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A DIALECT SURVEY
OF
CARBONEAR, NEWFOUNDLAND

by

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A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

Since no mystically unified dialect was expected, twenty-four primary informants were chosen so as to represent the maximum linguistic variety. Thus, I attempted to secure equal numbers in (a) two generations—one older, one middle-aged—(b) the two sexes, (c) two ethnic and religious divisions—roughly, Roman Catholics of Irish ancestry versus Protestants of mostly English ancestry—and (d) three Groups based on social amd economic status and education. Correlations were sought between one or more of these four non-linguistic factors and the linguistic variations discovered.

Though I deliberately avoid comparing the English of Carbonear with that of other dialects of English, such comparison is implied by some of the choices of emphasis which I have made. This is especially true in Chapter 1, which deals with some selected features of the grammar.

For example, in much folk and common speech especially among the "English", even the inanimate nouns have a well-defined but covert system of three grammatical genders. In much folk speech lexical verbs employ the same form for both the simple past and the past participle, and the -s inflection is used with all subjects in the simple non-past.

Chapters 2 and 3 are an attempt at a systematic description of the speech sounds. The common vocoids are roughly [ɪ ʊ ə ɛə æ ʌ ɑ] and [h]. The first three, [ɪ ʊ ə] , occur both as syllabics (full vowels) and non-

syllabics (vowel glides). Only front vowels are consistently unrounded; rounded and generally lowered manifestations of all other vowels occur. Phonemic lengthening of vowels is considered to be an allophone of /h/, for it is in complementation with initial [h].

Wide variations are found in the distribution of vowels before the vocalic consonants /w y h r/.

Besides the four consonants which are phonetically vocoids, /w y h r/, cultured speech contains twenty consonants which are phonetically contoids. However, many other speakers use /d/ and /t/ rather than /ð/ and /θ/ in words spelled with th such as then and thin. The "clear" allophone of l, [l], occurs frequently in final and post-vocalic positions. Conditioned voicing is fairly common in all the obstruents—partial devoicing occurring finally and sometimes initially, whereas intervocalic allophones are often voiced.

In Chapter 4, a surprisingly large variety of terms is found for many referents. Their distribution usually correlates well with one of the non-linguistic factors.

Chapter 5 summarizes the correlations between linguistic and non-linguistic factors. The most important linguistic variations correlate well with the social, economic, and educational differences subsumed under the term Group, whereas those which correlate with age, ethnic origins, and sex are relatively minor and infrequent.

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Were I a railway, I should like to thank Joseph for the engine, Charlotte for the right of way, Paddy for the steam, Bill for the rails, Judy for the fuel, and the brave people of Carbonear for risking their most precious possession on such a soft road-bed.

I am deeply indebted to my contacts in Carbonear for their skilful selection of prospective informants. I thank all citizens of Carbonear who have talked in my presence, especially during the summer of 1965. My deepest gratitude and admiration is reserved for the twenty-four primary informants who sacrificed hours of their valuable time to the owlish interrogator. The identities of all these should be revealed only after we have developed not only tolerance but also respect for our linguistic variations.

The financial help I received from the Canada Council in the form of a Pre-Master's degree Scholarship is greatly appreciated.

I would like to thank those who helped produce the road map of Carbonear. These include the Carbonear Town Council and Mr. Murray Tilley for their help in preparing the first rough sketch; Professor W.F. Summers of the Geography Department of Memorial University, for permission to use the facilities of his department; Doctor E.E. Day, lecturer, and Mr. D. Richthofen, student, both of the same Geography Department, for the cartography; and the gentleman who made the photographic reproductions but who wishes to remain anonymous.

Similar acknowledgement must go to Mr. Roger Peet of St. John's for the illustrations of flora. These include the drawings of Rhododendron canadense (Gowiddy) in Figures 1 and 2 following page 90—see 4.2.2(7)—and those of Rubus acaulis (Plumboy) in Figures 3 and 4 following page 91—see 4.2.2(10).

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0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 The Town of Carbonear

The story of Carbonear is the story of Newfoundland in miniature. Like the island in general, Carbonear has been heavily dependent on the cod fishery whose boom-and-bust economy has seldom provided a firm economic basis for community growth. Coupled with the problems of the uncertain economy was the generally shoddy and sometimes pernicious treatment of the settlers by the British Government.

Nothing reflects the fluctuations in the fortunes of Carbonear more than its population figures: 161 (1674), 220 (1697), 345 (1700), 327 (1730), 622 — 222 English, 400 Irish servants (1753), 2500 (1828), 4808 (1857), 4127 (1891), 3201 (1921), 3472 (1945), 3351 (1951), and 4234 (1961).[1]

Only two periods of fairly rapid growth mark bright periods in its long history--between 1828 and 1857 the population nearly doubled; between 1951 and 1961 it increased by about nine hundred persons. The first reflects that period of enlightened British policy in which Newfoundland first received Representative Government (1833), followed by full Responsible Government (1855). The second reflects the rapid economic and social changes which have occurred since Confederation with Canada in 1949.

The nineteenth-century boom saw Carbonear grow to become the second largest town of Conception Bay, exceeded in population by Harbour Grace only. Carbonear was then the headquarters of Conception Bay's largest commercial interests.[2]

These prosecuted the fishery for both cod and seals. A circulating library (c. 1830), a newspaper (1833), a commercial society of merchants (1834), a grammar school (1843) all marked it as an oasis in the general cultural desert of Newfoundland. In 1857 it boasted four clergymen, three doctors and lawyers, seventeen farmers, sixty-seven mechanics, eighteen merchants, 2043 fishermen-curers, and 1231 fishermen.[3]

This nineteenth-century boom had been preceded by two centuries of painful growth—calamities and periods of adversity interspersed with short periods of progress.

Carbonear no doubt had permanent settlers by 1650, and slowness of progress (as compared with that of similar settlements in New England) was largely due to British policy, which was designed to discourage settlement in Newfoundland. The powerful merchants of south-western England, afraid of losing exclusive control of the lucrative Newfoundland fishery, used their influence to enact laws (1660)[4] forbidding settlement in Newfoundland. Not until the early nineteenth century was full freedom to settle granted.

Rough and ready government was provided by the Fishing Admirals. Laws of 1633 and 1660 stipulated that the captain of the first British fishing vessel arriving in a Newfoundland harbour in the spring should be the governor (Admiral) of that port for the season. During their short summer stays, the Fishing Admirals provided more harrassment than justice for the settlers: no official authority existed dur-

ing the long winters. Having made themselves virtual outlaws by settling in defiance of British policy, the settlers had no legal means of securing better government. The first real governor of Newfoundland was appointed in 1729, but for some fifty years thereafter the Fishing Admirals continued to flout the governors' royal authority by appealing to their own parliamentary authority. Not until 1791 was the first real civil court established in Newfoundland in St. John's. British policy now began to change rapidly, and by 1832 Newfoundland was granted representation in the British Parliament.

To the persections by English fisherman and British navy were added those of the French. Charles II gave the French extensive rights along much of the Newfoundland coast. From Placentia, which they settled in 1662, they directed a number of destructive raids overland at the English-speaking settlers.

In the winter of 1696-1697 a strong raiding force under d'Iberville captured and sacked St. John's, the leading town, and the settlements in Conception Bay. The main settlement of Carbonear was defenceless, but armed settlers withdrew to the island which lies off the south side of the harbour entrance where they successfully resisted French attack. Early in 1705 the French again attacked, and burnt the town of Carbonear, causing damage of about 200,00 dollars; but, again, Carbonear Island defied them. However, the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) allowed the French to retain their fishing

rights in Newfoundland.

Near the end of the Seven Years' War, a French fleet from Brest captured the important Newfoundland strong points, including St. John's and Carbonear (1762). Though defeated in this war, the French retained rights in Newfoundland by the Treaty of Paris (1763) and the Treaty of Versailles (1783). Not until 1904 did they finally lose these rights on the island of Newfoundland.

The nineteenth-century boom in Carbonear had come about for a variety of reasons. The economy had been stimulated by the good demand and price for fish during the Napoleonic Wars when European fishermen were cut off from the Newfoundland fishing grounds. There had been Irishmen among the original settlers, but now, attracted by this wealth and repelled by the civil strife in Ireland, large numbers of Irish settlers came to Newfoundland early in the nineteenth century. Carbonear received its share of the wave of immigrants, which petered out around 1830. Many Irish settled inland, in the valley to the west of the town,[5] so that for a period there were virtually two towns. Gradually, the two ethnic groups have moved together so that today the houses and other buildings form an unbroken pattern. Improvements in government, education, and cultural activities also stimulated growth.

Unfortunately the Pax Britannica did little for Newfoundland. European wars have always stimulated its economy. With peace came competition and lower prices for fish. The

Responsible Government over-extended its slender financial resources (especially in railway building), and a general recession set in during the last third of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth. The brief economic reprieve of World War I brought no permanent relief.

In Carbonear, the population declined, so that in 1921 it was about 1600 less than it had been in 1857. By 1877, Carbonear had lost its circulating library, its newspaper, and its commercial society.[6] The general lack of education, and of large communities, the want of skills, and inadequacy of finance all prevented industrial growth in the country.

Carbonear, however, has not forgotten its former greatness. The citizens are proud of their Island's defiance of the French. Until the present century, Carbonear shared with Harbour Grace the distinction of being one of the two chief towns after St. John's. The community has always maintained quite good schools and has produced leaders in academic and other fields, both in Newfoundland and abroad.

The dialect of Carbonear should represent some of the oldest and most respectable Newfoundland English. The proportion of Irish to English in the town is about the same as for the whole province of Newfoundland. Unusually wide social and economic differences are found within the community. A careful survey of the speech should reveal elements which are perhaps widespread in the province, and at the same time avoid a narrow concentration on the rare or peculiar which might be found in more isolated communities.

The employment in Carbonear is not typical of a Newfoundland outport community, in which most workers are primary producers. Carbonear is, instead, a commercial centre which serves many people from the settlements along the north shore of Conception Bay and the south shore of Trinty Bay. Though a fish plant was recently opened, a much higher than usual percentage of the population is employed in the distribution of goods and services. There are several large wholesale and retail businesses in the town. Its regional high school and hospital also increase its focal nature.

0.2 Selection of Informants

The time available allowed me to interview twenty-four informants. In order to achieve the widest sampling of the community's speech, I attempted to divide the limited number of indigenous informants into: (1) three equal Groups based on social and economic status and education, (2) two equal divisions based on religion and ethnic origins, (3) two equal divisions based on age, and (4) equal numbers of men and women.

The members of Group 1 have limited financial means, and generally occupy a lower social position in the community. The average education of informants in this group amounts to only three and one-half years of grade school.

Group 3 represents the opposite end of the socio-economic scale. The eight members of this Group occupy positions of responsibility and financial security, usually as

owners or directors of local businesses. Most of them are prestige members of the community, being leaders in local social and community activities. Their average education is about twelve years, and , in the case of the five Protestants in this Group, part of this education was received outside Carbonear.

Group 2 occupies a middle social and economic position. The average education of members of this Group is nine years. Such an education, coupled with permanent employment, "qualifies" an informant for inclusion in this Group. However, because of his prestige as a leader in part of the community, one informant is assigned to Group 2 without these qualifications. On the other hand, two informants who qualify financially for Group 3 are placed in Group 2 because they assume no role of leadership in community affairs.

In Carbonear, most Roman Catholics have ultimate origins in Ireland, whereas nearly all Protestants descend from British settlers (mostly English). Thus, the religious division of Roman Catholic versus Protestant parallels that of ethnic origin. Exceptions to this generalization are three male informants, two of whom are Protestant but of Irish stock, whereas the third is Catholic and of English ancestry. Only three informants had any Scottish ancestry, which in each case was mixed with English. Only three informants had mixed Irish-English ancestry, and in no case did this represent marriage between Catholic and Protestant.

Thus, the religious division is accepted as more basic

than the ethnic one. Unfortunately, the two religious divisions are not equally represented, there being only nine Roman Catholic informants as against fifteen Protestants. This is due to the difficulty I experienced in finding Roman Catholic women informants in Groups 2 and 3. This reflects the old economic disadvantage of the Irish settlers which has not yet been overcome.

The informants are divided into an older and a younger generation with age sixty being taken as an arbitrary dividing line between the two age groups. All but two of the twelve in the older generation are seventy or above; the average age of the twelve is seventy-five. All but one of the twelve informants in the younger generation are fifty or below, and the average age is forty-two. There are seven in their forties, two in their thirties, and two in their twenties—the youngest being twenty-six. Thus, one can say that the two generations are divided by a period of roughly twenty years (50--70).

The final division is based on sex. In attempting to interview equal numbers of men and women, I was again frustrated by the lack of Roman Catholic women in Groups 2 and 3. So as to achieve a closer balance of men versus women, I compensated by interviewing additional Protestant women in Groups 2 and 3. Thus, there is a total of thirteen male informants as against eleven females.

Each of the twenty-four informants is assigned a code number. The numbers are arranged on the following page in a

table which involves the four variables of Group, religion, age, and sex. Note that the code numbers for all male informants are odd, for all females even.

	Group I				Group 2				Group 3			
	Prot.		R.C.		Prot.		R.C.		Prot.		R.C.	
older	1	2	3	4	9	10	11		17	18a 18b	19a 19b	
younger	5	6	7	8	13	14a 14b 14c	15		21	22	23	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F

Throughout this thesis I attempt to correlate variations in linguistic data (pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary) with one or more of the non-linguistic factors of Group, age, religion, and sex. The degree of correlation varies, but on the whole it seems quite high. It is most statistically reliable in connection with Group and age, where the desired balance of numbers is available; in the case of religion it is least reliable because of the difference between the numbers of Roman Catholics and Protestants. Such correlations are summarized in chapter five.

I do not claim that the idiolects of my twenty-four informants constitute a statistically reliable sample of the community's speech. The informants should be regarded as twenty-four cases of separate idiolects rather than a representative sample of a unified dialect. However, Carbonear's

long history of almost fixed population, coupled with very slow economic and social change, has allowed, I believe, such a consolidation of linguistic habits that my findings should agree well with any that might be based on more statistically reliable sampling.

0.3 The Questionnaire and Transcriptions

All interviewing of informants was done during the summer of 1965 at Carbonear. In the four to eight hours spent in interviewing each informant, some four hundred and fifty questions were asked from a questionnaire provided by Memorial University of Newfoundland.

This is the "Linguistic Atlas of Newfoundland Dialect Questionnaire", complied by William J. Kirwin and George M. Story of the English Department at Memorial University (St. John's, Newfoundland) in 1959 and revised in May, 1963. This questionnaire is based on the"Short Work Sheets" of The Linguistic Atlas of the U.S.A. and Canada (Washington, 1939) complied by Hans Kurath in 1939 and revised in 1949 by A.L. Davis and Raven I. McDavid, Jr. The Newfoundland questionnaire differs from the "Short Work Sheets" in that many items have been omitted or changed to suit the local environment—for example, a specialized section on the fishery is included.

A phonetic transcription was made of all responses during the interviews. In addition, I attempted to make a tape recording of all or part of the interviews with each infor-

mant. Only one informant declined to be recorded on tape. The tapes possess a twofold value: they enable me to check my own transcriptions, and they often contain free conversation which enables me to check elicited forms against non-elicited forms.[7]

The phonetic symbols used in the field transcriptions and in this thesis conform largely to the practice outlined in Chapter IV of the Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England (Washington, 1939). I also recorded, in traditional orthography, spellings which informants sometimes gave for lexical items they guessed might be unfamiliar to me. This thesis gives spellings in the traditional alphabet for most items. In some cases, such spellings were reported by informants; in others they represent traditional Newfoundland spellings found in written records; and some of them are my own arbitary creations. In all cases, writing as one word and hyphenation indicate that the first element is stressed (as in hayloft and damper-dogs) whereas separation means that the second element is more heavily stressed (as in barn loft).

My field transcriptions are now filed with the dialect collections of the English Department at Memorial University of Newfoundland. Their narrow concentration on one community supplements the field records complied by William J. Kirwin and J.D.A. Widdowson in their broader survey of the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland as well as other parts of the island (1960—1965).

Findings in recent fieldwork and older written sources both contribute items to the file card collection for the proposed "Newfoundland Dialect Dictionary" undertaken by George M. Story. This collection proved to be a valuable source for rechecking of usage, spelling, and meanings.

In this thesis, phonetic transcriptions are placed in square brackets, thus [ˈbɛl̩ɪi̯]. Phonemic transcriptions are contained between slant lines, thus /béliy/. Morphemes are given in traditional spelling, underlined, and enclosed in braces, thus {belly}.

Informants are referred to by code numbers. If an informant gave more than one response to the same question, his code number may be in parentheses, thus (23).

Notes to Chapter 0

[1] These figures are from E.R. Seary, G.M. Story, and W.J. Kirwin, "An Ethno-linguistic Survey of the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland" (unpublished typescript, Memorial University of Newfoundland, for the National Museum of Canada, 1962), p.111.

[2] See P. Toque, Newfoundland As It Was and As It Is in 1877 (Toronto, 1878), p. 117.

[3] These figures are from "Ethno-linguistic Survey", p. 111.

[4] See A.B. Perlin, "An Outline of Newfoundland History", in J.R. Smallwood, ed., The Book of Newfoundland (St. John's, 1937), I, 173.

[5] See map of Carbonear in this thesis. The Valley Road and London Road (The Long Drung) lead into this area.

[6] See Toque, p. 119.

[7] A selection of the more valuable taped interviews will be deposited in the Archives of Tapes at Memorial University with permission of informants concerned.

1. SOME NOTES ON GRAMMAR

1.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with some selected features of morphology and syntax[1] in the folk speech of Carbonear. The grammar used by standard speakers in careful speech differs only in minor ways from that of mainland Canada, but the folk grammar which I discuss below reveals systems which are sometimes quite different from those of both the local standard and standards on the continent of North America.

Since the questionnaire method which I used yields least reliable results in morphology and syntax, I do not depend heavily on directly elicited forms. Rather, my grammatical descriptions are based largely on items recorded from free conversation in which I was only sometimes a participant. This includes conversation of informants, other citizens of the town, and that of my wife, a native of Carbonear.

The "rules" which I present are merely generalizations. Perhaps not every one of them is valid. My intention is merely to point the way for future thorough investigations of our Newfoundland grammar.

1.2 Nominals

Nouns seem to posses a well defined but covert[2] system of grammatical gender.

We may call a noun masculine, feminine, or neuter depending on the pronouns which it selects in the singular.

Mass or non-count nouns (such as frost, fog, water, love) are called neuter because they select the pronoun it. Count nouns divide into masculine and feminine. Female humans and most female animals, as well as all types of vehicles (land, air, and sea) are feminine, in that they select the pronouns she, her, hers. Other count nouns are masculine in that they select the pronouns he, 'en, and his.

Some masculine nouns are:

hat— "He's lovely on you."

shovel— "Put 'en there." ['pʊtn̩], ['pʌtn̩], and ['pɔtn̩]

Some feminine nouns are:

boat— "I jumped aboard of her."
"She lost her rudder."
"She went ashore."

airplane—"Yes, I seen her fly over."

Some neuter nouns are:

water— "Tis not fit to drink."

fog— "You could cut it with a knife."

weather— "'Twas some cold."

snow— "I loves it."

The small paradigmatic class of pronouns, all of which are authenticated, has the forms shown in the table found on the following page.

Possibly, one should include them /dem/ in the nominative column of the pronouns, for such sentences as the following occur frequently:

"Dem are lovely" /dèm+ɔr+lɨ́vliy/ . However, it is perhaps

The Inflected Class of Pronouns

Nominative	Accusative		First Genitive		Second Genitive
	unstressed	stressed	unstressed	stressed	
I /ə y/	/miy/	me /miy/	/miy/	my /məy/	mine /məyn/
you /yuw/	/yə/ /yæ/	you /yuw/	/yə/ /yər/	your /yɸr/	yours /yɸrz/
he /hiy/	/im//ən/	him /him/	/iz/	his /hiyz/ /hiz/	his /hiz/
she /ʃiy/	/ər/	her /hər/	/ər/	her /hər/	hers /hərz/
it /it/	/ət/	No form	No form	No form	No form
we /wiy/	/əs/	we /wiy/	/ar/*	our /ahwər/	ours /ahwərz/
you /yuw/ ye /yiy/	/yə/ /yæ/	you /yuw/ ye /yiy/	/yə/ /yər/	your /yɸr/	yours /yɸrz/
they /deh/ /dey/	/əm/	them /dem/	/dər/	their /der/	theirs /derz/
who /huw/	/uw/	who /huw/	/uwz/	whose /huwz/	whose /huwz/

* This is the only recorded instance of /a/ before /r/.

better to treat them, in this case, as a determiner used as a substitute analagous to such a whole nominal phrase as "Dem white gloves."[3]

In the compound nominals with self, the initial element is always the first genitive, thus, myself, yourself, hisself, herself, ourselves, yourselves, theirselves.

As in the standard grammar the compounds of -body with any- and some- have a general, indefinite personal referent. However, /bɔ́diy/ is also used alone to indicate a specific, definite personal referent, as in:
"There's /bɔ́diyz/ car," that is, not just anybody's car, but the car of some specific person, for example, the one we were just discussing.[4]

1.3 Verbs

Inflectionally, there are two classes of verbal words, that is, words that are used to form the main part of predicates.

The first type is an open class which I shall call LEXICAL VERBS. These have a four-part inflectional pattern, each part of which I shall call a LEXICAL FORM. Lexical verbs sub-divide into WEAK and STRONG on the basis of a difference in the formation of the lexical form in column III below. The -ing of form IV is almost always /ən/.
Some weak lexical verbs are:

	I	II	III	IV
(1)	kill	kills	killed	killing
(2)	dive	dives	dived	diving
(3)	jump	jumps	jumped	jumping
(4)	need	needs	needed	needing
(5)	love	loves	loved	loving
(6)	look	looks	looked	looking
(7)	rub	rubs	rubbed	rubbing

Some strong lexical verbs are:

	I	II	III	IV
(1)	drive	drives	drove	driving
(2)	bring	brings	brought	bringing
(3)	get	gets	got	getting
(4)	heave	heaves	hove	heaving
(5)	bite	bites	bit	biting
(6)	ride	rides	rid~rod	riding
(7)	sit	sits	sat~sot	sitting
(8)	take	takes	took	taking
(9)	wake	wakes	woke	waking
(10)	hæve	haves	had	having
(11)	save	saves	sove	saving
(12)	be	bees	been /biyn/	being /biyn/~/biyən/
(13)	do	does /duwz/ /dɸz/	done	doing

A few strong lexical verbs have identical forms in columns I and III:

(1)	come	comes	come	coming
(2)	eat	eats	eat	eating
(3)	give	gives	give	giving
(4)	sweat	sweats	sweat	sweating

The occurring forms <u>am</u>, <u>is</u>, <u>are</u>, <u>was</u> sometimes operate syntactically like lexical forms, but of course their shapes do not permit their inclusion in the above paradigm.

Verbal words of a second type form a closed class which

I shall call AUXILIARIES. It contains about thirty forms which are used with high frequency. Some of these forms may be placed in a two-part pattern, but the result bears no resemblance to any part of the lexical verb paradign. Do and did occur only as emphatic forms (that is, stressed). The others have ordinary reduced forms (unstressed) and emphatic full forms (stressed).

A	B
have	had
do	did
will	would
shall	should
can	could
may	might

Furthermore, there are other auxiliaries. These do not fit the above pattern. Two of them are must and need. The latter has very limited occurrence--only before the negative particle in sentences like, "He needn't go".

A group of forms traditionally associated with the verb be also belongs to the auxiliaries. These forms include the FINITE AUXILIARIES am, is, are, and was, as well as the NON-FINITE AUXILIARIES be, been, being. In addition, the forms gets and got often function as finite auxiliaries; get, got, and getting are often non-finite auxiliaries.

I shall use the term SIMPLE for any verb phrase which contains only one verb form. A verb phrase with more than one verb form will be called COMPLEX.

Let us look first at the simple verb phrases which occur. Any form which occurs in a simple verb phrase is syntactically a lexical form, and, except in the case of am, is, are, and was, is also inflectionally a form from the paradigm of lexical verbs.

A form from column I of the lexical verbs has two functions as a simple verb phrase. It indicates:

(1) The subjunctive. This is a rare function seen only in sentences with singular noun subjects as in "God help us" and "God bless you."

(2) The imperative. Here, the word you is often, but not always, present. Thus, one hears both "You bring it up" and "Bring it up." The following was recorded:

"You go over and ask ____ if he got any apples down there."

A form from column II has only one function as a simple verb phrase—it indicates the non-past. Because this form does not specify any time, the term "non-past" is chosen so as to avoid the term "present". Since the grammar of this folk dialect has no inflectional indication of person or number, the form with -s inflection is used with any subject. The three words am, is, and are, however, do have a "present" and may fill some of the same frames which are filled by the lexical forms with -s. Thus we have contrasts between non-past and present in such pairs as the following:

Non-past		Present
"I bees sick"	versus	"I'm sick"
"He bees sick"	versus	"He's sick"

"They bees sick" versus "They're sick"

Recorded examples of the non-past include:

"I expects to see her."

"If I'm there they thinks 'tis better."

"You haves yours twenty-nine." (of leg length of trousers)

"He bees afraid of me, he do."

"Do that before you does anything else."

"I think they looks funny."

"I hates it down there."

As a simple verb phrase, a form from column III indicates the past. Examples recorded include:

"They done good." (of a hockey team)

"He fired a rock at the dog."

"He been down here before."

"I drove around the bay."

Forms from column IV do not occur as simple verb phrases.

A complex verb phrase ends with a lexical form from column I, III, or IV; it begins with a finite auxiliary. None, one, two, or three non-finite auxiliaries (get, got, have, been, be, being, getting) may occur between the (initial)finite auxiliary and the (final) lexical form. The following is a list of a few of the permitted verb phrases:

(1) They gets killed.

(2) She do get kissed.

(3) He've drove for years.

(4) He must have got drove home.

(5) He should have been getting drove home.

(6) They was getting drove home

(7) They are getting drove home.

(8) I'm drove crazy.

(9) You must be drove crazy.

(10) You're drove crazy.

(11) I should be driving this car.

(12) He've been dying for years.

A lexical form from column III functions as a past participle when occurring (finally) in a complex verb phrase. The past participle occurs in the recorded sentences below:

"If you know she've had it before...."

"She haven't got it yet."

"She haven't been down now for two years."

"I'd brought the wrong key."

"Oh! I'm bit."

"I was took."

"It haven't been touched for a long time."

"I would be killed if I went down there."

Lexical forms from column IV, present participles, occur (finally) in complex verb phrases. Some of the recorded occurrences are shown in the sentences below:

"I'm eating my dinner."

"They're working on it now."

"They was eating their dinner."

"It'll be raining tomorrow, I suppose."

A lexical form from column I, a base, occurs finally in two-member complex verb phrases. It occurs only when the

initial form in the verb phrase is do or did or one of the modal auxiliaries (will, would, shall, should, can, could, may, might, must and syntactically analagous forms such as dare, use(d) to, have to, going to, wants to, ought to).

The folk grammar of the verb shows both greater regularity and greater economy than does the standard grammar. Greater regularity is seen in the lexical verbs be and have which, in folk grammar, possess a full set of four forms each of which functions like analagous forms in other lexical verbs. Greater economy is seen in the lack of an unique form for the past participle function of strong verbs--the form in column III serving both as a finite past and as a non-finite past participle.

In addition, morphological distinctions indicate the difference between lexical and auxiliary forms. Thus, the -s of the finite auxiliaries gets, is and was may be considered to violate this rule. This may be explained as dual function of a form which can serve both as a lexical form and as an auxiliary.

Thus, there is a lexical verb get with a full set of four forms, but each of these forms may operate syntactically as an auxiliary, though its inflection and heavier stress may mark it as an odd auxiliary. The words is and was are two members of a unique set of words (am, is, are, was) which have two syntactic functions. On the one hand, they operate as finite auxiliaries (as in, she was killed); on the other they occur in some of the same syntactic frames as do finite

lexical forms (as in, she was a nurse). But their odd forms in the latter position correspond to a unique function—they are the only simple verb phrases which can signal the present tense as distinct from the non-past. Thus "She is sick" (present) contrasts with "She bees sick" (non-past).

1.4 Other Grammatical Classes of Words

(1) ADVERBS. The derivational suffix -ly is not productive in folk grammar. However, some inherited forms with -ly do occur. The most common ones are hardly, barely, only, really and truly. On the other hand, -like is a productive derivational suffix, its function being analagous to that of -ly in the standard grammar. Thus one hears such sentences as: "Foolishlike, I went and stepped on the gas instead of the brake."

The inflectional class of compared words is often used as both adjectives and adverbs. Thus, syntactic class cleavage is common with such words as good, better, best, fast, faster, fastest, hard, harder, hardest. Hence, one hears:

"He played good tonight" (adverb)

"That's a good apple". (adjective)

(2) INTENSIFIERS. Many of the members of the inflectional class of compared words may be preceded by the intensifiers some, right and real. It is not known what, if any, semantic differences these words have, or if there are restrictions on the compared words with which they occur. Thus,

one hears:

"'Tis some hot today."

"He skates some fast."

"She's right sweet."

"He hit me right hard."

"He's not a real big man."

"He don't drive real fast."

(3) DETERMINERS. In folk grammar, either and neither belong not only to the determiner class but also to its subclass which cannot act as substitutes. Thus, this subclass contains the words a, an, the, no, every, the "first genitive" forms of pronouns, either and neither, all of which do not occur without a following nominal. As determiners, the last two terms often have the forms e'er /er/ and n'er /ner/. Thus, the folk sentence "I don't have either (or e'er) book" is equivalent to the standard "I don't have a book" or "I don't have any book". Similarly, "I don't have neither (or n'er) book" is equivalent to now-standard "I don't have no book".

In the folk grammar, then, either and neither are are unavailable as substitutes and such a sentence as the following is NOT grammatical:

* I don't have either.

The error which I have made above in the folk grammar corresponds to the one I have made below in the standard grammar:

* I don't have a.

(4) NEGATIVES. Double negatives are common in the speech of most informants. However, standard speakers tend to avoid them in styles above the "casual".[5] The following were recorded:

"I don't want no dinner."

"He don't have neither one."

"Nor I'm not going to do it."

(I thought you didn't like her) "No more I don't."

(Everybody says you can't stand it) "No more I can't."

(5) RELATIVES AND CLAUSE MARKERS. The relative is sometimes omitted even when it should structurally be the subject of the dependent clause. Note the ommission of subject who in:

"That's the man killed the moose yesterday."

"He's the one built that new house."

"There's always someone comes along to grab it."

A few clause markers in the folk grammar differ from those found in the careful styles of standard speakers. Three such markers are where ("so that; whereby"), like ("as"), and fraid ("for fear"). Recorded examples include:

(1) "The woman got to watch her steps where /wər/ she won't go down between and break her leg...."

(2) "So if you had the fisherman helped out where /wər/ they'd get three or four dollars a quintal...."

(3) "They haven't got to do it like they done it years ago...."

(4) "You'd want--<u>like</u> you said before-- you'd break the Bank of England doing things like that."

(5) "And she got to keep her eye on him <u>fraid</u> he's going to go off.... and fall down ...."

Notes to Chapter 1

[1] The word grammar is used in this chapter to mean morphology and syntax as here defined. I define morphology as the shaping of words by inflectional and derivational affixes; syntax refers to the patterns of order and co-occurrence of whole words in context.

[2] For original discussion of this term see Benjamin Lee Whorf, "Grammatical Categories" (1937), in John B. Carroll, ed., Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), pp. 87-101.

[3] It seems that the folk form dem is equivalent to the standard those, whereas the folk dose equals the standard these.

[4] Informants questioned feel that this /bɔ́diy/ is the "same" word as buddy (pal; comrade) and is not the morpheme -body which occurs in words like somebody. Their feeling is reinforced by the fact that the -body of compounds like somebody is sometimes /-bàdiy/ rather than /-bɔ̀diy/.

[5] For special usage of this term see Martin Joos, The Five Clocks, Part V, IJAL, XXVIII (1962), 13.

2. PHONETIC IMPRESSIONS

2.1 Introduction

The terminology and approach which I follow in the discussion of the phonetic aspects of the dialect are influenced greatly by the writings of Kenneth L. Pike.[1]

The phonetic symbols which I use represent perceptual phones which I heard. "A perceptual phone is one which a particular ear at a particular time believes it identifies".[2] The number of symbols used in transcribing any item equals the number of perceptual segments which I heard. Thus I transcribed one pronunciation of wheelbarrow as [ˈwɪl̥ˌbæɚ̥ ɚ], which means that for me it contained eight perceptual segments. I admit that "Differences in attention given to particular parts of a sequence, phonetic training, and phonemic background ... would affect the transcription".[3] Nevertheless, I believe that eight articulatory variations took place in the production of this word, in such a way that there occurred eight acoustic differences which I could perceive.

On the basis of Pike's definitions, I divide the perceptual phones into two convenient groups, vocoids and contoids. "The sounds which as a group function most frequently as syllabics are vocoids. Phonetically, they comprise the central resonant orals as already defined".[4] Pike's previous definition states that "orals comprise central fricative orals (e.g. [s]); lateral fricative orals (e.g. fricative

[l]); lateral resonant orals (e.g. frictionless [l]); and central resonant orals (e.g [o],[h])!.[5] Pike states that in this classification—that is, in the class of orals— "local friction or the lack of it is completely disregarded when it occurs in any other than the highest-ranking escape cavity",[6] that is, the oral cavity. This is his justification for including [h] as a central resonant oral and, consequently, as a vocoid. He also asserts that "glide sounds" such as [r], [w], and [y] are included in the class of vocoids. "All other sounds are contoids".[7]

The syllables which I indicate in my phonetic transcriptions are perceptual syllables, "those which an investigator actually notices at some particular time".[8] "The segment during which the speed of the initiator movement is greatest is the syllabic; a few exceptions (e.g. in [ha]) seem to be due to an acoustic subcriterion of prominence".[9] These syllabics usually occur as a result of the release of a stricture behind which pressure has been built up. "When the strictures are released, the pressure is lessened and the speed of the initiator movement increases. These alternations of initiator movement constitute the syllable pulse".[10] "On the other hand, syllable pulsations can be produced in an isolated sound, e.g. [a], without the aid of strictural changes."[11] This is achieved by a series of chest pulses in which the intercostal muscles contract and relax to alternately raise and lower the pressure of the air stream from the lungs. In the pronunciation of wheelbarrow ['wɪil,bæəˑəˑ]

cited above, three syllables were heard, the first two of which contain syllabics [ɪ] and [æ], caused by strictural release, whereas the third syllabic, [ə˞], is achieved by a chest pulse, for there is no movement of the articulators between the segments [ə̯˞] and [ə˞], and one might thus argue that the same phonetic description applies to both.

This is why Pike insists that:

> the description of the articulatory and acoustic characteristics of a phone must therefore be given without reference to its place in any syllable, since its syllable characteristics are subject to change depending on the particular kind of syllable it happens to be in, and upon whether or not the phone functions as a syllabic. Its syllable function can be stated independently as something superimposed upon its innate articulatory characteristics.[12]

Because, however, I am organizing in this chapter my phonetic data with a phonomic analysis in view, I shall not follow the above advice strictly, for in doing phonemic analysis the function of any phone in a syllable is of prime importance. Thus, I shall anticipate and use syllabic function to sub-divide my discussion of both vocoids and contoids. This will cause some repetition because certain phones, such as the non-syllabic vocoids [r] and [ə̯˞], have almost identical articulatory descriptions, the former symbolizing a glide <u>from</u> the position of syllabic vocoid [ə˞], the latter symbolizing a glide <u>towards</u> this same retroflex position.

Stress is indicated in my phonetic transcriptions. The stress symbols represent my impressionistic reaction to differences in syllabics of relative loudness and, perhaps,

other factors such as tensences, vocoid quality, and syllable division. Three levels of stress were found to be usually sufficient to indicate the differences which I heard: [ˈ] and [ˌ] indicate strong and medium stress respectively, while weakest stress is unmarked. Clustering of contoids with syllabic vocoids seems to be affected by stress: a weakly stressed vocoid appears to lose from its syllable any contoids which are adjacent to a syllable containing a strongly stressed vocoid: note, for example, the "behaviour" of the [k] in [ˈɹɛk ɚd] as against [rə ˈkɔ̯̂d].

2.2 Syllabic Vocoids

The ten syllabic vocoids which I found in stressed syllables in Carbonear have certain general characteristics. Distributionally, none of them are short when occurring finally in stressed syllables. The four vocoids which occur in this position are always long. These are [ɛ:] in some pronunciations of day, [ɑ:] and [ɔ̝:] in raw, and [ɚ:] in fur. Physiologically, all but one of the ten are fairly lax vocoids in which the tongue is not displaced to an extreme articulatory position.

The exception is [a], a sound used by only a portion of the population of Carbonear, being largely restricted to some of the long-established families with English origins. It occurs as a long, tense phone before voiceless fricatives or [n] in such words as laugh, bath, gas, and can't. This low front vocoid is sometimes used as a shibboleth by

residents of neighbouring communities, especially Harbour Grace, to identify speakers from Carbonear. Even the untrained ear distinguishes the pronunciation easily from the more prevalent [æe] used in these same words.

Seven of the ten stressed syllabic vocoids occur as short phones before non-syllabic contoids in stressed syllables. These are [ɪ] as in pit, [ɛ] in pet, [æ] in pat, [ɑ] in pot, [ʌ]~[ɔ] in putt and [ʊ] in put. [ɘ] is excluded from this list because it was recorded only once in this position. It occurred in the speech of Informant 14c in the intensifier just [dʒɘst]. However, her usual pronunciation of this word agrees with the normal Carbonear form, which is [dʒʌs]~[dʒɔs].

The other three stressed syllabic vocoids are [a], [ə] and [ɚ]. The first of these has been described above. The second, [ə], occurs in stressed syllables only before non-syllabic vocoids. The last of the three, [ɚ], is the long, retroflex vocoid of such words as Bert, fur, and bird.

The table below shows the distribution of stressed syllabic vocoids when long or followed by non-syllabic vocoids.

In unstressed syllables two syllabic vocoids often occur finally. These are [ə] in words like sofa ['sɔʊ̯fə] and [ɚ] in words like order ['ɔɚ̯dɚ]. A wider variety of syllabic vocoids occurs before non-syllabic contoids in unstressed syllables. Of these, the most common ones are [ɪ], [ɘ], and [ə], in such words as morning ['mɔɚ̯nɪŋ],

Incidence of stressed Syllabic Vocoids (SV), either long or followed by non-syllabic vocoids (Asterisk means that usage is divided).

SV	SV+[i̯]	SV+ [:]	SV+[u̯]	SV+[ə̯]
[ɪ]	ye [yɪi̯]			tierce [tɪə̯s] *
[ɛ]	keg [kɛi̯g] maid [mɛi̯d]	made [mɛ:d]*		chair [tʃɛə̯]
[æ]		half [hæ :f] *		barn [bæə̯n] horse [hæə̯ s] *
[a]		half [ha:f]*		
[ɑ]	rise [rɑi̯z]*	sauce [sɑ:s] *	cow [kɑu̯] *	
[ɚ]		hurt [hɚ:t] heard [hɚ:d]		
[ə]	night [nəi̯t] join [dʒəi̯n]*		cow [kəu̯]*	
[ʌ] or [ɔ]	join [dʒɔi̯n]*	sauce [sɔ:s]*	boat [bɔu̯t]	porch [pɔə̯tʃ] horse [hɔə̯ s]*
[ʊ]			suit [su̯t]	

houses [ˈhɑʏzɨz] and drizzle [ˈdʒrɪzəl]. Before non-syllabic vocoids, the unstressed syllibic vocoids [ɪ] and [ɔ] occur frequently, as in foggy [ˈfɑgɪi̯] and barrow [ˈbæə̯ɔʊ̯].

A brief description of each of the eleven syllabic vocoids is given below. The list includes the eleven vocoids which occur either stressed or unstressed.

(1) [ɪ] lower high-front

(2) [ɨ] lower high-central

(3) [ɛ] mid-front

(4) [æ] higher low-front

(5) [a] lower low-front

(6) [ɑ] low-central

(7) [ɚ] mid-central retroflexed

(8) [ə] mid-central non-retroflexed

(9) [ʌ] advanced and lower mid-back unrounded

(10) [ɔ] as for [ʌ] but rounded and sometimes approaching [o], especially before [ʊ̯] in words like boat and goat

(11) [ʊ] lower high-back, often lowering towards [o] in such words as boot [bo̜ʊ̯t]

The first five symbols above represent sounds which are consistently unrounded. The remainder are produced with varying degrees of lip rounding. The rounding appears consistently in some idiolects; sometimes it may be explained as assimilation to adjacent rounded phones; but, most often, rounded and unrounded manifestations of the same vocoid are in free variation. Rounding is heard in "Irish" pronunciations of girl as [gɨ̜ːɻ], and is widespread in words like

sight [sə̯ɤ̞̆̂t]~[səɤ̞̂t], and cut [kɔt]~[kʌt]; but such rounding never occurs in cow [kəʊ̯] or the [ðə].

The articulatory positions of the above syllabic vocoids are shown in the table below. The table is adapted from one found in the recent thorough physiological study of articulation by Peterson and Shoup.[13] The tape recordings for phonetic drill[14] which accompany their text were used to compare vocoids recorded in Carbonear with those provided on the above tapes. The closest auditory "matching" of which I am capable led me to fill the positions as indicated in the table below. Two symbols are different from those used by Peterson and Shoup: my [ɑ] and [ɔ] represent their [a] and [ɔ] respectively. The asterisk indicates my placing of the 'aberrant' or extra vocoid [a], mentioned in the first part of this section. The retroflex vocoid [ɚ] is omitted from the table.

Palatal -1+	Palatal -2+	Palatal -3+	Palatal -4+	Palatal -5+	Palatal or Velar	Velar -1+	Velar -2+	
								High -3++
	ɪ			ɨ				High -2++
						ʊ		High -1++
			ɛ		ə			Mid -2++
				æ				Mid -1++
					*	ʌ ɔ		Low -3++
						ɑ		Low -2++
								Low -1++

2.3 Syllabic Contoids

The three nasals [m] [n] and [ŋ] and the lateral [l] are the only contoids which commonly function as syllabics. As syllabics, they appear in unstressed syllables following homorganic phones. Thus:

(a) syllabic [l] may follow alveolar [n], [t] or [d] as in—

i. funnel ['fɔn̩l]~['fʌn̩l]

ii. little ['lɪʔ̰t̩l]

iii. ladle ['lɛ͡ɪd̩l]

(b) syllabic [m] may follow bilabial [p] and [b] as in—

i. keep 'im ['kɪi̯ʔpm̩]

ii. rob 'im ['rɑbm̩]

iii. captain ['kæʔ̰pm̩]

(c) syllabic [n] may follow alveolar [t] or [d] as in —

i. button ['bɔtn̩]~['bʌtn̩]

ii. hid 'en ['hɪdn̩], that is, "hid him or it".

iii. hit 'en ['hɪtn̩], that is, "hit him or it".

(d) syllabic [ŋ] may follow velar [k] or [g] as in —

i. chicken ['tʃɪkŋ̩]

ii. flicking ['flɪkŋ̩]

iii. rigging ['rɪgŋ̩]

Articulatory descriptions of the four common syllabic contoids are given below:

(1) Syllabic [l] is a lateral release of a closure formed for a preceding alveolar nasal, [n], or alveolar stop, [t] or [d].

(2) Syllabic [m] is a nasal (i.e. velic) release of a closure

formed for a preceding bilabial stop, [p] or [b].
(3) Syllabic [n] is a nasal release of a closure formed for a preceding alveolar stop, [t] or [d].
(4) Syllabic [ŋ] is a nasal release of a closure formed for a preceding velar stop, [k] or [g].

2.4 Non- syllabic Contoids

The above section was devoted to the lateral and the nasals because they frequently occur as (unstressed) syllabics. The remainder of the contoids occur only very rarely as syllabics. One of the rare examples is syllabic [s] in [ps̩ ps̩ ps̩], a common call for a cat. Because of the very low incidence of such contoids as syllabics, they are called non-syllabic contoids. The nasals and the lateral also occur most frequently as non-syllabics. Therefore they are included in this section as well as the one above.

Non-syllabic contoids which are not adjacent to other non-syllabic contoids appear in three positions in words (loosely, minimum free forms): initially, finally, and intervocalically, that is, forming a crest of stricture between two syllabic vocoids[15] as in picket ['pɪkɨt] and bushel ['bʊʃəl], or between a syllabic vocoid and a following syllabic contoid as in button ['bɔtn̩]~['bʌtn̩], and funnel ['fɔnl̩]~['fʌnl̩]. In either case, the first syllabic is stressed the second unstressed.

The table below gives a sample of elicited words which illustrate the distribution of non-syllabic contoids in the

three word-positions mentioned above. Note that such words as labour ['lɛɪ̯bə˞] and riding ['rɑɪ̯dɪŋ] or ['rəɪ̯dn̩] have been excluded from the intervocalic list because an extra segment, a non-syllabic vocoid , occurs between the stressed vocoid and the following contoid. The table represents the fullest over-all pattern, not the inventory of every informant.

Incidence of Non-syllabic Contoids

	Initially	Intervocalically	Finally
[p]	porch	skipping	whip
[b]	bush	rubber	tub
[t]	towel	glitter	soot
[d]	dog	meadow	rid
[k]	cove	bucket	sack
[g]	goat	foggy	bog
[tʃ]	chair	kitchen	porch
[dʒ]	junk	ledger	bridge
[f]	fog	coffin	cuff
[v]	vir	seven	live (verb)
[θ]	thirty	nothing	bath
[ð]	the, them	rather	breathe
[s]	soot	sausage	twice
[z]	zero	scissors	rise
[ʃ]	shed	dishes	wash
[ʒ]	----	measure	beige
[l]	lane	gully	sell
[m]	moocher	vomit	ram
[n]	new	funnel	ran
[ŋ]	----	singer	thing

The stops: [p b t d k g]

The stops show phonetic variations which seem to relate to syllable position. Initially, they have distinct aspiration; finally they have little aspiration or are sometimes unreleased. Intervocalically, the voiceless stops are

sometimes voiced: [p̬ t̬ k̬] in words like pepper, water and picket. A glottalized stop also occurs in this position, especially when the following segment is one of the syllabic contoids [l̩ m̩ n̩ ŋ̩] as in little ['lʔt̬l̩], captain ['kæʔpm̩], button ['bɔʔtn̩]~['bʌʔtn], and rock and roll [ˌraʔkŋ'rɔ͡ʊl]. The voiced stops [b d g] are lenis as compared with the more fortis voiceless stops, but intervocalically even this difference is sometimes neutralized, so that voicing of the intervocalic contoid in both of such pairs as matter and madder makes the two words homonyms. In such words as matter and water the intervocalic contoid is often [ɾ], a voiced alveolar flap.

Most informants used [t] and [d] in words spelled with th, such as think and there. Informants in Group 3 and careful speakers in other Groups sometimes use [θ] and [ð] in such words. However, such informants usually vary their pronunciation with the STYLE[16] they are using--in more careful speech the fricative being substituted for the stops; but even then, the voiced stop [d] is often retained in such frequently occurring words as the, here, this, that, these, those when they are not heavily stressed. Only one informant, who had a stronger than usual Irish accent, used a dental stop [t̪], in careful pronunciations of words in which standard speakers use voiceless th [θ], such as thin and think. His final t's also had distinct aspiration.

The affricates: [tʃ dʒ]

In phonetic transcriptions, I use [tʃ] and [dʒ] to

represent "strident stops".[17] The slow, controlled release of the tongue blade from its alveopalatal closure is accompanied by strong local friction rather than by the aspiration found in the ordinary initial stops. Phonetically, the affricates vary less with changes in word position (initial, intervocalic, final) than do the stops; for example, they are always released in final position. In Carbonear, [tʃ] and [dʒ] always occur before [r] in words spelled tr- and dr-, as are tree [tʃrɪi̯] and drove [dʒrɔʊ̯v]. Informants who substitude [t] for [θ] also use [tʃ] rather than [θ] before [r], as in three [tʃrɪi̯].

The fricatives: [f v θ ð s z ʃ ʒ]

Evidence of dialect mixture is found in Carbonear. The variant forms of the name for the fir tree probably mean that dialects from south-western England (with vir) have mixed in Carbonear with other British and Irish dialects of English (with fir).

Voicing often seems to be conditioned. When preceded by silence or voiceless phones, such words as zone and very begin with almost voiceless fricatives; on the other hand, if is often [ɪv] when followed by a voiced phone, as in the phrase, if you want. Such conditioned voicing is most frequently heard in Group 1.

As in other dialects of English, [ʒ] is one of the rarest sounds, occurrung only intervocalically in a few words like measure and pleasure and finally in some pronunciations of beige and rouge.

The standard dental fricatives [θ] and [ð] in words spelled with <u>th</u> are often replaced by [t] and [d] as is explained above.

The lateral: [l]

To the outsider from a non-Irish dialect area, the pronunciation of [l] is one of the most striking features of the pronunciation habits in Carbonear. This is because the "clear l" [l̪][18] is often used in final and post-vocalic positions where many other dialects of English employ a velarized or "dark l" [ɫ]. This is a regular feature of the speech of informants of Irish descent, and is widespread among all informants who have been unaffected by non-local North American dialects.

The nasals: [m n ŋ]

In Carbonear, the nasals have the qualities assigned to the three symbols above in the International Phonetic Alphabet.

2.5 <u>Non-syllabic Vocoids</u>

Since contoids occur most frequently as non-syllabics, this examination of non-syllabic vocoids is placed after, rather than before, the above survey of non-syllabic contoids. This is done so that the patterning of these segments in words may be compared with that of contoids.

Non-syllabic vocoids are found in the same three positions as are found the non-syllabic contoids, though they have more limited distribution: [h], for example, occurs

only initially. [r] occurs initially in run, [rʌn]~[rɔn], whereas [ɚ] , its mirror image, occurs intervocalically in tearing ['tɛɚrn] and finally in bear [bɛɚ].

The table on the next page, similar to that for non-syllabic contoids in section 2.4, lists words which indicate the distribution of non-syllabic vocoids.

One might claim that, in intervocalic positions, two non-syllabic vocoids (a glide towards AND a glide from) always occur together. This would mean that both payer and pay 'er might be ['pɛɪ̯jɚ]. However, this is seen to be an unsatisfactory transcription when one compares pay 'er debts ['pɛɪ̯ɚ'dɛts] with pay yer debts ['pɛrjɚ'dɛts] . Though, in both cases, sound continues uninterrupted from the first to the second syllable, the transition from the high, front non-syllabic vocoid position in the first phrase is not heard as a separate segment—[j].

This is perhaps because it is too short, so that one's PERCEPTION TIME SMEAR[19] (the blurring in one's hearing) prevents its being heard as a separate segment; or that the transition involves only the minimum movement of the speech organs necessary to get from [ɪ̯] to[ɚ] . According to recent acoustical studies by Ilse Lehiste[20] "such predictable transitional movements have to be disregarded". This refers to such transitions as the one which I did not hear between [ɪ̯] and [ɚ] in pay 'er debts.

Perhaps, however, if a transition involves a controlled articulatory movement[21] with a steady rate of change, AND

Incidence of Non-syllabic Vocoids
(Asterisk indicates that usage is divided)

	Description	Initial	Intervocalic	Final
[j]	glide from higher and generally more fronted positions	ye yes yaffle yacht yoke		
[i̯]	glide towards higher and generally more fronted positions		seeing payer liar toying	bee bay day* bye boy
[w]	glide from higher and generally more backed positions	wish walk once woke wound		
[u̯]	glide towards higher and generally more backed positions		towel towing booing	cow no due
[r]	glide from retroflexed tongue positions	rinse rock rug red		
[ɚ̯]	glide towards retroflexed tongue positions		syrup tearing barrel boring	beer bear bar boar
[h]	Voiceless or voiced onset of syllabic vocoid, usually with audible glottal friction	half(vl) home(vl) ahead(v)		
[ː]	Lessening of tenseness and lengthening of preceding syllabic vocoid		sawing	saw day*

continues during a sufficient time period (according to Joos,[22] about six centiseconds for vocoids), then such a transition may be heard as a separate segment. Such a segment might be called an acoustic glide. This is the support for my transcribing with two symbols the vocoids in such words as beat, bait, calm, caught, boat, boot, bite, bout, and boil.

Lehiste finds, for instance, that the vocoid in beat has a long initial transition followed by an ever longer steady state. I believe those two elements to be the ones which I transcribe as [I i̯]. Thus, what I transcribe as the syllabic vocoid, [I] , is acoustically a glide, whereas what I call a glide, the non-syllabic vocoid [i̯], is acoustically a steady-state[23] vocoid. But this does not really invalidate my transcription, for at the beginning of this chapter I declined to describe segments as Pike recommended.[24] Rather, my transcription of segments takes into account their syllabic function—whether they are heard as syllabic or non-syllabic. Perhaps it is my training in phonetics which causes me to "hear" as syllabic the first of any two vocoids (in the same syllable) which I hear in the words listed above.

Thus, one must bear in mind that any "description" of a non-syllabic vocoid given below is not in fact "the description of the articulatory and acoustic characteristics of a phone",[25] for my method of investigation prevented any direct examination of either articulation or acoustics.

Though either articulation or acoustics may be mentioned, their terms are used only for describing phones which function in certain ways in certain types of syllables.

The remainder of this section deals in turn with each of the eight non-syllabic vocoids.

(1) [j]—Glides from higher and generally more fronted positions.

The symbol [j] represents a variety of sounds whose initial element varies with the position of the following vocoid. Before high front vocoids, as in ye, it begins from a very high and fronted position, [i]. Before [ɛ] in yes and [æ] in yaffle, it is lowered at least to [ɪ]. Before the low central vocoid [ɑ] in yacht and the mid central [ɚ] in yearn it is close to a lowered high central [ɨ]. This is also roughly its phonetic value before the back vocoids in yuk, yoke, and you.

(2) [i̯]--Glides towards higher and generally more fronted positions.

As for [j] above, the perception of the position of the final element of this glide depends on the preceding syllabic vocoid. After [ɪ] in see it is a high and fronted [i]. After [ɛ] or [eˇ] in bay, it is lowered to [ɪ]. Following the syllabic vocoids of bye and boy it is most often [ɨ]. It was not found following the syllabic vocoids [æ], [ɚ], and [ʊ].

(3) [w]—Glides from higher and generally more retracted positions

Like [j], [w] varies phonetically, depending on the

position of the following syllabic vocoid. Preceding [U] in wound it is [u]; before the other two back vocoids in woke and once it is [U], whereas preceding the vocoids in wit, wet, whack, walk, and work it is roughly [ʉ̞].

(4) [u̯]—Glides towards higher and generally more retracted positions.

This glide occurs frequently as [ʉ̞] after the central syllabic vocoids in words like cow and bout. It is often [o] or [ʊ] after the syllabic vocoid, [ʌ]~[ɔ], in no and boat; and is retracted and raised to [u] after [U] in boo and boot.

(5) [r]—Glides from a retroflexed tongue position.

"Retroflexed is a configuration of the tongue in which the apex is turned back so that the blade has a concave shape from above in the dorsoventral dimension".[26] An audible glide from the above position, the position of the retroflexed central syllabic vocoid [ɚ] in bird,[27] is heard before all the common syllabic vocoids except [ə], that is, as the initial segment in rinse, reared, ram, rock, rug, road, and room.

(6) [ɚ̯]—Glides towards a retroflexed tongue position.

In Carbonear, glides towards a retroflexed tongue position were commonly heard after only the following syllabic vocoids: [ɪ] in some pronunciations of tierce and syrup, [ɛ] in chair, [æɚ] in barn, car, hard, yarn, garden, barrow, barbel, part, bark, and bar, and [ʌ]~[ɔ] in morning and mourning, the last two words being homonyms for all

informants. All syllabic vocoids preceding non-syllabic [ə̯] shift towards a more mid-central position.

(7) [h]—Voiceless and voiced onset of a syllabic vocoid, usually with audible glottal friction.

When [h] begins an utterance, it is [ə̥] , an initially voiceless glide from a neutral (schwa) tongue position, and is regularly accompanied by slight but audible glottal friction. When occurrung between the voiced segments in ahead or a head, it is a gliding transition from [ə] to [ɛ] which is voiced throughout its duration. If no audible glottal friction is present, perhaps the hearer interprets as [h] what is merely a lengthening of the voiced transition from [ə] to [ɛ] . In Carbonear, very light glottal friction regularly accompanies all examples of [h]. As in Newfoundland regional standard English, [h] occurs before the syllabic vocoids in such stressed words as hill, here, hand, hogs, heard, horse, home, hoops, and the stressed forms of the pronouns him and her.

(8) [ː]—Lengthening with lessening of tenseness of preceding syllabic vocoid.

Some syllabic vocoids show a marked lessening of tenseness and also lengthening as the tongue relaxes slightly from the target position. This sound occurs regularly in Carbonear in all recorded pronunciations of words like calm [kæ ːm] psalm [sɑɐ ːm], sometimes [sɑ̈ːm], caught [kɑ̈ːt] or [kɔːt], and bought [bɑ̈ːt] or [bɔːt]. Among informants in Group 1, it also occurs regularly after [ɛ] in words spelled like made, that is, in words with the spelling "a-consonant-e". This pro-

nunciation of made as [mɛ:d] occurs sparadically among members of Group 2 and 3. It sounds very different from the pronunciation of maid, which is always [mɛɪ̯d].

Notes to Chapter 2

[1] Kenneth L. Pike, Phonetics (ninth printing, 1964; Ann Arbor, 1943).

[2] Pike, p. 115.

[3] Pike, p. 110.

[4] Pike, p. 143.

[5] Pike, p. 141.

[6] Pike, p. 141.

[7] Pike, p. 143.

[8] Pike, p. 117

[9] Pike, p. 117.

[10] Pike, p. 117.

[11] Pike, p. 117.

[12] Pike, pp. 117-118.

[13] George E. Peterson and June E. Shoup, "A Physiological Theory of Phonetics" (unpublished mimeograph, Ann Arbor, 1965), Figure 2.

[14] Instruction tapes used in Linguistics 413, at the Linguistic Institute, 1965, Indiana University.

[15] Pike, p. 107.

[16] For special usage of this term see Martin Joos, The Five Clocks, Part V, IJAL, XXVIII (1962), 13.

[17] See use of this term in Roman Jakobson, C.G.M. Fant, and Morris Halle, Preliminaries to Speech Analysis (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), p. 24.

[18] Hans Kurath, Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England (Washington, 1939), p. 138.

[19] See explanation of this term in Martin Joos, Acoustic Phonetics, Language Monographs, No. 23 (Baltimore, 1948), pp. 67, 74-82.

[20] See Isle Lehiste, Acoustical Characteristics of Selected English Consonants, Part IV, IJAL, XXX (1964), 3.

[21] See use of this term in Peterson and Shoup, pp. 39, 50, 64-65.

[22] Acoustic Phonetics, p. 82.

[23] See technical use of this term in Lehiste, pp. 2-6.

[24] Pike, pp. 117-118.

[25] Pike, p. 117.

[26] Peterson and Shoup, p. 53.

[27] See John S. Kenyon, American Pronunciation (Ann Arbor, 1961), p. 161, and William A. Smalley, Manual of Articulatory Phonetics (New York, 1963), pp. 179-181, 183.

3. PHONEMIC ANALYSIS

In the first section below a bare listing of the phonemes is given. This is merely for convenience of reference. Fuller discussions of the phonemes are found in the sections which follow.

3.1 Enumeration of the Phonemes

The maxium number of symbols needed for a phonemic transcription of any idiolect in Carbonear seems to be forty-two. These are:

(a) twenty-four consonant phonemes—/ p b t d k g č ǰ f v θ ð s z ʃ ʒ l m n ŋ r h w y /;

(b) seven vowel phonemes—/ i e æ a ɸ ə u /;

(c) three levels of stress—strong /ˊ/, medium /ˋ/, and weak (unmarked);

(d) one internal juncture /+/;

(e) three terminal contours— falling /↓/, rising /↑/, and level /|/;

(f) four pitch levels /¹ ² ³ ⁴/.

For the part of an utterance between two terminal contours, or between silence and a terminal contour I shall use Charles Hockett's term macrosegment.[1] A macrosegment may consist of one or more microsegments plus an intonation pattern composed of pitch levels and a terminal contour. Hockett's approach was found to be useful in the Cockney studies by Eva Sivertsen:

> The section of an utterance occurring between

> two internal junctures, or between two terminal contours when there is no internal juncture within the macrosegment, is called a microsegment. A microsegment may consist of one or more syllables plus a stress pattern.[2]

A phonemic syllable consists of a vowel with or without accompanying consonants. A fuller discussion of syllables is found in 3.3.

3.2 Segmental Phonemes

3.2.1 Vowels

In the following phonemic analysis the syllabic vocoids of section 2.2 are interpreted as vowels, whereas the non-syllabic vocoids of 2.5 are called vocalic consonants[3] because their patterning in phonetic syllables is analagous to that of non-syllabic contoids in phonetic syllables, though they are phonetically vocoids. The series of vowel contrasts in words like pit, pet, pat, pot, putt, and put yield six vowel phonemes: / i e æ a ɸ u /.

The odd symbol /ɸ/, used for the vowel of putt, is adopted so as to be phonetically indicative, for this vowel has variant phones which, for many speakers, vary freely from rounded [ɔ] to unrounded [ʌ] in words like putt, cut, sun, one, ton, and under.[4] The vowel /ɸ/ is sometimes raised to [ɔ^] or even [ɔ˅] before /w/ in words like boat /bɸwt/ and goat /gɸwt/, though it is occasionally unrounded even before /w/.

To the words part and port I assign the vowels /æ/ and

/ɒ/ respectively--thus, part /pæ rt/ and port /pɒrt/. The /ær/ in part and the /ɒr/ of port contrast with the nuclear, vocalic part of the word pert, but are similar to it in that (a) they include retroflexion and (b) they are "intrinsically long".[5] Thus, in my phonemic transcription of the word pert, I select /r/ to represent the retroflexion and the length of the vocalic nucleus, and for the remainder (which now must indicate the contrast with vowels of such words as part and port) I propose a seventh vowel phoneme, /ə/. This makes pert phonemically /pərt/, with the segments in the same sequence as in words like port and part, with which it forms minimal pairs.

On the grounds of phonetic similarity I select /ə/ as the vowel in words like bite /bəyt/, and in the most common pronunciation of bout as /bəwt/, because the vocoids in these words, as in pert, are phonetically mid central. The assigning of /ə/ to pert on the one hand and to bite and bout on the other perhaps means that I have unnecessarily regularized the phonetic facts which, if followed more closely, would make [r] a "strongly retroflexed vocoid, which .... occurs both as a peak and in margins"[6] in this dialect.

Almost without exception, informants maintain identical phonetic differences in the words used above to illustrate vowel contrasts in Carbonear. They differ, however, in the distribution of their vowels before the vocalic consonants (see 3.2.2) /y, w, r, h /. By considering idiolects which differ most in this respect, one may set up two systems for

complex (two-member) syllable peaks[7] in Carbonear.

System A seems to be the one used by most of the ordinary folk in Carbonear. It is used by many who are poorly educated, and by others who have made no attempt to change their naturally acquired pronunciations. The system, as presented below, contains one complex peak, /eh/, not found in system B, whereas the latter has four complex peaks, /ɸy ay ir ur/, which do not occur in A. System B is used by some of the better educated informants, and by others who have made a determined effort to alter their speech, for whatever reason.

Since it involves only the redistribution of vocalic simple segments which occur in every informant's speech, the change from one system to the other presents none of the difficulty of learning a new articulation as is the case, for instance, when one changes from /t/ and /d/ to /θ/ and /ð/ in thin and then.

The two systems are outlined below

System A

The following vowels occur:

before /y/—/i/ as in bee /biy/; yeast /yiyst/; beet /biyt/.

—/e/ as in bay /bey/; bait /beyt/; and some pronunciations of leak /leyk/ and beating /béytən/.

—/ə/ as in bye /bəy/; boy /bəy/; twice /twəys/; died /dəyd/; rise /rəyz/; five /fəyv/.

before /h/—/e/ as in same /sehm/; they and day /deh/; lake /lehk/; rebate /riybeht/.

—/æ/ as in psalm /sæhm/; calm /kæhm/.

—/a/ and /ɸ/ as in caught /kaht/; sauce /sahs/. For some informants /a/ and /ɸ/ are in free variation before /h/; others consistently use one or the other, usually /a/.

before /w/—/ə/ as in bout /bəwt/; plow /pləw/; cow /kəw/.

—/ɸ/ as in boat /bɸwt/; road /rɸwd/; oats /ɸwts/.

—/u/ as in boot /buwt/; suit /suwt/; roof /ruwf/.

before /r/—/e/ as in fair and fear /fer/; chair /čer/.

—/æ / as in fär /fær/; garden /gǽrdən/.

—/ə / as in fur /fər/; girl /gərl/; purse /pərs/.

—/ɸ/ as in fore and four /fɸr/; morning and mourning /mɸ́rniŋ/; horse /hɸrs/; shore and sure /ʃɸr/; tore and tour /tɸr/.

A small number of informants from Group 1 use /æ / rather than /ɸ/ in the words morning, quarter, wharf, and horse. For those informants the following pairs contrast /æ / with /ɸ/; morning versus mourning and horse versus hoarse.

System B

The following vowels occur:

before /y/—/i/ as for system A.

—/e/ as for system A PLUS all the words with /eh/ from system A, that is, words like same, now /seym/.

—/ə/ as in twice /twəys/; night /nəyt/, that is, before voiceless consonants.

—/ɸ/ as in boy /bɸy/; join /ǰɸyn/, that is in

words spelled oi or oy.

—/a/ as in bye /bay/; died /dayd/; rise /rayz/ five /fayv/, that is, before voiced consonants and finally.

before /h/—/æ / as for system A, but a few instances of /ah/ in some words.

—/a/ and /ɸ/ as for system A.

before /w/—/ɵ/ as for system A, but /aw/ occurs sporadically in very careful speech.

—/ɸ/ and /u/ as for system A.

before /r/—/i/ as in fear /fir/; clear /klir/, but usually only in careful speech.

—/e/ as in fair /fer/; chair /čer/.

—/æ/ and /ə/ as for system A.

—/ɸ/ as in fore and four /fɸr/; morning and mourning /mɸrniŋ/; horse /hɸrs/; shore /ʃɸr/; tore /tɸr/.

In this system /ɸ/ is never replaced by /æ / in words like wharf.

—/u/ as in sure /ʃur/; tour /tur/, but usually only in careful speech.

Some informants use both systems with comparative ease, and tend towards one or the other in response to the requirements of their immediate social setting. Others consistently use System A in all situations, but few speakers use System B in its entirety. Many select elements of both systems. In the change from System A to System B, speakers seem to

acquire some items more readily than others. My data indicate that about the earliest change is the division of the /əy/ words into two groups: /əy/ versus /ɸy/; the last change seems to be the acquiring of /ur/ which divides the /ɸr/ words of System A into two groups: /ɸr/ versus /ur/.

The syllabic contoids of 2.3 are interpreted as vowel plus consonant. The vowel assigned in this situation depends on the vocalic timbre[8] of the syllabic contoid. Thus <u>funnel</u> ['fɔn‡]~['fʌn‡] is phonemically /fɸ́nəl/.

The table on the following page displays the incidence of vocalic consonants after vowels to form complex syllable peaks.[9] The distribution of /r/ is analagous to that of the other three vocalic consonants /w y h/ in that there are few vowel contrasts before /r/—usually only four—and that /r/ does not follow complex peaks directly.

3.2.2 <u>Consonants</u>

The non-syllabic contoids of 2.4 are <u>consonants</u>. The major phonetic divisions shown in the table in the above-mentioned section are also accepted as phonemic differences, though minimal pairs for all possible contrasts are not available in my data. For eighteen of those twenty (contoid) consonants the phonetic and phonemic symbols will be identical, but [tʃ] and [dʒ] will be written as unit phonemes /č/ and /ǰ/.

The non-syllabic vocoids of 2.5 are also interpreted as consonants. A study of the table in the section mentioned

Complex Syllable Peaks

V	V + /y/		V + /h/		V + /w/		V + /r/	
	→	↓	→	↓	→	↓	→	↓
/i/	bee /biy/	bee /biy/					beer* /bir/	(n.) tear* /tir/
/e/	maid /meyd/	bay /bey/	made* /mehd/	same* /sehm/			smeared /smerd/	(v.) tear /ter/
/æ/			halve /hæhv/	psalm /sæhm/			Harvey /hærviy/	tar /tær/
/ə/	bite /bəyt/	bye* boy* /bəy/			bout* /bəwt/	bout* /bəwt/	Bert /bərt/	turr /tər/
/ɸ/		boy* /bɸy/	caught* /kɸht/		coat /kɸwt/	boat /bɸwt/	court /kɸrt/	tore /tɸr/
/a/	ride* /rayd/	bye* /bay/	caught* /kaht/		bout* /bawt/	bout* /bawt/		
/u/						boot /buwt/		tour* /tur/

(* This pronunciation not used by all informants.)

Where available, minimal pairs involving vowels are in vertical columns (marked ↓); those involving vocalic consonants in horizontal rows (marked →).

reveals four pairs of segments. The two members of each pair are in complementary distribution, and in all but the last pair, [h] and [:], there is strong phonetic similarity between the two members. Thus four vocalic consonant phonemes are set up as follows:

(1) /y/ with allophones [j] and [i̯]

(2) /w/ with allophones [w] and [u̯]

(3) /h/ with allophones [h] and [:]

(4) /r/ with allophones [r] and [ə̯]

It is sometimes difficult to decide what consonant phoneme is manifested by a particular piece of phonetic data. Is, for example, the [tʃ] of tune [tʃʊu̯n] an allophone of /č/ in choose /čuwz/ or of /t/ in two /tuw/? In order to provide some kind of answer to this type of question, I shall look at the types of sequences of phonemes which we can find in the syllables of English in Carbonear.

3.3 The Syllable

Only four types of segmental phoneme sequences occur in syllables. These may be symbolized by the use of the two capitals, C and V, where V represents any one of the seven vowels, and C stands for any consonant or permitted cluster of consonants.

Thus the four types of syllables are as shown in the table on the following page.

All four types of syllables occur under weak stress, but only two occur under strong or medium stress. Thus, all

stressed syllables end with C, whereas unstressed syllables end with a V or C.

Sequence	Example: stressed	Example: unstressed
VC	/aks/ as in ox /ay/ as in I	/im/ as in employ /implɔ́y/
CVC	/ten/ as in ten /bey/ as in bay	/niy/ as in chimney /čímniy/
V	_____	/ə/ as in away /əwéy/ and afaird /əfréyd/
CV	_____	/rə/ as in record /rəkɔ́rd/ /sə/ as in supply /səpláy/

A problem of syllable division sometimes exists within a microsegment where a sequence of consonants separates two vowels as in the word quarter /kwɔ́rtər/. Should this word be interpreted as CV́C-VC or as CV́C-CVC?

Charles F. Hockett provides a good analytical solution to this problem.[10] He states that when no internal open juncture is present, as in the case above, the consonants in question belong structurally to both syllables and form an interlude rather than a coda (a final C) plus an onset (an initial C), as is the case when juncture is present.

However, no interlude found in my data ever includes a sequence of phonemes which cannot be found separately elsewhere as a coda and an onset. Thus an enumeration of all consonant sequences found in codas plus onsets will automatically provide all possible sequences in interludes.

In disyllabic words with interludes a change in intensity of stress occurs at some point in the interlude. We can

work on the hypothesis that a stressed vowel includes in its syllable (its stress "zone") any consonants separating it from an unstressed vowel, provided that such consonants form a permitted consonant cluster (either coda or onset). Thus, if the criterion is stress, chimney /čímniy/ may be regarded as CVC-CVC because /mn/ do not form a permitted cluster, whereas forty /fórtiy/ is CVC-VC because /rt/do form a permitted consonant cluster.

Consonants are restricted as to where they may occur within the syllable. We may state these restrictions in terms of the maximun number of positions which a consonant may be removed from its syllable peak either initially (in an onset) or finally (in a coda).

The occurrence of consonants is more restricted initially than finally. Of the twenty-four consonants, all but two, /ŋ ʒ /, occur in the first pre-peak position (that is, as one-member onsets). Fifteen consonants, / p b t d k g č ǰ m n f v θ s ʃ /, may occur as the initial member of two-member onsets. Only one consonant, /s/, occurs in the third position before the vowel. There are no onsets with more than three consonants.

The occurrence of consonants following the vowel is less simply described. The four vocalic consonants, /y w h r/, are restricted to the first position following the vowel. In this position, each is considered to form the second member of a complex peak rather than a coda. All of the remaining twenty consonants may occupy the first position

following the peak, but six consonants /g ð ʒ l n ŋ / are restricted to this position. Nine other consonants / p b k č ǰ f v ʃ m / may be removed no farther than the second position following the syllable peak. Four others, /t d θ z/, may be as far removed as the third position following the peak. Finally, as initially, /s/ has the greatest privilege of occurrence. It is the only consonant which occurs as the final element in four-member codas.

The table below lists the complex onsets and codas which I found in Carbonear. All such clusters are listed under the initial consonant for onsets and the final consonant for codas. They are further subdivided into two-, three-, or four-member clusters.

Complex Onsets and Codas
(Asterisk indicates that usage is divided)

	Onsets		Codas	
	Pos'n	as in onsets:	Pos'n	as in codas:
p	2	py, pr, pl	2	sp, lp, mp
b	2	by, br, bl	2	lb
t	2	ty,* tw	2	st, lt, nt, pt, kt, ft, ʃt, čt
			3	nst, ŋkt, lpt, lkt, lst, kst, skt*
d	2	dy,* dw*	2	ŋd, nd, bd, gd, vd, ld, zd, ðd, ǰd, md
			3	lmd, lvd
k	2	ky, kr, kl, kw	2	ŋk, lk, sk*
g	2	gr, gl, gw		-----

(Table continued from previous page.)

č	2	čr	2	nč
ǰ	2	ǰr, ǰw*	2	nǰ
f	2	fy, fr, fl	2	lf
v	2	vy	2	lv
θ	2	θr,* θw*	2	nθ,* tθ,* fθ,* lθ,* mθ,*
			3	lfθ,* ksθ*
s	2	sp, st, sk sm, sl, sw, sč*	2	ps, ts, ks, fs, ls, θs*
	3	spl, spr, spy. sčr, sty,* skr, sky, skw	3	sps,* lps, mps, nts, kts, fts,* lts, sts,* ŋks, lks, sks,* lfs, nθs,* tθs,* fθs
			4	mpts,* lfθs,* ksθs,* ntθs*
z		----	2	mz, nz, ŋz, bz, dz, gz, vz, lz, ðz*
			3	lbz, ndz,* ldz,* lmz
ʃ	2	ʃr	2	lʃ
m	2	my	2	lm
n	2	ny*		--

List of Illustrative Words for Complex Onsets

(Asterisk indicates the usage is divided)

/py/ pure; /pr/ pray; /pl/ play

/by/ beauty; /br/ brat; /bl/ black

/ty/ tube (usually /č/); /tw/ twins

/dy/ due (usually /ǰ/);* /dw/ Dwyer*

/ky/ cure; /kr/ crate; /kl/ cling; /kw/ quick

/gr/ grab; /gl/ glad; /gw/ Gwen

/čr/ trap

/ǰr/ dress; /ǰw/ Dwyer*

/fy/ few; /fr/ fry; /fl/ flat

/vy/ view

/θr/ three;* /θw/ thwart*

/sp/ spin; /st/ stick; /sk/ scum; /sm/ small; /sl/ slow; /sw/ swim; /sč/ stupid, stew;* /spl/ split; /spr/ spray; /spy/ spew; /sčr/ straight; /sty/ stupid (usually /sč/);* /skr/ scramble; /sky/ skewer; /skw/ squid

/šr/ shrimp

/my/ music

/ny/ new (sometimes /n/)*

List of Illustrative Words for Complex Codas

/sp/ gasp;* /lp/ help: /mp/ camp

/lb/ bulb (often /b/)

/st/ passed: /lt/ belt; /nt/ rant; /pt/ rapped; /kt/ cracked; /ft/ laughed; /št/ washed; /nst/ against; /ŋkt/ blinked; /lpt/ helped; /lkt/ milked; /lst/ whilst; /kst/ fixed; /skt/ asked* (often /st/); /čt/ mooched, matched

/ŋd/ pronged; /nd/ phoned; /bd/ rubbed; /gd/ lugged; /vd/ moved; /ld/ pulled; /zd/ closed; /ðd/ breathed;* /ǰd/ judged; /md/ rammed; /lmd/ filmed; /lvd/ delved

/ŋk/ rink; /lk/ milk; /sk/ ask (often /s/)*

/nč/ bench

/nǰ/ binge

/lf/ elf

/lv/ twelve

/nθ/ ninth (often /nt/);* /tθ/ breadth (often /t/);* /fθ/ fifth (often /ft/);* /lθ/ health (often /lt/); /mθ/ warmth (often /mt/);* /lfθ/ twelfth (often /lft/);* /ksθ/ sixth (often /kst/)*

/ps/ rips; /ts/ sits; /ks/ six; /fs/ wife's; /ls/ false; /θs/ baths (often /ts/);* /sps/ gasps;* /lps/ helps; /mps/

pumps; /nts/ rince; /kts/ pacts (rare); /fts/ rafts (often /fs/);* /lts/ belts; /sts/ lasts (often /sɑz/); /ŋks/ sinks; /lks/ silks; /sks/ tasks;* /lfs/ twelfths;* /nθs/ ninths (often /nts/);* /tθs/ eighths (often /ts/);* /fθs/ fifths; /mpts/ prompts (often /mps/);* /lfθs/ twelfths (often /lfs/ and /lfts/);* /ksθs/ sixths (often /ks/ and /ksts/); /ntθs/ thousandths (often /nts/)*

/mz/ gums; /nz/ runs; /ŋz/ rungs; /bz/ ribs; /dz/ Sid's; /gz/ hogs; /vz/ wives; /lz/ falls; /ðz/ bathes, clothes;* /lbz/ bulbs; /ndz/ lands (often /nz/);* /ldz/ folds (often /lz/);* /lmz/ films

/lʃ/ welsh

/lm/ film

I might have reduced the number of onsets which occur by regarding as allophones of /t/ and /d/ respectively the [tʃ] and [dʒ] sounds which occur before the vocalic consonants /r/ /w/ and /y/ in words like try, trough, droke, dry, Dwyer, tube, and due. However, in this position there is no contrast between /t/ and /č/, nor between /d/ and /ǰ/. I have chosen, therefore, to rely on phonetic similarity, and rather than set up affricate allophones of /t/ and /d/, I have regarded affricates in these positions as manifestations of /č/ and /ǰ/.

3.4 Internal Open Juncture and Stress

"A microsegment of the 'normal' type consists of one or more syllables"[11] with accompanying stress phonemes. It is bounded initially and finally by one of the juncture phonemes. If this juncture occurs inside rather than on the borders of a macrosegment, then it is internal open juncture, /+/.

> Internal juncture is manifested by the potential for a slight pause, by a phonetic syllable cut, and by the particular allophones of the phonemes on each side. The juncture may also be manifested by an extra segment, a glottal stop, before stressed vowels.[12]

There are a number of allophonic variations which manifest internal open juncture. Allophonic lengthening of a preceding segmental phoneme may indicate juncture. Consonants which are characterized by voicing, as is /z/, undergo gradual devoicing in this position, perhaps as a result of the lengthening noted above. Because of the relation between microsegment and the syllables which it defines, allophonic variations previously noted in the syllable may be used to identify internal juncture.

These variations are most marked in the stop phonemes Thus the initial aspirated allophones of the stops indicate a preceding /+/, whereas the unaspirated and unreleased forms often indicate a following /+/ (in non-Irish speakers). The voiced flap allophone of /t/ does not occur adjacent to juncture.

One of the striking features of the dialect is the frequent occurrence of the "clear" allophone, [l̥], of /l/ before /+/. In some speakers this allophone follows all high front vowels as in Bill and milk, whereas others with a stronger Irish accent may use it after all vowels, or even as a syllabic l, as in bottle top [ˈbɑ.ʔtl̥ˈtɑp] /bátil+táp/.

"There are also certain restrictions on the occurrence of phonemes dependent on juncture".[13] Stressed vowels are

not found immediately before /+/—they are always separated from following /+/ by at least a coda or satellite vocalic consonant. The consonant /ʒ/ and /ŋ/ are never found following /+/.

Internal open juncture is considered to be a phoneme because it serves to make a minimal distinction between utterances, as in:

(1) You see Nan /...síy+nǽn/ versus

(2) You seen Anne /....síyn+ǽn/

> A few microsegments are of a special type occurring only in macrosegments that include also one or more microsegments of what we shall call the "normal" type. These special microsegments consist of a single isolated consonant.[14]

The following examples were heard in Carbonear:

(1) It's cold /s+kɔ́wl/ versus

(2) scold /skɔ́wl/

(3) Tea's ready /tíy+z+rédiy/ versus

(4) Tease Reddy /tíyz+rédiy/

Three phonemic levels of stress are suggested: strong /ˊ/ versus medium /ˋ/ versus weak (unmarked). The contrast of strong versus weak is heard in the pair of words permit (verb) /pərmít/ and permit (noun) /pə́rmit/. No strictly minimal pairs were elicited for the contrast between medium and weak stress though the following recorded pairs are nearly minimal: stir-up /stə́rɔ̀p/ versus stirrup /stə́rəp/; employee/implɔ́yìy/ versus employer /implɔ́yər/; pick-up /píkɔ̀p/ versus picket /píkət/; dress-up /jrésɔ̀p/ versus dresser /jrésər/. The contrast of medium versus strong

stress is heard in a pair such as <u>blackbird</u> /blǽk+bə̀rd/ and <u>black bird</u> /blǽk+bə́rd/.

Though the two syllables of <u>black bird</u> are not heard as being equally prominent, I consider the difference only allophonic, the difference in prominence being conditioned by the pitch level which the intonation pattern places on either syllable. Thus, a syllable under strong stress which also carries the centre of the intonation pattern (indicated by °) is heard as more prominent than an adjacent syllable having the same phoneme of stress.

3.5 Intonation and Ingressive Speech

The following comments on intonation are very tentative. They merely suggest points of departure for future investigations of the subject.

Perhaps the intonation of English in Carbonear can be adequately described in terms of four phonemic pitch levels (PL's) (/1 2 3 4/--lowest to highest), and three terminal contours (TC's) (falling /↓/, rising /↑/, and level /|/).

The TC's /↓/ and /↑/ occur before silence when the preceding grammatical structure is complete, whereas /|/ usually indicates that the speaker has not completed an utterance or even a grammatical structure. The following example illustrates this principle: "He lodged down wire | chicken wire | on the flake↓ "

There is accumulating evidence that /↑/ and /↓/ do not always have the same structural significance as in some other dialects of English. Visitors from other dialect areas of

North America have informed me that they often respond incorrectly to a statement as if it were a "yes--no" question with a rising TC, /↑/.

I offer two possible explanations for this phonomenon.

The first is that the local dialect does indeed use /↑/ where the visitor customarily uses /↓/. The impression some listeners get is that speakers may alternate /↓/ and /↑/ at the ends of successive macrosegments. Also, it seems that /↑/ occurs consistently in places where non-local dialects have alternative TC's: for example many speakers always use /↑/ as a vocative TC on the name of the person addressed—^{2}Tom^{2}↑; ^{2}Mac^{2}↑ ; ^{2}old man^{2}↑. This gives many outsiders the sometimes mistaken impression of friendliness.

The second possibility is that what the outsider interprets as /↑/ is not in fact a TC at all. Frequent sharp changes of key occur in the speech of most informants, and the stranger perhaps mistakes higher key for /↑/. Key changes take place "across" occurrences of a TC, /|/ or /↑/, the first altering normal (middle) key to a higher one. Subsequent changes of key may alternate from high to low, and low to high, on successive occurrences of a TC. In the following recorded sample the key, if high or low, is indicated by H or L preceding the macrosegment. "And they can spread a bit of fish and work it | (H) and all of this kind of stuff\ (L) and make this good article that | (H) which the they can get twenty dollars | (L) they can get twenty dollars a quintal for it easy enough↓" Appositive phrases are

often preceded by a level TC /|/ and end with a rising TC /↑/.

A striking articulatory phonomenon sometimes occurs in conversations in which the participants are producing many utterances in high key. Whole utterances may be produced with an ingressive breath stream. Such utterances are rarely longer than a single macrosegment, and are usually produced by girls or women in very animated exchanges. The ingressive utterances occur at short intervals so that a single speaker intersperses them with normal utterances at the rate of perhaps one or two per minute.

Speech produced with ingressive air stream shows strong phonetic changes. First, one hears from the glottal region a vibration pitched so low that its fundamental frequency is heard as a series of separate vibrations. Second, the distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants is generally lost so that such pairs as goat and coat become homonyms. Third, the normal alveolar and alveopalatal consonants with friction, /s z ʃ ʒ č ǰ /, are radically distorted so that they all sound much like /θ/ or /ð/. Perhaps this is because the normal egressive breath stream in the former six sounds are modified by breaking against the teeth after passing the point of primary stricture. This normal secondary modification cannot, of course, take place with an ingressive breath stream.

Despite the above extensive segemental changes, the intonation patterns are still clearly audible in ingressive speech. The following six utterances were recorded from a

short conversation between two women. All six were produced with ingressive breath, and were separated by normal utterances.

(1) °1 3 what ↑

(2) °1 3 yes ↑

(3) 2 °4 1 oh yeah ↓

(4) °1 3 yeah ↑ (two occurences)

(5) 2 °4 1 My God ↓

Since ingressive speech seems to occur normally[15] only in very animated spontaneous conversation, I found it impossible to elicit samples. Thus, I am not sure of its distribution in the community.

Notes to Chapter 3

[1] Charles F. Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics (New York, 1958), pp. 37-41

[2] Eva Sivertsen, Cockney Phonology (Oslo, 1960), p. 12.

[3] The words vowel and consonant are used only as phonemic terms. They have no one-to-one correspondence with my phonetic terms vocoid and contoid.

[4] The normal pronunciation of the prefix un-, as in undone and unable, is /an/ rather than /ʌn/. Many folk speakers also use /a/ initially in unto, and in under and its compounds, such as understand and underrun.

[5] See Ilse Lehiste, Acoustical Characteristics of Selected English Consonants, IJAL, XXX(1964), 2-3.

[6] This is the description of a segmental phoneme of Mandarin used by Charles F. Hockett, A manual of Phonology (Baltimore, 1955), p. 88.

[7] For meaning of this term see Hockett, Phonology, p. 52.

[8] As suggested by George L. Trager and Henry Lee Smith, Jr., An Outline of English Structure (third printing, Washington, 1957), p. 41.

[9] For discussion of peak systems see Hockett, Phonology, pp. 63, 72-74.

[10] Phonology. pp. 61-64.

[11] Hockett, Linguistics, p. 85.

[12] Sivertsen, p. 22.

[13] Sivertsen, p. 23.

[14] Hockett, Linguistics, p. 85.

[15] See note to 4.2.7 (4) MASQUERADING AT CHRISTMAS.

4. VOCABULARY

4.1 Introductory Survey of the Dialect Vocabulary

4.1.1 Aims of the Vocabulary Study

The type of lexical examination presented in 4.2 has various aims. These may be summarized as follows:

(a) To record some of the dialectal words in the lexicon of Carbonear. This chapter does not aim at complete coverage but merely treats selected areas for dialectal vocabulary study.

(b) To discover the range of words connected with one and the same thing, or with very similar things. See, for example, 4.2.1(7) SECONDARY ROADS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY, or 4.2.2(15) VERY SMALL FRESHWATER FISH.

(c) To define the referential meanings[1] of the words themselves and to note distinctions in application and usage where the referent is the same or similar, as in (b) above. See, for example, 4.2.1(4) SOFT, FLAT LAND SATURATED WITH FRESH WATER, or 4.2.4(1) BUILDING FOR LIVESTOCK AND THEIR FEED.

(d) To indicate the range of things connected with the same word. See, for example, 4.2.2(2); 4.2.3(7), and 4.2.6(8) for the things connected with the word rind.

(e) To indicate the variations in pronunciation of the same word. Such variations often correlate well with such factors as age or social class. See, for example, 4.2.6(2) BREAD

WHICH IS BOUGHT, or 4.2.2(11) EDIBLE FUNGUS.

(f) To note the sociological factors which seem to be related to the distribution of dialectal words within the community. When variations in meaning or pronunciation exist these are similarly treated. See, for example, 4.2.2(1) LEAVES OF LOCAL CONIFERS; 4.2.5(11) LARGE CONTAINERS FOR CARRYING LIQUIDS, or 4.2.4(5) CONTAINERS FOR PIG'S FEED.

(g) To generalize about how lexical changes occur. This is done in 4.1.3 below, in which I have adopted E. Bagby Atwood's interpretation of lexical change.[2] I merely apply to my own data the processes which are formulated in his study. These cover the types of lexical change which I found in Carbonear.

4.1.2 Arrangement of the Vocabulary Items

The organization of the dialectal vocabulary in this chapter is topical. It follows the method used by the late E. Bagby Atwood in the third chapter of his study of Texas vocabulary.[3] For convenience, I have distributed the selected items under one hundred glosses which are themselves further regrouped under nine broader topics. The divisions are as shown in the table below:

	Main topic	No. of items
4.2.1	The Landscape	8
4.2.2	Flora and Fauna	15
4.2.3	The Fishery	9
4.2.4	Subsistence Farming	10

4.2.5	The Premises	13
4.2.6	Food	8
4.2.7	Various Attitudes and Activities	18
4.2.8	Home and Family Matters	14
4.2.9	Miscellaneous	5
	Total:	100

4.1.3 Processes of Lexical Change

(1) BLENDING. Atwood describes[4] two relatively minor processes which bring about changes in vocabulary. The first of these is "blending", a quite rare phonomenon in which two expressions for the same thing each contribute forms to make up a new name for that thing. The only example found in Carbonear was midnurse, a blending of the two common terms midwife and nurse. See 4.2.8(11) WOMAN WHO DELIVERS BABIES.

(2) DEVELOPMENT OF DISTINCTIONS. A slightly more important process is the development of distinctions between close synonyms. "Since every self-respecting dialect abhors exact synonymy, the speakers usually take steps either (1) to abandon (gradually, of course) one of the words and use the other, or (2) to develop some kind of distinction in meaning that makes both words useful."[5] The replacement of stable by barn—see 4.2.4(1)—is an example of the former, while the latter process has preserved in Carbonear such pairs as lungers and rails—see 4.2.5(3); pickets and palings—see 4.2.5(1); turn and load—see 4.2.5(8); pail and bucket—see 4.2.5(11)

(3) OBSOLESCENCE AND REPLACEMENT. In discussing obsolescence and replacement of words[6] Atwood lists at least nine reasons which may lead to the decline of a word or to its supersession by another word. Nearly all of these factors can be related to specific words in Carbonear.

The first of these reasons is "the existence of synonymy which usually comes about through some historical accident".[7] Several pairs of synonyms in Carbonear undoubtedly owe their origins to the "historical accident" which brought large, linguistically influental groups of settlers from diverse dialect areas in the British Isles, notably England and Ireland. Perhaps such pairs as marsh:bog and mummers:jannies originated and have been maintained because of this fact. Pairs which contain two words of equal "strength", such as the two above, are rare in Carbonear. More common are pairs of synonyms in which one member seems to be superseding the other. Such a process, unless reversed, should eliminate one of the two words within a relatively short time. Perhaps pairs which have endured for a long time can be best explained by supposing that each member has passed through alternating periods of recession and advance.

"Another very obvious reason is the disappearance or rarity of things themselves."[8] In Carbonear, for example, several words have declined with the reduction in subsistence farming and the keeping of domestic animals. Two of these words are nants-a-nerry—see 4.2.4(4)—and fleece—see

4.2.4(7).

"Again, things may change in nature to such as extent that the older terms hardly seem applicable".[9] The terms gandies and toutins which applied to fried dough—see 4.2.6(4)—do not seem applicable to the quite different item of food produced from frying the batter made from commerical pancake mixes. The older, suspended wooden chutes are so different from the newer, attached metal gutters that the older word is not likely to be applied to the newer product. For similar reasons, such terms as parlour and front room are not applied to the newer living room.

"Vocabulary may also be expected to change when things are differently distributed or marketed".[10] The supersession of hurts by blueberries is no doubt partly due to the use of the latter name by the wholesalers that buy these berries. The distribution of nearly all food items in packages has replaced the older method of measuring by the pound, gallon, sack, or barrel. Accordingly, the practice of giving a little extra for good measure has died out, and with it has gone its name, tilly or tally—see 4.2.7(5) SMALL AMOUNT GIVEN ABOVE THE QUANTITY PURCHASED.

"Another reason for change is certainly to be found in education and increasing familiarity with such books as dictionaries."[11] Several words elicited in Carbonear are definitely attributable to such sources. Examples are the infrequent use of dragon-fly instead of the more familiar horse-stinger—see 4.2.2(14) LARGE BIPLANE INSECT—and neigh

or whinny rather than the common wicker or winker—see 4.2.4(9) THE NOISE A HORSE MAKES.

"Vocabulary may change because of the adoption of words from a neighboring dialect of greater prestige".[12] Regional standard Newfoundland English, based chiefly on the language of cultured speakers, especially of the provincial capital, St. John's, prefers certain words which do not seem to agree with either the older cultured usage or the common usage in Carbonear. One can now see the standardizing influence of the provincial prestige dialect in the use of tap rather than faucet—see 4.2.5(12)—of snack rather than lunch—see 4.2.6(1)—of copying rather than cockying--see 4.2.7(14).

"The most intangible reason for vocabulary change is fashion".[13] In Carbonear, the word trousers has gone out of style and is almost totally replaced by the word pants—see 4.2.8(8). To a lesser extent casket is supplanting coffin for the same reason—see 4.2.7(13).

There are powerful social and economic factors influencing the vocabulary changes in Carbonear. These changes were evident during World War II, but they have been greatly accelerated since Newfoundland became a part of Canada in 1949.

The changes involve types of employment, opportunities for education, and the urbanized services that make for a higher standard of living. In Carbonear, fewer men themselves

now pursue either fishing or farming. The town has become rather a centre of employment, commerce, and education for a considerable section of the north shore of Conception Bay. Paved roads and telephones have also helped to urbanize the way of life in Carbonear.

As a result, many words connected with the two oldest Newfoundland occupations, fishing and subsistence farming, are rapidly losing ground in the community. Such fishing terms as dabber, barbel, and puddick are no longer found in the vocabulary of many citizens. A great many others do not know how to call a cow or a sheep. Terms relating to the woods are declining rapidly as fewer men cut their own firewood.

The newer houses are quite different in arrangement from those which preceded them. The family gathers now in the living room rather than in a large, old-fashion kitchen. The furniture, too, is different. The newer chesterfield and day-bed have replaced the older settle, settee, sofa, and couch. The funnel or stove-pipe is disappearing with the advent of central heating, running water is making it unnecessary to talk about bringing a turn of water, and kerosene (oil) lamps have been replaced by electric lights.

The rapidly increasing opportunities for education and the rise in the general standard of living are producing a rapid social levelling, but wide social and economic differences still exist. These are well reflected in the distri-

bution of certain words within the community. Such correlations are discussed for specific items in 4.2 and are summarized in chapter five.

4.2 Selected Semantic Categories

4.2.1 The Landscape

(1) A HIGH, STEEP ROCK-FACE. A steep rock-face, such as those which overhang the sea along part of the south side of Carbonear, is generally called a clift [klɪft]. There is nothing "wrong" with such a pronunciation in Carbonear: it represents GOOD usage (i.e., the most approved) on the RESPONSIBILITY SCALE.[14] Only four pronunciations without the [t] were identified for certain, and were used by two younger and fairly well educated informants from each of Groups 2 and 3. One of the two from the latter group admitted that [klɪft] was her normal pronunciation and that [klɪf] was merely a spelling pronunciation.

(2) A LOW AREA BETWEEN HILLS. All informants used valley to name a low place between two steep hills, regardless of whether it contained a stream or not, or whether it was wooded or not. In addition, one older informant from each Group added droke.

Neither of them could give a description of droke which would distinguish it from valley. One informant stated that a droke may contain a stream. Droke was known to all three as the final element in proper names of features in the Carbonear area adjacent to London Road (formerly, The Long

Drung) and The Heart's Content Road.

(3) RUNNING WATER, SMALLER THAN A RIVER. Nineteen informants gave brook as the name for any natural stream smaller than a river. Stream was used by only three informants, each of whom is socially isolated from the others. It is perhaps a word acquired from reading rather than from local oral language.

(4) SOFT, FLAT LAND SATURATED WITH FRESH WATER. Bog and marsh seem to be equivalent words for the soft, flat land areas saturated with fresh water which are found in abundance near Carbonear. Most informants mentioned both words, but marsh was elicited twenty times as compared with sixteen for bog. Twelve informants gave marsh either as their primary or only usage; the figure for bog was six. Two informants reported marsh as the more common word; two others said the same for bog. Two of the contradicting assertions came from a man and his wife. All this indicates that both terms are very widely used.

The word swamp is not unknown but is so little used that it was difficult or, in a few cases, impossible to elicit. Informants seemed to agree that as a noun it is used figuratively (as in "The road is nothing but a swamp; The garden will be a swamp after this heavy rain"), or as an adjective, swampy, attributively ("That's awful swampy land for growing potatoes"). One informant used a compound, swampland, to define bogland which he stated to be more soft and miry than marshland.

One or more of the three compound words (swampland, bogland, marshland) were used by six informants, all but one of whom were sixty years of age or older. An octogenarian informed me that swampland is an older term than marshland.

In addition to the standard marsh /mærʃ/, the following pronunciations were elicited: mash /mæʃ/, mesh /meʃ/, and maish /meyʃ/. Mash and mesh were offered as sub-standard pronunciations by informants who gave marsh as their own usual form. The latter term was confirmed first-hand in the casual conversation of informant 1, who used it in the place name, Gaden's Mesh; but the former remains an unconfirmed reported form. One informant of Group 1 used maish as his own pronunciation.

One elderly informant stated that no marshland existed near Carbonear, for the marshland he had seen near Philadelphia was very unlike our local Newfoundland bogland. This informant also used peatland to mean turfy bog which can be cut for peat. He said that such turf used to be cut for fuel from Gaden's Mesh, not far from Carbonear.

(5) A SHALLOW POND. Gully is the usual name in Carbonear for one of the smallish, shallow ponds which are common in the hinterland of Carbonear. This word was elicited from fifteen informants.

Of the eight informants who did not know this word six were women, and two were men who have spent little time in the country during the past few years. A significant pattern seems to be apparent in the data: the word seems

to be less known to the younger women of Groups 1 and 2 and the older women of Group 3. Does this mean that younger women at the top socio-economic level are now spending more time in the country (because of cabins, shacks, and summer homes) while at lower levels they are spending less (because of less need for berry picking, perhaps)?

(6) ROADS RUNNING ACROSS COUNTRY, CONNECTING MAIN COASTAL HIGH-ROADS. The great majority of informants claimed that they knew no general term for roads which run across country to connect high-roads. Four informants did posses such a term, namely, line. Three of these were Roman Catholic men of Irish origins who live in the same part of Carbonear. In addition, all three were above forty-five years of age and were better acquainted with the countryside than most informants. The woman who used line was a Protestant of Group 2 and in her seventies. She was the only informant who grew up outside Carbonear, and, like the three men above, had a better than average knowledge of the woods and countryside.

In contrast with its common use elsewhere in eastern Newfoundland, especially in road names, the rarity of line in Carbonear seems to reflect the urban status of this community. Many of its people, especially of Groups 2 and 3, have little call to travel or work extensively along the unpaved country roads, whereas the reverse is true of the many people in outlying villages and of some in the peripheral areas of Carbonear itself.

Line seems to be well perserved as a fossilized form in the proper name, The Line Road, which was the name given by fourteen informants to the gravel road which runs from the west end of Carbonear to Heart's Delight.

(7) SECONDARY ROADS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY. A remarkable variety was found in the general terms for the secondary or side roads within the town itself. The two most common terms were lane (ten occurrences) and firebreak (ten occurrences). Three informants gave only the former term, whereas two gave only the latter; but six informants used both words, often in addition to others. Several informants stated that a lane is narrower than a firebreak, and that in Carbonear only three (sometimes two) exceptionally wide transverse roads are regularly called firebreaks. No pattern was seen in the distribution of lane and firebreak which could be related to any sociological factor.

Listed below is the variety of other general terms elicited for roads within the community. (The figures in parentheses indicate the number of occurrences.) These are back roads (3), side roads (1), local roads (1), roads (1), back streets (1), side streets (1), streets (2), drungs (2), drokes (1), hills (1). Most of these are regularly used as proper names or as final elements in proper names.

(8) AREAS ENCLOSED BY FENCES. It seems that the word garden still has a wide range of referents, and in the past was even more widely applied, to any part of the owned and enclosed land adjacent to one's house whether at the front,

back or sides, as well as any non-adjacent (usually enclosed) plot or field. A narrower meaning was, and still is, indicated by a preceding modifier, for example, (a) front garden (now giving way to lawn if well kept grass); (b) back garden (defined by one informant as larger than back yard); (c) flower garden; (d) grass garden, and (e) potato garden (for growing potatoes, as well as other vegetables).

Four informants from Groups 2 and 3 specified that a piece of land must be cultivated ("used to grow things") in order to be called a garden. Two others, also from Groups 2 and 3, specified that a garden is always larger than a yard.

Other terms elicited for fenced areas were property (four occurrences), field (three occurrences), and land (one occurrence). Property seems to be a word used most frequently by and concerning the "propertied" citizens of Carbonear.

No pattern could be seen in the few occurrences of the other terms.

4.2.2 Flora and Fauna

(1) LEAVES OF LOCAL CONIFERS. The prickley leaves of the local conifers such as the spruce and fir are known by a variety of names. Their distribution among the informants correlates well with social grouping and age. Sprinkles ['sprɪŋkəlz] (six occurrences) and prinkles (one occurrence) were found only in Group 1 and the older members of Group 2.

Sprigs ['sprɪgz] (three occurrences) and needles ['nɪ̰ḍl̰z] (four occurrences) were elicited only from Groups 3 and 2. Informant 21 was the only one to use prickles ['prɪkəlz].

(2) OUTER COVERING OF TREE TRUNKS. Two names were elicted for the "skin" of a tree. Eleven informants used bark; seven gave rind, and two used both words. The seven who used only rind were all members of Group 1 and older members of Groups 2 and 3. Bark occurred in all three Groups but was more common in Groups 2 and 3 than in Group 1. No pattern was seen in the distribution of [nd] (three occurrences) versus [n] (six occurrences) at the end of rind.[15]

(3) NAMES FOR LOCAL FIR TREES. Local fir trees are often called fir [fəˑ] (twelve occurrences), vir [vəˑ] (seven occurrences and var [vɑ̰əˑ] (four occurrences) In five instances, vir was offered as an alternative pronunciation of fir, while three instances of var were given as alternatives for vir. Thus, vir and var were the only forms elicited from five informants and one informant respectively. Five of these six informants were from Group 1 while the sixth, a man of eighty-five, was the oldest member of Group 2. This means that fir was the preferred form in all of Group 3 and in nearly the whole of Group 2

Another name applied to the local fir is starrigan. There is evidence that this word is disappearing as fewer people find it necessary to cut their own firewood. The word was known to only ten informants distributed evenly

among the three groups. Further evidence of its obsolescence is seen in the fact that most were vague as to its exact meaning: four informants equated the words starrigan and fir; one stated that starrigan was the old name for fir; three stressed that the starrigan is a very sappy fir which oozes a sticky turpentine, pronounced ['tɘ pɪn,təɪ̯m], ['tɘ pɪn,təɪ̯m], and ['tʌkʌm,təɪ̯m]. Some stated that a fir is called a starrigan only after being cut down for firewood.

4) A SMALL, STUNTED TREE. The increasing urbanization of Carbonear is evinced by the fact that only three informants had a special word for a small, stunted tree and that there was no agreement among the three. Only the oldest of all the informants, aged eighty-five, used the term kronik, which he pronounced ['krɛɛnɪk]. Informant 5 said such a tree is called a lielong, while informant 3 used the adjectival word win(d)-chucked to describe such a tree. As an illustration of its use he gave the sentence, "There's a win(d)-chucked ['wɪn,tʃɔkt] stick, there". All three informants above have probably spent more time in the local woods than any of the other informants.

(5) A LARGE, DEAD, WEATHERBEATEN TREE. Here, as in the preceding item, the lack of specific terms is evidence of increased urban employment. Only one informant,3, knew the special term rampike ['ræm,pəɪ̯k]. He was seventy years of age and had an intimate knowledge of the local woodlands. Informant 7, who was forty-eight years of age, stat d that such a tree might be called a blackyboy if it had been killed

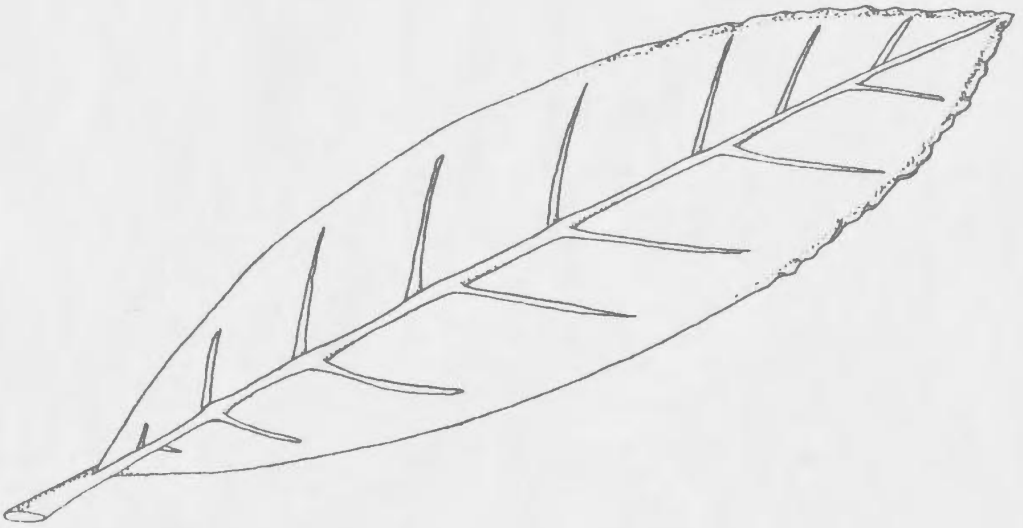
by fire.

(6) DOWNY PARASITIC GROWTH ON TREES. Six informants agreed on a name for the pale, downy parastic growth often seen hanging in the branches of evergreen trees in the local woods. This name was mall dow, in five cases pronounced [ˌmɑlˈdɑʊ̯] or [ˌmɑlˈdəʊ̯], in one case [ˈmɑlˌdɑʊ̯]. Less common names were (a) mall down [ˌmɑlˈdəʊ̯n] (one occurrence), (b) moss (two occurrences), and (c) whiskers (one occurrence).

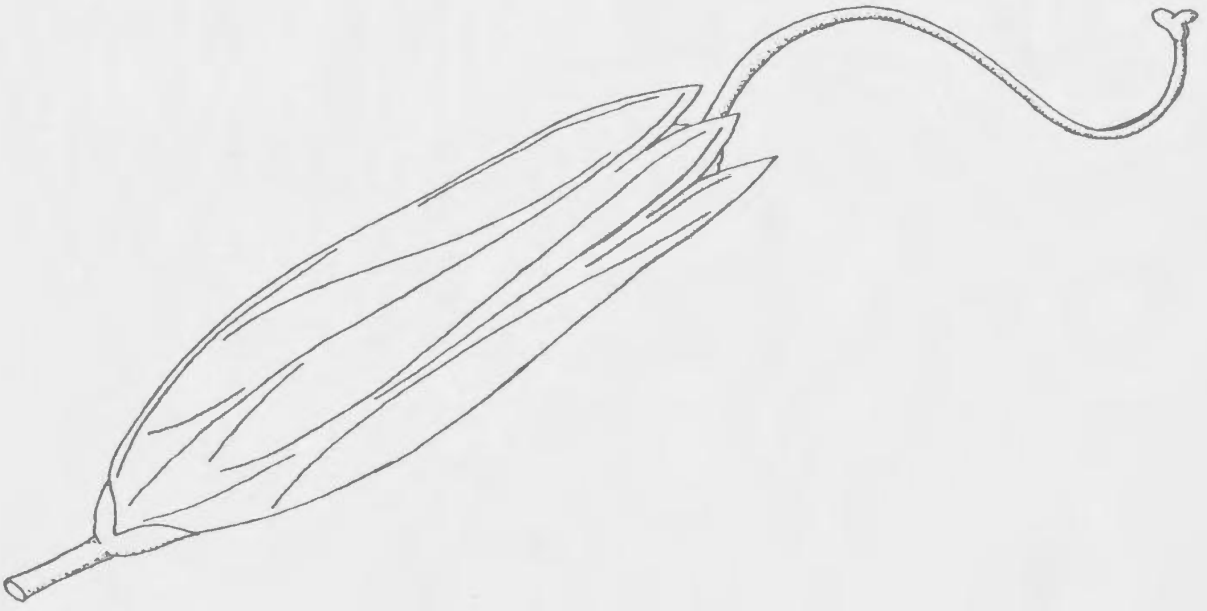
(7) RHODODENDRON CANADENSE: A COMMON SHRUB OF THE BARRENS. Two local names were elicited for Rhododendron canadense,[16] the common shrub with shiny, narrow leaves and clusters of variously coloured flowers commonly found on the Newfoundland barrens. The distribution of these terms seems to be related partly to the age of the informants: no informant below the age of forty-six knew any name for this plant. Five informants used the term gowiddy [ˈgɔʊ̯wɪdɪ] while one gave Indian tea. All six informants who responded were persons who are unusually interested in the local flora or whose work provides close contacts with the countryside.

(8) COMMON PLANT WITH YELLOW FLOWERS AND EDIBLE LEAVES. These early flowers have various local names which seem to vary with the STYLE[17] being employed by the speaker. In the CONSULTATIVE STYLE[18] of most of the interviews, informants used the terms dandelions (four occurrences), dandelion flowers (eleven occurrences), posies (three occurrences), and dandelion posies (two occurrences). The two latter names were used only by male Roman Catholic informants.

Figure 1



Leaf Detail



Fruit Detail

Figure 2

One of the informants who used dandelion stated that "The old people had a funny name for them, but I can't tell you". This "funny name", piss-a-beds ['pɪsə,bɛdz], was given by the five informants, all of Groups 2 and 3, who used a CASUAL STYLE[19] during the interviews. This points up the fact that informants are likely to suppress terms which they feel to be vulgar, unless they have developed a very relaxed relationship with the fieldworker.

(9) DELICATE, WHITE BERRIES. The delicate, white berries of the Gaultheria hispidula[20] are known by two different names in Carbonear. The common term, found in all Groups, contains the form "maiden"; thus: maidener ['meɪdn̩ə˞] berries (nine occurrences), and maiden(h)air ['meɪdn̩,ɛə˞] berries (one occurrence). The less common name is capillaire ['kæpə,lɛr] berries, elicited only from three Protestant informants of Group 3. All three are members of the "old elite" families of Carbonear. It seems that capillaire may be used without a following berries to denote the plant as distinct from its fruit.

(10) FAIRLY RARE, EARLY-RIPENING RED BERRIES. Only seven informants could give a name for an early-ripening, bright red berry which, except in color, resembles closely the more common "bake-apple".[21] This name was plumboy /plʏmbə̀y/ and /plʏmbʏ̀y/. All seven informants stressed the fact that this was a fairly rare berry in the Carbonear area —in fact, one informant had seen this berry only on the south coast of Newfoundland. This partially explains the low incidence of the word plumboy among the Carbonear

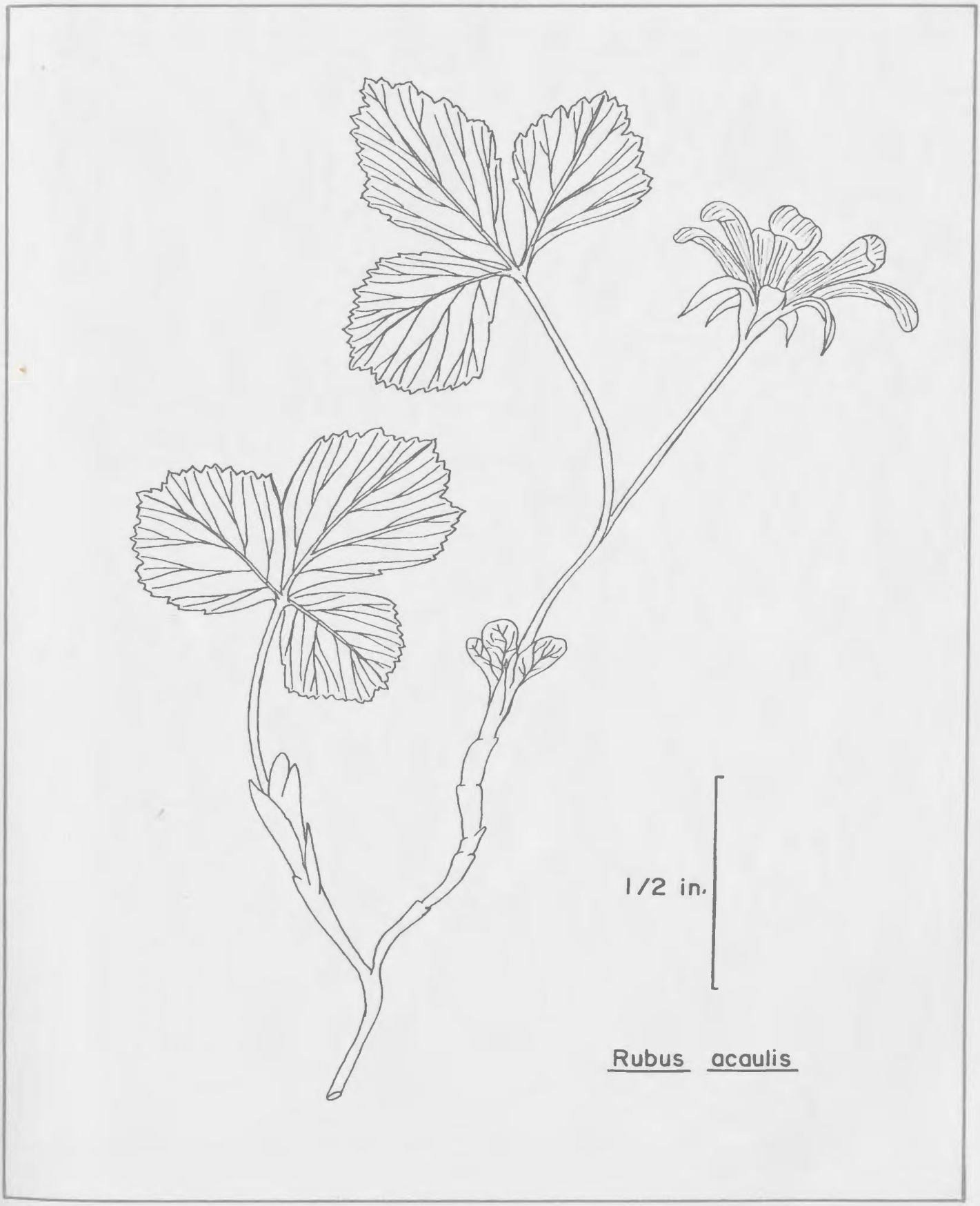
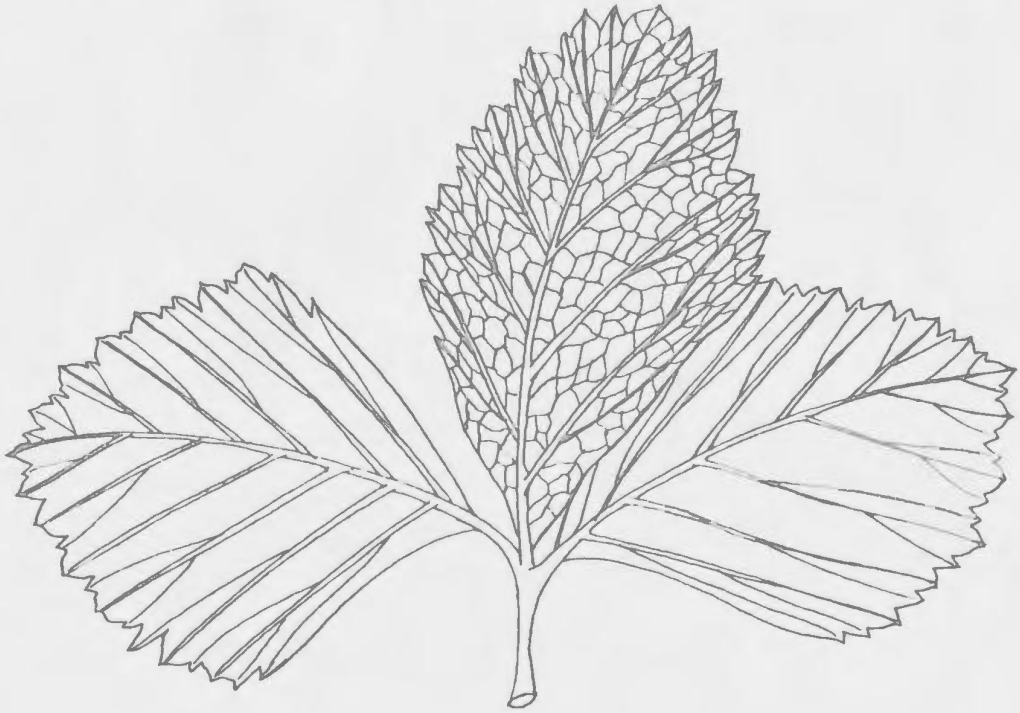


Figure 3



Leaf Detail

Flower Detail

Figure 4

informants.

(11) EDIBLE FUNGUS. Three distinct pronunciations of mushroom exist in Carbonear: (a) that of regional standard Newfoundland English; that is /mʸʃrùwm/; (b) a second two-syllable form with a final [n] rather than [m], thus /mʸʃrùwn/; and (c) a three-syllable form with a final [n], thus /mʸʃərùwn/.

Pronunciation (a), /mʸʃrùwm/, was used in Group 3 by all but two older members, by all the women of Group 2, and by the youngest and best educated woman of Group 1. Pronunciation (b), /mʸʃrùwn/, was used by four informants, all above seventy years of age, and distributed among the three Groups. Pronunciation (c), /mʸʃərùwn/ was elicited from five informants in Group 1, the two younger male informants in Group 2, and one older male informant in Group 3. Pronunciation (c), though perhaps an etymologically "correct" pronunciation, is fast giving way before the model of the schools. In fact, however, it is not the schools that will cause (c) to disappear in favour of (a), but the fact that (a) has become the favoured pronunciation in Group 3. Theoretically, the example set by this group will be imitated until (c) no longer exists.[22]

(12) SIMILAR, INEDIBLE FUNGUS. There is only one vernacular term in Carbonear for the various fungi which somewhat resemble mushrooms but which are thought to be inedible. This name, fairy caps /fériykæps/ (seventeen occurrences), was distributed evenly among the three Groups.

Only three informants with better education gave the word toadstool in addition to fairy cap. The former is a word perhaps derived from reading while the latter is the term current in the spoken language.

(13) SLENDER, ROUND SLIDING CREATURES. Most informants did not have distinguishing names for the several varieties, but grouped all types together under the one term worms [wɚmz]. Two male informants from Group 1, however, used in addition the terms day worms and night worms. The latter term was given by one male informant from each of Groups 2 and 3. A second male informant from Group 3 used the term night-crawlers. All informants who used names in addition to worms were males who had an interest in trout fishing.

(14) LARGE, BIPLANE INSECT. The large, distinctive, flying insect with two pairs of gauzy wings has only one vernacular name in Carbonear. This name is horse-stinger ['hɔɚˌsˌstɪŋɚ] (nineteen occurrences). One informant, a member of one of the "old elite" families and educated abroad, used only dragon-fly. His nephew stated that the insect was in fact a dragon-fly, but that it was known locally as a horse-stinger.

(15) VERY SMALL FRESHWATER FISH. In Carbonear a variety of local names exist for the types of tiny fish[23] which are found in fresh water. The informants gave the following names: spawnykettles /spáhniykètəlz/ (five occurrences); spawns /spahnz/ (four occurrences); barn-stickles /bɛ́rnstikəlz/. pricklies /príkliyz/ and thornbacks

/tʹɔrnbɛ̀ks/ (one occurrence for each of the last three). There were four occurrences of minnows, three from members of Group 3, while the fourth was from a younger member of Group 2 who had attended university. The same informant who used only the name dragonfly in (14) above gave only minnows here. Though the distribution of the non-local term minnows correlates closely with high social position and education, there is no pattern apparent in the scattering of the five other names listed above. Since such fish are of no commerical value in Carbonear and because they are not used even as bait in trout fishing, no one name has achieved complete currency.

4.2.3 The Fishery

(1) HOME-MADE ANCHORING DEVICE. Fourteen informants knew the name killick or kellick for the homemade grapnel or anchor which is constructed from a pair of wooden claws fastened at right angles to each other and weighted by a large, elongated rock enclosed by bent rods. The fourteen informants were evenly distributed among Groups 1, 2, and 3. Only three of the fourteen were women: (a) informant 10, who was raised in a fishing village outside Carbonear; (b) informant 18b, who is at the very top socio-economic level in Carbonear; and (c) her daughter, informant 22. Both the latter seemed to display an unusual interest in terms connected with the folk occupations both on sea and land, in marked contrast with most of the women informants,

who seemed almost proud of their lack of familiarity with the vocabulary in these areas.

Eight informants used the pronunciation ['kɪlɪk]; five said ['kɛlɪk], while one gave both.

(2) COD-CATCHING DEVICE WITH ONE HOOK. Dabber was the only name found in Carbonear for the cod-catching, handlining device which is like the familiar cod-jigger in having a lead shank, but which is unlike the jigger in that it has only one hook and is baited, whereas the jigger has two hooks and is not normally baited. Only six informants knew this word. All of them were men, and all but one had been fishermen during some part of their lives. The exception knew dabber only by hearsay, stating that he had no first-hand knowledge of the object itself. The very limited distribution of dabber is typical of a technical fishing term which is becoming rarer within the fishery itself, in this case, because of the decline of fishing by handline.

(3) WATERPROOF GARMENT FOR FRONT OF BODY. Six informants used the technical term for the waterproof protective covering worn on the front of the body by fishermen when working at fish ashore. Four used the pronunciation barbel /bǽrbəl/; two, both eighty years of age or older, used barvel /bǽrvəl/. All but one of the six were men who had been fishermen; informant 10, the lone woman who used this term, was the only one of the twenty-four informants who did not grow up in this community, but was raised in a small fishing village on the shore of Conception Bay north of Carbonear.

Note that she also knew the technical fishing terms puddick--see 4.2.3(4)--and hand-barrow--see 4.2.3(8).

Three informants from Group 1 gave the term oil apron (two occurrences) and rubber apron (one occurrence). Informant 9, who has never been a fisherman, also used oil apron in contrast to his wife, informant 10, who used barbel. Three other informants, 14b, 21, and 22, none of whom had fished for a living, suggested apron.

(4) THE STOMACH OF A FISH. Puddick is the word for a fish's stomach as distinct from its other internal organs. Though it would probably be known by everybody in a small Newfoundland village where fishing is the sole occupation, its distribution in Carbonear is more limited. The seven informants (three from Group 1, three from Group 2, one from Group 3) who knew puddick were persons who had at some time been fisherman, or who had lived in fishing villages, or who were married to either of the former. Not all former fishermen knew the word puddick; for example, it was not know by two older men in Group 1 who had had little to do with the sea during recent years. One of the two used the gemeral word gut, (which includes all the other entrails as well as the puddick), as did three informants in Group 3. This seems to indicate that puddick has the status of a technical term within the fishery and that it spreads little outside this occupational group.

(5) LONG POLES FORMING TOP OF FISH-DRYING PLATFORM. Since the early days of Newfoundland history salted codfish

has been sun-dried on "flakes"— platforms of long, slender, rinded poles laid on a framework of heavier timber. In Carbonear those poles which form the top surface of the platform are called lungers /lə́ŋgərz/ (eight occurrences) and longers /lá̜ŋgərz/ (seven occurrences).[24] The distribution of the two pronunciations correlates well with religious divisions: longers was used by six Roman Catholics and one Protestant; lungers was used by seven Protestants and one Roman Catholic.

(6) AMOUNT OF COD CARRIED IN ONE'S HANDS. Yaffle is the common word in Carbonear for the small pile of salted cod which one person can carry or throw by using only his two hands. Nineteen out of twenty-three informants gave this word. The four informants who did not know yaffle gave no substitute word. These four were all women--informant 4 from Group 1, informants 10 and 14c from Group 2, and 18a from Group 3.

(7) BARK OF TREES USED AS WATERPROOF COVERING FOR FISH. Large sheets of bark stripped from evergreen trees were and still are used to protect from rain the drying cod which is in piles on the "flake".[25] These protective covers are known as rinds, usually pronunced /rəynz/.

(8) STRETCHER-LIKE DEVICE FOR CARRYING HEAVY LOADS. Salted codfish, especially when in the making (that is, washing and drying) process is often carried by two persons on a wooden, stretcher-like device made from two parallel poles with boards nailed transversely across the middle

section. The fourteen informants who could name this device called it a handbarrow (nine responses), a barrow (four responses), or a fish barrow (one response).

Two pronunciations of the "barrow" part of the terms were recorded; namely, /bǽrɒw/ and /bǽrə/. The latter pronunciation is more common in Group 1, whereas the former is more usual in Groups 2 and 3.

Like puddick [26] this word is a technical term in the fishery and its distribution reflects twentieth-century changes in the economy of Carbonear. Specifically, the change is that women are less involved in the "making" of salted cod than in the past, so that not one female informant below the age of sixty knew the name for this device.

(9) A FLOATING PLATFORM. A wooden platform supported by empty oil drums or logs is a fairly common sight on both salt and fresh water in the Carbonear area. Two names were elicited for this device. Ten men and two women called it a floating stage; six women and one man used raft. The two women who used floating stage were informant 18a and her daughter 14a. I consider this family to be socially isolating, and in this vocabulary item, as in several previous ones, their unique usage supports this judgement.

The six women who used raft all had a reasonable amount of education. This means that raft might be a word acquired from reading and applied to the most likely local ojject.

The pronunciation floatin' stage was used by Group 1 and some older informants in Groups 2 and 3, while floating

stage was the pronunciation used by most of Group 3, half of Group 2, and one younger informant in Group 1.

4.2.4 Subsistence Farming

(1) BUILDING FOR LIVESTOCK AND THEIR FEED. The barn or stable in this area of Newfoundland is a general purpose structure used by the small farmer or the farmer-fisherman for the housing of livestock on the ground floor and the storing of hay and other feed in the loft. All twenty-four informants responded on this item. Fourteen informants gave two names for the structure but mentioned barn before stable. Only three (informants 1, 13, 23) reversed the order of the pair, that is, they mentioned stable first. Seven informants, gave only one word, barn. No informant gave the one word stable. Of the seven informants who gave only barn, six were below fifty years of age. All this would seem to indicate that the word stable is losing ground to the word barn. This was further confirmed by the observations of several informants (2, 6, 9, 10, 18b) who described stable as an old word or barn as a newer word. Informant 5, who is illiterate, stated that barn was "a better word". Informant 13 and his sister, 14a, were the only two who said stable exclusively. Their mother, 18a, uses stable (for animals) and barn (for hay). The preservation of the older word in this family reflects the informants' occupations and social habits and attitudes. This is also true of the three other informants (17, 18b, and 19a) who either use

stable or think it is the most common word. Their use of it or their belief in its wide use springs from the fact that they are members of an older and relatively small exclusive group at the upper end of the socio-economic scale.

(2) UPPER PART OF BARN. The common term in Carbonear is loft for the upper area of the barn where hay is stored. It was used by twelve out of twenty-three informants. The twelve responses showed no significant patterning. Perhaps significant, however, is the fact that all eight persons who used the compound hayloft were Protestants of British ancestry and that six of these were from Group 2. Three Catholics of Irish ancestry used a different two-word term. (It is not perhaps classed as a compound word because the primary stress remains on the loft element). These were stable loft used by 7 and 8, who are husband and wife; and barn loft used by 4. Note that all three are from Group 1.

(3) SECOND CUTTING OF GRASS. The only widely distributed term for the second cutting of grass is aftergrass. This term is distributed throughout the community but seems least well known in Group 3 whose members would be least concerned with the local hay crop. Three less common terms were elicited in addition to aftergrass. One was second cutting, used by informants 5 and 11. Another was second crop, used by informant 18b and her daughter. The third was aftercrop, used by informant 1 only.

(4) HEAVY SLED FOR TRANSPORTING STONES FROM FIELD. Informant 23 describes a nants-a-nerry as a low vehicle

pulled by a horse in dragging stones off a field. It is constructed of two rough log runners curving up at the front end and joined by planks nailed crosswise, with low side-boards to retain the stones. The overall dimensions may be about four feet in width by eight in length. Only two other informants, 7 and 8, husband and wife, and like informant 23, of Irish descent used the word nants-a-nerry /nǽntsənèriy/. Informant 23 also noted that this vehicle may be used as a drag in the winter; that is, for retarding the too rapid movement of another vehicle downhill. The word drag was used by three other informants: 1, 3, and 10. Informant 3 used the pronunciation [dʒrʌg] while 1 and 10, as well as 23, used [dʒreɪg]. Thirteen informants had no name at all for this vehicle. The four remaining used names of other vehicles, namely, catamaran, sled, and slide. The presence of a special name for this vehicle in an informant's vocabulary seems to depend on his work involving some farming or on his home being close to farmland.

(5) CONTAINERS FOR PIGS' FEED. My data seem to indicate that the division between the two pronunciations of trough forms an excellent social isogloss in Carbonear. All five members of Group 1 who responded to this item used the same pronunciations: trough [tʃrɔʊ̯], troughs [tʃrɔʊ̯z], as did the two older men of Group 2, though one of these, informant 9, gave the other Carbonear pronunciation as an alternative. This other pronunciation is trough [tʃrɑ:f], troughs [tʃrɑ:fs]. It was used by the younger members of Group 2 and

seven members of Group 3. The eighth member of the latter group, an entrepreneur of striking and fairly recent commercial success, spelled the words in question but stated that he did not know how to pronounce them. This illustrates one of the linguistic problems of a person who has made major changes in his social and economic status.

(6) RESTRAINER WORN BY GOATS. Yoke seems to be the word used in Carbonear for the triangular framework of three sticks or laths worn by goats to hamper their movements through and over fences. Of the twenty-one informants questioned on this item, seventeen gave yoke, two (a husband and his wife) used goat's yoke, one used collar, and the youngest informant, aged twenty-six, did not know any name for this object.

(7) THE AMOUNT OF WOOL REMOVED FROM A SHEEP. Only nine informants had a word for the amount of wool removed from a sheep at one shearing. This word was fleece. Its rarity and its distributional pattern reflect the changing economy of this community. As time passes, fewer persons keep sheep in Carbonear and this is reflected in the fact that, of the nine informants using fleece, seven were over sixty years of age, and none were younger than forty-six, though one-third of all informants were forty-six or younger. In addition, informants who used fleece live, or have lived, in more outlying areas of Carbonear where they themselves or their neighbours could keep sheep.

(8) TO GIVE BIRTH TO A CALF. Two informants (10, 22)

used calve [kæ:v] with a voiced fricative. Perhaps significant is the fact that this could, in both cases, be attributed to influences from outside Carbonear, for informant 22 spent several years, including her teens, at school in mainland Canada, while informant 10 was not born in Carbonear but came there from another nearby community at the age of seventeen. Also, informant 10 is of Scottish descent.

Three other informants (11, 13, 21) used a verb calf [kæ:f] with a voiceless fricative. Informant 11, though having almost no formal education, is a careful and forceful speaker and has been a leader in certain community organizations. Informant 13 is a successful businessman in his early forties. He has spent more than ten years at school in St. John's and working in larger centres in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Informant 21 is also a businessman in his forties and, like informant 13, has spent a dozen years or so in larger towns both in and outside Newfoundland.

Of the remaining informants, nine used the phrase have a calf ['hævə̆kæ:f]; three used freshen ['frɛʃən]; while two said have young, and one used drop a calf.

(9) THE NOISE A HORSE MAKES. In Carbonear a horse is said to wicker, winker, or neigh. The distribution of the first two words as against the last one is analagous to that of [tʃrɔʊ̯] versus [tʃrɑ:f] (see (5), above); that is, wicker and winker were used by members of Group 1 plus the older half of Group 2, while neigh was used by Group 3 and the younger half of Group 2. One exception to the generalization

above is the use of neigh by an elderly woman of Group 1 who, as a practial nurse, has had extensive contact with Group 3 and the wealthier members of Group 2. Another exception is the isolated use of whinny by informant 21, whose university education and long absences from Carbonear could explain his divergent usage. The fact that eight informants could not give any name to the sound made by a horse reflects the increasingly urban nature of Carbonear. The horse has become quite unimportant in the everyday activities of most citizens.

(10) TO EMASCULATE ANIMALS. Castrate, elicited ten times, was more common than any of the other terms; namely, alter (five occurrences), doctor (three), and cut (three). All six members of Group 3 who responded to this item used castrate, as did four Protestant informants in Group 2. But no Group 1 informant used this word. Instead, the usage in Group 1 (plus that of two informants in Group 2) involved one or more of the three words alter, cut, and doctor. Three women gave no word for this item, one of the three stating that she never used any single word for "casterate", but preferred some periphrastic euphemism. Another woman, who gave alter, stated that it was a word used only by men.

The two forms casterize and alterate each occurred once. Their rarity perhaps indicates some of the restricted social groupings in which certain terms for "castrate" circulate, for various social taboos seem to prevent any word with this meaning from achieving wide currency.

4.2.5 The Premises

(1) FENCES CONTAINING WOOD. Both picket fence and paling fence are common in Carbonear, but not as alternative names for the same thing. The two names are used to designate different types of fences. The picket fence is an older type made of very slender, rinded poles (called pickets) nailed vertically to two horizontal, round rails (sometimes called longers or lungers); the paling fence is constructed similarly but the vertical members are flat boards (called palings).

Another type of fence, antedating even the older picket fence, is the garden-rod fence, no longer being built but remains of which may still be seen in Carbonear. Its construction required much time and labour (which was very cheap) and no nails (which cost money, when money was very hard to come by in Newfoundland). It consisted of three horizontal rails (sometimes called longers or lungers) interlaced (riddled) with very slender, peeled rods (resembling long, pliable pickets) which alternated in their directions of curvature so that the second opposed the first, the third the second, and so on. This produced a basket-weave effect and the resulting fence was very strong and durable, forming a remarkable windbreak.

Two newer types of fence are the ranch (or board) fence and the wire fence. The former resembles the older rail (or longer) fence but has long horizontal boards instead of horizontal rails.

Stakes is the ordinary word for the vertical supports driven into the ground for all types of fences. Posts is reserved for the two extra-large ones on either side of a gate.

The wide range of names for fences in Carbonear is found among all Groups. Nearly every informant produced the following list when asked to name the local types of fences whose construction involved wood: (a) picket fence, (b) paling fence, (c) rail fence or longer (lunger) fence, (d) ranch fence, (e) wire fence, and (f) garden-rod fence.

(2) FENCE MADE OF ROCKS. Fences built of skilfully piled rocks are easily found in Carbonear though most of them were built many years ago. Six different names for such a fence were elicited: (a) rock wall (seven occurrences), (b) stone wall (four occurrences), (c) wall (four occurrences), (d) wall fence (three occurrences), (e) rock fence (two occurrences) with primary stress on the last element in each case. Because of the low incidence of each item, it is difficult to find significant distributional patterns.

(3) LONG POLES FOR FENCES. When the same type of long poles used for "flakes"[27] are used in fences they are not always called lungers or longers. In fact, two informants applied only the name rails to them in this situation, while seven others gave rails as an alternative along with lungers or longers.

(4) TRANSPORTING FIREWOOD IN WINTER. A man who is transporting firewood on some sliding vehicle in winter is

said to be hauling wood (eighteen occurrences). This is undoubtedly the general term, for only one informant used a different expression--pulling wood.

(5) DEVICES FOR CONVEYING FIREWOOD IN WINTER. The common wooden vehicle for winter hauling of firewood is commonly called a slide or a catamaran /kæ̀təmərǽn/ in Carbonear. Fifteen informants mentioned the former word while eleven gave the latter. Five informants used both words. This vehicle is a sturdy but lightweight device consisting of two runners held apart by two, strong, transverse planks a foot or so above them. On these two planks the lengths of firewood are laid fore-and-aft and are contained by four slender vertical poles, one at either end of each plank. Some informants prefixed slide by dog or hand, forming the compound words hand-slide and dog-slide and indicating how the vehicle is hauled. Goats and horses were also mentioned.

Horses, however, often pull a diffent vehicle having a title which usually contains the morpheme {sled}. This was described as two separate sections in tandem. The names given by the informants were sled, sleds, bobsled, and horsesled. One informant used the term cart for catamaran or slide.

(6) SUPPORT USED WHEN SAWING FIREWOOD. The wooden device in which firewood is placed for sawing into short lengths (junks, billets) for stove or fireplace seems to have sundry names in Carbonear, each of which contains the mor-

pheme {horse}. The three terms are woodhorse /wúdhɔ̀rs/ (fifteen occurrences), sawhorse (five occurrences) and horse (two occurrences). In Group 1, only woodhorse was used, but all three terms occurred in Groups 2 and 3.

(7) SHORT LENGTH OF FIREWOOD. In Carbonear, a short length of firewood to fit stove or fire-place is most commonly called a junk (nineteen occurrences). A rarer term is billet, used by seven informants, all of whom were below the age of sixty. Only three (informants 14a, 14b, and 14c) gave billet as their sole term; the other four gave it merely as an alternative for junk. Two informants stated that they would use the term log for a heavy, unsplit junk for the fire-place.

(8) AMOUNT OF WOOD (WATER, OR BOARDS) ONE CAN CARRY. The term for the quantity of something carried by one person varies considerably in the case of boards but much less in the case of junks of wood[28] and (two) buckets of water. Every informant except 22, who did not give any term, said that an armful of wood or an armload of wood was the expression used for the quantity of firewood which one can carry in his arms. A turn of water was used by nearly all informants to indicate two buckets of water carried by one person. As one might expect, two of the exceptions were informants 22 and 21, younger informants of Group 3 who have had no occasion themselves to carry turns of water and little opportunity to see others doing so. The other exception was informant 14a who qualifies economically for Group 3 but

for other reasons has been placed in Group 2. Informant 14c remembers that she acquired the word in northern Newfoundland, not in Carbonear. In the case of boards, a load of lumber seems to be the most general term, since it was used by nine informants representing all Groups, ages, and sexes. Three informants used backload rather than load. Turn of lumber and shoulder turn of lumber were rarer expressions. These last two were used by five men, all of Irish origins, from Groups 1, 2, and 3. Other rare terms were backful of lumber (two occurrances), shoulderful of lumber (one occurrence).

(9) SMALLEST WOOD FOR STARTING FIRES. A dry junk of wood may be split into smaller pieces for use as kindling. Such small pieces are called splits or, less commonly, kindling. But a split itself may be further reduced in size by the removal of very thin portions with a knife or other convenient tool. This produces thin curled layers or slivers (often left attached to the split) that can be lighted directly with a match without the need for paper or other easily flammable materials. These very thin curls of wood are called shavings in Carbonear; the term was well-known in all Groups.

(10) LARGE, COARSE SACK. Brin is the common word for the coarse sacking fabric composing the large, strong sacks for vegetables, animal feeds, and other heavy, bulky products. This word is combined with bag or sack to give brin bag (thirteen occurrences) or brin sack (four occurrences).

Only in two cases of brin bag as ['brɪn,bɛɪg] did the informants indicate a compound word by their stress pattern.

Burlap was used with sack or bag by only five informants, three of whom gave it merely as a less common alternative for brin. The other two gave burlap as their own usage. Both were careful speakers and unusually avid readers. All five informants who used burlap had better than average education and considerable contacts outside the community.

(11) LARGE CONTAINERS FOR CARRYING LIQUIDS. Though wooden containers for carrying liquids are no longer used in Carbonear, it seems certain that bucket must have been the name applied to them, for it is now used almost exclusively to name the galvanized iron receptacles which have replaced them, for only eight informants equated the word pail with the word bucket, and, of these, only two were from Group 1.

The word pail, however, was found in the vocabulary of all other informants to name a receptable which is "bucket-like" but which is distinguished from a bucket in various ways: by having a cover; by being less sturdy; by being made of enamelled or tinned metal, or plastic, rather than galvanized iron; by having a flat rather than a rimmed bottom; and by being used for toilet purposes rather than for carrying drinking water.

(12) DEVICE TO TURN ON THE WATER. Two names were found in Carbonear for the device used to turn on the water

at the kitchen sink. The common term is tap (twenty occurrences) whilst faucet (eight occurrences) is relatively rare. The latter word seems to be the older term in Carbonear: it is used in families which had running water before it became a general community convenience. Its use has been reinforced in a few instances by books, and by its presence in the language of some members of the "old elite" families.

(13) TOILETS OUTDOORS. Most striking here is the wide variety of terms elicited: there were at least ten: (a) outhouse (seven occurrences); (b) privy (five); (c) water closet (five); (d) Number Nineteen (three); (e) House(s) of Parliament (two); (f) closet (two); (g) latrine (one); (h) toilet (one); (j) outdoor toilet (two), and (k) outside toilet (four). Informants often gave two or more names. The wide variety of terms used and the narrow distribution of some of them indicate that no term for the "outdoor toilet" has gained complete or permanent respectability, and that the object is referred to only within small, rather intimate social groupings and sometimes in veiled terms.

This is evinced by such facts as the following: informants 18a, 14a, and 13, a family group of mother, daughter, and son, were the only three informants to use Number Nineteen; informants 18b and 22, mother and daughter, were the only ones to use Houses of Parliament. In addition, 18b described Johns as a new term while 22 said that Jake was a very old term not used by her generation. (Note that John and Johnny were found in parts of the Eastern U.S.A.[29]

(excluding the North) and that informant 18b has travelled in this area quite extensively.) Informant 23, who was the sole user of latrine, has served in the (British) army. The distribution of privy and water closet indicates that these are older words which have been replaced by newer terms, of which outhouse is perhaps one.

Another reason for the diversity of terms[30] is perhaps the rapid disappearance of the referent itself and its replacement by the indoor toilet. This means that there is no longer a pattern of contiguous users of the outdoor toilet and the wide diversity of terms probably reflects somewhat this physical separation.

No informant offered any vulgar term for the outhouse.

4.2.6 Food

(1) FOOD EATEN BETWEEN MEALS. The two common terms in Carbonear for a small amount of food eaten between meals are a snack and a lunch. These seem to be distributed on the basis of social class: all but one of the informants who responded in Group 3 used a snack, whereas no informant in this group used a lunch, a term elicited five times in Group 1. Usage in Group 2 was divided; all Protestants using a snack, all Catholics using a lunch. It appears that a lunch is the folk term, but that it is being gradually supplanted from the top by a snack, as people farther down the socio-economic scale begin to use lunch (without a preceding indefinite article) to mean a (light) midday meal.

Two other expressions were elicited. Informant 2 mentioned a bite in addition to a snack. Informants 1 and 23 spoke jokingly of a mug up [ə'mɔgˌʌp].

(2) BREAD WHICH IS BOUGHT. Twenty informants gave baker's bread as the name for bread which is bought rather than made at home. Informant 10 used baker's fog. Informant 22, now living outside Carbonear, used bought bread and reported having heard boughten bread ['bɑ:tn̩'brɛɔ̂:d] from Newfoundlanders.

Though there appears to be near unanimity in the use of the term baker's bread, two very distinct pronunciations of baker's and bread showed strong social correlations. The first pronunciation makes the first vowel of baker's equivalent to the vowel in bread. This sound may be described as a very tense, close-mid, front, unrounded monophthong with a long target position.[31] It is one of the most noticeable folk speech sounds[32] in Newfoundland, sounding quite different from the phone used in Newfoundland regional standard English, which sound has a higher target position followed by an audible rising glide. The two different sounds are phonetically [ɛɔ̂:], and [e˅I͡] or [ɛ^I͡]respectively. Specifically, all informants in Group 3, four younger and one older informant in Group 2, and one younger female informant in Group 1 used ['bɛ^I͡kəˌz̄] /bɛ́ykərz/, usually followed by [brɛd] /bred/. The other six informants who responded in Group 1, as well as two older, and one younger male informant in Group 2 said ['bɛɔ̂:kəz] /bɛ́hkərz/ followed in each case by

[brɛɹ:d] /brehd/.

The situation in Group 2 is typical. When members of this Group agree with Group 1 they are usually older and/or male; if they agree with Group 3 they are younger and/or female.

(3) UNSPLIT, SALTED COD. Nineteen informants gave rounder as the name for a small codfish salted round because it was too small to split. Informant 18b gave tomcod as a synonym for rounder, but informant 10 stated that a tomcod was smaller than a rounder. Only one informant, 7, gave leggie /légiy/ as an alternative word for rounder. No response for this item was received from two informants. Both were women under forty years of age who had attended university, spent several years outside Carbonear, and travelled widely.

(4) FRIED BREAD DOUGH. Informants were asked if home-made bread dough could be prepared for eating without being baked. Most informants agreed that such dough might be fried, but there was little agreement as to the name of the resulting flat "cakes".

Informants in Group 1 used three terms: (a) fried dough (three occurrences); (b) pancakes (two occurrences) and (c) gandies /gǽndiyz/ (one occurrence).

Informants in Group 3 used none of the terms elicited in Group 1 but instead used two different ones; namely, toutans /táwtənz/ (three occurrences) and damper-dogs /dǽmpərdàgz/ (one occurrence). The one informant who used both explained

that toutans are fried in a frying pan but that damper-dogs are fried directly on the surface of a stove (on a "damper", that is, one of the movable, usually round, sections of the top of a stove which burns wood and coal).

Informants from Group 2 used the widest variety of names: (a) toutans (two occurrences); (b) damper-dogs (two occurrences); (c) gandies(two occurrences); (d) pancakes (one occurrence) as well as three terms not found in the other two Groups; that is, (e) doughcakes (one occurrence), (f) grease-cakes (one occurrence), and (g) flapjacks (one occurrence).

This distribution may be seen most clearly in the table below. The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of occurrences of each term.

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
	damper-dogs (2)	damper-dogs (1)
	toutans (2)	toutans (3)
pancakes (2)	pancakes (1)	
gandies (2)	gandies (2)	
fried dough (3)		
	dough-cakes (1)	
	grease-cakes (1)	
	flapjacks (1)	

I feel that the small number of occurrences for each item does not warrant the drawing of firm conclusions regarding the distribution of any one item.

Toutans are a cheap food and were eaten much more in the

"hard days" of the past. Few people eat them nowadays as an economy measure; rather, they are eaten to satisfy an acquired taste, or as "something different". Nevertheless, they are a "low prestige" food item and would not likely be served to guests. These facts help explain why such a wide variety of names attaches to them.

(5) SALTED FAT PORK. Twenty informants stated that salt pork is the general term for all types of salted pork, and that the usual very fat kind used for scruncheons /skʌ́nʃənz/[33] is called fat-back pork ['fæt,bæk'pɔə̯k . Three informants explained that ham-butt pork ['hæm,bʌt'pɔə̯k] is another type of salt pork which contains more lean meat.

(6) SWEET LIQUID SERVED ON PUDDING. Nineteen informants gave sauce, /sahs/ (seventeen occurrences), /sɒ́hs/ (two occurrences), as the preferred name for any sweet liquid served with puddings or similar foods. This term was distributed evenly among the three Groups.

Three other terms occurred but rarely. Of these coady /kɒ́wdiy/ was the most common, occurring four times in Group 1 and the older half of Group 2, but being offered as an alternative for sauce except in the case of one middle-aged male informant in Group 1 who gave it as his only word for the referent. Syrup /sérəp/ was the only term elicited from informant 8, while informant 17 used it as another word for sauce. Molasses /məlǽsəz/ was the only term elicited from informant 11, but two others gave this word as an alternative to sauce and coady. Note that informant 9 and 10, husband

and wife, were the only persons to mention three terms; namely, sauce, coady, and molasses. This is typical of the fact that Group 2 informants often know more terms for a referent than do either Group 1 or Group 3, for their "middle" social position exposes them more to the usage of both of the other Groups. Compare 4.2.6(4) FRIED BREAD DOUGH.

Some informants use only one term, sauce. Molasses is used only to designate a sauce of boiled molasses. Coady is often used for the molasses sauce so as to distinguish it from sauce, which word then refers to any other type.

(7) INEDIBLE CENTRE OF APPLE. In Carbonear, as in regional standard Newfoundland English, core is the ordinary word for the inedible centre section of an apple. But other, more local terms exist alongside it.

The most common of these seems to be stump. This was the only word for this item elicited from three younger informants in Group 1. Informants 1 and 2 gave only kernel /kə́rnəl/. Informants 11 and 13 used stalk or stock /stahk/. Stump is probably more widely distributed than the above data would indicate, for I feel that some informants suppressed it in favour of the known standard word, core, the only word elicited in Group 3.

(8) SKIN ON BACON. All but one informant used rind,[34] /rəyn/ (twelve occurrences) /rəynd/ (ten occurrences), as the name for the skin found on bacon. No correlation could be found between any sociological factor and the distribution of /n/ versus /nd/ in the pronunciation of this word. Skin

was the term elicited from the single informant who did not use rind.

4.2.7 Various Attitudes and Activities

(1) NAMES FOR MALE SPOUSE. The following wide variety of names is used by women to refer to their spouses: my husband, (eighteen occurrences), the skipper (ten occurrences) the boss (ten occurrences), my man (six occurrences), the or my old man (five occurrences) and my hubby (four occurrences. In addition, six informants with whom I had developed a casual and relaxed relationship used the first name of their husbands. The collected data could support no conclusion concerning the distribution of any of these items. The use of the possessive, my, seems to convey little of the feeling of the speaker towards her husband but the definite article, the, can, when associated with other clues, suggest anything from deference through diffidence to coolness.

(2) NAMES FOR FEMALE SPOUSE. The following terms are used by men to refer to their wives: my wife (fifteen occurrences), the wife (ten occurrences), the missus (twelve occurrences), my woman (three occurrences), the woman (three occurrences), and the old lady (one occurrence). Three informants reported that they usually use the first name of their wife when addressing close acquaintances. No significant social correlations were noted in the distribution of any term. My and the seem to have the same connotations as were noted in 4.2.7(1) above.

(3) EXAGGERATED STORIES. The stories told for entertainment aboard vessels, on the wharves, and in local shops are usually called yarns. Men engaged in such a pastime are said to be "having a (good) cuffer /kʲfər/."

(4) MASQUERADING AT CHRISTMAS. Visitors who masquerade[35] at Christmas are said to be mummering /mʲməriŋ/ or jannying /jǽniyiŋ/. Such disguised visitors are called mummers /mʲmərz/ or jannies /ǰǽniyz/. All but five informants gave both terms as exact synonyms, sometimes with a comment on their relative distribution. Of those exceptions, the three who used only jannies were younger informants from Group 1, whereas the two who offered only mummers were older informants of Groups 2 and 3. The data, then, while not fully corroborating the claim by three informants that jannies is the more common term in Carbonear, does at least indicate that it is perhaps more widespread in Group 1, which is by far the largest of the three Groups in the community.

(5) SMALL AMOUNT GIVEN ABOVE THE QUANTITY PURCHASED. When selling "measured" goods, such as molasses, local storekeepers commonly used to give the customer a little extra over and above the quantity purchased. All but five of the youngest informants (all below age forty-four) knew the name or names for this item. These are tilly /tíliy/ and tally /tǽliy/. The former term was the usual one elicited in Group 1, the latter was the common form in Group 3, while informants in Group 2 agreed with Group 3 or gave both terms.

(6) ETHNIC MINORITY IN WESTERN NEWFOUNDLAND. There

exists in western Newfoundland an ethnic minority of mixed Micmac Indian-French origins. In Carbonear, as alsewhere in the province, these people are known as jackatars /ǰǽkətæ̀rz/ (in all but one case the primary stress fell on the first syllable). All but three informants knew some term for these people. Two of these three exceptions were a brother and sister whose mother was the only informant to use the "odd" term Indian jackatar. Besides the common word jackatar, the two forms brunet(te) and half-breed each occurred once.

(7) A RUSTIC. My informants stated that in St. John's, the provincial capital, (which is not situated in one of the large Newfoundland bays) a person from another coastal settlement is derisively called a bayman /béymən/, especially if his appearance or speech indicates rusticity. Other less general terms which they had heard were bav-wop /béywàp/, bay-noddy /béynàdiy/, outport man /áwtpɔ̀rt+mǽn/, and outharbour man /áwthæ̀rbər+mǽn/. Carbonear itself is an influential prestige community, but citizens of Carbonear do not apply any of the above terms to citizens of less important surrounding communities. Instead, specific derogatory terms exist for people from each of a few nearby subsidiary communities such as Victoria and Freshwater.

(8) ONE WHO CHANGES TO ANOTHER CHURCH. Turn-coat /tə́rnkɔ̀wt/ is the derogatory term applied to a person who changes his religious affiliations. This term seems to be distributed evenly throughout the community. A few informants explained that the opposing term of approbation is

convert /kánvərt/.

(9) NAMES FOR PEOPLE OF OTHER CHURCHES. The old rivalries between Irish and English have flourished in Carbonear as in the rest of Newfoundland. The ethnic division is paralleled fairly closely by a religious one of Protestant versus Roman Catholic. Thus, the more or less derogatory terms for people of different religious faiths reflect these divisions. The most common term elicited for Roman Catholics was micks /miks/. Mickies /míkiyz/ and R.C.'s /ár+síyz/ were also used. Names for Protestants included black Protestants /blǽk+prádəsənz/; horse Protestants, /hɔ́rs/ and /hǽrs/; and heretics /hérətiks/. Informants stated that all such terms had become less common during the twentieth century, and that this was especially noticeable for the last two decades (1945-1965), as a new spirit of goodwill and co-operation seemed to be developing in the community.

Local names exist for the Protestant denominations, but these do not necessarily carry any pejorative connotations. A member of the United Church of Canada is sometimes called a Methodist (collectively, The Methodists). For members of the Salvation Army we find the analagous term Salvationist (collectively, The Salvationists). The Anglican Church is sometimes referred to as The English Church.

(10) FRIGHTENING APPARITIONS. Ghosts ['gɔ̝ʊ̯stɪz], ['gɔ̝ʊ̯stɪz], [gɔus:], [gɔ̝ʊ̯st] and [gɔ̝ʊ̯sts], with eighteen occurrences, is by far the most common term elicited in Groups 2 and 3. Spirits, ['spɪɹ̝ɪts], ['spɛɹ̝ɪts] and

['spəˑ:ɪts] seems to be dying out: it was used by four informants above seventy years of age in Groups 1 and 2. Tokens, [ˈtoʊ̯kɪnz], was confined to Group 1. An informant explained that tokens are heard but not seen, while spirits may be visible. The present rarity of the local terms spirit and token as compared with the standard word ghost seems to reflect the increasingly low incidence of these phonomena in this century. One informant explained that the last one was seen in Carbonear some fifty years ago, while another stated that "spirits and ghosts went out with Responsible Government"; that is, in 1934.

A less ethereal, but no less frightening, apparition was the dress-up, [ˈdʒrɛsˌʌp], a person disguised as a ghost to frighten or even assault others at night. The twentieth-century decline of bitter ethnic, religious, and social class conflicts has perhaps ended such incidents permanently. Today, the word is very rarely used.

(11) THE EVIL ONE. The powerful influence of the churches in Newfoundland, reflected in such things as the province's educational system, is also evinced by the very large number of names (ten in all) for the Evil One which were elicited in Carbonear. Arranged in descending order of incidence, these are the Devil, the Bad Man, Satan, The Old Boy, the Old Fellow, The Black-man, Lucifer, Antichrist, the Serpent, and the Tempter. Use of some of these names seemed to correlate well with religious divisions within the community; for example, Satan was used only by five Roman Catholics,

the Bad Man only by six Protestants.

(12) BURIAL GROUND. Cemetery and graveyard are synonyms, each of which seems equally current in the community. A third of the informants used both terms. The only significant distributional pattern seems to be found among the persons who used only cemetery—these are concentrated in Group 2 and the older half of Group 3.

(13) PLAYING ON BROKEN SEA ICE. For centuries the spring breakup of ice in Newfoundland harbours has provided a thrilling pastime for boys. In Carbonear this leaping from "pan" to "pan" is called cockying /kákiyən/, or, less commonly, copying /kápiyən/. There seems little doubt that the former is the commonly "inherited" form in Carbonear, for most informants who used copying were older persons who stated that they had learned it as adults, usually from books (for the "standard" Newfoundland spelling uses this form). The occurrence of these two words shows strong correlations with sex: only five women knew either term while every male informant responded easily. Of these five women, only two used the local cockying; the other three used the literary (for Carbonear) copying.

(14) FINAL CONTAINER. Over half of the informants used coffin and casket as exact synonyms. Three older informants stated that the former was the older word and that the latter was becoming more common. This has been corroborated by casual listening and by an informant who gave the first

syllable of coffin, faltered, and changed the word to casket. One inforamnt gave only casket, whereas seven responses included only coffin, which therefore seems to be the commonly "inherited" form.

(15) A DIVE FLAT ON STOMACH. A variety of names exists for a dive in which the front of one's body hits the water horizontally. All such names include the morpheme {belly} as their first element. These are belly-smacker, belly-smack, belly-flopper, belly-whopper, and belly-splash. The rarity of each term and the lack of any generally current term is perhaps due to the coldness of Newfoundland waters which permits only a very short swimming season. Hence, swimming terms are used freguently only during short periods each summer, and thus lack the continual use needed to make them consolidate in the vocabularies of most persons.

(16) TO COAST LYING DOWN. In general, Carbonear seems to have no term for coasting while lying flat on one's stomach. Only one informant gave belly-buster as a strange term used in the neighbouring town of Harbour Grace in such sentences as "I'm riding belly-buster" and "I'm going for a belly-buster."

(17) COMMON BALANCING GAME. A plank placed across any convenient fulcrum--for example, a woodhorse (sawhorse)[36] or rock--enables children to play a familiar balancing game. This has two common names in Carbonear. One of these is seesaw, used by fourteen informants distributed evenly through Groups 1, 2, and 3. A consideration of each of these infor-

mants indicates that seesaw may not be the folk name for this item.

The folk name seems to be weigh-de-buckety. The term has various pronunciations:

(a) /wéy+dəbɸ́kətiy/ weigh de buckety

(b) /wéy+dìy+bɸ́kətiy/ weigh dee buckety

(c) /wéy+dəbɸ́kəl/ weigh de buckle

(d) /wéy+dìy+bɸ́kliy/ weigh dee buckley

(e) /wéy+dəbɸ́k/ weigh de buck

Only two informants, 10 and 14c, gave teeter-totter (in addition to another term). Informant 10, who was the only informant to grow up outside Carbonear, may have acquired it elsewhere; but she claims that it is a Carbonear word. Informant 14c, however, says that she acquired the word at a children's playground during a summer in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

(18) TO PLAY TRUANT. All informants used the verb mooch /muwč/, meaning "to play truant". The expressions skip school and play truant each occurred once. One half of the informants indicated that a noun moocher /múwčər/, could be formed by completing this sentence: "A boy who mooches is called a ____". Only one informant, who had attended school in England, selected truant. The rest stated that they knew no word which could complete this sentence. The youngest informant of all gave pip off as a modern equivalent for mooch. However, she stated that she had acquired this term outside Carbonear.

4.2.8 Home and Family Matters

(1) DEVICE TO CATCH RAIN FROM EAVES. The shallow troughs below eaves have two common names in Carbonear. In Groups 2 and 3 they are called gutters and this word seems to be superseding the word chutes /ʃuwts/, which was given only by Group 1 and one very old informant in Group 2. Less common terms elicited were drains[37] /ǰréynz/ (two occurrences), and troughs (one occurrence).

(2) THE BEST ROOM IN THE HOUSE. Fifteen informants ranging from 1 to 23 all gave living-room as the name of the room where the family sits with guests. Sitting-room was used by 11,(13), 14a, 18a, 18b, and 21. The three last are very definitely at the top of the socio-economic scale in Carbonear while 13 and 14a qualify financially, if not in other ways, whereas 11 qualifies in other ways, if not financially. Sitting room, then, seems to be a term used by older or socially isolating persons who are of the class which could afford such "unnecessary" rooms during and before the Great Depression. Many families for whom the kitchen was both living and cooking area now have houses of recent construction. These have been built mostly since World War II, a period in which living-room became common usage.

It should be noted that informant 18a as well as her son, 13, and her unmarried daughter, 14a, all used sitting-room, but that the son, being married, added a second term, living-room, which agrees with his wife's usage.

Informant 17, at the very top of Group 3, used only one

expression, drawing-room (explained by him as a shortened form of withdrawing room). Note that informant 17 is eighty years of age and that informant 18b, who is of the same social level but twenty years younger, gave drawing-room as an old term, stating that sitting-room is her own usage.

Three informants (2, 22, 23) mentioned parlour as an old word no longer used. Informant 22, daughter of 18b, stated that the parlour, not the sitting-room, was used only on very special occasions.

Only two informants, 5 and 7, used front room. Both are men, the former sixty years of age, the latter forty-eight. Both have practically no education and stand at the bottom of the socio-economic scale. Their wives, informants 6 and 8, used the ordinary living-room.[38]

(3) SHELF ABOVE FIREPLACE. Mantelpiece is the common term in Carbonear for the decorative structure, including the shelf, above and around the fireplace. Mantel is often used instead of mantelpiece especially when referring to the shelf itself. This habit seems most common in Group 2. Only the oldest informant, aged eighty-five, used mantelshelf when referring to the shelf only.

(4) STORAGE ROOM FOR FOOD. Pantry is the common word for the small room used for storing food. Only two informants in Group 1 used other terms: cupboard and store-room.

The common pronunciation of this word is /pǽnčriy/, but one informant in Group 3, who is a very careful speaker, used internal open juncture in this word: thus /pǽnt+riy/.

(5) WOMAN'S PROTECTIVE GARMENT. There is no doubt that apron is the usual word in Carbonear for the "garmet worn in front of body to protect clothes" by women working in the kitchen--all twenty-four informants used it.

Seven informants did not agree with the others in their pronunciation of the second syllable. The majority used four segments [prɪn] while the minority of seven produced three [pɚ n], the middle one being a central retroflexed vocoid.

Two informants, 14c and 21, gave pinafore as a second term. This does not indicate for certain that they acquired this word in Carbonear, for both these informants have travelled widely, lived for several years outside the community and the province itself, and, in addition, have married persons who are not natives of Carbonear.

(6) METAL PAN FOR FRYING. The flat-bottomed, metal pan used for frying was known only as a frying-pan to all but one of the informants. The lone exception, a woman from Group 3, stated that she had heard this article called skillet in Carbonear. However, her extensive travel and social contacts make her assertion much more suspect than that of a person from Group 1 would be.

(7) PLACE TO STORE CLOTHES. Clothes closet seems to be the ordinary Carbonear term for the little storage areas for clothing. Sixteen informants used it. Five others used closet without the qualifying clothes. Informant 2, who is eighty years of age, gave clothes room as the old term, and

clothes closet as the new one. The same pair was given by informant 6 (aged forty-four). From families which have been long-time members of Group 3 came the word cupboard. Informant 18a, now eighty-two years of age, used cupboard, as did 18b, sixty years of age, and her thirty-eight-year-old daughter, informant 22. An isolated example of this expression was found outside Group 3 in informant 14b, who gave clothes cupboard as an alternative to closet. It is noteworthy that this informant, being very conscious of social distinctions and something of a leader in community affairs, would have more than average contacts with those members of Group 3 who might use cupboard. Even more striking is the fact that a person who helped me select informants placed informant 14b in Group 3.

(8) LOWER HALF OF MAN'S SUIT. The man's "two-legged outer garment reaching from waist to ankles" is most commonly called pants today in Carbonear. All informants of Groups 1 and 2 gave pants as their own usage. Of these, informants 2, 7, 11, and 13 mentioned trousers also but said that it was an old word or was used by older people. In Group 3 two informants, 17 and 22, gave only the word trousers. The others, 18b, 18a, 19a, and 23, all volunteered statements to the effect that the word trousers is becoming rarer and that common usage is now pants.

Pants is an example of a word which seems to have entered the community through the majority of the common people and it has spread thoroughly to the bottom of the social scale.

However, the "better"[39] usage of the most isolated members of Group 3 has been little affected, for these informants are least concerned with modelling their language after the common mould.

(9) TO DON A GARMENT. The pronunciation of put in Carbonear has a dialectal variation in which the standard vowel [ʊ] is replaced by [ʌ]. The latter sound was used by only two out of the twenty-four informants. Both of these informants were from the Protestant-English section of Group 1, and both were above sixty years of age, with very little formal education.

From casual listening one infers that [ʌ] in put is more common than the two occurrences in the interviews indicate. It seems that this low incidence was caused by the fact that [ʌ] in put is one of the first items to be suppressed by a person trying to use a pronunciation closer to the "regional standard"—which is what I feel most informants were attempting to do during the formal interviews. One informant from Group 1 produced a rounded [ʌ] in put, thus [pɔt].

The voicing of [t] in the phrase put it on was evenly distributed throughout the informants with two occurrences in each group. Further listening indicates that the voicing of [t] in this context is a variable phonomenon: the same informant, on successive occurrences of this phrase, may produce a voiced stop in one and a voiceless stop in the other.

(10) THICK BUT LIGHT BEDCOVER. Eiderdown is the most common name for the light-weight but warm covering often

replacing the older style quilt which is now rarely made. Unlike the latter, which was home-made and quilted, the former is store-bought and stitched.

No response for this item was received from four informants. Of these, one was an eighty-year-old widower who had lived alone for several years. Two others were women, informant 18a, aged eighty-two, and her unmarried daughter. A response was received, however, from the son of 18a, informant 13, who is now married. The fourth was an illiterate male informant who did not in this case, as in many others, know his wife's terms for household articles.

No pattern for the six occurrences of comforter, a rarer term than eiderdown, seems obvious. Though the two older informants who used comforter, 2 and 18b, are at opposite ends of the social scale, they are both women and both have travelled--the former to work in New Hampshire and Massachusetts[40] as a young women, and the latter widely both in the north-eastern United States and elsewhere. The four other persons who used this term were younger women who had had no contact with the "North"[41] of the eastern U.S.A. and eastern mainland Canada where comforter is widely used. Perhaps the use of comforter in the ubiquitous mail-order catalogues explains its use by these young women.[42]

Three words were each elicited once. Only one informant used comfortable, a word derived from his mother, who could possibly have derived it from contacts in the eastern United States. Another term which occurred only once was puff.

Perhaps a hint of folk etymology is observable in liederdown, a word used only by one illiterate male informant of Group 1.

(11) WOMAN WHO DELIVERS BABIES. Midwife /mídwə̀yf/ is the term applied to a woman with only practical training who delivers babies. Such a woman with formal training would be called a nurse.

Two other words were very rare. Blending[43] of the above two terms can be seen in midnurse (midwife + nurse) a form elicited only once. The other rare term was granny, elicited from only one informant whose job has exposed him to a great deal of dialectal variation from outside the community.

(12) NAUSEA. The folk expression seems to be stomach-sick following the verb to be; for example, "He's stomach-sick, I'm stomach-sick " are typical examples elicited. This expression does extend into Groups 2 and 3, however. Sick stomach was also used in these Groups. It followed the verbs get, have and be, thus "I've got sick stomach, I have sick stomach, I'm sick stomach".

In the prepositional phrase construction, to was used five times by Group 2 and 3 informants. Two informants used in, one used at, instead of to, and in every case a possessive was used before "stomach".

A scattering of other terms appeared in addition to the main ones above. Two informants used upset stomach: an example of elicited usage is "I have an upset stomach". Another informant said "I'm nauseated /náhsiyə̀ehtəd/". Bilious was used by three informants who represent the top

economic level in Carbonear. The exclusiveness of this group is reflected in the fact that one of the three described bilious as the most common term in the community.

I feel that the variety of answers here depended largely on the attitude of the informant toward the field-worker. This item occurred late in the questionnaire; and where a relaxed relationship had developed, the informant was more likely to choose items further "down" the scale in his repertory[44]; for example, informant 21 said, "I have indigestion, I have heart-burn, I'm stomach-sick, I have gut-rot."

(13) TO EJECT FROM STOMACH THROUGH MOUTH. The terms elicited in descending order of incidence are: vomit /vámət/ (twenty-one occurrences); throw up (eight occurrences); spew /spyuw/ (three occurrences); puke /pyuwk/ (three occurrences); yuk /yʌk/; urge /ərǰ/; retch /reč/, and lose /luwz/, the last four occurring only once.

The connotations of these terms vary. Several informants stated that throw up is a modern euphemism for vomit and the more crude terms which were largely unmentioned. Perhaps the least offensive term is lose in such sentences as the one elicited: "I lost all my dinner". Only men used the cruder terms--no woman gave either spew, puke or yuk.

(14) "YELLOWISH VISCID MATTER PRODUCED BY SUPPURATION". Pus is the general term used throughout the three Groups. This word seems to have all but supplanted an older term matter, which was elicited from five informants above the age of eighty as well as the daughter and son of one of them.

The last three form the family group which has previously been mentioned as socially isolating.

Two other terms each occurred once. Humour /yúmər/ was used by an octogenarian. Gurry /gə́riy/ was used, perhaps analagously,[45] by an uneducated informant who had been a fisherman.

4.2.9 Miscellaneous

(1) TIME: FIFTEEN MINUTED BEFORE THE HOUR. Quarter to the hour, as in "quarter to eleven", is the expression current in Carbonear. A former wireless operator reported having heard Americans use a "strange" form; that is, quarter of. One resident of the community however, did use the latter expression. She was informant 10, the only informant not born in Carbonear, and she also has rare (for Carbonear) Scottish origins, her great-grandfather having come to Newfoundland from Ayre, Scotland. She herself was raised in a fishing village less than a dozen miles from Carbonear along the north shore of Conception Bay, and came to Carbonear at the age of seventeen. She stated that she was not sure if she said quarter of [ɑv] or quarter off [ɑ:f].

(2) WIND BLOWING HARDER. There seem to be three fairly common expressions to describe the phenomenon of a rising wind. Nine informants used the wind is rising, five said the wind is increasing, while four used the wind is coming (has come) up.

In other coastal Newfoundland communities with which I am acquainted, breezing up is often the usual expression;

in Carbonear, it was elicited only once. I was many times surprised by the general lack of nautical terms among the people of Carbonear--even among those who have been fishermen and seamen. In this respect the population of Carbonear is more like that of a larger urban centre than of a rural town.

(3) "TO CAUSE FOOD TO PASS DOWN ONE'S THROAT". Swallow /swálɸw/ is the only term now current in Carbonear, though rare relic forms exist. One of these is the variant pronunciation swalley /swáliy/, used only by two male informants in Group 1. The other is glutch /glɸč/, reported as an old, disused term by an elderly female informant of Group 1 who gave swallow as her own usage. Perhaps the verb glutch meant "to swallow with difficulty", although my data do not confirm this meaning.

(4) PRONUNCIATION OF EITHER. /iyðər/ seems to be well established as a very acceptable pronunciation of this word. It occurred six times in Group 3 and was found among the younger informants in all three Groups. The form /áyðər/ occurred twice as many times among older informants as among younger ones.

Here, I was not trying to elicit the pronunciation of the determiner, either, which is common in the folk grammar, as in "I don't have either book", and which corresponds to the standard, "I don't have a book". Rather, I tried to elicit a word to fill the blank in the sentence, "And I won't do it _____", suggested as a rejoinder to the assertion "I'm not going to do it".

(5) CONTRACTION OF WILL NOT. There are two pronunciations of won't; namely /wǫwnt/ and /wǫnt/. Occurrences of the former were twice those of the latter. Remarkably, every informant who used /wǫnt/ was male, and either older or from Group 1. This indicates that /wǫwnt/ has become the prestige pronunciation, and perhaps that women are more willing to conform to prestige usage on such small points. The male informants were generally much less meticulous than were the women.

Notes to Chapter 4

[1] For special usage of this term see W. Nelson Francis, The Structure of American English (New York, 1958), p. 32.

[2] See E. Bagby Atwood, The Regional Vocabulary of Texas (Austin, 1962), pp. 101-107.

[3] Atwood, pp. 38-77.

[4] Atwood, pp. 101-103.

[5] Atwood, p. 101.

[6] Atwood, pp. 104-119.

[7] Atwood, p. 105.

[8] Atwood, p. 105.

[9] Atwood, p. 106.

[10] Atwood, p. 106.

[11] Atwood, p. 106.

[12] Atwood, p. 106.

[13] Atwood, p. 107.

[14] The following is from Martin Joos, The Five Clocks, Part V, IJAL, XXVIII (1962), 16. "Finally, the community prefers the center of the scale: 'good' usage, not 'best'. It routinely rejects morbidly honest candidates for office, and the best English counts as the disqualification that makes a teacher."

[15] See rind also in 4.2.3 (7) and 4.2.6 (8).

[16] Ernest Rouleau, Studies on the vascular flora of the province of Newfoundland (Canada).-- I, II, & III (Montreal, 1956), p. 36. Rouleau found the following vernacular terms for Rhododendron canadense: (1) Bull's-eye, (2) Bull's-

tongue, (3) Gold-withy, and (4) Indian Tea.

[17] For special usage of this term see Joos, p. 13.

[18] For special usage of this term see Joos, pp. 18-19, 21-22.

[19] For special usage of this term see Joos, pp. 19-21.

[20] Rouleau, p. 30. Rouleau found the following vernacular terms for Gaultheria hispidula: (1) Capillaire, (2) Magnatea-berry, (3) Maiden-hair, and (4) Manna-tea-berry.

[21] Rouleau, pp. 36-37. Rouleau found that (a) Rubus chamaemorus is called Bake-apple,, (b) Rubus acaulis is named Dewberry, Ground Raspberry, or Plumboy, and (c) the names applied to Rubus pubescens are Ground Raspberry and Plumboy.

[22] See Joos, p. 16.

[23] No scientific identification was made.

[24] See 4.2.5 (3) LONG POLES FOR FENCES.

[25] See description in 4.2.3 (5).

[26] See 4.2.3 (4).

[27] See description in 4.2.3 (5).

[28] See description in 4.2.5 (7).

[29] See Hans Kurath, A Word Geography of the Eastern United States (Ann Arbor, 1949), p. 53 and F55.

[30] Francis, p. 32.

[31] See use of this term in Ilse Lehiste, Acoustical Characteristics of Selected English Consonants, IJAL, XXX (1964), 6.

[32] For special usage of this term see Kenneth L. Pike, Phonetics (ninth printing, 1964; Ann arbor, 1943), p. 53.

[33] Scruncheons are tiny cubes of salt pork fried until crisp so as to extract the fat. The extracted oil is used to fry other foods or is served (sometimes along with the scruncheons) on the famous Newfoundland dish, fish and brewis ['fɪʃən'bruu̯z]; that is, cod and cooked hard bread (hardtack).

[34] See rind also in 4.2.2 (2) and 4.2.3 (7).

[35] The disguise consists of wearing concealing clothing, covering the face, and changing one's speech by using an ingressive air stream for the production of all speech sounds.

[36] See these two terms in 4.2.5 (6).

[37] Drains (18 occurrences) is the most common term for the depressions by the roadside. Less common terms are ditches (6 occurrences) and gutters (1 occurrence).

[38] Note the very similar findings on this term in Kurath, p. 51.

[39] For special usage of this term see Joos, pp. 13-16.

[40] For terms used in these states see Kurath, pp. 13, 48, 61, and F89.

[41] For definition of this area see Kurath, F3.

[42] Compare Atwood, p. 112.

[43] For special usage of this term see Atwood, pp. 100-101.

[44] For discussion of language as repertory see John J. Gumperz, "Speech Variation and Study of Indian Civilization",

in Dell Hymes, ed., Language in Culture and Society (New York, 1964), pp. 416-428.

45 Gurry is an old term usually applied to (often decaying) offal of fish, including the slime (slub) and blood.

5. CORRELATIONS WITH NON-LINGUISTIC FACTORS.

In previous chapters correlations between linguistic and non-linguistic variations were often noted. Such correlations are summarized in this chapter.

5.1 Group

The most striking linguistic differences correlate best with the differences in Group, as defined in section 0.2.

The variations found in the sound system correlate well with the differences which I have subsumed under the term Group.

The speakers vary in their use of syllable peaks—loosely, the vowels— as described in section 3.2.1. Thus, system A was used quite consistently by most informants of Group 1 during the interviews. System B was used more or less in its entirety by four informants from Group 3, while the usage of the other four informants in this group closely approached system B. In Group 2, there was a much sharper division— the three older informants closely approaching system A, the five younger ones being very close to system B.

Other differences concern the distribution of consonant phonemes and their allophones. The chief of these are outlined in 2.4: (a) the substitution of /t/ and /d/ for /θ/ and /ð/ in many words spelled with th, (b) the glottalization of intervocalic voiceless stops (this includes stops followed by syllabic contoids), (c) the voicing of intervocalic stops, and (d) the use of the "clear" l [l̪] in

final and post-vocalic positions. The incidence of all these phonomena decreasss as one moves from Group 1 to Group 3. In addition, the three informants who consistently use "dark" l [ɫ] in final and post-vocalic positions are those who have lived for a number of years close to non-local dialects which have this feature.

Differences in certain morphophonemic[1] phonomena also correlate with Group differences. The {-ing} morpheme, an inflection of verbs, usually takes the phonemic shape /iŋ/ for most instances in Groups 2 and 3, whereas it is /ən/ in more than half the instances in Group 1. One must remember that these forms represent the careful usage of the interviews. The past tense morpheme, {-ed}, when manifested as /t/ or /d/, is never omitted as a final segment in codas kt, ft, st, nd in such words as cracked, laughed, passed, and phoned. Other words vary in their codas, sometimes having /t/ or /d/ after fricatives or nasals, but more frequently not, as in fast, raft, past, last, wound, and rind. Such ommissions occur more frequently in Group 1 and 2, but even in these two Groups a few careful speakers retain the /t/ and /d/.

Unlike /t/ or /d/, /s/ is not always retained finally in certain codas when it is the manifestation of a separate morpheme (inflecting a noun or a verb). Thus, over half of the informants have no final clusters consisting of /s/ plus voiceless stop plus /s/. Hence, the final /s/ is often "lost" in such words as gasps, posts, ghosts, and asks.

Less often, a vowel, /ə/, is inserted between the stop and the final /s/. A third and final variation is the loss of both stop and final /s/, with compensatory lengthening of the first /s/--thus, posts [poʊ̯s:]. Informants who retain final /s/ in codas sps, sts, and sks are usually better educated members of Group 3 and younger members of Group 2.

I can make less definite statements about the superasegmental phonemes and paralinguistic phonomena. However, differences are readily perceived in the speech of four informants who have had long periods of exposure to non-Newfoundland dialects. With these speakers, stress and intonation differ in perhaps non-phonemic but noticeable ways from those of the community norms. Tempo is also somewhat slower, and there is less use of high key (see 3.5).

Variations in grammar correlate very well with Group differences.

The grammar which is outlined in chapter one is essentially that used in ordinary speech by members of Group 1. Not all members of Group 1 use this system in its entirety, however. Two factors seem to cause changes. One is education; the other seems to be a desire to "improve" one's speech. The former has affected the grammar of informants 4,6, and 8; the latter that of informants 1 and 2. The other three informants of Group 1, all male, used the folk grammar naturally and with ease during the interviews.

In Group 2, all men except informant 15 employed many features of folk grammar in their speech.

In Group 3, finally, the one older and two younger informants who had spent several years outside Newfoundland dialect areas use Newfoundland regional standard grammar with comparative ease in conversation. Other informants in Group 3 have to make a more conscious effort to repress items of folk grammar.

Some items of folk grammar are abandoned more readily than others by a person who is making temporary (that is, stylistic) or permanent changes in his grammar.

In the nouns, the first change seems to be that from grammatical to natural gender, so that all inanimates (except vehicles) select the pronoun it. In the pronouns, the first forms to be abandoned are the accusative 'en /ən/, and the unstressed first genitives "me" /miy/, yer /yər/, and der /dər/. Among speakers who have the plural ye /yiy/, this item is retained much longer, perhaps because of its greater usefulness in making a distinction which the standard pronouns cannot make and because it fills a "hole" in the inflectional paradigm. Despite the logical superiority of hisself and theirselves[2], these two items are replaced by the standard forms himself and themselves, usually before the loss of ye.

Among the verbs, the first change consists of the abandoning of a few specific, widely condemned shibboleth forms. These include bees and haves in the non-past, and the use of sot, sove, eat, give, and come as the past. Along with this, the pronunciation of does changes from /duwz/ to /dɨz/, but

without change in the function of the word—that is, it remains the sole non-past form of the lexical verb do. Later, it appears that separate forms are used for the past participle and the past of strong verbs; for example, ate and eaten divide the function of the folk form from column III--eat /iyt/. At about this stage, the auxiliaries have and do each "divide" so that the four forms have, has, do and does /dʒz/ occur, whereas the -s forms do not yet regularly follow the third person singular, as in "good"[3] standard Newfoundland grammar. Were begins to occur alongside was. The last change seems to occur in the non-past: the restricted patterning of the -s in the standard grammar (only with the third person singular) seems to remain very awkward for many speakers, who always appear uncomfortable when omitting any -s in the non-past.

A customary sequence of changes can also be seen in other grammatical classes of words. One of the earliest changes is that of the forms of the determiners e'er /er/ and n'er /ner/ to either /iyðər/ or /iydər/ and neither /níyðər/ or /níydər/. However, once these new pronunciations are adopted for either and neither they are retained as determiners—see 1.4 (3)—in the grammar of all informants, except in very careful usage of three younger informants who have been exposed for long periods to non-local dialects. Double negatives are rarely used in careful speech by most informants in Group 3 and the younger half of Group 2. The intensifier some, however, is rarely completely suppressed.

Persons from non-Newfoundland dialect areas sometimes use some (as in, It's some hot) as a shibboleth to identify standard speakers as Newfoundlanders.

There are a number of vocabulary differences which one can associate with Group differences. The following pairs of words exemplify this fact. In each case, the first word of each pair may be associated with Group 1, whereas the second is used most frequently in Group 3. Often, the usage in Group 2 is divided or varies with stylistic variation. The pairs given below have been discussed individually in section 4.2, Selected Semantic Categories. Some pairs are: a lunch--a snack, coady--sauce, tap--faucet, chutes--gutters, brin--burlap, stump--core (of apple), tilly--tally, and troughs /črɒwz/--troughs /črahfs/.

5.2 Age

There are fewer correlations with age than with Group. However, Group 2 can often be divided on the basis of age. In many cases, the usage of the older informants in this Group agrees with that of Group 1, whereas the usage of the younger is like that of Group 3. This is no doubt partly due to the better education which younger members of Group 2 have received. It is also an indication of the accelerated linguistic change now occurring in Newfoundland.

Some vocabulary items show correlations with age. In each pair below, the first word may be associated with older, the second with younger, informants: trousers--pants, privy--

outhouse, and stable--barn. The following words were used by older informants only: kronik, rampike, granny (midwife), and spirits (ghosts).

5.3 Ethnic Origins

The terms Irish and English are used very loosely in this thesis. There has been almost no immigration to Newfoundland in the past century, and my terms refer to ancestry. Reference to Irish speech should be taken to mean Anglo-Irish and not the Celtic language of Ireland.

It may seem strange that any linguistic differences between English and Irish should have persisted over such a long period, for English and Irish were in Carbonear three centuries ago and more than a century has passed since the last significant numbers of immigrants arrived. There are several explanations however.

Perhaps the strongest is geographical separation. Many of the Irish settled in peripheral areas to thewest of the town where large areas of land were readily available. Here, children grew up with insufficient contact with children in the town to produce normal levelling of linguistic differences. The geographical division was reinforced by religious and racial rivalry, and economic inequality. In 1755, for example, Roman Catholics were fined for attending mass. The centre of the old town around the fortified height of Harbour Rock Hill long remained a centre of Protestant bigotry. The pattern of Protestant owner-employer and Catholic user-employee persisted for a long time. In addition, the break-

down of a system of state schools into the present one of "denominational education", based on religious differences, was completed late in the nineteenth century, so that separate schools have helped preserve linguistic differences in this century.

However, the linguistic differences between English and Irish are less marked among the younger informants than among the older. Today, the closer geographical positions of the two large ethnic groups, their improved social and economic relationships, and their greater mobility have caused a rapid levelling of linguistic differences. From casual listening and comments by informants I infer that the differences may be insignificant among the very young. In some cases they are not noticeable among adults.

For reasons explained in 0.2, any conclusions based on differences between Irish and English have less statistical reliability than those based on Group or sex.

In the sound system, there are some items which are characteristically Anglo-Irish, although the English have acquired some of them, to a lesser extent, through long association. One is the regular use of "clear l" in post-vocalic and final positions (as in milk and bill). Another is the strongly aspirated release of final /t/. The informant with the most marked Anglo-Irish speech used a strongly aspirated dental [t] where the standard speakers use [θ] in words spelled with th, such as theatre and path.
Informants of Irish descent often have less nasality and less

tense articulation, which in turn causes a less strident voice quality. This, coupled with a general rounding and lowering of mid and back vowels, helps produce the characteristic "warmth" of Anglo-Irish speech.

The grammatical gender system of nouns described in 1.2 seems to be largely confined to the English. Thus, informants of Irish extraction often use it where those of English origins use 'en. Hence, one hears both "Put 'en dere" and "Put it dere", "Leave 'en alone" and "Leave 'im alone".

A few words may show ethnic correlations. Longers seems Irish, lungers English. (Dandelion) posies was used by Irish informants only. Satan was a Catholic term, The Bad Man a a Protestant one.

A few set expressions are characteristically Anglo-Irish: "'Tis yerself, is it? This is Billy doin' the talkin'." My Irish informants used "Good evening" at times of the day after midday when the English said "Good afternoon".

5.4 Sex and Other Factors

Though linguistic taboos exist, I did not search systematically for them. Within the limits of the questionnaire, little evidence of taboo words was found. All men used some single word meaning "to castrate", whereas some women used a euphemistic circumlocution, stating that they never used any single word for this notion. In addition, none of the crude terms for the verb vomit (that is, spew, puke, and yuk) were elicited from a woman.

As one might expect, men knew more terms connected with the sea and the fishery. Some of the words rarely known by women are killick, floating stage, barbel, and dabber. That women are less involved today in the "making" of fish is evinced by the fact that not one younger woman knew the term hand-barrow.

Women seem to be more meticulous speakers than men of the same age, education, and Group. Small points of pronunciation often reveal this--all seven elicited pronunciations of won't as /wɒnt/ were by males.

Correlations with occupation were seen in a few words known only by persons closely acquainted with the fishery. These include puddick, gurry, barbel, and dabber (see 4.2.3 The Fishery).

A few family groupings were included among the informants. These consisted of three husband-wife pairs, a brother and sister along with their mother, and an uncle and his nephew. By and large, usage of the "families" agreed with that of the "isolated" informants. Only a few items with very limited distribution reveal correlations with these small groupings.

Informant 7 and 8, husband and wife, were the only ones to use the terms stable loft and goat's yoke. Informants 17 and 21, uncle and nephew, were two of the three informants who offered the terms dragon-fly and capillaire--see 4.2.2 (9). Informants 18b and 22, mother and daughter, were the only informants to use the term second crop. They were

also two of the four persons who gave minnows and needles (of a conifer). They were two of the three women who knew killick. They were also the only two informants in Group 3 who used the term property.

Several correlations were noted in the family group consisting of brother, 13, sister, 14a and their mother, 11a. The mother and daughter were the only women who knew the term floating stage. Neither of them could name a comforter or eiderdown, and they were two of the three persons who used the word cuffer—see 4.2.7 (3). The brother and sister were the only informants below the age of eighty who used the term matter (meaning pus), and they were two of the three informants who did not know the word jackatar—see 4.2.7 (6) All three—brother, sister, and mother-- employed the rare terms sitting room and Number Nineteen—see 4.2.5 (13).

Greater correlation was found within blood relationships than within marriages. Perhaps this indicates that most of the informants' vocabulary was learnt during childhood and adolescence rather than after the age of marriage.

As we have seen, the differences which correlate with age, ethnic origin, and sex are relatively minor and incidental. The most striking and basic variations correlate best with social, economic, and educational differences. An aggregate of all linguistic variations would divide the informants into two main divisions: the first consisting of Group 1 and the older half of Group 2; the second being made up of Group 3 and the younger half of Group 2.

Notes to Chapter 5

[1] This term is used here in roughly the sense given it by the transformational-generative linguists, such as Noam Chomsky. See note in H.A. Gleason, Jr., Linguistics and English Grammar (New York, 1965), p. 226.

[2] See Martin Joos, The Five Clocks, Part V, IJAL, XXVIII (1962), 15.

[3] For special usage of this term see Joos, p. 13.

GEOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

A visual impression of Carbonear formed by a visitor in 1827 forms a largely applicable description of Carbonear today. This description is found in Edmund William Gosse, The Life of Philip Henry Gosse (London, 1890), page 33:

> It was a much more considerable place than he had expected to find. The number, respectability, and continuity of the houses ..... made up a scene very different from the desolation which ..... the lad had imagined of Newfoundland. It was early summer, too; fields and gardens and potato-patches mapped out the sides of the hills which formed an amphitheatre around the long lake-like harbour.....

The second of the two following maps indicates the central location of Carbonear in the most densely populated part of Newfoundland, the Avalon Peninsula. This map indicates points of historical interest and was issued in 1947 by the Department of Natural Resources of Newfoundland (St. John's) to commemorated the four-hundred-fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of Newfoundland by John Cabot in 1497.

The first map indicates the pattern of roads in Carbonear. The name of each road may be found by matching its number on the map with that found in the following numbered list of roads and streets. The water features are similarly marked with capital letters. This list may be consulted in connection with most of the lexical items found in 4.2.1, The Landscape.

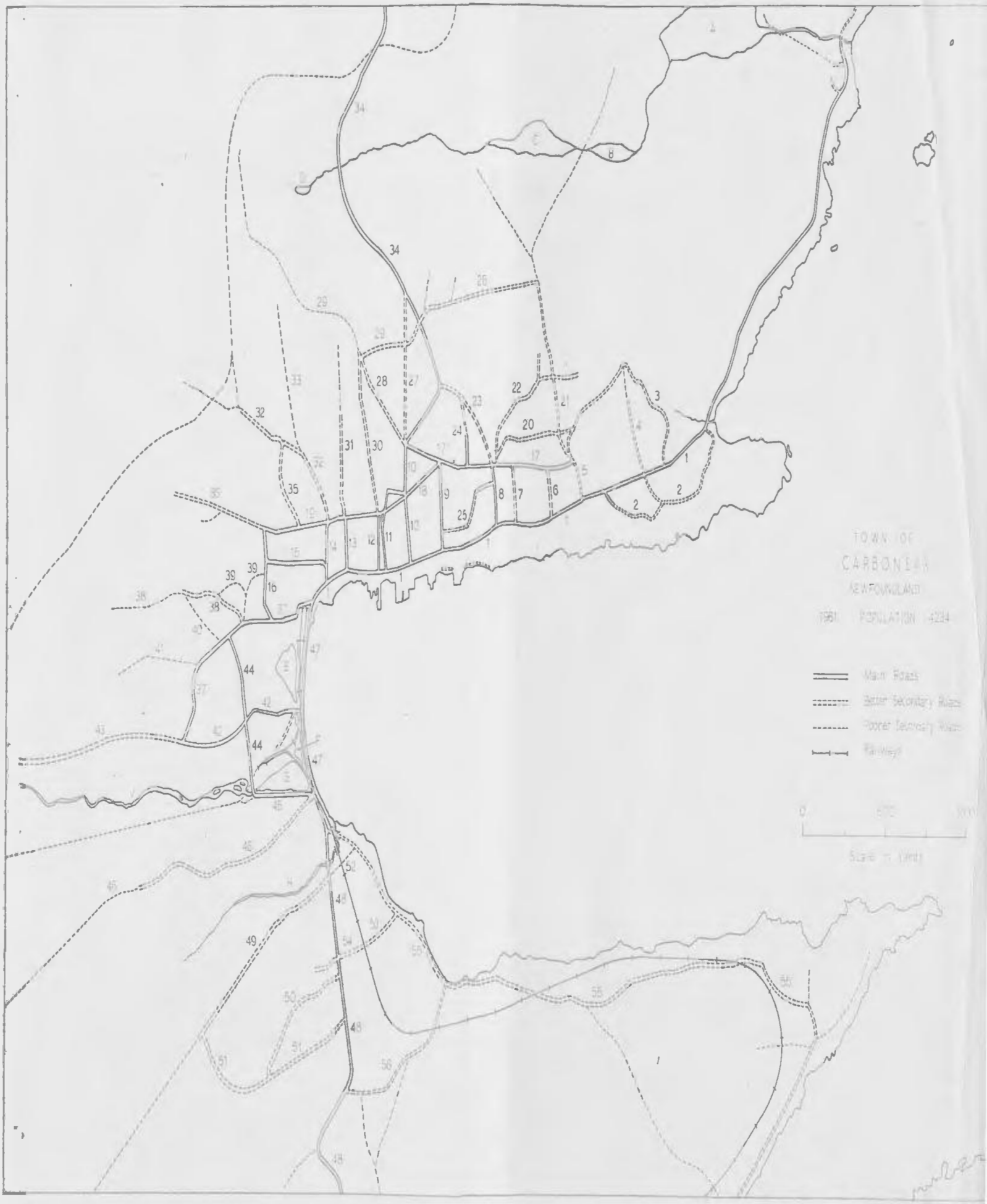
List of Streets and Roads

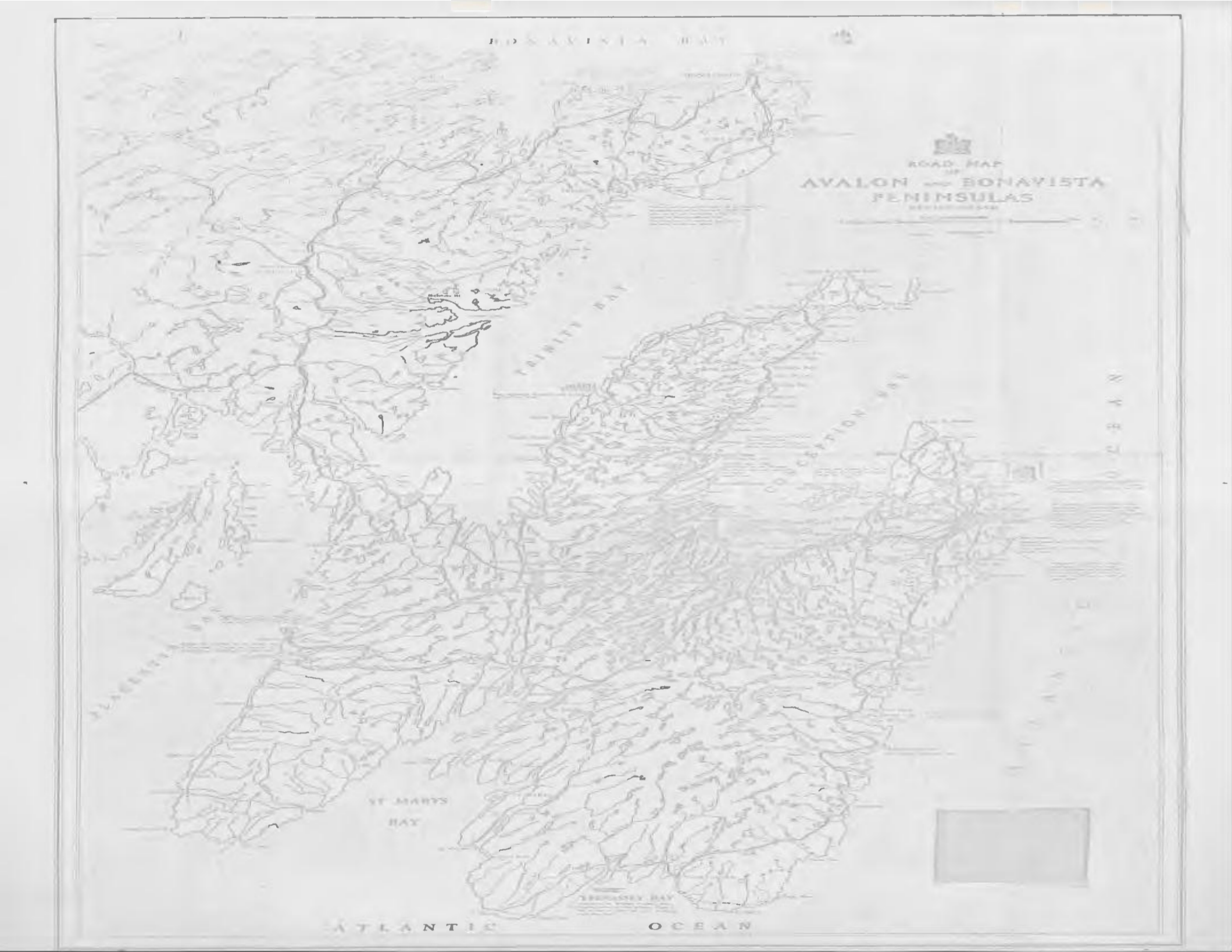
1. Water Street (west end at 37)
2. Burnt Head Road
3. Cole's Lane
4. Sutton's Hill; Rye's Lane
5. Joe Taylor's Lane
6. Burns Lane
7. Quarters Lane
8. Captain Frank's Lane
9. United Church Firebreak
10. Bond Street (changes to 34 at 17)
11. Gould's Lane
12. Musgrave Street; Old-post-office Firebreak
13. Bannerman Street; Old-courthouse Firebreak
14. O'Donnovan's Lane
15. Patrick Street
16. Haden's Lane
17. Lemarchant Road; The Back Road (from 10 to 5)
18. Russell Street (from 12 to 9)
19. Crowdy Street; The Back Road (from 16 to 12)
20. Across The Doors
21. Liberton's Hill
22. Long's Hill
23. Burden's Hill
24. Green Lane
25. Masonic Avenue
26. Hoyles Hill
27. Bennet's Hill
28. Moores Hill
29. Tyres Drung
30. Bemester's Hill
31. Connolly's Hill
32. Bunker Hill
33. Squibb's Hill
34. High Road North (to Heart's Content via Victoria)
35. Drakes Hill
36. Chapel Hill
37. Adelaide Street
38. Irish Town Road
39. Fury's Lane
40. Stantford Lane
41. Gladstone Road
42. Pike's Lane (from 37 to 47)
43. The Valley Road (to Heart's Delight via The Line Road)
44. Cross Roads (from 37 to 45)
45. Pond Side
46. London Road; The Long Drung
47. (Across) The Beach (from 37 to 46)
48. High Road South (to St. John's,via Harbour Grace)
49. White's Road
50. Jane's Lane

51. Earle's Lane (Thomas's Lane)
52. Butt's Road
53. Park Lane
54. Walsh's Lane (from 48 to railway)
55. The Lower Road
56. Driscoll's Lane

Water Features

A. Freshwater Pond
B. Black Duck Pond
C. Lily Pond
D. Martin Murphy's Gully
E. Carbonear Pond
F. Three Corner Pond
G. Rossiter's Pond
H. Powell's Brook
J. Island Pond Brook


TOWN OF
CARBONEAR
NEWFOUNDLAND
1981 POPULATION 4234
Main Roads
Better Secondary Roads
Poorer Secondary Roads
Railways
0
Scale 1 Mile


ROAD MAP
OF
AVALON — BONAVISTA
PENINSULAS
BONAVISTA BAY
TRINITY BAY
PLACENTIA BAY
ST MARYS
BAY
ATLANTIC
OCEAN

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