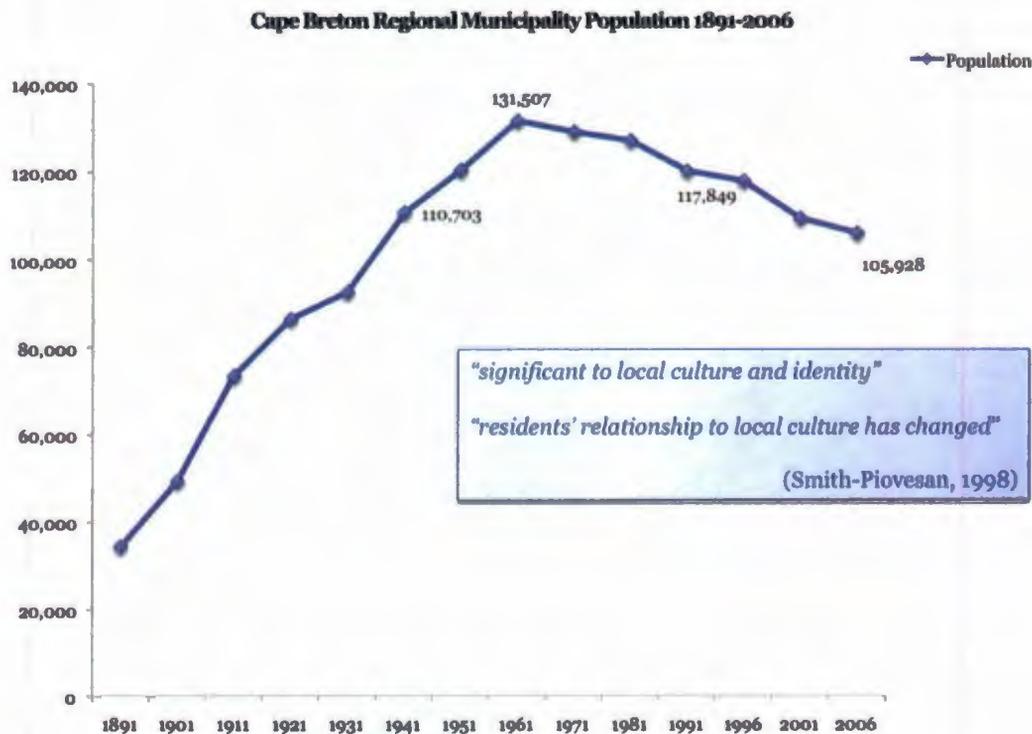
Figure 1: Cape Breton Regional Municipality Population 1891-2006 (Statistics Canada, 2007)

In a community where the choice to stay or go is foregrounded, I suggest that linguistic variation will

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occur between those who identify as "someone who stays" or "someone who goes". These identities involve clear choices and reflect specific local orientations. I suggest young residents preparing to leave the island will lead the community in avoiding the use of traditional, stigmatized linguistic forms, while those who are staying will more readily employ the features of the local vernacular. Specifically, I predict that those planning to attend university off-island will have certain vowel pronunciations closer to the rest of Canada, while those planning to stay or attend a local college, or who wish to present strong local affiliation, will employ more local pronunciations. To test my hypothesis, I explore the use of the /aʊ/ diphthong by youth in the industrial centre of the island. Here /aʊ/ (the vowel sound in *out*) is traditionally and stereotypically pronounced like /oʊ/ (the vowel in *goat*) before tautosyllabic voiceless consonants. However, this variation only occurs in phonological environments in which /aʊ/ is followed by a tautosyllabic voiceless consonant. This variation is very similar to a phonological rule in Canadaian English called Canadian Raising, in which both /aʊ/ and /aɪ/ are pronounced with a mid rather than a low nucleus before tautosyllabic voiceless consonants, (cf. Joos, 1942; Chambers, 1973; 2006). Canadian Raising has been a feature in Canadian English since at least 1880 (Thomas, 1991) and has been attested in Nova Scotia in dialectological and linguistic literature since the mid 1930s (Emeneau, 1935). Sections 2.4 and 2.5 of this paper discuss Canadian Raising and Canadian Raising in Nova Scotia. While it has been well established that Canadian Raising and the *goat*-like, rounded mid-back variant of /aʊ/ occur in Nova Scotia, there has been little published on

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the social or stylistic factors that influence the choice
between these two /aʊ/ variants.

This paper does not aim to provide a complete
description of /aʊ/ variation within Industrial Cape
Breton. Instead, this paper focuses on how young people in
the community are using /aʊ/ variation agentively to index
local or group affiliation and all the assumed ideologies
and characteristics these overt affiliations entail (cf.
Eckert, 2008). In a more general sense the objective of
this research is to foster a fuller understanding of how
young people in regional dialect areas use language for
individual and group identity practices in light of rapidly
changing local demographics and amidst the push and pull of
linguistic insecurity and local pride. From a
sociolinguistic theory perspective, this research also aims
to explore how grouping speakers based on post-modern
concepts of identity can be an effective way to study
variation within a community and how traditional
conceptions of sociolinguistic identity may not fully
account for variation in rapidly changing communities.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

This research adopts a variationist sociolinguistic
theoretical framework, as outlined by Tagliamonte (2006,
§1), which consists of three *a priori* assumptions: orderly
homogeneity (Weinreich *et al.* 1968, p. 100), perpetual
change, and pervasive social meaning. Orderly homogeneity
is the observation that language varies, that this
variation is patterned, not random, and that this patterned
variation reflects the structured order of the grammar.
Perpetual change is the observation that language is always
in a state of change. Pervasive social meaning is the
observation that language does not simply transmit

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information, but makes a statement about who the speaker is, with what group the speaker's loyalties reside, how the speaker perceives his or her relationship to his or her hearers, and what sort of speech event the speaker considers him or herself to be engaged in, (Tagliamonte, 2006, p. 7). Throughout this paper I will discuss linguistic forms as carrying sociolinguistic features like [+local], [+vernacular], or [+standard], in much the same way that a syntactician might discuss grammatical features like [+habitual] and [-finite] or a phonologist might discuss phonological features like [+voice] or [-coronal]. This adaptation of Chomsky & Halle's original distinctive feature theory (1968) is a shorthand way to represent the mental information or associations stored and used by speakers when constructing speech. Sociolinguistic features like [+local] are what speakers draw on to evaluate the social meaning of their own and other's speech. Features may also be associated with non-linguistic semiotic practices — so that dressing in a tuxedo or bowing as a greeting also carry features, like [+formal] or [-local] for example. This paper does not aim to comment on how these features are stored or implemented in the brain; it simply uses these features as descriptive tools for discussing speakers' associations with particular linguistic forms.

Within the variationist paradigm, researchers aim to discover patterns of variation and how they change over time within a group of speakers meant to represent some wider community. The tool used to discover these patterns is generally multivariate analysis, a statistical modeling technique that can calculate the complex influence(s) internal linguistic factors and external social factors

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have on a given linguistic phenomenon. However, the social factors most often considered are broad demographic categories like sex, age, race, social class, and region of residence, which are imposed on the data by the analyst. Age, sex, race, etc. are thus factors that contribute to the traditional view of identity within variationist sociolinguistics.

Mendoza-Denton (2002), among others, criticizes this socio-demographic category-based conception of identity, because it essentializes speakers' identities and does not take into account the meaningful social differences within a given community of speakers. She also criticizes the methodology because it uses these social factors to divide up speakers and sort their linguistic behaviours, and then links the quantitative differences in linguistic productions to explanations based on the very same categories chosen by the analyst (p.477). She argues that researchers must strive to find and then operationalize the meaningful social categories within a community, and then explain research findings in ways that align with the realities of the community under study.

While this paper will examine social characteristics that constitute traditional sociolinguistic identity in §2(i.e. sex, age, neighbourhood of residence), I adopt a *community of practice* approach (Eckert, 2000, after Lave & Wenger, 1991 and Wenger, 1998) whereby both identity and community are considered to be co-constructed by individuals participating in a common exercise instead of being the result of their socio-demographic categories — as would be the case within the more traditional, albeit more widely used, Labovian *speech community* model (cf. Labov, 1966; 1972a). Eckert (2000) explains that when people are

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united by some common enterprise, they come to develop and share beliefs, values, ways of doing things, and ways of speaking. A common exercise may include, in the case of high-school students, being members of the same hockey team, sitting on the same bench together every lunch hour, smoking marijuana in a group behind a convenience store or engaging in team military assaults on Xbox Live until 2 am. As these communities progress through time, the signs and symbolic practices of these groups come to signify or index the groups themselves, both within the group and in the wider community. However, this indexicalization does not entail that these signs and symbolic behaviours are static or unchanging. As the make-up of the communities changes, or as the contexts in which these communities exist change, so too can the meaning or the actual form of the signs and symbolic behaviours that index these communities.

For this research, I also extend Cameron & Kulick's (2003) interpretation of "performativity" (cf. Austin, 1962; Butler, 1997; 1999) as it relates to gender practices to discuss both individual and group identity. "Performativity" for Cameron & Kulick is the way in which members of both genders consciously or subconsciously repeat the identity practices (ways of dress, manners of speaking, etc.) that conventionally and stereotypically signify either male or female. I suggest that high-school students (or anyone for that matter) desiring to effect a "jock", "Cape Bretoner", or "female" identity repeats the acts that conventionally and stereotypically signify "jock", "Cape Bretoner", or "female", and thus, consciously or not, affect rather than effect these identities. The signs and symbolic behaviours available to speakers who wish to effect these identities are those that have become

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conventionally associated with the identities' categories over time. This framework suggests that speaker agency and choice contribute to linguistic variation, as discussed by Ahearn (2000). It also suggests that sociolinguistic identity is the product rather than source of linguistic practices, and thus a fundamentally social and cultural phenomenon, as outlined by Bucholtz & Hall (2005). As society and culture exist on both the macro and local levels, sociolinguistic identities can encompass both macro-level demographic or cultural categories like "Canadian" or "jock", and ethnographically specific cultural positions like "true Cape Bretoner" or "come-from-away[1]". Importantly, though, specific linguistic practices do not entail fixed meanings but rather constitute a field of potential, context dependent meanings that can be used variously by different groups and individuals to create different types of identities (Eckert, 2008) so that "jock", "Cape Bretoner", or "female" identities can manifest performatively in different ways in different contexts by different speakers even if these concepts or archetypes are somewhat fixed and externally determined.

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[1] Slang term, sometimes derogatory, for someone who was not born in the maritime provinces of eastern Canada. (Pratt, 1988)

2. Background

Before exploring how young speakers use /aʊ/ variation for individual and group identity construction, one must first understand the conventional or stereotypical identities or qualities that using each of the /aʊ/ variants in the community connotes. The following section presents a brief history of Cape Breton Island, showing how its people's geographic, political, and social separation from the rest of Nova Scotia (and the world for that matter) has lead to a local identity that defines itself as being in opposition, as well as subjection, to those "from away". As the following section will show, the use of iconic local speech features, while showing local solidarity, entails a *de facto* acceptance of this opposition and subjection. It also entails a specific orientation towards success and education. The choice of "sounding like a Cape Bretoner" for high school students has very serious implications. An ethnography of Riverview Rural High School, the site of the research, and an overview of /aʊ/ variation in Nova Scotia conclude this section. This section will also outline the socio-historical realities that inform the methodological choices discussed in §3, including selection of social factors and establishing particular variants as [+local], [+standard], etc.

2.1 Cape Breton Island, its history and culture

2.1.1 A History of Cape Breton[2]

The island of Cape Breton is located on the eastern extremity of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and is separated from

[2] Much of this history is drawn from Reid, 1999 and Muise, 2010.

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mainland Nova Scotia by the narrow Strait of Canso (bridged by a 2 km causeway in 1955) and from neighbouring Newfoundland by the 110 km-wide Cabot Strait. While currently part of the Canadian province of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton Island has for periods of its history been considered politically separate from the rest of the Nova Scotian peninsula. Although communities of Portuguese, British and French settlers existed at different times though the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, the most significant European settlement of the island occurred following the American Revolution in the late 18th century when Loyalist refugees fleeing northern New England made it their home. Briefly during this period (1784-1820), the island was a separate British colony from mainland Nova Scotia. The Loyalists, who made Sydney their capital, were quickly overwhelmed by successive waves of Scottish immigrants. Between 1827 and 1832 alone more than 10,000 Highland Scotts immigrated to Cape Breton. These new Cape Breton Highlanders occupied most of the arable land around the seacoast and Bras D'Or Lake and made up the bulk of the island's largely rural population, which subsisted on farming and the inshore fishery.

Figure 2: Nova Scotia and its Counties (Service Nova Scotia and Municipal Relations, 2003)

The large ethnically-Scottish population of Cape Breton Island, who were predominately Gaelic-speaking until the mid-20th century, created both ethnic and linguistic distinctiveness between the island and mainland Nova Scotia, which had a greater variety of residents, who were mostly English-speaking. The Cape Breton dialect, influenced mainly by Loyalist English and Scottish and/or Gaelic-influenced English input, and to a lesser extent by the languages of later immigrants (in line with the social doctrine of "first effective settlement"[3]) has continued to set the island apart from mainland Nova Scotia.

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[3] Labov (2001, pp. 503-4) suggests that the social doctrine of first effective settlement (Zelinksy, 1996), whereby the influence of new groups entering an established community is limited, and whereby the original group determines the cultural pattern of newcomers, even if the newcomers are more numerous, is consistent with the *linguistic* patterning

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Figure 3: Industrial Cape Breton

The island's current population, 142,285, represents about 15.5 % of the total population of Nova Scotia (Statistics Canada, 2007). About two-thirds of the island's population lives in the Cape Breton Regional Municipality (or CBRM), which comprises the entirety of Cape Breton County. The CBRM was incorporated in 1995, amalgamating the Municipality of Cape Breton, the City of Sydney, and the Towns of Glace Bay, Sydney Mines, New Waterford, North Sydney, Dominion and Louisbourg. The eastern part of the CBRM has been traditionally referred to as "Industrial Cape Breton" for the industrial operations in the area, including a vital and expansive coal-mining industry, beginning in 1830, and a large integrated steel mill that opened in 1901. The term is most often employed to distinguish the area from the rest of the island, which traditionally relied on fishing and farming.

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of American cities like New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Chicago. This observation was independently formulated as the "first-past-the-post" principle by Sankoff (1980) and as the "founder effect" by Mufwene (1996).

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The mines in Industrial Cape Breton attracted many residents of the already overpopulated rural areas and weighted the island towards its industrial base. The opening of the steel mill, and its offshoot industries, drew immigrants not just from the British Isles, but also from eastern and southern Europe, the Middle East, the West Indies, and Newfoundland. The area was the most dynamic growth zone in Atlantic Canada up to World War I. This boom period also saw historic labour organizing and major strikes (which continued through the 1920s), and represents one of the most interesting and militant periods of Canadian labour history (Gardiner-Barber, 2002). Gardiner-Barber (2002) suggests a strong sense of local identity was brought about during the hardship of early settlement of Cape Breton Island and then later reinforced by working-class families suffering through the poor working and living conditions and major industrial strikes of the late 19th and early 20th century.

Coal production in Industrial Cape Breton peaked in the 1940s; in 1965 the private company operating the coal mines and steel plants in Industrial Cape Breton announced the mines had only 15 years of production left, and that the company would be pulling out of the community within months. Responding to public outcry the federal government created a crown corporation to run the mines, and the provincial government took over the steel making operations. Just prior to these changes in industry, the community's population peaked at 131,507 (in 1961, Statistics Canada, 2007), but since this change of hands, and through the gradual decline of these industries, the population has fallen below 1931 levels. The Lingan Colliery closed in 1992, followed by the Phalen Colliery in

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1999 and the Prince Colliery in 2001. At the same time, the provincial government decided to dismantle and sell the steel plant. During this period (1996 to 2001) the CBRM experienced the largest population percentage decline of any Canadian census division. The population drop gutted Industrial Cape Breton's working and middle classes. Members of both classes were required to find work in new sectors or move off-island for work or further education. "Despite government development initiatives to turn the economy around," writes Gardiner-Barber, "the towns in industrial Cape Breton have known more economic uncertainty than prosperity through most of this century" (2002, p.401). From 1975 to 2002 the average rate of unemployment on the island was 18.2%, compared to 11.3% on mainland Nova Scotia. In 1993 the island's unemployment rate reached 29.5%, so that almost one in three people in the community did not have a job (Locke & Tomblin, 2003, p. 8; Morgan, 2009, p. 232). Gardiner-Barber calls residents' loyalty to the community in the face of social and economic hardship "the culture of making do".

2.1.2 The Culture of Making Do and Sounding like a Cape Bretoner

Gardiner-Barber (2002) explains that each generation of Cape Bretoners has maintained a commitment to the local cultural identity and a commitment to community loyalty despite the grim economic realities of living on the island.

> 'Making-do' involves expressing community loyalty in the face of adversity. It also involves setting a united front against outsiders (including people from Halifax, especially government) and a strong commitment to kinship, relatives, and immediate family. To the extent that the loyalties to one's kin and community avoid, obscure, or even deny the

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negative qualities of life in Cape Breton families and
communities, we may speak of the loyalties as
ideological.

(p.400-1)

This ideology of loyalty may result in the maintenance of
non-standard vernacular forms despite the hegemony of
"standard" (i.e. Standard American or Standard Canadian)
dialects. Residents employ [+local] features as part of
their performative and agentive co-construction of local
identity – an identity they are expected to create in order
to belong to the local community and "present a united
front against outsiders." Westhaver (1996) suggests iconic
local linguistic forms "act as communicative markers that
differentiate the people of Cape Breton from those living
elsewhere"(p. 94). She argues iconic Cape Breton linguistic
forms "provide us [i.e. Cape Bretoners] with markers of
self-identification, they close social gaps, and they
strengthen friendships" (p. 94-5). And while these features
may reflect the "genuinely good" characteristics of Cape
Bretoners they may also "serve as a form of caricature of
the culture. Nevertheless, Cape Bretoners cling tenaciously
to [iconic features] as a means of identification and a way
of preserving [their] down-home personae" (Westhaver, 1996,
p.94-5). Paradoxically, the "down-home persona" that is
constructed out of such hardship is one that reinforces it,
as the archetypal Cape Bretoner is considered, particularly
off-island, to be jobless, drunk and uneducated. Writes
Robertson in 1991,

> While the most hostile views of Cape Breton might
> conjure images of a scenic paradise inhabited by
> idiots, even would-be sympathetic observers are given
> to contrasting our "hospitable" nature, humorous
> character, and archetypical "party-animal" status with

an assumption on our dependence on welfare,
Unemployment Insurance and other government handouts.

(p. 8)

To "sound Cape Breton", especially towards non-islanders,
is an ideological stance incongruous with sounding and thus
being successful — or at least it has been traditionally.
To embrace and actively index a Cape Breton identity is to
embrace and actively index an identity that marks a person
as incapable of being sober, smart or fiscally responsible.
High school students in Cape Breton who want to be
successful (i.e. attend university or gain employment off-
island) may thus actively avoid sounding local because they
do not buy into the associated ideology or do not wish to
take on the identity that speaking this way entails. For
example, Speaker Whisky made the following comment not in
relation to sounding young, or girly, or unintelligent, but
in relation to sounding like a Cape Bretoner…

> *I've been in a lot of situations where I'm
> listening to myself making sure I'm speaking properly,
> especially when you're talking to English professors.*
> - Speaker Whisky

What it means to "sound Cajun" in Louisiana according
to Dubois & Horvath (2002) may prove insightful in looking
at these alternative pressures to both sound and not sound
local. As the status of Cajuns changed with the economic
development of their communities and the rise of the
education level of community members, being Cajun became
something to be proud of. A "Cajun Renaissance" occurred
and the meaning of sounding Cajun changed as Cajun food and
music became popular — drawing tourists to Cajun
communities. Now, while grandfathers sound Cajun and speak
French because it was the vernacular and language of their
childhood, and middle-aged Cajuns sound more like white

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English-speaking Louisiana city-dwellers because they grew up having negative associations with sounding Cajun, grandsons are taking up Cajun Vernacular English features both out of pride and because it is financially beneficial if they work in the Cajun tourism industry. Thus we have both ideological and market pressures working in concert to promote sounding Cajun amongst young speakers.

Boudreau and White (2004) make similar observations in Chéticamp, a small Acadian French-speaking community in western Cape Breton. They remark that the increase in "heritage tourism" has reinforced the distinctive features of the community's Acadian dialect. Here again the market pressures speakers to employ local or traditional forms. Boudreau and White also point out that the increase in tourism has brought the local dialect into greater contact with other varieties of French and thus is also exerting greater standardizing pressure. For English-speaking Nova Scotia the promotion of heritage tourism is often referred to as "tartanism". Under the premiership of Angus L. MacDonald (1933-1954), the province of Nova Scotia (Latin for New Scotland), "purposely and politically embraced and celebrated Scottish lineage as its common ancestry" (Rolls, 1996, p. 79; Smith-Piovesan, 1998, p. 31-2). While this did boost tourism, especially for Cape Breton — the majority of whose population (unlike the rest of Nova Scotia) is actually descendent from Scottish settlers — it also fostered an image of Cape Breton as a quaint, traditional and unspoiled little island, helping to reinforce the association between being from Cape Breton and being backward, naive, uncultured, unsophisticated, or simple. And while the increase of tourism has opened up Cape Breton communities to interactions with outsiders, market

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pressures might persuade residents to maintain the same quaint, traditional or unspoiled way of speaking that Linesay hailed in *Saturday Night* magazine in 1927. The associations the high school students have with being or sounding like they are from Cape Breton could have shifted from an unemployed, uneducated drunk to a successful, entrepreneurial tourism operator because of these new associations. But it has not. The participants in this study had mostly negative feelings toward sounding local or toward Cape Breton itself:

> *When you leave Cape Breton, once you get outside of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, nobody has heard of Cape Breton. Like, "I'm from Cape Breton," "Where's that?", "Where? It's at the ends of the Earth and down a dirt road.* — Speaker Alpha

> *To tell you the truth I think our English is really sloppy* — Speaker Delta

> *There are a lot of people that I've met, they make fun of Cape Breton accents and stuff. Every time you say anything the slightest bit, they'll call you out on it. Like, "Stop talking like that, you're in Halifax now, you gotta act like you're from the city* — Speaker Uniform

2.2 Riverview Rural High School

The students who participated in this study were between 15 and 20 years old at the time I recorded interviews with them. All were born in Industrial Cape Breton and go to school in the former city of Sydney and its suburbs Coxheath and Sydney River. At the time of my interviews they were attending, about to attend (in the case of the one 15 year old) or were within 18 months of graduating from Riverview Rural High School. Riverview is the largest high school on Cape Breton Island, with a little over 1200 students. Like the community itself, Riverview's students and staff are overwhelmingly white

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(infrequently first nations or foreign exchange student attend) and Christian (cf. §3.3.1.2). Riverview is the only co-ed school in the industrial area that offers a French immersion program, so it draws students from all over Industrial Cape Breton — providing a mixture of students understood as being working-class and middle-class (depending on their neighbourhood — see §3.3.1.2). Other than this slight class diversity, the school is extremely homogenous in terms of traditional externally-determined sociolinguistic identity.

Aside from differences between genders, a homogenous sample drawn from the same age category should not result in significant linguistic variation according to traditional conceptions of sociolinguistic identity — yet both intraspeaker and interspeaker variation in /aʊ/ pronunciation occurs at Riverview. This alone suggests that there are important social distinctions at the school that influence language use. Therefore, a study of how high school students use iconic local variants of /aʊ/ for identity purposes must include an understanding of how the high school students identify themselves within their particular social sphere.

Like most high schools, Riverview acts as the hub of social life of its adolescent students, and much like other schools, students are primarily recognized by who they hang out with. At Belten High School in Detroit, Eckert (1989; 2000) found that the best way to understand the linguistic variation that was occurring was to look at the social groups the students at the school came together to form, which she (and they) defined broadly as *jocks*, *burnouts,* and *in-betweeners* (with the occasional *punk* or *loner*). Eckert observed that jocks generally came from middle-class

families and centred their lives around the school and
school activities, while the burnouts were generally from
working-class families and rejected the centrality of the
school, instead seeking fun and excitement off school
grounds. She found that while the jocks got good grades,
took part in varsity sports and assumed leadership roles at
school by joining clubs and running for student government,
the burnouts mostly worked part-time and took an earlier
interest in smoking, drinking, sex and drugs. The
difference between the groups could be easily discerned via
indices like personal appearance and preferred music. The
in-betweeners did not see themselves as either jocks or
burnouts, but admitted being more jock-like or more
burnout-like to some degree. Eckert (1989;2000) found
linguistic consequences related to these social divisions.
In looking at the relative height of /ʌ/ (the vowel in *but*)
as pronounced by different students at the school, she
found that burnouts were more likely to employ a
pronunciation higher in the vowel space than jocks. In
Detroit and other cities like Buffalo, Cleveland and
Chicago, /ʌ/ is sometimes produced as /ɔ/ or /ʊ/. At the
time of the study, the raised variants were more often
heard in the urban centres and were considered to be an
incoming form, thus the burnouts were actually employing
the most innovative form while the jocks were remaining
linguistically conservative.

While Eckert's jocks and burnouts co-construct their
individual and group identities at a very local level, the
self-imposed division of students into categories, broadly
defined as "keepers of the institution" and "rebels against
the institution", occurs repeatedly in ethnographic studies
of adolescent culture (Sussman *et al.*, 2007). For Garner *et*

al. (2006), the communities of practice that develop in high schools are always very closely related to the schools' formal authority systems, ranging from congruence to co-operation to opposition (p. 1023). Importantly, this means that high school social groups are at their core oriented in some way toward the *institution* of education.

During the recorded interviews, the students who participated in the study discussed the different social groups at their school, and either claimed membership in these groups or described themselves as being more like one group or another. The students described the groups' social practices, where each group congregated at the school, and how the groups interacted with each other and each other's spaces. The ethnographic information gleaned from these interviews was supported and augmented by observations made in and around the school. It was also supported by information shared by administrators and teachers at the school. According to the interviewed students, most of the division between the social groups at Riverview can be observed at lunchtime at the school. Riverview's cafeteria is not large enough to seat all 1200 or so students. For this reason there are benches scattered throughout the school for students to sit and eat on during lunchtime. Sitting in the halls and on stairs is also permitted. Groups of friends claim a spot around the school in September and effectively own it for the rest of the school year. Sometimes the administration allows groups to decorate their benches, and often groups are allowed to paint murals by their benches as part of the school's art class. Large groups of friends may occupy a particular spot for several years, with younger students joining the group as older ones graduate. Often areas in the school, and even

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entire hallways, become synonymous with the people who sit
there. One area, near the gym, is referred to, even by
teachers and administrators, as Louisbourg Corner because
successive generations of students who live in or near the
former town of Louisbourg on the eastern coast of the CBRM
congregate there. The administration's participation in and
sanctioning of this integration of place into the culture
that is created at the school acts to reinforce and also
legitimize both the symbolic action of claiming a spot and
the symbolic performances of sitting at and belonging to a
particular spot. At the time of my interviews the types of
students Eckert calls jocks owned the cafeteria, meaning
that only they were allowed to sit there. During the
interviews students referred to these people as *cafeteria
people*. These people were members of the varsity boys'
hockey team (the Redmen), the cheerleading team (the
Redettes), the student council and other extracurricular
groups. These students were considered to be the "popular
kids" within the school. Within the cafeteria itself,
students only ever sit at particular tables. The *Grade 12s*,
i.e. the oldest or senior cafeteria people, do not sit at
tables but rather sit on the stage at the end of the
cafeteria. The Grade 12s effectively hold court at the
heart of the school, presiding over the rest of the
students and reinforcing physically their symbolic higher
position in the high-school social hierarchy. At the
opposite end of the social spectrum are students who my
participants call *smokers*. These are students who do not
sit inside the school at lunchtime, instead removing
themselves from the institution by walking to a specific
spot outside the school to smoke cigarettes and sometimes
drugs. Traditionally a fence alongside the school was the

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smokers' destination, but a recent crackdown by the
school's administration "closed" the fence (technically the
area was on school grounds, where smoking is not
permitted), forcing the majority of smokers to congregate
behind a convenience store across the street from the
school. Interestingly, someone who is considered a smoker
does not necessarily smoke; many students walk over to the
area behind the convenience store to spend lunch hour and
smoke nothing, but still participate in the smoker group.
This area is just as demarcated as the benches around the
school and the tables in the cafeteria. Non-smokers rarely
venture into the smokers' area. Says one speaker, Speaker
Delta (himself a cafeteria person) "if you went to the
store that's where you would find trouble if you were
looking for it." The smokers and the cafeteria people are
not the only groups in the school (speakers discuss the
artsy *emo kids*, for instance) but the cafeteria people and
the smokers are the most significant and numerous. They
also represent the two extremities of the social spectrum
at the school. According to Speaker Lima (a recent graduate
from Riverview), "there was the popular people and the
smokers and everyone else just fell in between."

Sussman *et al.*'s (2007) survey of 40 peer-reviewed
quantitative and data-based qualitative studies of English-
speaking North American high school social groups, ranging
from 1963 to 2005, found that the same four archetypical
categories occur repeatedly from high school to high
school. These groups, while having specific local names
like *jocks* and *cafeteria people*, are broadly named by
Sussman *et al.* as *Elites, Athletes, Deviants* and *Academics*.
While similarity in institutional structure may result in
the repetition of these "types" from school to school and

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from year to year, their pervasiveness must also be attributed to the popular norms and archetypes expressed through popular culture. Recurrent representations of adolescent culture in books like *The Outsiders*, movies like *The Breakfast Club* and *Mean Girls*, and television programs like *Degrassi High, Freaks and Geeks* and *Glee*, speak to the reality of adolescent life in their portrayal of adolescent social groups, but also perpetuate the idea amongst adolescents that these types of social distinctions are natural, expected or rather targets for normative practices.

The Elites and Athletes, who at Belten High School converge as jocks and at Riverview Rural High School converge as cafeteria people, are keepers of the institution and are often the leading, dominant crowd at a high school, in part because adult authorities believe these groups conform to their own conservative, middle-class value system (Garner *et al.* 2006). The Deviants, who at Belten call themselves burnouts and at Riverview call themselves smokers, are the rebels against the institution who challenge the school authority, its Elite/Athlete supporters, and the values that it espouses. School authorities themselves often reinforce this opposition by limiting or over-supervising the smokers' communal spaces. The closing of the fence is one of many actions the school administrators take in an effort to maintain order or security at the school that actually reinforces the symbolic separation between the school and the smokers. Chambliss noted in 1973 that the same types of deviance are sanctioned differently for Elite/Athlete groups and Deviant groups. Elites and Athletes also drink, smoke, use drugs

and have sex, but are not labeled in the same way as Deviants.

Speaker Lima's "everyone else who falls in-between" at Riverview exist on the fringes of these two groups, or fall either into the Academic category or some hyper-local social group (e.g. the members of Louisbourg Corner). The Academics, or students who are more devoted to academic studies and academic-related extracurricular activities than any other activities, are less unified than the cafeteria people and smokers at Riverview. The students who fall into this category often sit in the far reaches of the school (in areas both physically and symbolically distant from the central cafeteria). An offshoot or subgroup of the Academics are Riverview's self-professed "gamers". The gamers, who could also be considered a hyper-local social group, take pride in being unlike the smokers and the cafeteria people and brag about their enjoyment of non-mainstream culture (e.g. Korean pop music, costume-Play, collecting swords etc.) and disinterest in broad or mainstream cultural practices. Noteworthy is the group's rejection of social media and related technology. For instance all refuse to create Facebook accounts and one, Speaker Butter, called text messaging "the Devil". Twenty years previous the "cool kids" would have been the ones rejecting computers and new technology, leaving it instead for the nerds. Now social media and computer-mediated communication have gone mainstream, and have thus been branded as things to resist by the gamers. In many concrete ways the gamers are similar to Bucholtz's (1999) "nerd girls". The gamers, like the nerd girls, are not preoccupied with being "cool". The dichotomy that separates the cafeteria people from the smokers is at its core their

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different orientation towards the institution of education; however, the two groups can be understood to belong to the same community of practice for which the ultimate goal is being cool — differing only in how they define coolness. The nerd girls and the gamers do not belong to this community, and thus represent an antithesis to both groups. The nerd girls and the gamers both consciously choose to express their identities through *negative identity practices*, such as speaking, dressing, or socializing in a way that is markedly unlike other groups. Like Bucholtz's nerd girls, the gamers use overly formal or traditional speech; for instance, the gamers address each other as "Gentleman" or "Lady". Further the gamers often hypercorrect or use what Bucholtz calls "superstandard" linguistic forms. They also chastise each other for incorrect or non-in-group pronunciations. The gamers have extensive array of in-group words and pronunciations; for instance, Speaker Xray describes his chores as "mooping" (for mopping) and "doosting" (for dusting), and his favorite pastime as playing vigigames (for videogames).

The cafeteria people, the smokers and the gamers represent three archetypical social categories: keepers of the intuition, those who rebel against the institution, and those who define themselves by being neither of the other two and separate from the dichotomy in which those groups exist. For the purposes of looking at variation within Riverview Rural High School, this study categorizes participants based on these archetypes. It is important to keep in mind that this etic categorization is based on the emic categories to which the participants willing categorize themselves. This categorization is thus in line with a sociolinguistic framework that understands identity

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as a performative practice necessitating a priori
archetypes from which speakers draw behaviour, ideology, or
linguistic features. Students at Riverview may draw on
their knowledge of archetypical high school groups from
popular culture, archetypical Cape Bretoners, or
archetypical males or females in their construction or
identity and use iconic local speech forms.

2.3 The Cape Breton Language

When Linesay (1927) writes about Cape Breton's "quaint
language" or Speaker Delta talks about Cape Breton's
"sloppy" English, what exactly are they talking about? How
does the English spoken in Cape Breton differ from
Englishes elsewhere? Despite the large amount of public
discourse about "Cape Bretonese" and the proliferation of
Cape Breton souvenirs emblazoned with local catchphrases
like "Good Dear, Good" and "How's she goin' b'ye", little
academic literature has been published concerning the
English of Cape Breton Island. *The Dictionary of Cape
Breton English* has been in the process of being compiled
for over 20 years but has yet to be published. The
regularly presented reports on the project only list
lexical data and do not include information on Cape
Breton's particular morphosyntactic, phonetic,
phonological, or discourse features. Below are accounts of
the dialect in the few other resources available:

Falk's (1989) article "Regional usage in the English
of Cape Breton Island" lists regional features present (in
varying degrees) in the Cape Breton dialect of Nova Scotia
English. Falk's data comes from transcribed interviews with
residents of mostly rural communities in Cape Breton. The
following is a list of the variables listed by Falk (with
her own examples), with indication of which were still

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present in the speech of the urban and suburban young
people who participated in this study:

Syntax

Feature	Example in Falk (1989)	Attested
Extraposition of definite and indefinite animate subjects	*My cousin, he made all kinds of knots*	✓
	Well, the woman who broke my first little cup, she died last fall.	
Postponing of subjects	*Kept putting a little water in her mouth, Mrs. MacLennan did.*	✓
	Get [i.e he got] about 12 dollars a barrel, he did.	
Asyndetic construction in sentences starting with *there is/was.*	*There was bad things ~~that~~ happened there.*	✓
	And there were hundreds ~~who~~ used to come here.	
Paratatic asyndetic constuctions	*Sometimes you'd go to bed at night ~~and~~ the moon woud be shining*	✓
Fusing syntactic constructions for dramatic effect	*Anyway, the last boat that came in that fall with supplies for the winter -- didn't that old carcass come back to the island for the boys to eat tha winter [vs. …the last boat that came in the fall…brought the old carcass back to the island]*	
Use of *except, regardless,* and *on account* for subordinating conjunctions	*Put in the Heel Stay and Toe Stay as in the drawing -- except they are to be drawn fairly snug…along the inside of the bow*	
	You could go and buy until -- until it reached a stage regardless the father was sick, when you went to the company store they had what you would call you've drawn up your lot, and if you didn't have enough in to cover for that pound of butter you didn't get it.	
	Then I quit school on account of my father had a stroke	

Verbs

Feature	Example in Falk (1989)	Attested
Irregular Verb Forms	*This fellow [i.e. the swordfish] went crazy and **dove** down 60-70 fathom of water.*	✓
	*And she said that people were surprised to see the horse where he would be **laying**… they went up close to the where the horse would be **lying** down with the sheep.*	✓
	*That's the way we **done** that.*	✓
	*Oh I **been**…I suppose now 40 years since I know about that.*	✓
	*That's the only time I **hear** tell of that.*	
	***Get** about $12 a barrel, he told me*	
	*And then a lof of times you **see** them and couldn't get them.*	
	*If he'd've been sober he'd've **broke** his neck but he didn't get hurt.*	✓
Says as quotative for direct speech in past narratives	*I **says**, " ___ " [no example given]*	
	*He **says**, "___ "*	
Come as a present conjunctive	***Come** a rough wind, you had to get down out of it, get off the mast and steer below*	
	***Come** in, they'd have two days fishing*	
Use of the present form to mark habitual past	*We were living in the same house, every time he **takes** the fiddle I **hear** the tune. After a while, I'm **playing** by ear.*	
There is/was with plural subjects	***There was** four or five of us on the oars*	
	***There's** no boats now; it's all lobster boats. **There was** about nine swordfishing boats there in Neil's Harbour….**There was** nine just there alone, and **there was**…*	✓
Was with plural subjects	*Me and the cook **was** pretty good friends*	
	*See, the ones that **wasn't** fattened he wouldn't put the rods to*	
For to for infinitives	*Back in the bible…where Jacob put the rods in the tubs **for to** turn the animals in the different colours…*	
	*You'd have to hunt. You may have quite a bit **for to** find one*	

	When we killed the pig late in the fall we always took the bristles **for to** have to sew. You took the bristles before you scalded it **for to** clean it.
a+ past participle	And the light kept **a-going** for over five hours
never + perfect for emphasis (first person only)	I have seen a lot, but I **never** saw one like this.
would or *would have* in both clauses of conditional constructions	I was frightened if I'**d** fall asleep, that I **would**n't get up [to wind the light in the lighthouse]
since + negative with perfect rather than past continuous tense	Well, it's been 45 years **since** I **didn't make** that [vs. …45 years that I haven't made that]

The "never + perfect" row has a ✓ in the attested column.

Adjectives, Adverbs, and Intensifiers

Feature	Example in Falk (1989)	Attested
Use of ajectives or ajective-complement for adverbs	They came back in the spring and brought their families. But they did not do too **good**.	
	And you pull their hair off the hide. It'll come off **easy**	✓
	They pretty **near** starved to death	✓
	All the ships are built **different**	
	If you didn't sharpen it too **course**…	
	…take and old-fashinoned jack plane -- you turn it bottom up and you set it **coarse-like**	
too, awful, pretty, quite and *right* as intensifiers	You take the lime and put it in the barrel and put water on it and will just boil. Then it will start to shake out and it gets **right** hot.	
	...cut it **right** around	
	…slit it **right** down	
	…spread it **right** out with a layer of bark	
	…put it **right** there	✓
	And it's **quite** thick	
	…and it's not **too** good	
	…**awful** lonesome	
	…**pretty** near	

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		Attested
Intensification by reduplicaiton or use of synonms	...a **strange strange** sight	✓
	...**great big** chunks	
	...a nice **great big** fresh halibut	✓
	...a **great big**-mouthed woman	
	...**small little** five cent pieces	

Pronouns

Feature	Example in Falk (1989)	
she/her ('er) in reference to boats, cars, and other inanimate objects	*You wouldn't have that in your pocket...I'd have to take one quarter out of **her** [pocket]...*	✓
he/him, she/her to refer to fish, birds, and other animals	[no example given]	✓
them as a demonstrative	*Well, you remember **them** small little five cent pieces?*	
	*And **them** fellows said by Jesus what are we doing here?*	✓

Prepositions

Feature	Example in Falk (1989)	Attested
onto for *to*, especially after *come* and *go*	*...they had come **onto** the main street where they had a big wooden platform built*	✓
into for *in*, espcially to indicate location	*There's a dot of gold **into** it*	
	*His son when **into** a ship...he want to Australia*	✓
off of for *off*	*And you pull that hair **off of** the hide*	✓
At and *on* as particles	*...where I'm standing **at***	
	*His house is where the Gaelic College is **at**...*	✓
	*...when you were hired **on**...*	✓
Ommission of prespositions	*Plant a couple ~~of~~ seeds*	
	Cut ~~in~~ both places	✓
	You were notified ~~on~~ a certain day	
Use of *to* in some expressions	*This was no great difference **to** what we'd already done*	
	*He was so hard **to** work*	
	***To** my mind, it gives you a lighter colour...*	
in and *at* + *up* and *down*	*They were lobster fisherman **up in** their towns*	✓

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	*You've yeard of him I guess. He was **up** at St. Ann's.*

Nouns

Feature	Example in Falk (1989)	Attested
Invariant singular or plural forms for fish, animals, *pair* and *foot* [as measure]	*Swordfish come to the surface. They're not up all the time*	?
	There wasn't many fish	
	***The Lynx** seem to travel in families*	
	*You'd have to go out and get among **the seal** -- they were thick, thousands of them.*	
	***The Lynx** also eat mice, muskrats, beavers, moose, caribou, cow, sheep, deer -- almost any living creature they can overcome, including frogs, snakes, birds, and insects.*	

Table 1: Dialect Features Listed in Falk (1989)

Falk concludes that "the speech of Cape Breton is not unique" in syntax, morphology, or vocabulary, but is "unique in the particular blend of regional features" found within the Atlantic region. Falk's data is textual; no phonetic or phonological variables were included in her analysis. Shaw (1999) does list a few phonetic/phonological features of the Cape Breton dialect in "Gaelic and Cape Breton English". As above, I have indicated which features were also present in the data for this study.

Feature	Example in Shaw (1999)	Attested
/s/ for /z/ intervocalically and word-finally	*reserve, busy, position*	✓
altogether meaning as an intensifier	[no example given]	
since + negative with perfect rather than past continuous tense	*It is a long time since I did not see you*	
he/she for *it*	[no example given]	✓
pre-aspiration	especially in the word *eight*	✓
palatalization in initial and final position	[gʲʊd], [bʊkʲ]	

Table 2: Dialect Features Listed in Shaw (1999)

Shaw suggests these features are from the influence of Gaelic, which was widely spoken in the rural areas of the island until the late 1930s and early 1940s (cf. Mertz, 1982). The word-final frication of coronal stops called "slit-t" which Parris (2009) studied in the community (and which is present in the speech of many of this study's participants) may also result from the influence of Gaelic or at the very least Scots or Irish English (cf. Hickey, 1996; Pandeli *et al.*, 1997).

Accounts of phonetic and phonological features in the community also come from folk linguistics. *Da Mudder Tongue* and its sequel *Anudder Mudder* (Gray, 2007; 2006) are slang dictionaries for Industrial Cape Breton. The little photocopied and stapled books are sold at souvenir shops and local bookstores. Each entry includes approximations of phonetic transcription. In most cases it is not the particular lexical item that is considered to be iconically "Cape Breton", but rather its pronunciation. When Speaker Uniform was asked if there were any specific words or phrases that were unique to Cape Breton, her answer mirrored this fact.

> *"It's more of the way that you're speaking, your vowels get all weird. I don't know what it is."*

A linguist reading *Da Mudder Tongue* can easily pick out the types of phonetic/phonological features considered to be iconically "Cape Breton":

Feature	Example in Gray (2007)	Attested
interdental stopping	*dis, *dat and *munt for this, that, and month	✓
schwa elision	*forn for foreign, *Cump Knee for company, *Bunglo for bungalow, *grage for garage	✓
consonant cluster simplification	*dwin for the wind, *draf for draught/draft, *dennis for dentist	✓

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word-final devoicing	*haf for have
coronal –ing	*rootin for rooting, *fishin for fishing
syllabic-r and dark-l avoidance	*irin for iron, *Eastrin for Eastern, *aways for always, *awrite for alright
voicing of intervocalic voiceless coronal stops	*Boddle for Bottle, *Boddum for Bottom

Table 3: Dialect Features Listed in Gray (2006)

Clearly these features are not just perceived features of Cape Breton English. Many are attested in other communities (e.g., interdental stopping in Newfoundland, see Childs *et al.* 2009 for example) and some consist of English vernacular universals (coronal –ing, see Labov, 1972a, for example; cf. Chambers, 1995; 2004). It is telling that what is considered universally vernacular coincides with what is considered ironically "Cape Breton" — so that universal non-standard features are inextricable from local non-standard features, reinforcing the idea that to be "local" is to be non-standard. In Cape Breton to be [+local] is to be [-standard] and therefore also [-prestige].

The very existence of a slang dictionary of Cape Breton English and souvenirs decorated with Cape Breton catchphrases entails that the features of the Cape Breton dialect, whether locally or universally vernacular, are part of the local discourse. Further, the commoditization of these vernacular forms implies a process of local vernacular norm formation, or *enregisterment*, (cf. Johnstone & Baumgardt, 2004) has occurred. In the last few years, use of local dialect features, especially off-island and in the media, has been both harshly criticized (Campbell, 2003; Visser, 2007) and applauded (Reid, 2007; Ainslie, 2007; Murphy, 2008), suggesting that the dual nature of [+local] vernacular forms, which index both local

affiliation and local deficiency, is also part of the public discourse.

The enregisterment of the Cape Breton dialect occurred in parallel with Cape Breton's "cultural renaissance" from the 1960s onward. *The Cape Breton Magazine*, first published in 1971, retold the stories of islanders in their own, unedited words. The success of the magazine led its editors to start Breton Books, the island's first nationally-distributed trade publisher, which published new local literature and reissued classic Cape Breton music compositions. A few years earlier, in 1966, Elizabeth and Harry Boardmore inaugurated the first theatrical studies program at what is now called Cape Breton University, and promoted the on-stage presentation of Cape Breton stories to Cape Bretoners. Influenced by the Boardmores and burgeoning musical culture, groups of young people produced a series of revues that blended elements of the island's Scottish, Irish, French (Acadian) and working-class cultures. Writes Morgan in his 2009 history of Cape Breton, the revues "played to packed and delighted local audiences who really understood the humour, the irony, and felt the pride in what could be made of their own story," (p.211). Out of these revues grew *The Rise and Follies of Cape Breton Island,* later re-envisioned as the *Cape Breton Summertime Revue,* which ran almost annually from 1977 to 1996. These massively popular revues drew much of their humor from the use and "misuse" of local language, explains both Morgan (2009) and Smith-Piovesan (1998).

> From hardboard bleachers the crowds laughed and
> cheered [at] scenes that featured Cape Breton music,
> clever socio-political satire, gut-busting humour,
> much of it unintelligible to off-islanders.
> (Morgan, 2009, p. 212)

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> The Cape Breton accent is the focal point of much of
> the humour. In addition, one character in particular,
> Martin MacKinnon, is noted for his exaggerated
> mispronunciation and misuse of words. Double entendres
> appear quite often in the (Cape Breton Summertime
> Review) as stereotypically uneducated, simple Cape
> Bretoners poke fun at those from the mainland [i.e.
> mainland Nova Scotia] or the United States who are
> perceived as having more intelligence and worldly
> experience.
>
> (Smith-Piovesan, 1998, p.68)

The *Follies* and the *Revue*, as well as other iconic Cape
Bretoners on stage and on television (i.e. the character of
General John Cabot Trail and musicians like the Rankin
Family and Natalie McMaster) helped to reinforce the
cultural stereotypes associated with being from Cape Breton
and to enregister the local dialect. Two of the show's
songs, Kenzie MacNeil's "The Island" and Leon Dubinsky's
"We Rise Again", have become unofficial anthems for the
island. The catchphrases of the shows' characters, like
"Good dear, good!" and "What's your father's name", have
now come to index the community generally and can be found
written on mugs, T-shirts, bumper stickers and hats at Cape
Breton souvenir shops. Language forms like "Good dear,
good" now *mean* Cape Breton, but the *Cape Breton* that they
mean is an iconic or stereotypical Cape Breton. This Cape
Breton is filled with hardworking and hospitable
unemployed, uneducated drunks; and for young speakers it is
this Cape Breton that is indexed when using traditional
speech features.

2.4 Canadian Raising

Canadian Raising, or the phonological rule that
results in the pronunciation of /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ with non-low
nuclei before tautosyllabic voiceless consonants was first
discussed by Joos (1942) and later reanalyzed and named by

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Chambers (1973). Because of this rule minimal pairs like *lout* and *loud* and *light* and *lied* are pronounced like /lʌʊt/ and /laʊd/ and /lʌɪt/ and /laɪd/ respectively. Chambers (2006) reports the pattern occurs in urban middle-class accents all the way from Fredericton, New Brunswick (Kinloch & Fazilah, 1993) to Victoria, British Columbia (Hung *et al.*, 1993; Rosenfelder, 2005). Studies with representative population samples have occurred in Ottawa (Woods, 1999), Montreal (Hung *et al.*, 1993), Vancouver (Chambers & Hardwick, 1986), and outside of Canada in Rochester, New York, (Vance, 1987), Ann Arbor, Michigan (Dailey-O'Cain, 1997), Detroit, Michigan (Niedzielski, 1997), Newcastle-on-Tyne (Milroy, 1996), and in the Fens in eastern England (Britain, 1997). The raising of both /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ was the basis of Labov's (1963) study of Martha's Vineyard and Kurath & McDavid (1961) suggest a raised /aɪ/ is a feature of the dialect of eastern Virginia. *The Atlas of North American English* shows that Canadian Raising is a widespread feature of Canadian English, extending variably into Nova Scotia and the other Atlantic Provinces "but not uniform enough to serve as a defining feature of the dialect of Canada," (Labov *et al.*, 2006, p. 221). A tendency towards fronting the raised /aʊ/ has also been studied in some Canadian cities and is summarized in Hung *et al.* (1993).

2.5 Canadian Raising in Nova Scotia

In his 1935 paper "The Dialect of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia" Emeneau describes the phonological inventory of speakers in one southeastern Nova Scotia town. His account is important, as it partially leads Chambers (1973, p.iii) and especially Trudgill (2006) to declare Lunenburg a dialect enclave. Although Lunenburg is part of mainland

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Nova Scotia (see Figure 2) and from the earliest
dialectological accounts of Nova Scotia English, Cape
Breton Island and mainland Nova Scotia have been considered
to be two distinct dialect areas, certain features in Cape
Breton and Lunenburg are shared. Emeneau's account of 1930s
Lunenburg phonology is, I suggest, important in
establishing a backed and rounded /aʊ/ variant as a
traditional variant form in Nova Scotia (both on the
mainland and on Cape Breton Island). Emeneau describes the
variants of /aʊ/ and /aɪ/ before voiceless segments as [oʊ̯]
and [ʌɪ][4] in contrast to what he calls the standard [au] and
[aɪ]. This represents the earliest linguistic attestation
of Canadian Raising in Nova Scotia. Unlike the general
pattern that would later become known as Canadian Raising,
Emeneau makes a distinction between the raised /aʊ/ and
/aɪ/ nuclei, choosing the mid back rounded [o] for /aʊ/ and
the mid central unrounded [ʌ] for /aɪ/. Emeneau goes
further to say that in Lunenburg several homophonous (or
near homophonous) pairs occur that do not regularly occur
elsewhere: [koʊ̯č] for *coach* and *couch*, [goʊ̯t] for *gout* and
goat, and [oʊ̯t] for *out* and [oʊ̯ts] for *oats*. He continues:

> The phrase [ʌboʊ̯t ʌ boʊ̯t] *about a boat* not only sounds
> strange to the speaker of Standard English, but also
> offers difficulties when an attempt is made to bring
> it into conformity with standard usage. Both
> diphthongs may be changed, or the change may be with
> the wrong one. It is only by vigilance that hyper-
> correction can be avoided by one whose native dialect
> has this phonological feature and who wishes to
> correct it.
>
> (p. 142)

Not only does Emeneau set up a backed and rounded /aʊ/
as a traditional variant, but also stylistic /aʊ/_C[-voice]

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[4] His transcription.

variation as a traditional sociolinguistic marker (Labov, 1972a) in Nova Scotia English.

Labov (1972a) outlines three types of variables within a community: stereotypes, markers and indicators. Each is distinguished from the others by speakers' awareness. Stereotypes are widely known within a community are often, correctly or not, used in dialect performances and impersonations. Speakers are less consciously aware of markers than stereotypes, but these variables do undergo style variation — in other words, one variant is used in formal speech styles and another is used in informal speech styles. Speakers are not even subconsciously aware of indicators, and these variables show limited style-shifting; however, the relative frequency in the use of one variant or another may differentiate groups of speakers. (cf. also Bell, 1984, §2.1). I suggest, based on Emeneau's account of hypercorrection by speakers, that residents of Lunenburg were at the very least minimally aware of /aʊ/_$C_{[-voce]}$ variation, and that this variable must be, at the very least, a sociolinguistic marker in the community, if not a stereotype.

Between 1939 and 1963 Alexander, Wilson and Wanamaker conducted dialectological research throughout Nova Scotia. In his Ph.D. dissertation, "Dialect of Lunenburg County", Wilson includes an entire section titled "/o/ for /au/ in Voiceless Environments" (p.146-7). As Wilson's paper pre-dates modern sociolinguistics, he considers these two sounds to be in free variation in the community. He claims the backed variant (which he says tends towards being monophthongal) is only marginal in the county. His analysis is based on only eight speakers reading word-lists (see §3.2.1 for the relationship between reading a wordlist and

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formal style), yet six produce at least one backed, rounded pronunciation. Considering Emeneau (1935) established almost 25 years earlier that locals may attempt to pronounce /aʊ/_C$_{[-voice]}$ "correctly" with an unrounded low or mid-central nucleus in situations of high self-monitoring (as when reading a wordlist), it is not surprising that Wilson found most /aʊ/_C$_{[-voice]}$ pronunciations were not backed or rounded. This may have been the result of continued style-shifting in the community by some speakers, or a change in progress in which /oʊ/ and /aʊ/_C$_{[-voice]}$ are not pronounced the same for more and more speakers in the community. Wilson's data actually supports the hypothesis that /aʊ/_C$_{[-voice]}$ variation was at the very least a sociolinguistic marker in the community in the late 1950s and may indicate a move away from traditional pronunciations.

Wanamaker's (1980) article, "The Language of King's County, Nova Scotia" examines a separate southern mainland Nova Scotia county. His account of King's County phonology, based again on wordlist pronunciations, reports [æʊ][5] is used in words like *mountain* and *down* and [ɛʊ] is used in words like *out* and *about*. This suggests that in this community a fronted pre-voiced and pre-voiceless realization of /aʊ/ occurs. This is unlike Lunenburg, but similar pronunciations have been attested in other Canadian communities, such as North Toronto (Chambers, 1980; see also Hung *et al.*, 1993). This suggests that in some parts of Nova Scotia, [ɛʊ] could also be considered a traditional variant pronunciation.

Rowe's (1968) master's thesis, "A Linguistic Study of the Lake Ainslie Area of Inverness County, Nova Scotia" is

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[5] His transcription.

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based partly on the six records Alexander collected from Cape Breton for the *Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada* and partly from 15 interviews she conducted in the community in 1957. The data consists of word list and elicited pronunciations, which were then analyzed impressionistically by Rowe. Although Lake Ainslie is in western, rural Cape Breton, and the cohort for the present study is from eastern, Industrial Cape Breton, Rowe's study is highly relevant as it is the only phonetic or phonological study of vowels on the island based on actual spoken English data. Of the nine interview participants who pronounced the word *drought* for Rowe, seven had /aʊ/ nuclei and two had /oʊ/[6] nuclei (p. 101-2). Despite eliciting words like *out, house, houses, mountain, plow,* and *mouse* from her informants, Rowe only reports on the pronunciation of *drought*. If we assume that [oʊ] is the traditional pronunciation of /aʊ/ in Lake Ainslie, as it is in Lunenburg, Rowe's data would suggest that /aʊ/_C$_{[-voice]}$ variation is a sociolinguistic marker on Cape Breton Island as well. Some participants produced the backed and rounded /aʊ/ variant and others the central unrounded /aʊ/ variant in these word-list- type pronunciations, the corollary of which is that even in the most formal contexts — where one would expect the most standard- or prestigious-sounding variants from all speakers— variation between a central and backed and rounded /aʊ/ occurs. Speakers in the community, as in Wilson's study, are aware of the social meaning of each variant and for some using the standard- or prestigious-sounding variant is important in formal contexts. For other speakers using this variant is either not important, or phrased a different way, using the

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[6] Her transcription.

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traditional variant instead carries its own sort of prestige[7].

Kinloch (1980) offers a phonological account of the city of Halifax, Nova Scotia. He compares new data to Bloomfield's account of Halifax phonology (1948). Both Bloomfield and Kinloch recognize a raised /aʊ/ allophone in pre-voiceless environments; however, they do not comment on the quality of this raised variant other than transcribing it as mid-central and upgliding, e.g. [meʌ⁼ᵘθ][8].

The Atlas of North American English and the Telsur survey on which it was based (Labov, Ash & Boberg, 2006) included two participants from mainland Nova Scotia and two participants from Industrial Cape Breton. According to the data, Cape Bretoners should have pre-voiceless /aʊ/ pronunciations with first formant (F1) frequencies[9] between 640 and 752 Hz at the temporal mid-point of their nucleus, which is a range slightly higher in the vowel space than that of mainland Nova Scotia. Cape Bretoners should have an second formant (F2 frequency between 1460 and 1770 Hz – a range identical to mainland Nova Scotia and slightly further back in the vowel space than the rest of Canada.

Boberg (2008) revisits the claims made in the *Atlas of North American English* concerning the overall dialectal divisions in Canada. In his article he specifically revisits the quality of Canadian Raising in different communities by examining the raising patterns in audio recordings of undergraduate students from across Canada studying at McGill University. Unlike the *Atlas,* which claims that Canadian Raising is "not uniform enough to

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[7] E.g. "covert prestige" (cf. Trudgill, 1979)
[8] His transcription.
[9] For a discussion of formant frequencies, see §3.3.2

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serve as a defining feature of Canadian English" (p. 226),
despite delimiting an isogloss of reasonably consistent
/aɪ/ and /aʊ/ raising that includes all of inland Canada
(p. 224), Boberg asserts that "Canadian Raising is a
largely uniform feature of Canadian English". Boberg does
find that /aʊ/ and /aɪ/ behave differently in his data, or
rather that their phonemically identical nuclei act quite
different phonetically in the F2 dimension. He reports that
the F2 position of pre-voiceless /aʊ/ appears to vary
regionally in its relative advancement. While students from
the Prairies, British Columbia and Montreal all had mid to
back /aʊ/ nuclei, students from urban southern Ontario
(i.e. Toronto and area) and rural Newfoundland had fronted
/aʊ/ nuclei. Relevant to the present study is that he
categorizes pre-voiceless /aʊ/ with F2 frequency lower than
1600 Hz as "back" (or rather, resisting a general Ontario
trend towards fronting). Of the fifteen study participants
with F2 values for /aʊ/_$C_{[-voice]}$ under 1600 Hz, ten were from
Western Canada and the rest from Quebec and Atlantic
Canada. Two were from Halifax, which leads Boberg to
confirm Emeneau's (1935) observation that back /aʊ/_$C_{[-voice]}$
is a general feature of Nova Scotia English. Another was
from Saint John, New Brunswick, and Boberg suggests that
this feature may have a broader distribution in the
Maritimes. Kinloch & Ismaili's (1993) study of /aʊ/ in
Fredericton, New Brunswick might have added weight to
Boberg's supposition; however, their study only examined
the diphthong's height and not its frontness or backness.
While Boberg supports Emeneau's observation that /aʊt/ and
/owt/ have merged, so that *out* and *oat* are homonyms, his
data, however, do not support Emaneu's observation that
/aʊʧ/-/oʊʧ/ (i.e. *couch-couch*) have also merged. Boberg's

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participants were first-year university students — and are thus only a few months older than the off-island university-bound participants in this study. For his young, university-student participants to offer "proof" of a /aʊ/-/oʊ/ merger before voiceless consonants, especially when backed /aʊ/ pronunciations may be saliently non-standard at home, is extremely interesting considering young (especially educated) speakers in many communities studied lead change away from the use of traditional vernacular features.

Perhaps the clearest evidence of an /aʊ/-/oʊ/ merger before tautosyllabic voiceless consonants comes not from mainstream linguistics but again from folk linguistics. Of interest in *Da Mudder Tongue* (mentioned above) are the following entries: *Dote* for *Doubt* (p. 19); *Mote* for *Mouth* (p. 31) and *Trout* for *Throat*, which includes the following definition:

> "Another dule (sic) meaning word. It means a species of fish or that part of the anatomy that holds your tonsils. "We wuz ice fishin and I cot a cold and a sore trout".

(p.46)

Clearly this represents evidence of a *perceived* /aʊ/-/oʊ/ merger in pre-voiceless contexts within the community, suggesting the merger is part of the enregistered local dialect.

Based on past linguistic and dialectological research, evidence from folk linguistics, and my own intuitions as a native speaker, I feel confident stating that /aʊ/ is a sociolinguistic marker in the Cape Breton dialect of Nova Scotia English and that the rounded mid-back variant carries the features [+local] and [+vernacular], or better yet [+Cape Breton]. While the fronted /aʊ/ has been attested in other parts of Nova Scotia (King's County), it

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is the backed /aʊ/ that is stereotypical of the area. I suggest that in studying the use of linguistic features used to signify different identities, one must consider what in the community is *believed* to be vernacular, local, or traditional as the vernacular, local or traditional form, even if in the community other non-standard vernacular, local or traditional variants exist. It is the enregistered local forms from which speakers draw in order to affect or avoid local stereotypes. Here it is the raised and backed /aʊ/ variant that is enregisterd as [+Cape Breton].

3. Methodology

Data was taken from sociolinguistic interviews conducted in Industrial Cape Breton in May and October 2009. A total of 44 participants were interviewed; however, only nine males and nine females will be compared in this paper. The nine were chosen as they all clearly claimed membership in or strong similarity to one of the three social groups discussed in §2.2. During the sociolinguistic interviews a spectrum of styles was captured, so an analysis of both interspeaker and intraspeaker style variation could be conducted. Vowel formants were measured using Praat v. 5.1.25 (Boersma & Weenink, 2010). Working within a variationist framework, both multiple linear regression analysis using the statistical modeling package R (R Development Core Team, 2009; Johnstone, 2009) and analyses of variance using PASW Statistics v. 18.0.1 (SPSS: An IBM Company) were conducted to determine if planning to attend university off-island, belonging to a particular social group, overtly displaying strong local affiliation, being male or female, or living in a certain neighborhood were significant predictors of the front, back, standard, or monophthongal /aʊ/ pronunciation.

3.1 Data Collection

The data for this project is both qualitative and quantitative; however, the quantitative data will be the primary tool used to investigate variation and will thus constitute the majority of the discussion concerning research methodology. The qualitative data consists of observations and notes taken while on site before, during and following the sociolinguistic interviews. This data has informed some research choices made (e.g., how participants

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were grouped) and provided the information for the ethnography of Riverview Rural High School in §2.2.

Data was collected from students at both Cape Breton University and Riverview Rural High School. At both schools I attended several classes and introduced myself to groups ofstudents. I explained what my research was about and passed around a signup sheet for later interviews. While students were passing around the sign-up sheet I answered questions about Memorial University, linguistics and variation. During a second trip to Cape Breton I worked more closely with Riverview Rural High School. The principal allowed me to use a room in the administration building and brought students to this room for me to interview. It was made extremely clear that participation was not mandatory and participation or non-participation would have neither positive nor negative effects on the students' academic standing or standing within the school.

3.1.1 Equipment

Participants were recorded while seated at a table in naturalistic settings (kitchens, living rooms, rooms at school, etc.). Each participant was fitted with an Audio Technica – AT831-Sp Uni-Directional Lapel Microphone, attached at the lapel, approximately 30 cm from the mouth. The recordings were made with a Marantz PMD 670 portable solid-state recorder using a sampling rate of 44.1 kHz and a constant bit rate of 768kbps.

3.1.2 The Sociolinguistic Interview

The design for this study has been informed by the principles elucidated by Labov (1972b). Firstly, his principle of style shifting states that there are no single-style speakers. In other words, speakers produce a

range of speaking styles, with some styles being more formal or deliberate and other styles being more spontaneous or informal (p.112). Generally in variationist sociolinguistics, the most spontaneous or natural speech is desired for study and while the Labovian-style sociolinguistic interview is the most common form of data collection for variationist sociolinguists, it does pose difficulties in eliciting natural spontaneous speech. The interview in western society is a clearly defined and quite common speech event, to which a formal speech style is appropriate. Interview schedules must thus be designed in such a way as to elicit natural speech. The interview schedule I designed in order to elicit this natural-type speech is discussed in §3.1.2.3.

But what if there are meaningful differences in the way certain linguistic forms are used as part of these various speaking styles? Labov's principle of attention states that speaker style "can be ordered along a single dimension, measured by the amount of attention paid to speech," (p.112). Therefore if I could capture a spectrum of data, where some data was elicited with great speaker self-monitoring and other data elicited with little speaker self-monitoring, I would be able to test whether style itself is a predictor of the use of particular linguistic forms. The vernacular principle states, "the style which is most regular in its structure and in its relation to the evolution of the language is the vernacular, in which the minimum attention is paid to speech," (p.112). Therefore the style of response for which there is the least amount of self-monitoring will be the most vernacular. With this assumption one can posit that the spectrum of responses ranging from the most self-monitoring to the least self-

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monitoring is also a spectrum of responses ranging from the most vernacular to the least vernacular. Labov employed these principles in his 1966 study of New York City. He asked participants to read a wordlist, to read a short passage, and to answer questions. The questions ranged from basic demographic questions to questions designed to elicit natural, narrative-style speech. These questions included questions about childhood games and life-threatening experiences.

Labov's idea was that when speakers read a word list, they concentrate very strongly on their pronunciation of the words on the list. Speakers also concentrate on pronunciation when reading connected prose, but their attention is split between pronouncing the words correctly and maintaining fluent or natural speech while reading. They do this partly by concentrating on the content of the prose itself. When speakers are talking freely, especially when answering questions or recounting stories, they are apt to concentrate most on the content of what they are saying and pay less attention to their pronunciation. Thus we see that wordlists, reading passages, and free discussion can be used to elicit highly-monitored, moderately-monitored, and hardly-monitored speech. In other words they can elicit formal, semi-formal, and informal speaking styles. Using these methods will capture a spectrum of styles and allow style to be analyzed as a factor influencing the use of /aʊ/ variants. A detailed description of the particular wordlist, reading passage and interview questions used for this study follows.

3.1.2.1 Wordlist

The wordlist used in the sociolinguistic interview was composed with two goals in mind. The first goal was to

elicit formal, citation forms of words containing the diphthong /aʊ/. Twenty-two different words containing the diphthong /aʊ/ were included on the list. Five of these words contained a word-final /aʊ/, seven of these words contained /aʊ/ with a voiced coda, and ten of these words contained /aʊ/ with a voiceless coda. The second goal was to elicit citation pronunciations of all vowels so that complete vowel plots of each speaker could be created. Having measurements of the complete vowel system is needed for vowel normalization (discussed in §3.3.2) and makes the data comparable to other studies. The vowels /i, ɪ, e, ɛ, æ, ɑ, ɔ, ʌ, o, ʊ, and u/ and the diphthongs /aɪ and ɔɪ/ were elicited, aside from /aʊ/. Five examples of each vowel and fifteen examples for each diphthong were included on the list. A copy of the wordlist used in the sociolinguistic interview has been reproduced as Appendix 1.1)

3.1.2.2 *Reading Passage*

The reading passage selected for this study was *Comma Gets a Cure* (McCullough & Somerville, 2000). This passage was composed using J.C. Wells' standard lexical sets (1982a; 1982b) and allows the dialect researcher to examine readers' English pronunciation across a wide variety of phonemic contexts. Of the standard reading passages used in dialectological or sociophonetic research it is considered to be the best for assessing regional variation (Powell, 2006). This passage has been reproduced as Appendix 1.2.

3.1.2.3 *Freetalking*

The interview schedule (or list of questions) used for the sociolinguistic interviews was adapted from Labov's (1973) original. It was first revised by Poplack (1989), then Poplack & Tagliamonte (1991), Tagliamonte (1997), and

again Tagliamonte (1999, 2005). I further revised the schedule so that the questions reflected the participants I was interviewing. I eliminated questions I deemed irrelevant to my participants (e.g. questions about marriage, certain historical events, employment, etc.) and added questions I judged to be more appropriate (e.g. questions about specific teen practices in the community, dealing with parents, online socializing, etc.). Not all participants answered every question. I picked questions during the interview depending on the participant I was interviewing. Some lines of questioning (e.g. video games, etc.) would not have elicited meaningful responses from some participants, so they were skipped. Other questions not in the schedule were also asked, but mainly as follow-up questions to something a participant might have said. The following is a sample of data from the freetalking portions of the interviews; the presence of non-standard morpho-syntatic and lexical forms suggest the participants were using a natural speaking style with little self-monitoring — a style ideal for capturing vernacular pronunciations.

I think can be a lot of fun as long as everybody's not drinking, and everything, and the cops will show up and ruin it all. — Speaker Delta

My Nanny Shirley makes the best lasagna you ever eat in your life — Speaker Hotel

We went home, I'm pretty sure, and we turned on the news, and that was the first thing on pretty well every station, September 11th. I wasn't sure what it actually was at the time but then we saw the planes running in and everything about that, yeah. Interviewer: Was it a big deal for your family, or… Speaker Kilo: Ah not so much, since we didn't have any relatives in New York, so we're not that much connected with them. — Speaker Kilo

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He- he's got shaved head. — Speaker Sierra

This one ruined it (pointing to Speaker Sierra), like five minutes before I was watching My Sister's Keeper, like the saddest movie all time, she's like Kelsey died, and I was start bawlin'. Sucked! And everyone stared at the movies and stuff. — Speaker Tango

The Grade 12s got the stage. You could sit on the stage, usually that was like, that was claimed at the beginning of the year. There's different kids that like--, the more um--, the bigger groups who were all---, like the clique-y groups would stay in the cafeteria 'cause there's a lot of room. The little groups would go and like--, they'd have benches, or like go outside or like--. Speaker Uniform

Normally if we go anywheres it's up to the mall, we just kind of hang around the mall, Grub Mall. — Speaker Uniform

Several of the recorded interviews captured secondary participants interacting with the speakers. The following is an interaction between the interviewer, Speaker Mike (a 17-year old male from the working class, urban part of the community) and Speaker Mike's mother, who pops her head into the living room, where Speaker Mike is being interviewed.

Interviewer: *Do you talk in your sleep?*

Speaker Mike: *I used to I think, but I don't know now, maybe mumble or something.*

Speaker Mike's Mother: *I didn't hear the question before this, but I did hear the talking about sleepwalking. He used to talk constantly, he, oh, I could get lots of information. He talks!*

Interviewer: (to Speaker Mike) *So you have to be careful?*

Speaker Mike's Mother: *I think it's when he's really tired though, really over-tired, you know — he'll really talk —* (pointing at Speaker Mike's sister) *'cause she does the same thing…*

Speaker Mike: *I even- like yeah, sometimes my friends, once in a while, when I stay over I was, like I be doing it, but not that I think of lately.*

Speaker Mike's Mother: *He used, he doesn't do it as much as when he was younger, but he just still does it.*

The full interview schedule has been reproduced as Appendix 1.3.

3.2 Selection of Participants

The 18 participants chosen from the 44 interviews recorded in the community were picked in order to test the differences between the three high school social groups discussed in §2.2. There are six members of each group represented. While there are overall equal numbers of males and females, gender is not evenly distributed between groups. While the initial hypothesis marked students planning to attend university off-island or students with little local affiliation to lead in the use of [-Cape Breton] /aʊ/ variants, using an equal distribution of students based on these categories alone would have ignored the most important social categories of the specific community. Below is a summary of the participants whose pronunciations were analyzed in this paper. The social factors associated with each speaker (discussed in §3.3.1.2) are also listed.

Name	Sex	Age	Community	Post-Secondary Plan	Group	Local Affiliation
Alpha	Male	18	Suburban (Low)	Cape Breton University	Cafeteria Person	Non-Loyal
Bravo	Male	18	Suburban (High)	Trade	Smoker	Ambivalent
Charlie	Female	18	Suburban (High)	Cape Breton University	Cafeteria Person	Loyal
Delta	Male	18	Suburban (Low)	Trade	Smoker	Non-Loyal
Golf	Male	19	Suburban (High)	Trade	Gamer	Non-Loyal
Hotel	Male	15	Urban	Trade	Smoker	Loyal
Juliet	Male	19	Suburban (Low)	Trade	Smoker	Loyal
Kilo	Male	18	Suburban (Low)	University Off-Island	Cafeteria Person	Loyal
Lima	Female	18	Urban	Trade	Gamer	Loyal
November	Female	18	Suburban (High)	Cape Breton University	Cafeteria Person	Non-Loyal
Oscar	Male	19	Suburban (Low)	Trade	Smoker	Loyal
Sierra	Female	17	Urban	Trade	Gamer	Ambivalent
Tango	Female	18	Urban	University Off-Island	Gamer	Non-Loyal
Uniform	Female	18	Suburban (High)	University Off-Island	Cafeteria Person	Ambivalent
Whisky	Female	20	Suburban (High)	University Off-Island	Cafeteria Person	Ambivalent
Xray	Male	19	Suburban (Low)	Cape Breton University	Gamer	Non-Loyal
Yankee	Female	16	Suburban (Low)	Cape Breton University	Gamer	Loyal
Zulu	Female	20	Urban	University Off-Island	Smoker	Loyal

Table 4: Speakers with Social Factors

It should be noted that speaker Uniform did not complete the text reading or word list tasks and therefore only conversational data was available from her for analysis.

3.3 Data Analysis

The data collected from the audio recordings of the study participants was analyzed in two ways: impressionistically and acoustically. In order to do this all examples of /aʊ/ were extracted from the audio file and coded for certain linguistic and social factors (listed below). Tokens of all other vowels from the wordlist were also isolated and measured for the creation of vowel plots and because they are necessary to normalize the data.

3.3.1 Impressionistic Analysis

The first analysis of the data considered the perceived quality of /aʊ/. This means each token of /aʊ/ was judged as belonging to one of five categories based on the quality of the nucleus: unrounded low central (i.e. without Canadian Raising), unrounded mid central (i.e. with Canadian Raising), unrounded mid front (i.e. off-island vernacular), rounded mid back (i.e. traditional Cape Breton vernacular), or schwa (raised but without an off-glide resulting from diphthong lenition). These judgments were made by me, a trained linguistics student and native speaker of the Cape Breton dialect of Nova Scotia English. This fitting of the data into categories parallels the perceptual fitting of gradient acoustic information into discrete phonological categories. The statistical modeling environment R (R Core Team, 2009) and the multivariate analysis script Rbrul v. 1.9 (Johnson, 2009) were used to test the significance of the linguistic and social factors on the realization of these /aʊ/ variants.

3.2.1.1 Linguistic Factors

As vowel variation is often conditioned by particular consonantal contexts (Thomas, 2002) the phonological

qualities of the consonants preceding and following /aʊ/ were considered as linguistic factors. Because /aʊ/ is invariably followed by [+coronal] segments in English, place of articulation of the segment following /aʊ/ was not considered. Following Lindblom's (1963) observation that phonetic vowel reduction, including coarticulatory assimilation of vowels with neighbouring sounds, is due to the difference in vowel duration, vowel duration was included as a linguistic factor potentially governing /aʊ/ variation. Phonetic reduction has also been found to be related to speaking style (Lindblom, 199); this finding, along with the observation (discussed in §3.1.2) that variation often occurs along stylistic lines, motivated the inclusion of linguistic task as a linguistic factor.

Van Herk *et al.* (2007) found that in another east coast Canadian community undergoing rapid social change (Petty Harbour, Newfoundland) marking local affiliation or non-affiliation was also an identity practice foregrounded within the community. The study found that the production of a highly-salient local speech feature — the stopping of interdental fricatives — was conditioned by the lexical status of the word in which the underlying interdental fricative occurred. Whether a token occurred in a lexical or function word was thus considered as a factor in the analysis of /aʊ/ variation in the CBRM.

Table 5 is a summary of the linguistic factors considered in the impressionistic analysis. Of note is that voicing of the following segment, and whether the syllable was open or closed, are only relevant in the analysis of difference between the phonological contexts that would and would not call for Canadian Raising.

Category	Factor Groups
Preceding segment	Voicing
	Place of articulation
	Manner of articulation
	Presence of onset
Following segment	Voicing
	Manner or articulation
	Open or closed syllable
Word Status	Lexical or functional
Style	Linguistic task
Duration	Duration of vowel

Table 5: Linguistic Factors

3.2.1.2 Social Factors

The social factors to be considered in the impressionistic analysis were:

Factor Group	Factors
Gender	Male
	Female
Neighbourhood	Urban
	Suburban (high)
	Suburban (low)
Post Secondary Plans	Cape Breton University
	University off-island
	Trade
Social Group	Cafeteria people
	Smoker
	Gamer
Local Loyalty	Overtly loyal
	Ambivalent
	Overtly not-loyal

Table 6: Social Factors

In this study, neighbourhood is used as a proxy for socio-economic status. Sydney River and Howie Centre to the south of Sydney are perceived by my participants to be an upper-middle class neighbourhood (Suburban High), while Coxheath and Westmount to the West are perceived as lower-middle class neighbourhoods (Suburban Low), and Sydney is considered to be a lower-middle class/working class neighbourhood. As Speaker Sierra states:

> *Sydney River, Howie Centre are known as the 'good kids' because they live in the better communities. –* Speaker Sierra

Sydney actually consists of several neighbourhoods, but all of the Sydney participants are from the Asbhy area of Sydney, which is considered to be urban and home to lower-middle class and working class families (cf. Environmental Design and Management, 2008).

Traditionally sociolinguistic studies have looked at and found social class to be a strong factor governing linguistic variation and change. Often profession or gross family income is used as a proxy for social class (with young speakers being classified as belonging to the same class as their parents). In Cape Breton, community or neighbourhood serves as the best proxy for social class because the actual jobs that strictly defined class in early 20th Century Industrial Cape Breton no longer exist. That said, while those living in the Shipyard (formerly middle-class) and Whitney Pier (formerly low working class) areas of Sydney may now work in the same call-centres or Federal Government agencies, being from the Shipyard still holds more social capital than being from Whitney Pier. Gardiner-Barber (2002) states there are grounds for arguing that each of the communities that make up Industrial Cape

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Breton has a unique claim to community identity. She says residents of the industrial area are loyal to their own particular communities, and intercommunity rivalries are played out in various ways (2002, p. 398). These rivalries markedly play out between the high schools located in each of the larger communities. The Coal Bowl basketball tournament and the Red Cup hockey tournament, for instance, pit each school's top athletic teams — and by extension each community — against one another other. A train trestle near Riverview Rural High School gets painted every other week by groups from different schools claiming superiority over the rest. A popular teen activity on weekends and some weeknights in each community is to drive up and down one particular street or set of streets (called "shooting the drag" or "doing shots"). Each community has its own "drag" and often teens from one community will drive to another "drag" to "cause trouble" as one participant puts it, by yelling insults out the car windows or by stopping and picking fights with other teens. This teen activity is well known in the region and has been done by successive generations of residents. The social practice was featured prominently in the feature film *New Waterford Girl*.

If the rounded mid-back variant constitutes a [+Cape Breton] form, then there may be some relationship between my participants' overt local loyalty and its use. Linguistic variation may occur between those who express strong local loyalty and those who are overtly not loyal or ambivalent towards the community. This local loyalty may be a genuine sentiment felt organically by the participants, growing up within the community. It may also be an expected sentiment imposed on members of the community, and adopted and readopted by members through years of socialization via

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community involvement. This is the ideology of local loyalty discussed in §2.2

The important difference between Eckert's jocks and burnouts was really the difference in each group's regional affiliation. The burnouts felt a direct connection to the urban centre of Michigan and adopted the linguistic variants associated with that urban centre. The jocks were less committed to the region — many of them anticipated leaving their community shortly following high school for post-secondary education — and as a result, they were less motivated to adopt the regional markers.

Alternatively, De Decker's (2002) study of girls in a small town outside of London, Ontario found that those who spent their free-time hanging out in nearby urban centres accommodated less to an urban sound change (/æ/-retraction) than those who spent the majority of their social time within the bounds of their rural community. One interpretation of his data is that performing or signaling [+local] was more important for the speakers who traveled into the urban centres and interacted more frequently with urban peers, from whom they wished to distinguish themselves. For the girls who stayed home, distinguishing themselves from others in the community was more important, resulting in greater [-local] pronunciations. But the girls who stayed home were not just employing a [-local] form, they were employing a form that acts locally as a marker of the nearby urban centre, which in many ways is considered to be the opposite or antithesis of the rural community. These girls did not just reject what was local; they embraced what was anti-local — and very clearly signaled their feelings about the community through phonetic variation.

For both Eckert (1989;2000) and De Decker (2002), individual and group identities have clear orientations towards the community itself, and it is through the use of iconic traditional or incoming forms that these groups signal this orientation as part of their constructed identities[10]. Community orientation was also important for the youngest speakers (31-45 years) in Labov's (1963) foundational study of Martha's Vineyard. In 1963, local loyalty was also foregrounded as an important identity feature of local residents. Labov observed a movement away from standard New England diphthong pronunciations, and towards vernacular [+local] forms, especially by young men who actively sought to identify themselves as *Vineyarders*, and who disliked the encroachment of wealthy summer vacationers to their island. Labov (2001) claims that there was not a measureable correlation between espousing varying degrees of local identification and the actual progression of sound change through time, in reference to his Martha's Vineyard study, (p.191). His claim does not take into account that in non-stable communities — like Martha's Vineyard in 1963 with its influx of wealthy mainlanders and in communities like the CBRM over the last fifteen years with its exodus of residents — the social need to espouse local identities may change from one context to another or through time. Further studies, like Hazen's (2002) investigation of past and present *be* in Warren County, North Carolina, have operationalized speakers' orientations to local and broader cultures and do find measurable

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[10] This is similar to Hall-Lew *et al.*'s (2010) finding that members of the U.S. House of Representatives may use variant phonetic realizations of the word *Iraq* to signal political conservatism, or a particular orientation towards war or the military.

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correlations between linguistic variation and participation in local and supra-local cultural identities.

In the present study, peer group and local loyalty (i.e. local orientation) was judged based on overt declarations and through participant observation and discussions outside of the sociolinguistic interviews. Post-secondary plans were determined by overt declarations by participants. "What do you plan to do after high school?" was one of the questions asked of every participant. The category of Trade includes participants preparing to enter community college trade programs or work within a trade either in Cape Breton or off-island.

Race (or ethnic heritage) and linguistic heritage were not included as social factors. This reflects the demographic makeup of the community itself, which is mostly white (of mixed-European heritage) and mostly Christian. In 2001, 90.3% of Industrial Cape Breton residents were born in Nova Scotia (compared with 79% of all Nova Scotian residents, and 87% in Inverness County, on the rural western side of the island). Of the remaining 9.7%, 7.8% were born in the rest of Canada. The immigration Industrial Cape Breton experienced at the beginning of the 20th Century dried up by its end. While the majority of residents are white and of mixed European heritage, there is still a small number of visible minorities in the community. The 1996 census counted 3,630 Aboriginal people in the CBRM (mostly living on or near the two First Nations reserves within the municipality's boundaries) and 1,380 people (1.2% of the population) who considered themselves of a visible minority. Of these, the two largest groups were Blacks (800) and people of Chinese descent (195).

There have been no quantitative studies of how ethnic heritage may influence the dialect in Industrial Cape Breton; however, it is safe to say that any *language* diversity early 20th century immigration (or even subsequent small-scale immigration) may have created no longer exists. According to a 1999 municipal report:

> "The assimilation of the non-English speaking immigrant population over the years has resulted in English being the overwhelming language of choice in the region. Of the CBRM's 117,849 residents, 96.5% reported English as their mother tongue in the 1996 census," (CBRM, 1999).

As communities go, the Cape Breton Regional Municipality is quite homogenous (vis-à-vis traditional concepts of sociolinguistic identity) and an all-white, all-English-first-language sample is thus appropriate.

Like race or ethnic background, religion was not considered as a social factor in this study. The 2001 census reported that 3,915 people in the community reported "no religious affiliation", while 102,395 people (or 94.9% of the population) reported being Christian. An additional 765 people reported being either Orthodox Christian, Jewish or Muslim. Again, quite a homogenous community — although 17 out of the 18 young people who participated in this research claimed not to have any particular religious convictions and reported not attending weekly church service. The remaining participant described being quite active at her Christian Fellowship church.

3.3.2 Acoustic Analysis

The second analysis of the data considered the acoustic quality of /aʊ/. Each /aʊ/ token was measured using the acoustic analysis program Praat v. 5.1.25 (Boersma & Weenink, 2010). These measurements were analysed

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using the statistical modeling program PASW v. 17.0.3
(formerly SPSS, SPSS: An IBM Company, 2009).

3.3.2.1 Formant and Other Measurements

Using Praat a wide-band spectrogram was produced for
each token, with two vertical markers placed by hand to
demarcate the vowel/diphthong. Measurements of first and
second formant frequencies (F1 and F2) were made using the
Praat formant tracker. A script was used to calculate the
total duration of each vowel/diphthong and to divide it
into ten equal intervals. The script instructed Praat to
measure the F1 and F2 frequencies at each of these time
intervals, resulting in a measurement at 0%, 10%, 20%...90%
and 100% of the vowel/diphthong's duration, effectively
time-normalizing tokens. This method was informed by
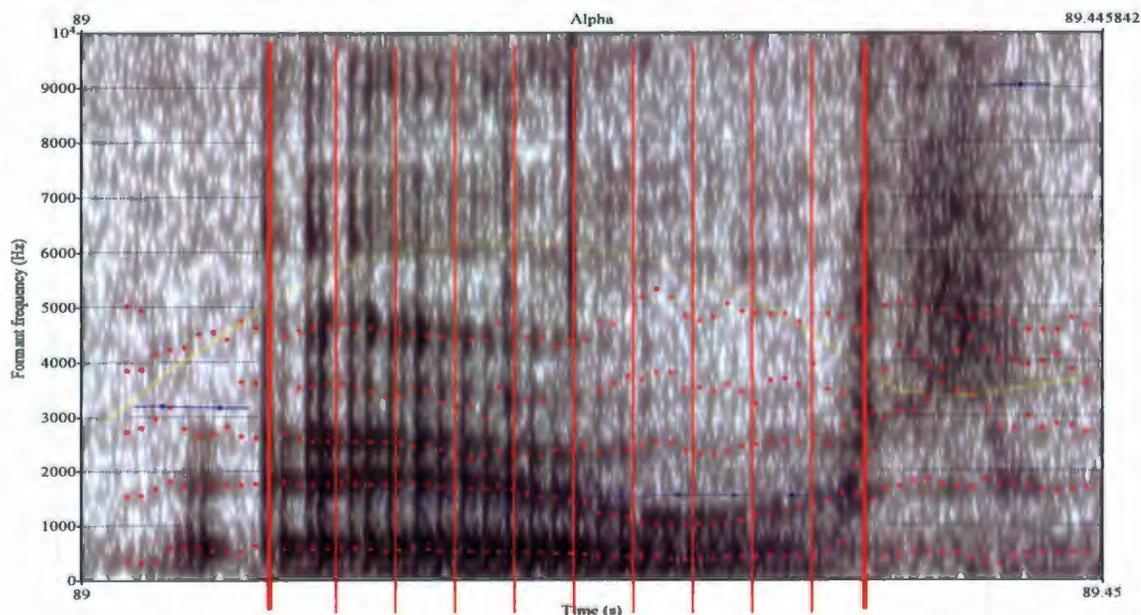
Figure 4: Spectrogram of Speaker Alpha saying "out". Measurements were recorded at ten
temporal points.

discussions in McDougall & Nolan (2007) and Fox & Jacwicz
(2009). The script used for calculating duration and
formant frequencies also recorded the time in the audio
file, F3, F4, and F0 at each point for each

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vowel/diphthong. The same series of measurements were also made at the point determined visually on the wide-band spectrogram as the midpoint of the steady state of nucleus of each diphthong. This measurement was taken because the transition between nucleus and off-glide may be temporally different from token to token. This visually determined point is henceforth referred to as the *perceptual midpoint*. As the first formant (F1) is inversely correlated with vowel height, and the second formant (F2) is correlated with vowel frontness or backness (Roach, 2001), values can be plotted and relationships between the vowels can be analyzed. Prior to analysis, though, the F1, F2 and F3 values of each token were normalized using the Lobanov method available as part of the Vowels package for R (Kendall & Thomas, 2009). Normalization is performed in order to eliminate any vocal-tract length influence on these formant frequencies. Figure 5 shows a vowel plot for Speaker Delta using the normalized mean F1 and F2 measurements at 50% and 70% of the vowel duration.

The Lobanov normalization method was selected over other known methods because it does a comparatively better job of eliminating physiologically-caused differences in formant values while retaining sociolinguistic differences. The choice was informed by Thomas & Kendall (2007) and Adank et al. (2004).

**Mean vowel formant values
Lobanov normalized**
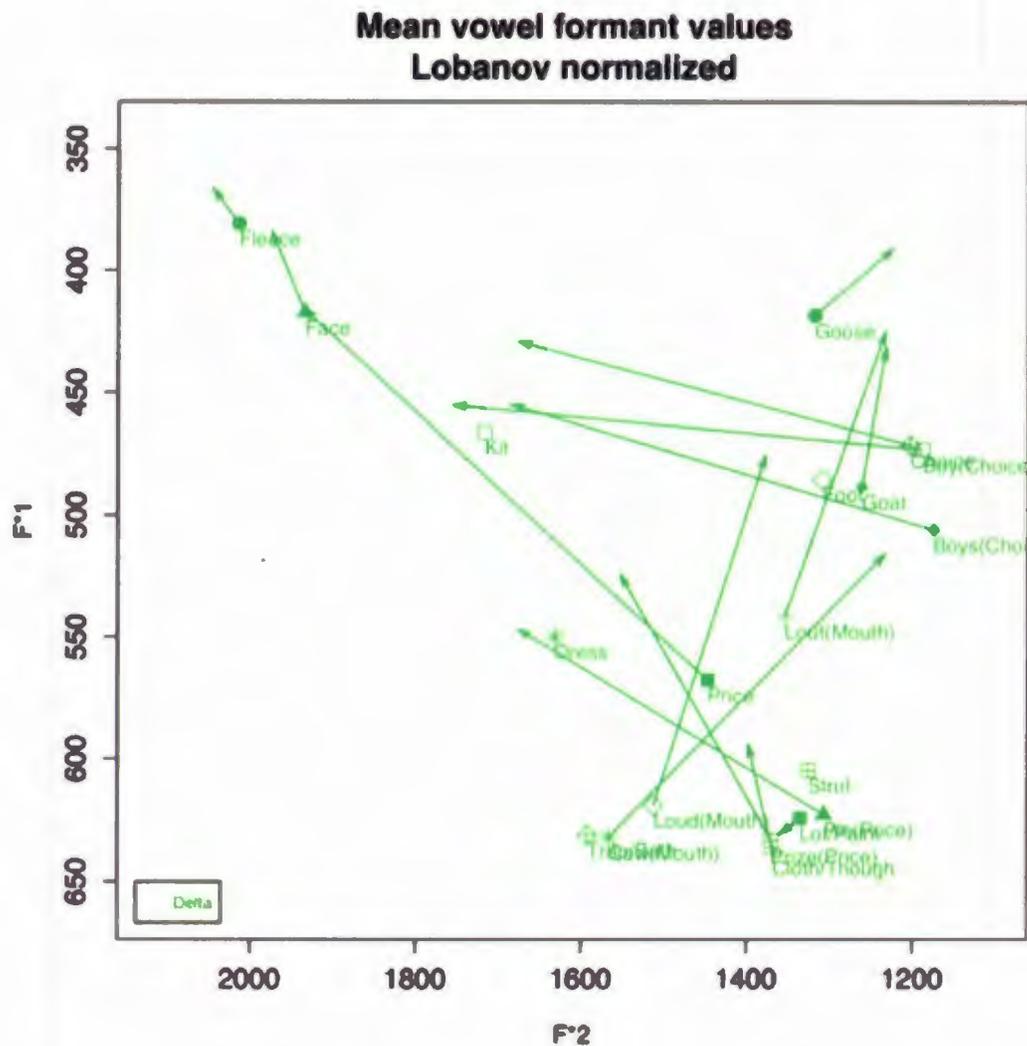
Figure 5: Vowel Plot, Speaker Delta

3.3.2.2 Analysis of Variance

Using the statistical modeling program PSAW I
performed a series of analyses of variance (ANOVAs) and
post-hoc Tukey Honest Significant Difference (HSD), Least
Significant Difference (LSD), and Bonferroni tests to test
for significant differences in mean F1 and F2 frequencies
grouped according to linguistic and social factors, (e.g.
testing if there is a significant difference in the mean
male and mean female F1 or F2 frequencies at the 20%

interval). These tests were repeated at each interval and for each social and linguistic factor group in order to determine if different groups behave differently at different points along a diphthong's trajectory.

The linguistic and social factors for the acoustic analysis were the same as for the impressionistic analysis.

4. Results

Of the 3006 vowel tokens extracted from the 18 recordings, 1089 tokens were of /aʊ/. The sound is relatively less distributed through the English lexicon, compared to other vowels and diphthongs[11]. The frequency of /aʊ/ followed by a voiceless tautosyllabic consonant is further restricted. Table 7 shows the distribution of /aʊ/ over three phonological environments.

Phonological Environment	% of /aʊ/ Tokens	N
/aʊ/_C[-voice]	48&	524
/aʊ/_C[-voice]	38&	418
/aʊ/_#	13&	147

Table 7: Distribution of /aʊ/ in phonological environments

Over the 18 recordings and all tokens, the /aʊ/_C[-voice] only occurred in 18 different lexemes. The lexemes themselves can be deconstructed into only nine roots. In all of the words in Table 8, /aʊ/ is followed by a coronal. In only one of these words is /aʊ/ preceded by a labial or a lateral. Only /m/ precedes more than one root word. For this reason the linguistic factors which I intended to test would really amount to nothing more than testing the words (or roots) themselves as factors. Following Johnson (2010), I will consider root in the impressionistic analysis, but as having a random effect over variation.

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[11] Crystal's (2003) analysis of a random sample of conversational RP speech found /aw/ to occur with a frequency of 0.61 % of all sounds. (The total for all vowel sounds was 39.21 %. /ə/ had a frequency of 10.74%. /aj/ had a frequency of 1.83 %.)

Words	Roots	Summary
about	about	about
couch	couch	couch
couches	chouch	doubt
doubt	doubt	house
fallout	out	mouse
house	house	mouth
housekeeping	house	out
mouse	mouse	shout
mouth	mouth	south
out	out	
outgoing	out	
outlandish	out	
outlet	out	
outside	out	
shout	shout	
shouted	shout	
south	south	
without	out	

Table 8: Words and Roots with /aʊ/

4.1 Impressionistic Analysis

While reviewing the recordings for impressionistic coding it was evident that four very clear variants of /aʊ/ before tautosyllabic voiceless consonants exist among the speakers: a standard raised mid unrounded /aʊ/ (i.e. with Canadian Raising, [ʌʊ]); the traditional raised, rounded backed /aʊ/ (i.e. [oʊ]); a raised, unrounded fronted /aʊ/ (i.e. [ɛʊ]), which could be considered a new or incoming form in the community as it is in other Canadian communities (cf. Hung *et al.* 1993); and unexpectedly, a raised unrounded central lax monophthong (i.e. [ʌ]), which results in *a but* and *about* being both pronounced as [ə'bʌt]. In all open contexts and in all contexts where it was followed by a voiced consonant, /aʊ/ was pronounced categorically with a low nucleus, confirming that it is

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only in Canadian Raising contexts that /aʊ/ variation occurs.

Variant	N	% of Tokens
[ʌʊ]	173	33%
[ɛʊ]	144	27%
[oʊ]	144	27%
[ʌ]	62	12%

Table 9: Frequency of /aʊ/_C[-voice] variant tokens by phonological environment

All speakers employ the standard Canadian variant [ʌʊ] at least some of the time, as can be seen in Table 10.

Speaker	[ʌʊ]	[ɛʊ]	[oʊ]	[ʌ]	Total
Alpha	6	*10*	9	2	28
Bravo	7	*31*	6	11	55
Charlie	3	–	*14*	1	18
Delta	4	–	*37*	2	43
Golf	*19*	4	6	2	31
Hotel	5	*16*	9	–	30
Juliet	4	1	*17*	5	26
Kilo	*15*	7	9	–	31
Lima	*15*	3	8	1	27
November	*10*	1	3	1	15
Oscar	*18*	13	–	–	31
Sierra	*10*	4	2	–	16
Tango	6	*20*	–	8	34
Uniform	*2*	*2*	*2*	1	7
Whisky	6	*7*	2	3	18
Xray	*20*	12	3	8	43
Yankee	13	–	*15*	10	38
Zulu	10	*13*	2	7	32
total	173	144	144	62	523

Table 10: Distribution of /aʊ/_C[-voice] variant tokens by speaker

Most speakers also employ each of the non-standard variants at least some of the time. Speakers Charlie, Delta, and Yankee do not do not use the incoming non-standard [ɛʊ], while speakers Oscar and Tango do not use the traditional non-standard [oʊ]. Speakers Hotel, Kilo, Oscar and Sierra do not employ the monophthongal variant. Speakers Golf, Kilo, Lima, November, Oscar, Sierra, and X-ray all employ the standard Canadian variant most often. Speakers Charlie,

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Delta, and Juliet employ the traditional local non-standard vernacular variant [oʊ] most often, while Speakers Alpha, Bravo, Hotel, Tango, Whisky and Zulu employ the incoming non-standard vernacular [ɛʊ] most often. No speakers employ monophthongal /ʌ/ most often.

Tables 11 though 17 show the distribution of /aʊ/ variant tokens for each social factor. The results of the multivariate analysis of the factors influencing the use of each of these variants follows. This analysis will determine if the differences in rates of use of each variant are significant and thus if a particular factor group significantly constrains each variant's use.

Linguistic Task	[ʌʊ]		[ɛʊ]		[oʊ]		[ʌ]		Total
	N	% of task	N	% of task	N	% of task	N	% of task	
Word List	85	56%	40	26%	26	17%	0	0%	151
Text Reading	10	32%	11	35%	7	23%	3	10%	31
Free Talking	78	23%	93	27%	111	32%	59	17%	341
Total	173	33%	144	27%	144	27%	62	12%	524

Table 11: Frequency of /aʊ/_C$_{(-voice)}$ variant tokens by linguistic task

The Canadian standard [ʌʊ] occurs more frequently in more formal tasks and less frequently in less formal tasks. The opposite is true for the local, traditional vernacular [oʊ], which becomes more frequent, vis-à-vis other forms, as the linguistic task becomes less formal. The use of [ʌ], while the least frequent overall, also increases in less formal contexts. The [ɛʊ] variant occurs with about the same frequency in both the most formal and the least formal contexts. It is used slightly more often in the text reading task, but there are relatively few tokens for this task, which may be influencing the apparent rise in its use relative to other forms.

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Word Status	[ʌʊ]		[ɛʊ]		[oʊ]		[ʌ]		Total
	N	% of status	N	% of status	N	% of status	N	% of status	
Lexical	150	35%	133	31%	119	27%	31	7%	433
Function	23	26%	11	12%	25	27%	31	34%	90
Total	173	33%	144	27%	144	27%	62	12%	523

Table 12: Frequency of /aʊ/_C[-voice] variants by word status

Relative to other variants, the Canadian standard [ʌʊ] occurs more frequently in lexical words than in function words. The traditional Cape Breton [oʊ] shows no difference in its relative usage between lexical and function words. The monophthongal variant, on the other hand, is used much more frequently compared to other variants in function words rather than lexical words. This may be because the form may be a phonetically reduced diphthong, with loss of phonetic information though lenition, rather than an intentional monophthong.

Speaker Sex	[ʌʊ]		[ɛʊ]		[oʊ]		[ʌ]		Total
	N	% of sex	N	% of sex	N	% of sex	N	% of sex	
Male	98	31%	94	29%	95	30%	30	9%	318
Female	75	37%	50	24%	48	23%	32	16%	205
Total	173	33%	144	27%	144	27%	62	12%	524

Table 13: Frequency of /aʊ/_C[-voice] variant tokens by sex

Males seem to be evenly spread in their use of each of the variants of /aʊ/_C[-voice], other than the monophthongal /ʌ/. Women use more standard [ʌʊ] and about the same amount of the incoming vernacular [ɛʊ] and the traditional vernacular [oʊ]. They also use more monophthongal /ʌ/ relative to other variants than men do.

As Table 14 shows, residents of all communities use the monophthongal variant with about the same frequency. Residents of the two suburban communities are similar in the relative frequency of their use of the standard Canadian [ʌʊ]; however, they differ in the relative frequency of their use of the non-standard (non-monophthongal) variants, with residents of the upper

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middle-class (Suburban High) neighbourhood using more of
the incoming [ɛʊ] and residents of the lower middle-class
neighbourhood (Suburban Low) using more of the traditional
[oʊ]. Urban residents use both the standard and the
incoming vernacular [ɛʊ] with the same relative frequency
and much more often than the traditional vernacular [oʊ].

| Community | [ʌʊ] | | [ɛʊ] | | [oʊ] | | [ʌ] | | Total |
	N	% of community	N	% of community	N	% of community	N	% of community	
Suburban High	47	33%	45	31%	33	23%	19	13%	144
Suburban Low	80	34%	43	18%	90	37%	27	11%	240
Urban	56	38%	56	40%	21	14%	16	11%	139
Total	173	33%	144	27%	144	27%	62	12%	523

Table 14: Frequency of /aʊ/_C$_{[-voice]}$ variant tokens by community

| Post-Secondary Plan | [ʌʊ] | | [ɛʊ] | | [oʊ] | | [ʌ] | | Total |
	N	% of plan	N	% of plan	N	% of plan	N	% of plan	
University off-island	39	32%	49	40%	15	12%	19	16%	122
Cape Breton University	52	37%	23	16%	44	31%	22	15%	141
Trade	82	32%	72	28%	85	32%	21	8%	260
Total	173	33%	144	28%	144	28%	62	12%	523

Table 15: Frequency of aw_C$_{[-voice]}$ variant tokens by post-secondary plan

Those planning to attend university off-island use
relatively much more of the incoming [ɛʊ] and the standard
[ʌʊ] than the traditional local vernacular [oʊ] — in line
with the hypothesis that those planning to leave the island
for education would use pronunciations closer to those of
the rest of Canada. In this case that means both a standard
and a vernacular pronunciation from off-island. Inversely,
those planning to attend Cape Breton University employ the
standard [ʌʊ] and the traditional local vernacular [oʊ]
most often. Those planning to work or attend community
college (Trade) employ the standard and the two vernacular
variants at about the same frequency. If we adopt the

assumption that for each group speakers sometimes employ the standard, and when not employing the standard prefer a particular vernacular form, an interesting pattern can be observed: those planning to attend university off-island choose the off-island vernacular variant most often when not using the standard, those planning to attend university on the island choose the local vernacular variant most often when not using the standard, and those planning to work or attend community college choose the local and off-island vernacular forms with about the same frequency as they choose the standard.

Group	[ʌʊ]		[ɛʊ]		[oʊ]		[ʌ]		Total
	N	% of group	N	% of group	N	% of group	N	% of group	
Cafeteria People	43	37%	27	23%	39	33%	8	7%	117
Smokers	48	22%	74	34%	70	32%	25	12%	217
Gamers	83	44%	43	23%	34	18%	29	15%	189
Total	174	33%	144	28%	144	28%	62	12%	523

Table 16: Frequency of /aʊ/_C$_{[-voice]}$ variant tokens by social group

Cafeteria people use the standard Canadian [ʌʊ] and the traditional vernacular [oʊ] more often than the incoming off-island form [ɛʊ] or the monophthongal [ʌ]. The smokers on the other hand use the two non-standard variants at about the same frequency, and more than the standard Canadian [ʌʊ]. The gamers use a lot more of the standard Canadian [ʌʊ] than either of the vernacular forms, although they do use more of the incoming [ɛʊ] than the traditional [oʊ].

In Table 17 the relative frequency of use of the variants patterns very similarly between those who are overtly loyal towards or apologetic about the community and those who are overtly non-loyal towards or criticize the community. Both groups employ the standard Canadian [ʌʊ]

most often, followed by the local vernacular [oʊ], the incoming vernacular [ɛʊ], and the monophthongal [ʌ].

| Affiliation | [ʌʊ] | | [ɛʊ] | | [oʊ] | | [ʌ] | | Total |
	N	% of group	N	% of group	N	% of group	N	% of group	
Loyal	83	36%	53	23%	74	31%	24	10%	234
Non-Loyal	65	34%	47	24%	58	30%	23	12%	193
Ambivalent	25	26%	44	46%	12	13%	15	16%	96
Total	173	33%	144	28%	144	28%	62	12%	523

Table 17: Frequency of /aʊ/_C[-voice] variant tokens by local affiliation

Those who are locally ambivalent use a lot of the incoming vernacular variant [ɛʊ], less of the standard Canadian variant [ʌʊ] and even less of the traditional local variant [oʊ]. This group uses the monophthongal [ʌ], used marginally by most speakers, more than the local vernacular variant. Why these ambivalent speakers may be so different from the other two groups will be discussed in §5.

4.1.1 Factors governing the use of the traditional local variant.

The following chart summarizes the multivariate analysis of the factors governing or constraining the use of the traditional local /aʊ/_C[-voice] variant [oʊ].

Linguistic Task					
	Factor	Logodds	Total Tokens	% of tokens with /oʊ/	Centred Factor Weight
	Free Talking	0.787	341	33%	0.687
	Text Reading	-0.192	31	27%	0.452
	Word List	-0.595	151	17%	0.355
Sex					
	Factor	Logodds	Total Tokens	% of tokens with /oʊ/	Centred Factor Weight
	Female	0.933	205	23%	0.718
	Male	-0.933	318	30%	0.282

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Neighbourhood				
Factor	Logodds	Total Tokens	% of tokens with /oʊ/	Centred Factor Weight
Low Suburban	0.906	240	38%	0.712
High Suburban	−0.123	144	23%	0.474
Urban	−0.783	139	15%	0.314
Post-Secondary Plan				
Factor	Logodds	Total Tokens	% of tokens with /oʊ/	Centred Factor Weight
Trade School or Work	1.239	260	33%	0.842
Cape Breton University	−0.348	141	31%	0.453
University Off-Island	−1.324	122	12%	0.210
Social Group				
Factor	Logodds	Total Tokens	% of tokens with /oʊ/	Centred Factor Weight
Cafeteria People	1.239	116	34%	0.775
Smokers	−0.188	218	33%	0.453
Gamers	−1.051	189	18%	0.259
Local Affiliation				
Factor	Logodds	Total Tokens	% of tokens with /oʊ/	Centred Factor Weight
Non-Loyal	0.649	193	30%	0.657
Loyal	0.327	234	31%	0.581
Ambivalent	−0.977	96	13%	0.274
Deviance	Degrees of Freedom	Intercept	Grand Mean	Centred Input Probability
496.275	13	−2.026	0.275	0.116

Table 18: Factors Influencing the use of [oʊ] for /aʊ/_C[-voice]

A factor weight closer to one indicates that a factor favours the use of the variant over competing variants while a factor weight closer to zero indicates that a factor disfavours the use of the variant. Factor weights cannot be compared across factor groups; however, logodds

can be compared across factor groups. The greater the logodd the greater a particular factor favours the use of a variant over competing variants.

We see in Table 18 that the traditional vernacular [oʊ] variant is favoured in the freetalking sections of the recordings and disfavoured when reading the text and word list. This is not surprising considering that it is a vernacular form, and vernacular forms are generally used less frequently when speakers are paying more attention to their speech (as when reading a word list or a text, cf. §3.2). Females rather than males, and residents of the lower-middle class neighbourhoods rather than residents of upper-middle class and urban neighbourhoods preferred [oʊ]. So did "cafeteria people", those planning to work or enroll in trade school, and both those who were overtly locally loyal and non-loyal. A discussion of why these particular factors favour or disfavour the use of [oʊ] follows in §5.

In the above analysis, root was included as a having a potential random effect, but was found to have no significant effect on predicting the use of [oʊ]. In other words, there is no lexical effect on the use of the traditional vernacular variant.

4.1.2 Factors governing the use of incoming vernacular [ɛʊ]

Table 19 shows that [ɛʊ] is favoured in lexical rather than function words. It is also favoured by males, urban residents, and those planning to attend university, both off and on the island. Those who showed ambivalence towards Cape Breton (neither overt loyalty nor overt non-loyalty) also favoured the use of this variant. There was no lexical effect on the usage of [ɛʊ].

Lexical or Functional					
	Factor	Logodds	Raised and Fronted Tokens	% of tokens with /ɛʊ/	Centred Factor Weight
	Lexical	0.800	433	31%	0.69
	Function	-0.800	90	12%	0.31
Sex					
	Factor	Logodds	Raised and Fronted Tokens	% of tokens with /ɛʊ/	Centred Factor Weight
	Male	1.308	318	30%	0.787
	Female	-1.308	205	24%	0.213
Neighbourhood					
	Factor	Logodds	Raised and Fronted Tokens	% of tokens with /ɛʊ/	Centred Factor Weight
	Urban High	1.634	139	40%	0.837
	Suburban	-0.448	144	31%	0.390
	Low Suburban	-1.186	240	18%	0.234
Post-Secondary Plan					
	Factor	Logodds	Raised and Fronted Tokens	% of tokens with /ɛʊ/	Centred Factor Weight
	University Off-Island	0.856	122	40%	0.702
	Cape Breton University	0.268	141	16%	0.567
	Trade School or Work	-1.125	260	28%	0.245
Local Affiliation					
	Factor	Logodds	Raised and Fronted Tokens	% of tokens with /ɛʊ/	Centred Factor Weight
	Ambivalent	1.127	96	46%	0.755
	Loyal	-0.550	234	23%	0.364
	Non-loyal	-0.567	193	24%	0.362

Deviance	Degrees of Freedom	Intercept	Grand Mean	Centred Input Probability
501.001	9	-1.344	0.275	0.207

Table 19: Factors Influencing the use of [ɛʊ] for /aʊ/_C$_{[-voice]}$

4.1.3 Factors governing the use of standard Canadian [ʌʊ]

The use of the standard Canadian [ʌʊ] was favoured in word-list sections of the recording and disfavoured in the freetalking sections of the recording. Gamers and to a

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lesser extent cafeteria people favoured this standard variant. The variant was also preferred when the vowel itself was longer. As vowel duration is a gradient factor, it can only be displayed in logodds. Here, the analysis indicates that for every second of vowel length, the logodds of that vowel being the standard variant, rather than another variant, increases by 7.376. This may seem like a very strong effect; however, the average length of vowels and diphthongs measured was 0.176 seconds, and the longest vowel or diphthong measured was only 0.832 seconds. There was no lexical effect on the use of [ʌʊ].

Linguistic Task					
	Factor	Logodds	Standard Raised Tokens	% of tokens with /ʌʊ/	Centred Factor Weight
	Word List Text	0.563	151	56	0.637
	Reading	-0.119	31	32	0.470
	Freetalking	-0.443	341	23	0.391
Social Group					
	Factor	Logodds	Standard Raised Tokens	% of tokens with /ʌʊ/	Centred Factor Weight
	Gamers	0.484	189	44	0.616
	Cafeteria People	0.103	116	36	0.520
	Smokers	-0.576	218	22	0.362
Duration					
		Logodds			
	+ 1 second	+7.376			
	Degrees of Freedom		Intercept	Grand Mean	
Deviance 584.811	6		-1.608	0.332	

Table 20: Factors influencing the use of [ʌʊ] for /aʊ/_C[-voice]

4.1.4 Factors governing the use of the monophthongal [ʌ]

The last variant, the unrounded mid-central lax monophthong [ʌ], was highly favoured when the vowel itself was shorter and in function words rather than lexical words. This indicates the form is likely a reduced diphthong rather than an intentional monophthong. The use

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of [ʌ] was favoured by gamers and also, to a lesser extent, by smokers.

Linguistic Task					
	Factor	Logodds	Monophthongal Tokens	% of tokens with /ʌ/	Centred Factor Weight
	Function	0.958	90	36	0.723
	Lexical	-0.958	434	7	0.277
Social Group					
	Factor	Logodds	Monophthongal Tokens	% of tokens with /ʌ/	Centred Factor Weight
	Gamers	0.612	189	15	0.648
	Smokers	0.272	218	12	0.568
	Cafeteria People	-0.884	117	7	0.292
Duration					
		Logodds			
	+ 1 second	-43.529			
Deviance	Degrees of Freedom	Intercept	Grand Mean		
254.536	5	2.677	0.12		

Table 21: Factors influencing the use of [ʌ] for /aʊ/_C[-voice]

4.2 Acoustic Analysis

The results of the analysis of variance differed depending on the point along the trajectory of the diphthong. An ANOVA of the mean F1 and F2 values at each temporal position determined if the variation between factors within a factor group was greater than the variation within the factors themselves, and also if this difference was statistically significant (i.e. had a p-value of 0.05 or lower). Interestingly no factor group showed statistically significant variation between factors for the entire length of the /aʊ/ diphthong. That is, there was no group for which there was a statistically significant difference between group members for mean F1 or F2 at all ten temporal points along the diphthong trajectory. Figures 6 and 7 show which factor groups showed

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significant variation at each of the ten temporal points, as well as at the visually-determined midpoint of the nucleus (or perceptual midpoint). The F1 measurement correlates with vowel height and the F2 measurement correlates with vowel frontness and backness.

Figures 6 and 7 show that significant differences between groups was most often found at 80%, 90%, and 100% of the vowels' trajectories on the vertical (or F1) plane, and at 30%, 40%, and 50% of the vowels' trajectories on the horizontal plane, consistent with the premise that /aʊ/ varies along the horizontal plane for its nucleus. It also suggests that there is some variation in the vertical plane in its offglide. While factor groups like community, affiliation, and social group showed significant in-group variation at all of these points, the above charts do not

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show which factors within each of those groups was further forward or back on the horizontal plane or higher or lower on the vertical plane. Figures 8 to 9 show the mean normalized F1 and F2 measurements for speakers grouped by local affiliation over the ten temporal positions. The normalized values have been scaled to Hz to make them easier to discuss. From one temporal position to the next the group with the highest or lowest mean formant value may change, indicating that the highest/lowest or frontest/backest group of speakers is also changing. The same occurs when speakers are grouped based on the other linguistic and social factors.
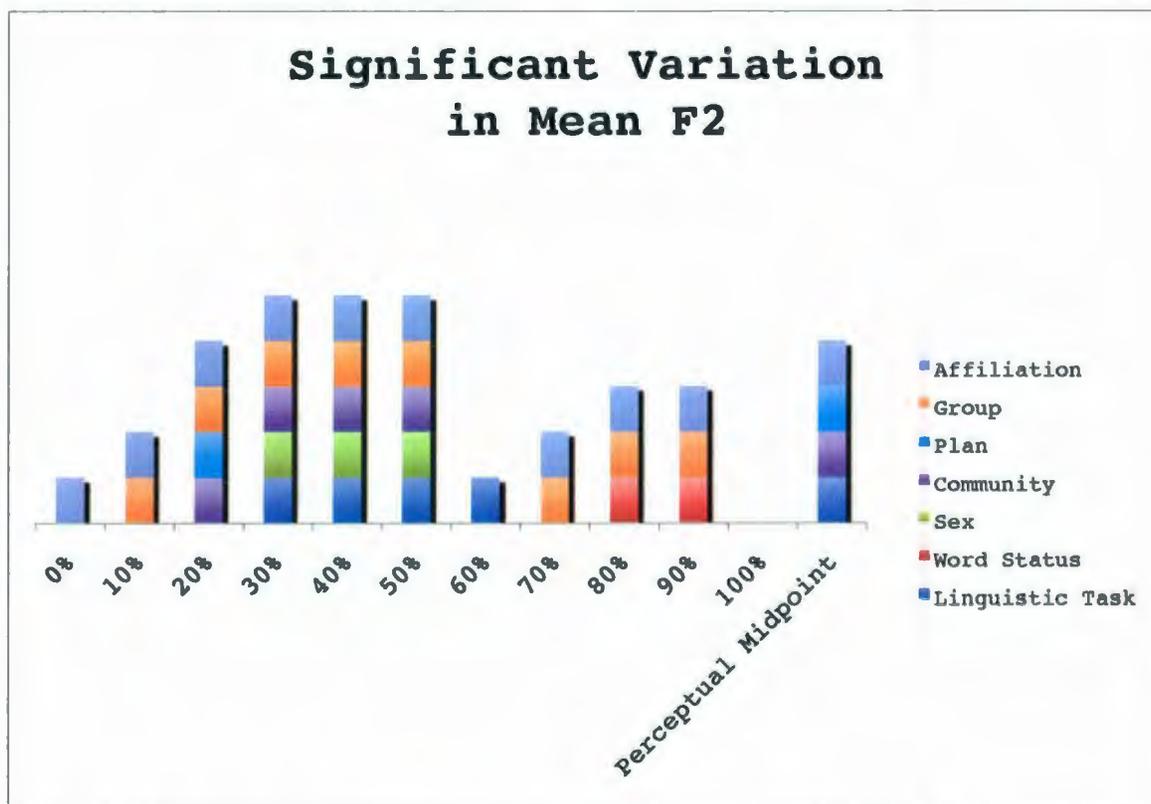
Figure 7: Factor Groups with a significant difference in mean normalized F2 measurements between group members

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**Mean F1 Value
by Local Affiliation**
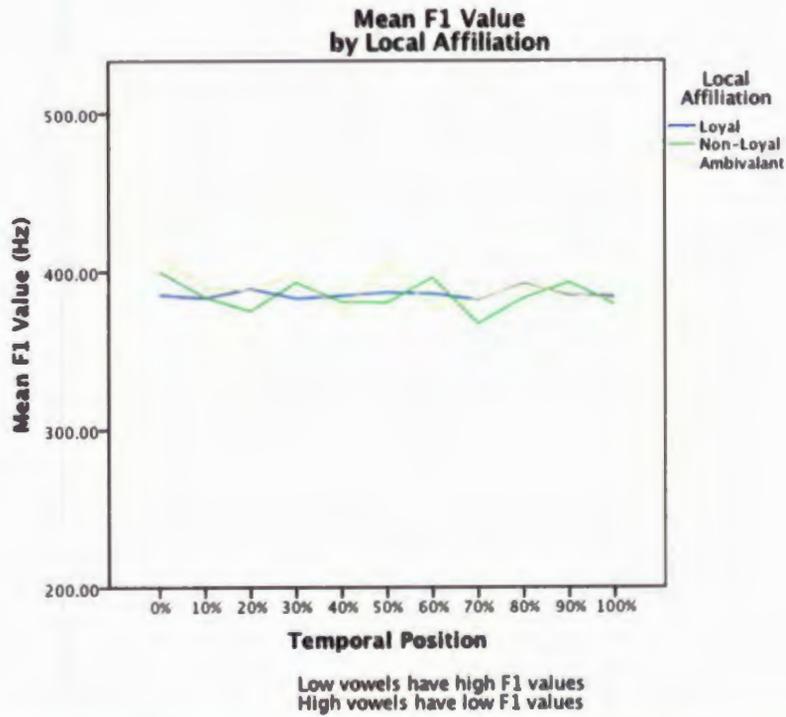
Figure 8: Mean F1 value of /aʊ/_C[-voice] by local affiliation

**Mean F2 Value
by Local Affiliation**
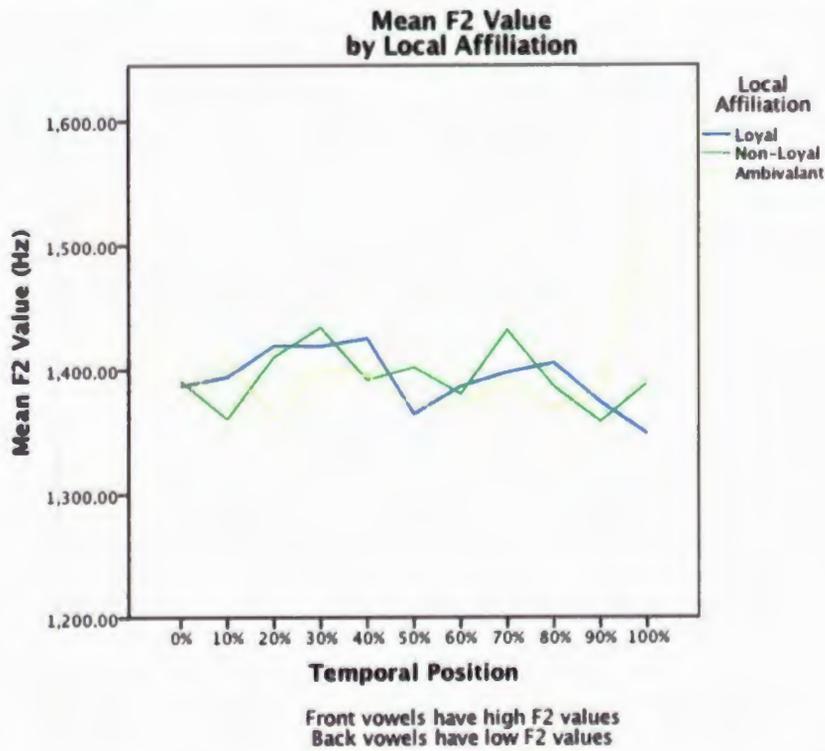
Figure 9: Mean F2 values of /aʊ/_C[-voice] by local affiliation

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While variation does occur on the horizontal plane for /aʊ/_C[-voice], it is perhaps more useful to think about this variation as being between discrete variants rather than variation along a gradient vowel space. Members of each category employ each of the variants with different frequencies, and it is these differences in frequencies that constitute differences in linguistic practices. This variable is unlike, say, the Canadian Shift (Clarke *et al.* 1993, etc.), in which phonemes are moving in the vowel space, and for which phonetic realizations are closer to one pole or another. Here, phonetic realizations are sometimes central, sometimes forward, and sometimes back (within one speaker, or within a group of speakers) — and each of those positions has social meaning. The reduction of a group of speakers' pronunciations to a mean measurement, while appropriate if variation only occurred between a central [ʌʊ] and a backed [oʊ], is not useful for considering the variation between [ʌʊ], [oʊ], [ɛʊ] and [ʌ]. For this reason, I will not discuss the results of the acoustic analysis in the following section — other than as further indication that there are significant differences in the pronunciations of members from different factor groups.

The acoustic analysis of the data was also useful as a check on the impressionistic coding of tokens. First and second formant frequency measurements of /aʊ/_C[-voice] were plotted for speakers, with points labeled according to impressionistic coding. This method allowed for the identification of irregular patterns in the data. Figure 10 and 11 show the /aʊ/_C[-voice] tokens for Speakers November and Yankee at the 30% time interval.

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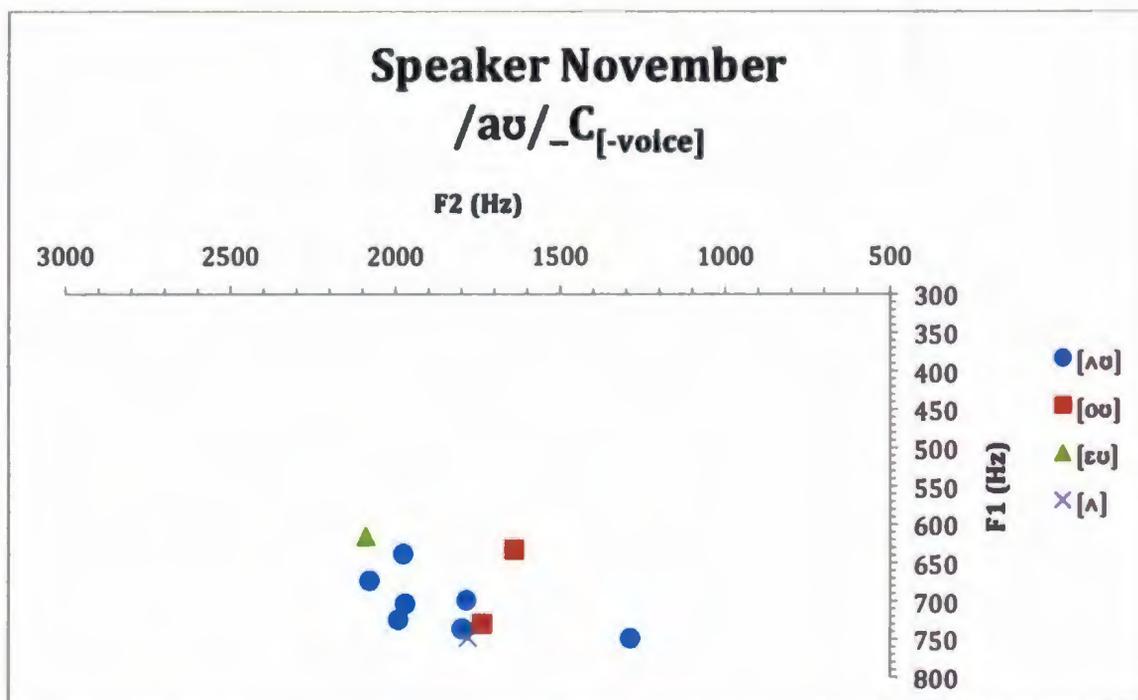
Figure 10: Speaker November /aʊ/_C[-voice] variation at 30% time interval.

Figure 10 shows that there is quite a bit of variation in Speaker November's pronunciations. Generally, Speaker November's tokens cluster according to the impressionistic coding. Tokens coded as fronted ([ɛʊ]) are more raised and fronted than those coded as simply central and unrounded ([ʌʊ]); likewise, those coded as backed and rounded ([oʊ])are further back than the central unrounded tokens. The lone monophthongal token ([ʌ]) is central and the lowest. There is one outlying token coded as [ʌʊ] to the right of the rest of the tokens. This token is actually Speaker November saying the word *couch*. It is her only token beginning with a velar — and at the 30% interval, this segment may continue to influence the token's formant frequency measurements. A second impressionistic coding of the token confirmed that it was, at least perceptually, central and unrounded.

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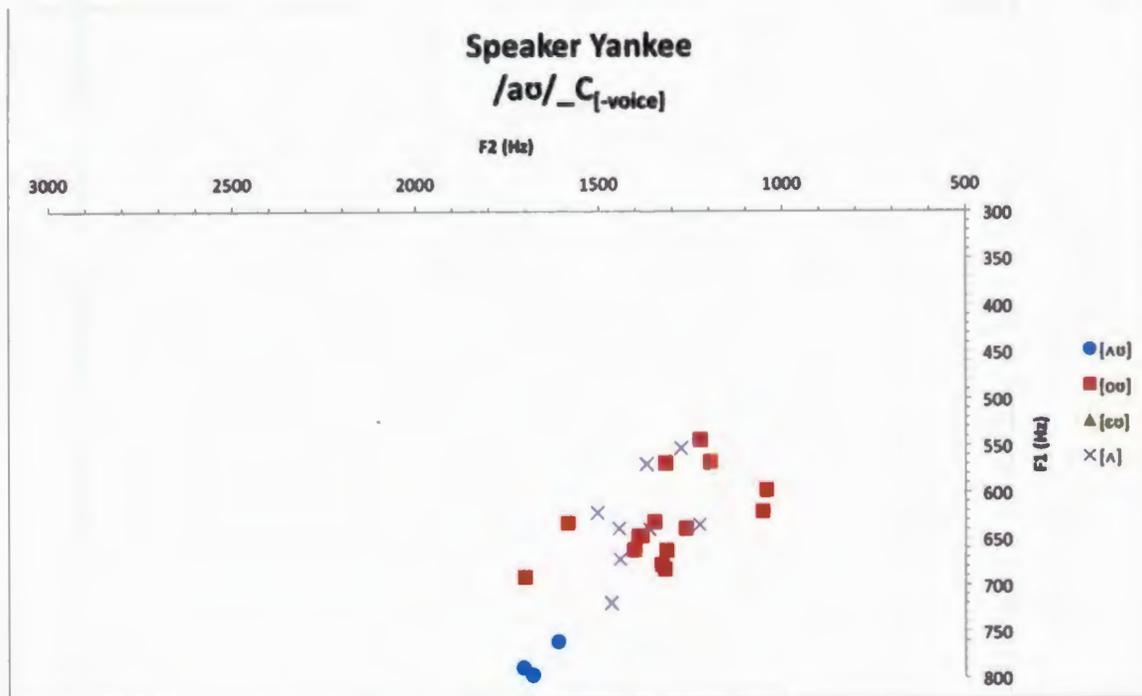
Figure 11: Speaker Yankee /aʊ/_C[-voice] variation at 30% time interval.

Figure 11 shows Speaker Yankee's tokens coded as [oʊ] further back and higher than those coded as [ʌʊ]. The monophthongal [ʌ] tokens appear throughout the same range as the [oʊ] tokens at the 30% interval.

5. Discussion

Different groups of speakers are clearly using different variants of /aʊ/_C[-voice] in this data, and I suggest that for each of these groups, particular variants are used for identity creation in slightly different ways.

Firstly, those who showed overt loyalty and those who showed overt non-loyalty towards Cape Breton appear to pattern together, preferring backed /aʊ/, while those who were ambivalent towards the island preferred fronted /aʊ/. This is perhaps because being either overtly loyal or overtly non-loyal means the speaker is *engaged* in a local identity. Gardiner-Barber's (2002) assessment of local culture, an ideology residents buy into, is that of making do despite hardship. Recognizing and complaining about this hardship, or simply denigrating the island (as Speaker Alpha does in §2.1), is a community-sanctioned, almost expected form of local engagement. By complaining about Cape Breton, these speakers are, in a way, reinforcing their connection to it. This engagement in local culture may be what is driving these groups' use (or maintenance) of a stereotypically local variant. At the very least it entails some sort of local interaction. Those who are ambivalent, who are not engaged in local culture, unsurprisingly favour the incoming vernacular [ɛʊ], which, as Hung *et al.* (1999) and Boberg (2008) have reported, is the form being used by young people in larger Canadian cities like Toronto and Victoria. Being engaged in local culture is not part of how the ambivalent speakers construct their identities, and thus the traditional Cape Breton [oʊ] is not used frequently. Even in the acoustic analysis, speakers considered to be overtly loyal and

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overtly non-loyal patterned quite similarly over the trajectory of the diphthong, while those who showed ambivalence towards the community diverged quite a bit from the other two.

Perhaps the most surprising result of the impressionistic analysis was the difference between the sexes. Females preferred the traditional backed /aʊ/ while males preferred the innovative, Toronto-like fronted /aʊ/. While literature on /aʊ/ in Nova Scotia does not indicate that its [oʊ] variant is associated with a particular gender, research on the relationship between Cape Breton culture and gender might suggest iconically Cape Breton-like speech may have gendered associations. Smith-Piovesan's (1998) description of an authentic Cape Bretoner is as male. [oʊ]'s association with the speech of an authentic Cape Bretoner may result in a perceptual association amongst speakers between using [oʊ] and being male. On the other hand, Westhaver (1996) calls Bette MacDonald's Mary Morrison the "quintessential Cape Breton Character" and Gardiner-Barber suggests it is females, who embody the "culture of making do", that define Cape Breton identity, so forms that come to mean Cape Breton may thus be forms that are traditionally considered female by speakers. Labov (1990; 2001) lists three generalizations concerning language change and gender and sociolinguistic variation:

- For stable sociolinguistic variables, women use the standard more than men

- For a change in progress above the level of awareness, women use the standard more than men.

- For a change in progress below the level of awareness, women use the incoming variant more than men.

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As data from other age cohorts has not been published, it is not possible to say for certain if /aʊ/ is a stable or changing variable in the community. The dialectological data in §2.5 may suggest that /aʊ/ variation is a stable sociolinguistic marker in most of Nova Scotia, with [oʊ] being considered more vernacular or informal than standard [ʌʊ]. Certainly the favouring of [oʊ] in the freetalking portion of the interviews and the standard raised /aʊ/ in the word list portion of the interviews suggests this. Still, we cannot be certain (aside from its appearance in Gray, 2007; 2008) whether /aʊ/ variation is truly above the level of awareness. In any case, Labov's generalizations suggest women will be leading the use of the incoming or standard form. The females in this study are not leading the use of either the incoming [ɛʊ] or the standard [ʌʊ] variants. That males lead in the use of the incoming [ɛʊ] does not align with Labov's generalizations, but this is most likely due to the reality of the community. Labov's generalizations are based on studies conducted in many communities with a range of speakers of different ages and backgrounds. However, these studies are for the most part in socio-demographically stable communities. The CBRM as a community is in flux. It is experiencing a massive population decline. Furthermore the negotiation of local identity is quite different for different age categories. Teenagers and young adults are the only age group that can be divided based on the intention of staying the community or leaving it. All older age categories are made up entirely of people who (voluntarily or not) have stayed on the island. It is only young people, who are not old enough yet to leave their parents' homes, that can simultaneously live in the community and construct an identity clearly

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oriented in opposition to the community. This community
orientation is not the community engagement discussed
above, which also involves a form of orientation towards
the community. The oppositional community orientation
discussed here is the perceived community orientation of a
person by other members of the community; the community
engagement above is the relationship speakers themselves
feel they have towards the community. As will be discussed
further in this section, the oppositional orientation plays
out differently linguistically for different groups. It
also plays out differently for males and females. In
Industrial Cape Breton it is males who are leaving (either
for work or education) in greater numbers than females
(CBRM, 2008). There is thus a greater number of young males
in the community who, as part of their identity, may choose
to effect oppositional orientation by avoiding traditional
linguistic features or by actively employing features of
their eventual destination. A second explanation may also
account for this unexpected gender variation. This cohort
of speakers is not the first generation that has had to
choose whether to stay on the island or to seek education
or employment elsewhere. Industry has been declining in
Cape Breton since the 1960s. Since this time it has been a
normal practice for men to leave the island for employment
in Ontario and western Canada, leaving behind their wives
to raise their children in Cape Breton. The men usually
spend most of the year working away, but do still return to
the island on a regular basis. These men have greater
exposure to [-Cape Breton] speech forms, whether standard
or vernacular, and may accommodate to these forms. Their
continued connection with families in Cape Breton may
result in a complication of the ways in which masculinities

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are conceived on the island. If this study's age cohort grew up hearing [-local] forms more often from men, it is conceivable that for them the way which masculinities are performed is though the use of [-local] speech features. This might also entail the convergence of femininities and [+local] features. Whatever the motivation for the unexpected pattern of variation between the genders, the fact that females lead in the use of traditional forms suggests that Labov's generalizations are not hard-and-fast rules and may not apply in all communities — especially post-industrial communities, like the CBRM, undergoing rapid social change.

The variation in use of /aʊ/_C$_{[-voice]}$ variants between the social groups, I suggest, is indicative of the actual social differences between these groups. All of the cafeteria people are planning to attend university. Their group identity is constructed through a series of practices (only one of which is language), which include doing well at school, following the rules, being involved in school activities, being from a suburban (i.e. middle-class) neighbourhood, and excelling at sports. For this group there is no question whether its members will attend university — it is a given. Some of its members may not attend university after all, but to be a part of the cafeteria people is to be seen or understood by others as capable of attending university. For this reason, the use of local features (even local features that carry with them connotations of not being educated or successful) does not take away from the cafeteria people's constructed identity of being university-bound, successful students. The smokers are another story. The practices that construct the identity of smoker do not include practices that in

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themselves entail going to university or being successful. Smoking drugs, balking at school activities, and experimenting with sex and alcohol at an early age are all practices that constitute smoker identity. Smokers who *do* plan to attend university must therefore work against the perception that they are not up to the task. To some extent the gamers may suffer from the same negative association by others. For this reason the speakers who are not cafeteria people (i.e. smokers and gamers) who *do* plan to attend university favour the innovative, Toronto-like fronted [ɛʊ] diphthong and avoid the traditional and stereotypical local [oʊ] lest they be slotted in the uneducated, unemployed, drunk category. Those smokers planning to work or attend trade school may have different priorities. For these speakers the need to garner prestige through using an innovative or Toronto-like form may not be strong, and pressure to fit in with older working-class co-workers may actually pressure them to use the traditional Cape Breton backed form with which they garner covert prestige (Trudgill, 1979). Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (2003) suggest that while traditional vernacular forms may now compete with incoming forms based on some outside vernacular with more symbolic capital (cf. Bourdieu, 1984), there is nothing to say traditional vernacular speakers associate the incoming forms with the vernaculars that have more symbolic capital. If a standard raised [ʌʊ] or Toronto-like raised and fronted [ɛʊ] is incoming in Cape Breton, there is nothing to say this variant cannot take on [+Cape Breton] qualities as well. Furthermore, as Cape Bretoners base their standard on mainland Nova Scotia English (Edwards & Jacobsen, 1987) rather than Central Canadian English, it is quite possible that the incoming form may take on

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particular local social meaning (i.e. [+local] [-Cape Breton] or maybe [+education] [+vernacular]) with no connection to what linguists might otherwise consider to be the driving (or hegemonic) force of standard (urban, Central) Canadian or American speech.

The gamers very clearly prefer the standard form, which is also the form preferred in formal contexts. As discussed above, the gamers see themselves as being neither cafeteria people nor smokers. When they come together and call each other "gentleman" or "lady", or use vowels that are neither traditional nor trendy, they reinforce the distinctions between themselves and the other larger, more dominant social groups. In many ways this reifies their own sense of alienation from these groups, but it is also an active co-construction of community and thus community identity. This negative identity construction, as a group, is again not unlike Bucholtz's (1999) nerd girls.

The pattern of /aʊ/ usage between the different neighbourhoods is most likely a reflection of the difference between social groups, as the cafeteria people come from the two suburban neighbourhoods only and the smokers and gamers are distributed throughout the three neighbourhoods.

The linguistic factors governing the use of the different /aʊ/ variables are unsurprising. The traditional vernacular variant is favoured in contexts in which there is less self-monitoring (i.e. freetalking) and the standard form is favoured in contexts in which there is more self-monitoring (i.e. when reading a word list). This means speakers understand the social and stylistic meaning associated with each of these variants. [ɛʊ] does not participate in this style shifting; this could mean

speakers have not yet developed negative associations with the variant, or that the variant, being the one used by other young urban Canadians, indexes prestige similar to the way using the standard might. Following Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (2003) above, it could also be that the variant has local connotations that make it appropriate to use in any style. As lexical access and actual production is usually quicker for function words than for lexical words (Segalowitz & Lane, 2000), it is not surprising that this new form is disfavoured in function words. The agentive identity construction that is being done by using [ɛʊ] is somewhat under speaker control, and thus more likely to occur with words for which the speaker exerts a higher level of control, and with words which themselves act as something more than syntactic placeholders. The favouring of [oʊ] in longer words is also unsurprising considering it is a diphthong, and that an alternative reduced variant (a monophthongal [ʌ]) is favoured in shorter words. The use of [ʌ] appears to be occur though lenition in rapid speech for speakers from the gamer group (using the standard [ʌʊ]) and the cafeteria people (using the backed [ɔʊ]).

Finally, the results of this analysis challenge and nuance the conclusions reached by Boberg (2008) that *oat* and *out* have merged in general Nova Scotia English. While it is true that for some speakers, some of the time, *out* = *oat*, for most speakers, most of the time, out = [ʌʊt] or [ɛʊt]. Boberg's data may have been misleading because it was gathered from first-year McGill university students, the exact social category (i.e. cafeteria peopele) expected to use the traditional vernacular [oʊ] variant. Had Boberg analyzed the social categories important to this age

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cohort, he may have discovered a different, more robust
distribution of /aʊ/ variants.

6. Conclusion

The data collected for this research add to the slim body of phonetic/phonological research and analysis of Nova Scotia English. By virtue of creating vowel plots for each participant, in the future I will be able to elaborate on phonetic/phonological observations made in the *Atlas of North American English* and Boberg (2009) and elsewhere (Chambers, 1973; Clarke *et al.*, 1995; Falk, 1989; and Kinloch, 1999). As Cape Breton is a linguistically understudied area, my research may help position the Cape Breton and Nova Scotia dialects within the spectrum of North American English.

The process of vernacular norm development, or enregisterment, while ostensibly present in much of Canada, is only just beginning to be discussed in a Canadian context. This analysis of the stereotypical backed /aʊ/ variant in Cape Breton has hopefully added to this discussion.

My research approach has shown that the relationship between dialect and identity, in a post-industrial community with a rapid population decline, is complex, and that the study of this identity must take into consideration not only the linguistic forms traditionally observed in the community, but also the linguistic forms *perceived* to be traditional in the community. Further, it suggests that emic social categories, derived though ethnographic inquiry in a community of study, can have measurable and significant effects on vernacular usage. Furthermore, explanations of variation that incorporate a robust understanding of the social reality of the community of study, offer insight into the real motivations of

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language variation, which are motivations in line with speakers' own understandings of themselves and their communities.

The results of my analyses show that in some communities it is not the difference between positive and negative community orientation that governs linguistic usage (or rather that is performed through linguistic usage), but rather it is the difference between any sort of community orientation and no community orientation. Here, those who are locally loyal or non-loyal favour traditional forms, and those who are ambivalent favour non-local forms. This challenges the view there are not measureable correlations between community participation and language variation (e.g. Labov, 2001). It also suggests sociolinguistic enquiries that look no further than socio-demographic identity categories may not fully account for the motivation of linguistic change or variation within a community.

The hypothesis that young people planning to attend university off-island employ linguistic forms closer to the rest of Canada is in some ways true. It is true for the social groups at Riverview Rural High School for whom signifying the intention to be academically or otherwise successful is necessary in light of the associations made by others with respect to these groups: i.e. for smokers, and to a lesser extent gamers. It is not true for the group at school for which university attendance or later success in life is not in question: i.e. cafeteria people. The gamers, who see themselves as being outside of the cafeteria people-smoker dichotomy employ standard or formal forms more often. Further the group who historically have left the island with the greatest frequency, i.e. young

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men, are employing the innovative forms more frequently, while those who historically stay on the island and with whom the island's culture is inextricably linked, i.e. females, employ the traditional forms — confounding sociolinguistic expectations, including Labov's (1990; 2001) observations concerning gender and language variation.

So how do young people use iconic vernacular forms for group and individual identity work? The answer: variably. Cafeteria people, smokers, and gamers, like all keepers of the institution, rebels against the institution and would-be teenage iconoclasts, use the linguistic forms available in the community in different ways to signal different things or craft different identities. Focusing on both the traditional vernacular variants in a community, as well as the relevant social categories within that community, has proven useful in assessing how language varies. Traditional sociolinguistic identity categories like sex and class would not have captured the whole story of what it means to be "oat and a boat" in Cape Breton.

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Appendix 1 — Interview Documents

A1.1 Wordlist

Pete	fox	boot	south
bead	shot	dude	shout
heed	talk	boy	outside
seat	lost	toy	mouth
neice	dog	enjoy	house
pit	soft	coy	couch
bid	but	ploy	doubt
hid	gut	tie	out
sit	bus	buy	mouse
kiss	bud	pie	poison
bait	fuzz	my	annoyed
paid	boat	guy	boys
hate	oat	cow	noise
Kate	showed	vow	point
face	code	chow	tide
bed	goat	how	tiger
pet	coat	now	ties
set	coach	choice	side
head	coast	hoist	cyber
pat	put	moist	loud
bad	book	rejoice	crowd
sat	could	voice	lousy
had	good	night	pound
fast	foot	fight	owl
got	food	ice	cloud
cod	suit	hike	houses
box	shoot	tight	couches

A1.2 Reading Passage

"Comma gets a Cure" by McCullough & Somerville

Well, here's a story for you: Sarah Perry was a veterinary nurse who had been working daily at an old zoo in a deserted district of the territory, so she was very happy to start a new job at a superb private practice in North Square near the Duke Street Tower. That area was much nearer for her and more to her liking. Even so, on her first morning, she felt stressed. She ate a bowl of porridge, checked herself in the mirror and washed her face in a hurry. Then she put on a plain yellow dress and a fleece jacket, picked up her kit and headed for work.
When she got there, there was a woman with a goose waiting for her. The woman gave Sarah an official letter from the vet. The letter implied that the animal could be suffering from a rare form of foot and mouth disease, which was surprising, because normally you would only expect to see it in a dog or a goat. Sarah was sentimental, so this made her feel sorry for the beautiful bird.
Before long, that itchy goose began to strut around the office like a lunatic, which made an unsanitary mess. The goose's owner, Mary Harrison, kept calling, "Comma, Comma," which Sarah thought was an odd choice for a name. Comma was strong and huge, so it would take some force to trap her, but Sarah had a different idea. First she tried gently stroking the goose's lower back with her palm, then singing a tune to her. Finally, she administered ether. Her efforts were not futile. In no time, the goose began to tire, so Sarah was able to hold onto Comma and give her a relaxing bath.

Once Sarah had managed to bathe the goose, she wiped her off with a cloth and laid her on her right side. Then Sarah confirmed the vet's diagnosis. Almost immediately, she remembered an effective treatment that required her to measure out a lot of medicine. Sarah warned that this course of treatment might be expensive-either five or six times the cost of penicillin. I cannot imagine paying so much, but Mrs. Harrison-a millionaire lawyer-thought it was a fair price for a cure.

A1.3 Interview Schedule

Guideline Questions

(Adapted from Labov 1973)
Revised St. John's, February 2009
Revised Toronto, March 2005
   This interview schedule is adapted from the original (Labov 1973). It
      was first revised by Poplack (1989), Poplack & Tagliamonte (1991),
      Tagliamonte (1997), and again Tagliamonte (1999, 2005). It has been
         further revised, Gardner (2009) for interviewing high-school-aged
                        residents of the Cape Breton Regional Municipality.

The modules are ordered more or less in the order of a typical
interview; however, modules are suggestive rather than obligatory.
Wherever possible the questions have been worded with ethic, gender and
other sensitivities in mind and the wording is somewhat generic so as
to be modifiable for the relevant age group and neighbourhood.

Double starred questions are those that have a history of being
particularly good for eliciting narratives of personal experience,
stories about a person's life.

1. DEMOGRAPHICS

Note: Although this module comes first in the Interview Schedule,
others (Tagliamonte) have found that these questions are best
interwoven into the interview situation rather than asked at the
outset. Once the interview is drawing to completion, this module is
used to fill in information not elicited naturally during the
conversation.

Your name is?

And your address is?
      How long have you lived at that address?
      Where were you born?
      Where else have you lived?

Where were your parents born and raised?
      Your grand parents?

Do you have a part-time job? Where?
      What do your parents do?
      Your brother(s)/sister(s)?

How many years of school do you have left to finish?

Can you tell me about your home/apartment?
      What kind of place is it?
      How is it laid out?
      How do you heat your house?

Do you speak any languages besides English?
        What other languages are you learning/do you want to learn?

2. NEIGHBOURHOOD

There are a lot/not very many houses in this area. How long has your
family lived here?
        What kind of people live on your street?   In this area?

What made your parents move here?
        Is it far form where your father [mother] works?

How has your neighbourhood changed since you moved here/were young?
Do you feel that your neighbourhood is as safe as it was when you were
younger? Why or why not?

Is this the kind of neighbourhood where people talk to each other?
        Do you know any of your neighbours?   What are they like?
        Some people say that nowadays everybody's just too busy to just
stop by to chat.
        What do you think?
        Why do you think that has changed?

Is there anyone around here you know well enough, just to walk in?
        Do you ever stay for supper at a neighbour's/friend's house?

Do people from around here drop by to visit your family/your mom?

Is there any neighbourhood place where older people get together?
        e.g. Tim Hortons
        Who usually meets there?
Where do people get together outdoors?
        What do they do?

Are there people you'd like to spend more time with but can't?
        Why don't you see them so much anymore?

Do you think the neighbourhood/community could be closer together?
        How?

What do you like best about your neighbourhood?   What are the things
that make you feel good/bad about your neighbourhood?

3. COMMUNITY EVENTS:

A lot of people say that the community used to be closer together and
more co-operative than it is today, what do you think?

Did anything really big ever happen around here that you remember?
        Like a big fire? Or a house burned down? Or a murder?
        Where?   Did you see it?
Did people in the neighbourhood help out? With food, clothes, place to
stay?
        What about accidents or police investigations?

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**Do you remember when the Steel Plant and Devco closed?
How did it effect you and your family? Your neighbourhood?

Do people ever talk about the Tar Ponds? What kinds of things do they say?

4. PARENTS AND FAMILY

Do you have any idea how long your family has been living in Cape Breton?
> Where did your ancestors come here from?

**Do you remember moving to this neighbourhood? Tell me about it.

What kind of childhood did you have?

What kind of kid were you when you were younger?
> Were you a troublemaker?
 What kinds of things did you do to get into trouble?
> How where you punished? By who?
 Where you ever grounded?
> Did you ever get blamed for something you didn't do?

Do you have any rules about when you have to be in at night?
> What happens when you stay out late?
Did you ever get caught sneaking out? Why?

If you got into trouble from your parents could you talk to them?
> Which parent would you choose to talk to? Why?

Are your parents really strict?
> What sort of person is your father?
> What is your mother like?

Do your parents have any ideas about what you should do after high-school?
> How far do they want you to go in school?
> What do you want to do after graduation?

Do you get an allowance?
 How much was it?
 What could you buy with that amount of money then?

Do you have siblings? How many?
> How did being the youngest/oldest/in the middle effect how you were treated?
Do you feel that your siblings got away with things that you never did or did you get away with things that they didn't?
> What kinds of things?
Were you close to your siblings when you were younger or did you fight a lot?
> How about now?

Do you spend much time with your grandparents?
> Why or why not?

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Did you ever go on vacations as a family?
        Where do you go? How do you get there?
        Do you get along while you were on vacation?

**Have you ever been really embarrassed by something your
parents/siblings said or did?
        What happened?
        How did you react?
        How do you feel now about it?

5 SOCIAL PRACTICES

What are your friends like?
        Do they live nearby? Whereabouts?
        What do you do together?

Do you ever go to all-ages shows?
        What kind of music do they have?
        Whereabouts do they take place?
        Do you dance?
        What do people usually wear?

Do you go to the movies a lot?
        Who usually goes to the movies?

What are the other people at school like?
Is there anyone who's a real snoop?
Someone who knows everybody else's business?
Someone who causes trouble?
Anyone who always wears headphones, and plays the music really loud?

Is there anything that prevents you from getting together with your
friends more often?

Is there anybody around here that didn't talk to each other for a
while?
 What kind of thing was it about?

7. HELPING OUT IN THE COMMUNITY

Do you have anyone you can go to for help around here? If you need
help, who do you
go to?

Do you have anyone who you help around here? What do you do?

Do you ever get cookie or squares from your neighbours? Do you ever
give cookies or squares to your neighbours?

If your mom needed milk/eggs could you ask a neighbour?

If you needed a ride in an emergency and your parents weren't home, who
would you call?

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Who shovels the snow in the winter in your neighbourhood? Do you ever shovel a neighbour's diveway?

Does anyone hire local kids to help out with yard work?
e.g. Baby sitting? Snow shoveling? Raking leaves?

8. WORK LIFE

What was your very first job?
        How old where you when you started?
        How much did you earn?
        Do you remember what you were excited to spend your hard-earned
money on?

        What did your parents do to earn a living?

        Do young people feel the same way about working as older people?

What did your parents want you to do for a living?
        What do you do?
        What would you like to do?

Which of your friends has jobs?
Do you know anyone who works at a call centre? Have you ever thought
about applying?
Why is it so hard for young people to find jobs here?

9. FAMILY MEALS/CRAFTS

A lot of people have their best meal on Sunday, what was it like in
your family
What kinds of things do you eat?
Do you usually have it early in the day or later at night?
What time is usually suppertime?

A lot of people's mom/dad making special foods? Is there something
really good that your mom/dad makes?

What do your grandparents like to eat?   Do you ever invite your
grandparents (other relatives) over for supper?

Do you like cooking? Baking? What kinds of things do you like to
bake/cook?

Is food different from when you where younger? Why do you think that's
true?

        What kinds of crafts do people do in Cape Breton?
        Can you do that? How you do you do that?
        Who taught you how?
        What kinds of things do you make?
        Do you make things just for your family or for selling too?

10. FOLK REMEDIES

Do you go to the doctor when you're sick? How long does it take at Outpatients?

Does your mom/grandma have any home remedies/secret weapons when you're sick?

I can remember my mom/dad/grandmother /grandfather drinking hot toddies and eating raw garlic. Have you ever heard of that?
  e.g. garlic, hot rum toddies, Vitamin C, echincea etc.

What do you do to prevent colds/flu? What do you do when you get sick?

11. COMMON SENSE

People talk a lot about common sense. What is common sense in your opinion?

Did you ever meet anybody that had a lot of common sense?
      Did you ever meet anybody that had no common sense?

Do you think you get more common sense as you get older?

12. SCHOOL DAYS

How close to you live to school?
      How do you get to school?
      Is it the same when it's cold out?
      Do you remember going to school on cold mornings?

 Did they ever close the school for a snow storm? What do you do?

What do you usually have for lunch? Do you bring it or do you buy it?
Do you ever leave school at lunchtime?

What was your elementary school like?
      How many students were in your class?
      What subjects did you like?
      What is your favourite subject now? Least favourite subject? Why?

What are your teachers like?
      Are they very strict?
      Were the teachers better in elementary school than your teachers
now?

Are there any trouble-makers at school? What do they do?
      How about you, are you a trouble-maker?
      What kinds of things do you do?
      How are trouble-makers disciplined?

What do people usually wear to school? Do people ever change when they get to school?
What is the hot look right now?

Did you ever pass notes in school?

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What kinds of things did you pass notes about?
Did a teacher ever catch you passing notes?
What happened?

Do you have any teachers that are really tough?
Have you ever had a teacher that was a really weird? A real creep?
Crazy?

Did you ever have a teacher that was really fair? That you liked?

What makes teachers really mad?
What would a teacher yell at a kid for?
What was the worst thing you ever saw a teacher do to a kid?
Or a kid do to a teacher?

**Did you ever get blamed for something you didn't do?

13. TEEN LIFE

Do you have lots of homework?
In what subjects?
How much time do you usually spend doing homework?

Are there cliques/gangs in your school?
What are the different cliques called and who would be in them?
e.g. jocks, nerds goths, thugs, gangstas, band geeks etc

How can you tell if someone's in a clique/gang/group?
What kinds of things do people in the various groups wear?
Can members of different cliques hang out? Date?
How do members of the cliques dress?
Does money play a role in clique membership?

Do you have a curfew?
How do you feel about it?
Have you ever broken curfew?
Have you ever snuck in after curfew? Were you caught?

Do you spend a lot of time online?
Are you on Facebook?
Are your parents on Facebook?
Are you better at finding stuff online than your parents?
Why do you think that is?
Have you ever gotten in trouble because your parents saw
something on facebook?
How much time do you spend on Facebook?
Do your parents try to control your internet use?
**Did you ever have an argument with someone because of
Facebook? What happened?

Do you have a cellphone?
Are you allowed to have it in school?
Who pays your bill?
What special text message lingo do you and your friends use?
Do you ever send text messages in class?
Who do you text the most?

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Do you like to play video games?
 How do your parents feel about it?
 What's your favorite game? How do you play it? What was your highest
score?

What kind of music do you like? What kind of music are you listening to
these days?
 Have you ever been to a concert to see one of your favourite groups?
 How was it?
 What's the best concert you were ever at?
 Who's your favorite artist? How come?

What is your favourite movie?
 What was it about?

Do you go to dances at school?
 Do you take a date or do you go with friends as a group?
 How do you get to the dances? Does a parent drive you?
 Do friends sometimes get into arguments at the dances?
 Who asks who to dance?
 How is the music played?
  e.g. live band, DJ, Cds etc
Do people ever sneak alcohol into the dance? How?

What events are planned for graduation?
Will you have a family party? Who will be there?
What are your prom plans?
Where did you/will you get your dress/suit? How did you pick it out?
What is Safegrad?
Who organizes it?
Does everyone go, or just some people?

14. KIDS/PARENTS THESE DAYS

A lot of people say that the teens today aren't like they used to be
when they were
growing up, do you think so?
 What's the difference?
 Why?

Can you compare what you do for fun with what your parents did when
they were kids?

A lot of people say that the parents today are a lot stricter than they
used to be? What do
you think?

What do you hate most about your mother/father? Sister/brother?
 Why?

Do your parents/sister/brother do things that bug you? What?

**Do you ever play pranks on your sister/brother?

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What's the worst thing you ever did?   Funniest thing you ever did?

15. GAMES

Going back to the time when you were a kid, nine, ten years old, what were some of
the games you used to play?

What did you do after school to keep yourself occupied?
 Did you play sports?
Were you on any sports teams?

Did you play any games where everybody hides and you have to go out and find 'em?
 How do you play that here?   What are the rules?
  e.g.   hide-and-seek, kick-the-can, ghosts, man hunt, capture the flag

Is there a game where everybody lines up and runs past one guy and that guy tries to
catch them?
 What did you call that?   How did you play?
  e.g.   Red Rover, British Bulldog

What about tag?
   e.g.   freeze tag, TV tag

How do you decide who's IT?

Are there any games you used to play at night?

Did boys and girls play different types of games?

How about adults, did they ever play any games?
  e.g. tarbish, poker, bridge

Did you ever play chicken with bikes?
 What happened?
 Did you ever smash up a bike?

Did you ever play a game where somebody stands on a hill and you have to rush up and
push them off?
 Was there a rhyme you used to sing?
 e.g.   I'm the king of the castle and you're the dirty rascal

Did you jump rope?
 Did you do double dutch?
What rhymes did you use?   Do you remember any?
 e.g.   tinker, tailor…all in together…

Did you have any rhymes you used with a bouncing ball?

Did you play any clapping games?
 What rhymes did you use?

Did you have a favourite toy?
 Who gave it to you?
 What was the occasion?

Did you ever play in the woods?
What kind of games would you play? Did you ever find anything really
cool? What was it? What did you do with it?

Did you ever play a game where two guys throw a ball back and forth,
and someone in
the middle tries to get it?
 What else do you call that?

Did you ever play hockey in the streets?
 What happened when a car came?

Do you skateboard? Where can you skateboard around here?
Do you ever go to the skatepark? What do people do if you skate around
other buildings?

17. HOBBIES/CAMPING

Do you have any hobbies? What?
        How did you get into that?
        Did you ever go into competitions? Win a competition? What
happened?

Were you ever in Beavers or Brownies, or Cubs of Guides?
        Go to Cub/Guide camp?
        Have any adventures at camp?

Does your family have a bungalow? When do you go there? What to you do
there?
Do you ever have parties out there?

Have you ever gone camping in the Highlands?

**Did you ever have any problems with a moose? What happened?

Did you ever go to day-camp when you were little?   What about French
Camp? What kind of camp did you go to? What did you like about it?

What was the most fun you ever had at camp?

Did you ever go on a school trip, like a band trip? Where did you go?
Did anything interesting ever happen?

18. BIRTHDAYS

When is your birthday?
 Are there any down sides to having your birthday when it is?
 e.g. too close to Christmas, school is out for summer

**What is the best birthday party you ever had?
 What is the best birthday party you ever went to?

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Has anyone ever held a surprise birthday party for you?
      Who did it?
      Were you really surprised or did you pretend?

Has anyone ever forgotten your birthday?

Did you ever have sleep-over parties?
      Did you get in trouble for talking all night?
      What did your parents do when you wouldn't go to sleep?

      **What's the most fun you ever had at a sleep over?
      Do your parents let boys or girls stay over? Why not?

19. PEER GROUP

What do kids do around here?
 After school? At night? On weekends?

Is there a bunch of kids you hang around with, that you see almost
every day?

Where do you hang out?

Who do you hang out with? [Get names and ages]

Do any of your friends have a car?
      Where do you go? What do you do? Do you shoot the drag?
      Have you ever been pulled over? What for?
      Have you ever been in a car accident? What happened?

If a new kid moves into the here, who would he hang out with?
      Like who was the last one that came here?

Is there any kid around here who's a real _____?
eg. *jerk/nerd/loser/weirdo?*

Do you ever stay overnight at each other's place?
      What do you do?
      Do you play board games/cards/truth-or-dare/ouija board?
      Have you ever had a séance? Tell ghost stories?
      Do you have pillow fights?

Have you ever pulled an 'all-nighter'?
      Why did you do it?
      Did you make it through the night?
      Did you get through the next day?

What do you do on Halloween? Do you dress up?
      What was your best Halloween costume ever?
      Do you ever pull pranks on Hallowe'en?
      e.g. fire cracker, egging, TP-ing

Do you ever have parties?
      Do the parents usually know about the parties?
      Have the police ever come to a party that you were at?

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Do people drink at these parties?
If so, how do you get alcohol if you are underage?
Do your parent know that you go to parties?
If not, where do you tell them you go?

Did you ever wake up and not know where you were? Not remember what you'd done
the night before?

What was the dumbest/silliest thing you ever did when you were drinking?

Have you ever tried to get into Smooth Hermans/Capri Club?
What kind of music do they play?
What is your favourite song/artist to dance to?
What do girls wear to clubs like that? Guys?

**Has anything interesting/funny happened at a club you were at?   What happened?

20. FIGHTS/ARGUMENTS

Have you ever witnessed a fight?
        Where was it?
        What was it about?

Do you ever have fights around here?
        How do they start?

Do girls fight around here?
        Did you ever get into a fight with a girl/guy?

Do you remember getting into an argument with someone?
        Who was it with?
        What was it about?
        How did you resolve your differences? How did it all turn out?

21. TRAVEL

Have you had the opportunity to travel?
        Where did you go? How long? Anything interesting happen?

Many people experience problems when they are at airports, has this ever happened to
you?
*e.g. missing bags, delays/cancellations, missing a flight,
communication problems etc*

Has a communication barrier created any funny moments in any of your travels?
Did you ever loose your luggage? Miss a plane? Get stranded?

Where would you like to go that you've never been?

Why?

**What's the funniest/scariest thing that ever happened to you when you
were travelling?

22. DATING PRACTICES

Do you go out on dates?   Do you go out on dates? Have you ever gone on
a date with a boy/girl?

When did you (or your friends) start dating?
        How did your parents react?

Did you ever have a boyfriend/girlfriend that your parents/friends
didn't like?   What kinds of problems did that cause?

Where do kids go on dates around here?
 How do you get around? Do you drive? Bus? Parents?

If you were going out with someone, would it make you jealous if he
asked someone else to dance at a party?
        Is there anything else that would make you jealous?

How do you get rid of a guy/girl that you don't like anymore?
 **Have you ever been dumped? What happened?
 **Have you ever dumped anyone? Why?
        Can you dump someone on Facebook or via text message? Why or why
not?

Are there any guys your parents wouldn't let you go out with?
        Was it because of age? Race? Religion?

What kind of guy/girl do you like?
        What kind of guy/girl do you want to marry?
        Do you care if he/she goes to college?

Do you think there's such a thing as a "generation gap"?

Can you talk to your parents?
        To your mother? Your father?
        What are things you can't talk to your parents about?
        About sex? About boyfriends/girlfriends?

23. TRADITIONS

What kinds of traditions can you remember growing up with in your
family?
        Do you (plan to) keep these traditions alive with your own
family?

What is Christmas like in your family?
        Who picks out the tree? Who decorats it?
        Did you write to Santa Claus? Did he bring what you wanted?
When do you open your presents? How do you open your presents? Do you
have to go in order?

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At whose house did you celebrate?
What do you eat at Christmas?

What's your favorite memory of Christmas?
What was your best Christmas?

What do you usually do on New Year's Eve?

How about Valentine's Day? Easter?   Thanksgiving?

Does your family go to church? Which church?
    Do they go every Sunday or just on holidays. Why do you think
that is?

24. MARRIAGE/PARTNERS

How did your parents meet?

How would you like to meet your partner? What kind of wedding to you
want?

Have you ever been to a wedding? Did anything funny/interesting
happen?
    Are there any special wedding traditions in your family?

Would your parents mind if you married someone of the same sex? Do you
know many same sex couples? Who are they? How do you know them?

25. MISCELLANEOUS

Have you ever met/seen someone famous?
 Who was it? Where was it?
 Did you talk to them?

Do you/have you done any volunteer work?

Do you play any musical instruments?
 If yes, which ones? For how long?
 What made you start?   *e.g. school, parents*
 If no, is there an instrument you would like to learn to play? Why?

Do you have any pets now?

Did your family have any pets?
 What do you remember about them?
 Did you ever have a pet run away? What happened?

Sometimes people who have pets teach them tricks … what are your pets
like? Can
[name the pet] do any tricks?

Have you ever thought about what you'd like to do in the future?   What
kinds of things would you like to do that you've never done?

Where do you see yourself in twenty years?

Do you have a dream? What is it?

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26. UNCOMMON EXPERIENCES

When people think back on their lives, there's always something that sticks out as being really unusual … did you ever have anything like that happen to you?

Have you ever witnessed a terrible accident or tragic event?
      What happened?
      Did you try to help?

Have you ever been in the hospital?
      How long? What for?

Sometimes in families there's someone who gets a feeling that something is going to
happen, and it does happen.
      Is there anybody like that in your family?
      Do you remember anything like that that came true?

What was the longest streak of luck you ever had?
      What about bad luck?
Do you ever do anything to ensure that you'll have good luck?
      What?
      Are you lucky at cards?
      Are you lucky with guys/girls?

Have you ever been somewhere new and know that you've been there before?

Have you ever had a 'near death' experience?
      What happened?
      Did it change you?

Do you ever remember a time that you were really afraid?
      When was that? What happened?
      How did you feel about it afterwards?

Did you ever know somebody that wasn't afraid of anything? What kind of person was he?
 Or is it just that some people can't admit it when they are afraid?

Was there ever anything that happened when you were growing up that you couldn't explain?
      Were there any spooky places you wouldn't go at night?
      Does it bother you when people talk about ghosts?
      **Do you know anyone who has seen a ghost?

27. DREAMS

Do you ever have trouble going to sleep at night?
      What do you do if you can't?

Do you sleepwalk? Do you talk in your sleep?
      Where did you go? What did you say?

If no, do you know someone who sleep walks/talk in their sleep?

Do you ever think about your dreams? Do you remember them?
    Do you dream in colour?

Did you ever have a dreams that came true?
Do you ever tell people about your dreams? Some people say if you do,
the dreams will come true.

Can you wake up if you don't like a dream?
    Or keep on dreaming, if you like it?
    Was there ever a dream like that, where you just didn't want to
wake up?
Do you ever actually know you're dreaming, and say to yourself, "hey
this is a dream"? And realize you can do whatever you want?

Did you ever have a dream that really scared you?
    What happened?

Do you think dreams can mean anything?
    **Did you ever have a dream that you thought meant something?

28. IMPORTANT HISTORICAL EVENTS

**Where were you when you heard about September 11th? What did you do?
How did it affect you and your family?
    What about Hurricane Juan? Was there much damage here? What clean
up did you have to do?

29. LANGUAGE

Have you noticed any interesting things about the way people speak
English around here?

A lot of people think that English is changing a lot, do you think so?

Have you noticed any changes in the way people talk and sound around
here?

Do you think that your community plays a role in how people sound? How?
Why?

Can you tell by the way people talk around here that they come from
here?
    Do people in this area sound different?

Is there a Sydney accent? Glace Bay? New Waterford? North Sydney?
Louisbourg?

How about the difference between old and young speakers? Do you sound
the same as your parents? Do your parents sound the same as you? What
about your grandparents?

Do you speak the same way as your friends? What kinds of differences
to you notice?

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Has anyone ever told you, you sound different? Why?

Do you sound different from your classmates? Why? What kinds of words
do you use that other people don't use?

Have you ever tried to change the way you talk? Why? What did you do?

Has anyone ever given you a hard time about the way you talk? What did
they say?
What did you think about that? What did you do about it?

Do you think that how you sound plays a role in how others perceive
you?
Do you think that you try to change how you sound when you are in
certain environments? Which ones? Why?

What do you think about the way young people today sound?
      What has changed? What hasn't?