

This paper originally appeared as:

Paddock, Harold. 1982. Newfoundland dialects of English. In *Languages in Newfoundland and Labrador*, Second Version, ed. Harold Paddock, 71-89. St. John's, NL: Memorial University of Newfoundland.

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NEWFOUNDLAND DIALECTS OF ENGLISH

Harold Paddock

1. Introduction

Newfoundland dialects of English have been a great source of pain and pleasure. As a teenage Newfie bayman from western Notre Dame Bay I felt a bit of the pain in Toronto. There my pronunciations of *cash* and *dash* as *caish* and *daish* brought howls of laughter from my classmates; and my teacher tried in vain to make me distinguish pairs of words like *heart* and *art*. On the other hand, my tape-recordings of the old people from my native island (from Beaumont and Lush's Bight on Long Island in our Green Bay District) are an unfailing source of inspiration to me. Newfoundlanders have always joked about their own dialects. You have all heard the one about the American hunter in Newfoundland who was amazed at the size of the things that his local guide called *ponds*. When the American asked what would be called a "lake" his guide said that a "lake" would be a hole in the bottom of a *tay-kittle*.

Our dialects have given rise to the most fruitful misunderstandings. Let me give an example. One day when I was small in Beaumont North my buddy and I were going to the well for a *turn of water*. Suddenly my friend halted to ask me if I had ever heard the old saying "Wher dere's a well dere's a way". I acknowledged that I had indeed heard it. He then declared that he had just realized that this saying was "some true". "Did you", he concluded, "ever see a well dat didn't 'ave ne'er pat' goin' up to 'en'?"

I now invite you to dip into the well of your will for the will you will need to follow my path through this article.

2. Social versus Regional Dialects

Traditional studies of dialects have concentrated on regional differences in speech. Thus the investigator would interview older persons who had always lived in the local area so as to minimize possible influences from other regions; he would also ensure that his speakers were poorly educated and of the working or "peasant" classes so that the influence of the standard language would be

minimal. However, something of a revolution took place in dialect studies in the 1960's when William Labov turned his attention away from rural regional dialects towards urban social dialects. In his now classical study of New York City speech (1966), Labov showed that several variable features of New York English correlated closely with such factors as the age, sex, socio-economic class and ethnic origin of speakers.

At almost exactly the same time I was doing a dialect survey of Carbonear, Newfoundland (see Paddock, 1966), in which I showed that many variants in Carbonear English were closely related to such social factors. My main conclusion was that socio-economic class and age were the two factors that correlated most strongly with speech variation in Carbonear. Thus the main dialect "boundary" divided all of the lowest class plus the older half of the middle class, on the one hand, from all of the highest class plus the younger half of the middle class, on the other hand. This reflected perfectly the social and economic changes since confederation with Canada in 1949, for the younger people of the middle class had by 1965 acquired the education and ambitions of the highest socio-economic class in Carbonear. The effects of sex (male vs. female) and ethnic origin (Irish vs. English) were found to be much smaller.

However, we know that if I had been able to study Carbonear when it was first settled, I would undoubtedly have found that ethnic origin was the chief correlate of language variation, because the Irish (from south-eastern Ireland) and the English (from south-western England) must have sounded very different from one another when they first arrived in Newfoundland. But in Conception Bay the more than three centuries of contact between Irish and English have led (despite religious and cultural differences) to the blending of Irish and English elements into distinctly Newfoundland dialects. For example, I have heard sturdy "English protestants" from Conception Bay complain that they were always identified as being Irish when travelling outside Newfoundland.

From more recent evidence, it appears that I would have found greater sex differences in language if I had studied a Newfoundland community which was more rural than Carbonear. This evidence comes from research done by two of our graduate students (see Gerald Reid, 1981; and Wade Colbourne, in preparation) in two widely separated rural communities on the east coast of Newfoundland. Both students found unusually wide dialect differences between men and women of the older generations. This makes perfect sense because we know that in rural Newfoundland the normal social difference between the sexes was reinforced by social distance (compare Trudgill, 1974, pp. 84-85). In other words, most men in rural communities were forced to leave home for several months each year in order to make a living. As George Story (1967) has correctly pointed out, men in rural Newfoundland were very mobile indeed. In the spring they went *swilin* (either sealing locally or to the *seal fishery* at the *front*) and, more recently, *in on the drive* (getting pit-props and pulpwood down the rivers in the spring runoff). In summer many went north to the seasonal cod fisheries "down on the French Shore", "down on the Labrador", or in the Straits of Belle Isle. "The fall of the year", the time of the *making* and *shipping* of fish, was the only season of the year that some men were at home. The winter would see them off again cutting firewood and timber "in the country" or building vessels on some well-forested bit of coast and, more recently, "workin in the lumber woods". This seasonal mixing of men from various parts of Newfoundland and Labrador must have done much to blend the different dialects of the original settlers into distinctively Newfoundland dialects. It also led to an extremely non-standard type of men's speech which women

often tried to correct in their children. One type of men's speech was so rapid that outsiders would never recognize it as English (see Hollett, 1977). The remarkable mobility of Newfoundlanders has been largely a matter of economic necessity which has persisted into the present, as is confirmed by the 1980 Economic Council of Canada report on the Newfoundland economy. However, such forces as centralization, general education, new patterns of employment, and new socio-economic roles for women have all helped to reduce the difference between the speech of males and females in the younger generations.

It is apparent then that social dialects may differ as much as do regional dialects. Indeed, in General Canadian English (i.e., from Ontario to British Columbia) the range of social dialects may be greater than the range of regional dialects. We have seen that social dialects are related to such factors as age, sex, ethnic origin, degree of ruralness, and socio-economic class (the latter being based on education, income, etc.). We have also seen that social dialects can change rapidly in a rapidly changing society, such as Newfoundland has become since confederation. We can summarize by saying that since confederation the regional, ethnic, and sex differences in Newfoundland English have been reduced; whereas the socio-economic class differences have no doubt been elaborated with the development of several new middle classes in Newfoundland society. And to a certain extent we have seen the conversion of certain regional, ethnic, sex, and rural/urban dialect features into social dialect features. Thus an English ethnic feature, such as the giving of masculine grammatical gender to inanimate count nouns such as *coat* ("*He* looks some good on ya! Why don't you buy '*en*'?"), may now be regarded merely as a lower class or incorrect way of speaking. But as recently as 1965 one of my "Irish" informants in Carbonear pointed out several such features to me as being distinctively "English".

3. Historical Sources of Regional Dialects

The work being done by our human geographers at Memorial University (see e.g., Mannion, 1974 and 1977) has been a source of inspiration to me in my dialect research, for it has suggested that we might be able to find dialectal evidence to support their findings on patterns of migration to Newfoundland and within Newfoundland.

In 1974, therefore, I secured a Canada Council Research Grant to undertake a Preliminary Dialect Mapping of the Island of Newfoundland. My research assistant, Brenda Renaud, and I investigated 69 coastal communities by listening to tape-recordings from which we extracted information on 46 linguistic features (21 on pronunciation, plus 25 on grammar). We chose mostly older, rural speakers because we were particularly interested in the origins of Newfoundland's regional dialects in this project. In 1976, a further grant allowed me to employ Philip Hiscock who expanded the survey to 72 communities and filled in many gaps in our data.

From our data we have chosen for mapping 21 features (12 on pronunciation plus 9 on grammar) which seem to reveal significant regional patterning. These 21 features are listed in Appendix III of this paper. When we compared all 21 maps we found that several maps revealed the same or similar

boundaries between regional variants. This led us to the conclusion that the eight main regional dialect areas along the coast of the Island of Newfoundland are as follows (see map in Appendix I):

- D1 English-North
- TA1 Conception Bay and/or St. John's Area (roughly communities 24 to 30A)
- D2 Irishized Avalon Peninsula
- TA2 Placentia Bay (roughly communities 39 to 47)
- D3 English-South
- D4 Southern West Coast
- TA3 Corner Brook Area
- D5 Northern West Coast

The letter D indicates focal dialect areas whereas TA indicates transitional areas between certain pairs of focal areas. The three main TA areas are due either to greater standardization of English within the TA or to different sources of settlers across the TA or both. The gradual yielding of one dialect variant to another across a TA emerges clearly on some maps. A good example for TA1 appears on Map P10 (see Appendix IV) where the pronunciations of L after vowels changes gradually from all "dark" English types at community 21 (Deer Harbour on Random Island, Trinity Bay) to all "clear" Irish types at community 30 (Freshwater Valley of St. John's). The reverse change from all "clear" L in community 38 (Branch) to all "dark" L in community 48 (Lamaline at the foot of the Burin Peninsula) occurs across TA2. The predominance of "clear" pronunciations of L after vowels (in words like *bill*, *belt*, *full*, *bulk*, *call*, *salt*) between TA1 and TA2 helps define the dialect area D2, the Irishized Avalon. In particular, the fact that the "clear" pronunciation is the principal one from community 33 (Portugal Cove South on the Southern Shore) to community 40 (Argentia) concurs with Mannion's claim (1974, p. 23) that this stretch of the Southern Avalon was settled almost exclusively by south-eastern Irish, though the Irish did settle in significant numbers elsewhere on the Avalon Peninsula and in smaller enclaves outside the Avalon (see Handcock, 1977, pp. 30-32). One such Irish enclave is represented by community 2 (Conche) on Map P10. Evidence exists (see Foster, 1977) that many of the Irish spoke no English when they arrived in Newfoundland and that the last (bilingual) speakers of Irish Gaelic in Newfoundland died early in the twentieth century. Virginia Dillon (1968) confirms that many Irish words and expressions have survived in the Southern Avalon. The "clear" L symbols (triangles on Map P10) in area D4, the Southern West Coast, represent two different non-English sources of settlers. These are speakers of Highland Scots ancestry in communities 58 and 59 (Highlands and Sandy Point) and of French ancestry in communities 61 and 62 (Black Duck Brook and Long Point, both on the Port-au-Port Peninsula).

The reader will have guessed by now that "clear" pronunciations of L after vowels (post-vocalic L) were brought to Newfoundland almost exclusively by non-English settlers (i.e. Irish, Scots and French), while "dark" pronunciations were brought almost exclusively by settlers from England. Though most of the English settlers brought "dark" postvocalic L with them they brought two rather different "dark" pronunciations of this L. One was a "dark" contoid (sounding like a true consonant) and the other was a "dark" vocoid (sounding more like a vowel or semi-vowel, often like *w*). In Newfoundland the former is more common at the ends of words (as in *bill*, *full*, *call*) whereas the latter, which we might call the vocalization or loss of L, is more common before consonants (as in *belt*, *bulk*, *salt*). However a glance at Map P10 shows that we found a higher frequency of the "dark" vocoid (circle symbol) in area D3, English-South, than in area D1, English-North. This can be explained in the following way.

We know that in England the "dark" vocoid L has been advancing for a long time from the south-east of England (where it is very common in Cockney and other dialects) into the south-west of England, the area which provided nearly all the English settlers in Newfoundland. We also know that the vocoid L would spread first to the urban areas in the West Country from which it would subsequently spread out into the rural areas (see Trudgill, 1974, pp. 158-160). In fact, by the middle of the twentieth century the "dark" vocoid L still had not penetrated most of the rural areas of south-western England (see Orton and others, 1978). This linguistic evidence allows us to support Hancock on three important points.

First, Hancock claims that many English settlers in Newfoundland were not rural "peasants" but rather townspeople with skilled trades. This is supported by the rather high incidence of "dark" vocoid L, which, as we have explained above, was a more urban type of pronunciation in the West Country. Secondly, Hancock claims that Newfoundland received more settlers from the eastern part of the West Country (i.e., Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire, and Hampshire) than from the western part (i.e., Devon and Cornwall). The minority presence of vocoid L in area D1, English-North, supports Hancock's claim because it was into the eastern parts of the West Country that vocoid L first penetrated (see Orton and others, 1978). There exists additional support for these more eastern origins in the form of other pronunciation and grammar features, as well as in vocabulary (see Orton and Wright, 1974). Thirdly, the majority presence of vocoid L in parts of area D3, English-South, supports Hancock's claim that the migration to the south coast reached its peak at a distinctly later date than that to the east coast. Since vocoid L has been spreading gradually into the West Country over a long period of time, we can assume that settlers who came at later dates would bring more vocoid L than those who came at earlier dates. To summarize, we can associate the "dark" vocoid English L with three factors – more eastern sources of settlers in the West Country, more urban sources, and later dates of migration to Newfoundland.

Sometimes the distribution of a dialect feature is exactly the opposite of what we might expect. For example, on Map G2 (see Appendix V) we note that the two areas with fewest English settlers, namely D2, the Irishized Avalon, and D4, the Southern West Coast, have a more standard rule of grammar for pronouns than do the two areas with most English settlers, D1 and D3. Thus in the more English areas we often hear the subject form of the pronoun used as a stressed object as in:

"Don't give it to he, give it to she!" This kind of unexpected situation is found elsewhere in the English-speaking world. For example, the English of Cornwall is in many ways more standard than that of Devon (see Wakelin, 1972, p. 16), despite the fact that the Cornish Celtic language was spoken until the eighteenth century in Cornwall. Another example is found in Scotland where Highland Scottish English is more standard than Lowland Scottish English (see Trudgill, 1974, pp. 63-64), despite the fact the the Highlanders have been speaking English for a much shorter time than the Lowlanders. It seems that when a people give up their language (as Irish Gaelic, Scots Gaelic, and French speakers did in Newfoundland) to learn English they are likely to learn the most standard form of it which is available to them. This gives them advantages (or at least a moral advantage) over the native speakers of English with whom they are forced to compete. In this context, we may note that the district of Newfoundland which has had the highest rate of literacy throughout our history is St. John's East (see David Alexander, 1980) and that this district has strong Irish origins. These facts, plus the concentration of the Irish on the Avalon Peninsula, explain the distinct Irish flavour in many older speakers of what Professor William Kirwin of Memorial University calls Newfoundland Regional Standard English. The weakening of this flavour in Newfoundland Standard English represents both a loss of independence and a loss of beauty.

4. Mysteries of Dialect Mixing

As indicated above, other linguistic evidence (besides the pronunciation of L after vowels) indicates that the more westerly half of south-western England (i.e., the Cornwall-Devon-West Somerset peninsula) was not the major source of English settlers in Newfoundland. One piece of evidence is the rarity of the distinctively Devon rounded palatal vowel in words like *school* and *moon*. This vowel, which sounds much like the vowel in French *lune* 'moon' or *lutte* 'struggle', might be expected to make *school* sound like *skule* or *skewl* in Newfoundland. In our Preliminary Dialect Mapping of Newfoundland we found only 10 (widely scattered) speakers out of 93 with such Devon-type pronunciations. Vocabulary evidence also supports the theory of heaver migration from the eastern half of south-western England (i.e., from Dorset, East Somerset, Wiltshire and Hampshire). For example, of the 44 maps which show an east-west vocabulary distinction in the West Country in *A Word Geography of England* (Orton and Wright, 1974) a majority show that Newfoundland has the more eastern word rather than the more western word. In some cases, of course; Newfoundland has both words such as western *haps* and eastern *latch*. But we should treat such evidence with caution for several reasons.

One is that more often a linguistic feature is shared by most of the West Country. For example, the word *pooks* was still used for 'hay-cocks' in most of the rural West Country of England in the mid-twentieth century. Another reason is that the regional variants are not always divided into east and west in the West Country. For example, *The Linguistic Atlas of England* gives both *noon* and *noan* as southern pronunciations of 'none' in the West Country of England and we do find both these pronunciations in Newfoundland. In addition, we note that some distinctively Dorset features are rare in Newfoundland English. One is the use of the unstressed auxiliary verbs *da* 'do' and *did* for making general statements such as the following:

- (1) I *da* wear a heavy shirt all year round.
- (2) My father *did* wear a heavy shirt all the time.

Instead, our Newfoundland vernacular tends to use *I wears...* in sentence 1 and *My father usta wear...* in sentence 2. No doubt Dorset *da* lost out to the suffix *-s* in Newfoundland because *-s* was used in most of the other West Country counties as well as in Anglo-Irish of southeastern Ireland. Finally, we note that the Devon settlers were often early settlers in Newfoundland and that they concentrated in the St. John's area where their linguistic influence was weakened by numerous other and later settlers and by standardization.

When various dialects mix as they have done in Newfoundland the results are often quite unpredictable. For example, the mix along much of the north shore of Conception Bay has produced a loss of R after vowels (before consonants and at the ends of phrases) whereas in most of Newfoundland there is no such loss of R. Perhaps four factors combined to weaken R in that area. One was that parts of the West Country deleted R before certain consonants (particularly *s* and *th*) – for example, William Barnes (1886) reports this fact for Dorset. A second factor is that Jersey French deleted R before a different set of consonants (particularly *l* and *n*: see Spence, 1960, p. 12) and Handcock notes (1977, p. 29) that Conception Bay received a significant number of Channel Islanders as settlers. A third factor may have been Irish: a uvular R similar to the standard French R has been reported from Waterford, a main Irish port for the Newfoundland trade, and R-dropping dialects are reported from Dublin itself. A fourth factor may have been the knowledge that Standard British English and New England English both "drop the R" after vowels.

Some Irish features have gained wide usage in Newfoundland English. One of them is the *after* form of the perfect aspect of the verb in *Look what I'm after doin now!* which has spread rapidly despite its several English rivals such as *I've done*, *I've adone*, *I bin done*. Strangely enough, it appears that its rapid spread was partly due to the fact that the West Country English brought to Newfoundland an identical form with an opposite meaning. Thus in Ireland *He's after insultin you* means that he has insulted you whereas in the West Country of England it means that he wants to insult you or is trying to insult you. It appears then that Newfoundland English found itself with the same form having two opposed meanings. Perhaps this explains why I have recorded sentences like the following in Newfoundland English: *I don't know what to be after doin to please me new boss*. Here we see the English meaning of 'trying to do' rather than the Irish meaning of 'having done'.

As Dillon (1968) has pointed out, Anglo-Irish has a very rich vocabulary of insult and sympathy. Of all these words perhaps the one which was adopted most quickly by the English in Newfoundland was the word *angishore* (from the Irish Gaelic *aindeiseoir* or *ainniseoir* 'an unfortunate, a wretch'). No doubt this was due to its sound because to the English, who dropped and added H quite regularly, it seemed a highly appropriate name for weak and miserable men who "hang ashore" instead of going out fishing.

It therefore appears that any linguistic element (whether word, pronunciation, or grammatical form) survived or flourished in Newfoundland English only if it served some real purpose or could be

fitted into the developing systems of the local dialects. One elegant system which developed here out of English and Irish elements was the splitting of the verbs *do*, *have* and *be* into two verbs – one full or lexical verb, the other an auxiliary verb. In our vernacular, the lexical verb takes -s in the present tense while the auxiliary does not. This yields the following patterns:

	<u>Lexical</u>	<u>Auxiliary</u>
DO (present tense)	They <i>doos/does</i> their work.	<i>Do</i> Mary work here? Yes, she <i>do</i> . No, she <i>don=t</i> .
DO (past tense)	They <i>done</i> their work.	<i>Did</i> Mary work here? Yes, she <i>did</i> . No, she <i>didn=t</i> .
HAVE (present)	I <i>haves/has</i> a lot of colds most winters	<i>Have</i> she finished? Yes, she <i>have</i> . No, she <i>haven=t</i> . OR: No, she <i>(h)an=t</i> . She= <i>ve</i> done it before.
HAVE (past)	I <i>had</i> a lot of colds last winter.	<i>Had</i> she finished? Yes, she <i>had</i> . No, she <i>hadn=t/hadn=</i> . She= <i>d</i> done it before.
BE (present)	It <i>bees</i> cold here in the winter. Do it <i>be</i> cold here? Yes, it do (<i>be</i>). No, it don=t (<i>be</i>).	<i>'Tis</i> cold here now. <i>Is</i> it cold here? Yes, > <i>tis</i> . (etc.) No, > <i>tidn=</i> . (etc.)

5. Conclusion

This article gives the barest sketch of Newfoundland dialects of English and of the kinds of insights into our past and present which they can provide. For further information the reader is referred to the following items listed in the bibliography at the end of this paper: Story (1967); Paddock (1966 and 1977); Dillon (1968); Seary, Story, and Kirwin (1968); Noseworthy (1971); Kirwin (1968 to 1980); Reid (1981); Clarke (in this book); and Colbourne (forthcoming). We particularly look forward to the publication (expected in 1982) of the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* by George Story, William Kirwin, and John Widdowson.

What of the future of Newfoundland English?

Despite some evidence (see Clarke, in this book) that Newfoundlanders have more language loyalty than do most linguistic minorities, we can expect continuing erosion of Newfoundland dialects. It seems that the vocabulary is most vulnerable. If a word no longer refers to anything, because of changes in our way of life, it will disappear quickly. Certain striking nonstandard features of pronunciation are also dropped quickly if speakers are conscious of them. One example is the pronunciation of *born*, *form*, etc. to rhyme with *barn*, *farm*, etc. This was such a widespread feature of Newfoundland English that we found it among older speakers in 50 of our 72 communities in our preliminary survey described above, but it is now disappearing rapidly. Because of its highly systematic, useful, and economical nature, the local grammar seems most resistant to change. Thus I hear *haves* and *doos* being changed to *has* and *does* without any change in their grammatical functions. I also hear *Give 'en to me* being changed to *Give 'im to me* rather than to *Give it to me* when referring to an inanimate object such as a book, pencil, or shovel.

Even if our speech becomes homogenized with General Canadian we will still have the dialect evidence fossilized in our place names (see Seary, 1971) and our surnames (see Seary and Lynch, 1977).

But I do not believe that our dialects will ever be reduced to such relics. They will have to be soaked for centuries in the fresh water of General Canadian before *ivery las' bidda salt laves 'um*.

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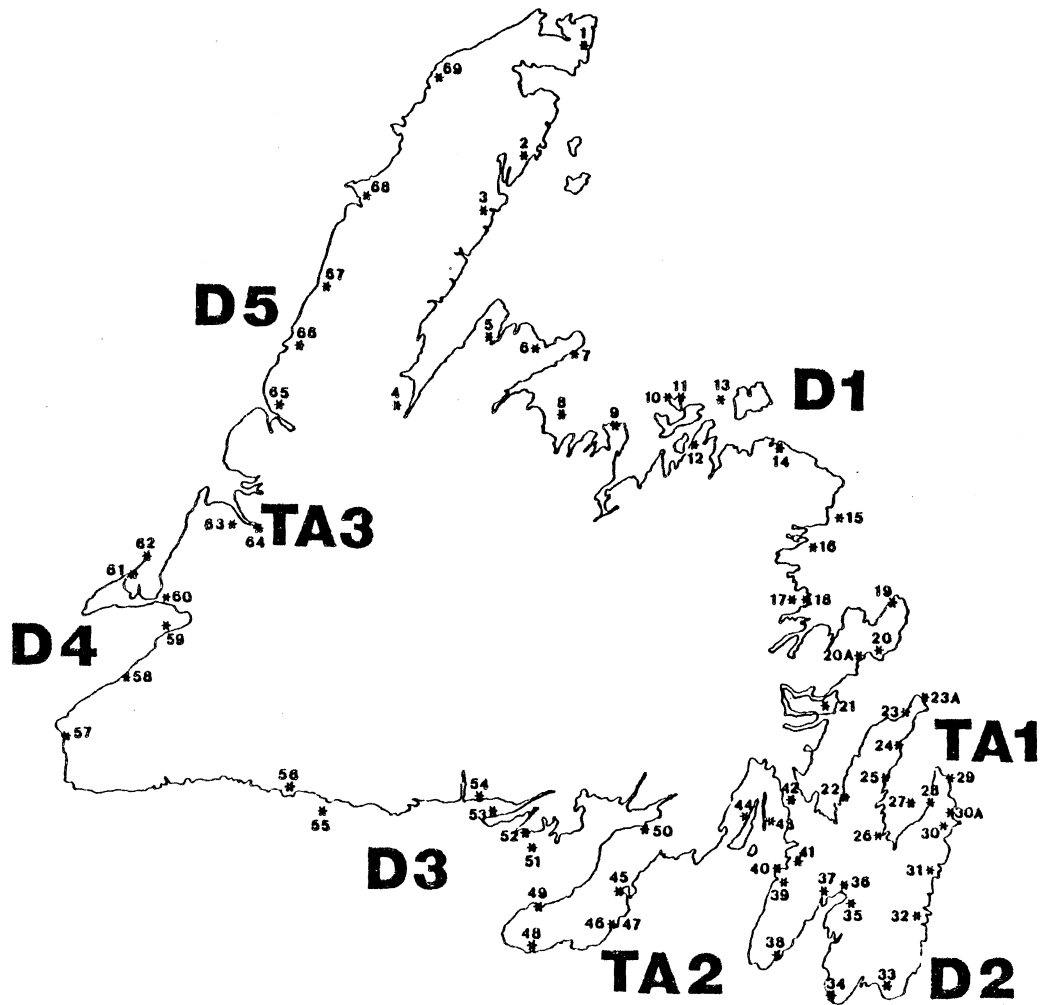
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Appendix I

Locations of the 69 Primary Communities



Appendix II

Numerical Key to the 69 Primary Communities

1.	St. Lunaire	34.	St. Shotts
2.	Conche	35.	St. Joseph's
3.	Hooping Harbour	36.	Mount Carmel
4.	Brown's Cove	37.	Colinet
5.	Baie Verte	38.	Branch
6.	Brent's Cove	39.	Placentia
7.	Shoe Cove	40.	Argentia
8.	Beaumont	41.	Fox Harbour
9.	Norther(n) Harbour	42.	Little Harbour East
10.	Twillingate	43.	Harbour Buffett
11.	Durrell	44.	Tack's Beach
12.	Boyd's Cove	45.	Little Bay
13.	Change Islands	46.	Burin
14.	Musgrave Harbour	47.	Long Cove, Burin
15.	Greenspond	48.	Lamaline
16.	(Locker's) Flat Island	49.	Grand Bank
17.	St. Chad's	50.	St. Bernard's
18.	Salvage	51.	Sagona Island
19.	Bonavista	52.	Harbour Breton
20.	Champneys	53.	Round Harbour
20A.	Trinity	54.	Pushthrough
21.	Deer Harbour	55.	Ramea
22.	Green's Harbour	56.	Burgeo
23.	Old Perlican	57.	Millville
23A.	Grate's Cove	58.	Highlands
24.	Kingston	59.	Sandy Point
25.	Victoria	60.	Stephenville
26.	Cupids	61.	Black Duck Brook
27.	Bell Island	62.	Long Point
28.	Portugal Cove	63.	Curling
29.	Flat Rock	64.	Corner Brook
30.	St. John's, Freshwater Valley	65.	Rocky Harbour
30A.	St. John's City	66.	Cow Head
31.	Witless Bay	67.	Daniel's Harbour
32.	Calvert	68.	Port Saunders
33.	Portugal Cove South	69.	Flower's Cove

Appendix III

List of Map Titles

PHONOLOGY MAPS (twelve)

- P1. Contrasts of the /oy-ay/ type
(Does *toy* rhyme with *tie*?)
- P2. Diphthongs of the /ay/ type
(The vowels of *bright*, *bride*, etc.)
- P3. Diphthongs of the /aw/ type
(The vowels of *clout*, *cloud*, etc.)
- P4. Contrasts of the /eH-ey/ type
(Does *made* rhyme with *maid*?)
- P5. Fate of Middle English Long /ɛ:/ and /e:/ and short /I/
(Does *sea* rhyme with *see*? Do *heal*, *heel*, *hill* rhyme?)
- P6. Fate of Middle English Short /ɛ/
(Does *bet* rhyme with *bit*?)
- P7. Fate of Middle English Long /o:/ and short /U/
(Does *fool* rhyme with *full*?)
- P8. Fate of Middle English Long /o:/
(The vowels of *boat*, *home*, etc.)
- P9. Lip Rounding of Vowel Phoneme /v/
(Rounding of vowel in *cut*, *punt*, etc.)
- P10. Post-vocalic /l/ allophones
(The pronunciation of 'l' after vowels)
- P11. Occurrence of [h]
(Is >h= added, or "dropped", or both?)
- P12. Voicing of Non-Initial Anterior Fricatives
(The voicing of *f/v*, *th*, *s/z* in medial and final positions)

Appendix III (continued)

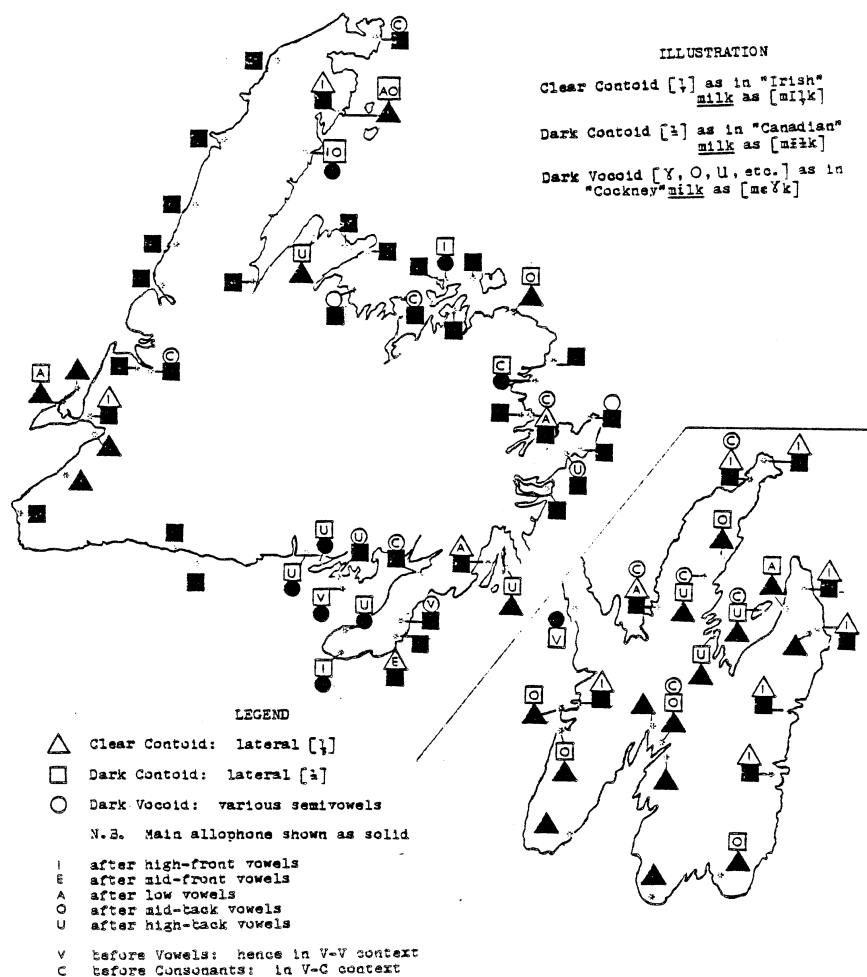
GRAMMAR MAPS (nine)

- G1. Referents of Masculine Singular Pronouns
(Do *he* and *'en* refer to things which have no natural gender?)
- G2. Stress Contrasts on Object Pronouns
(Are subject forms used as stressed objects?)
- G3. Form of the Perfect Aspect of Verbs
(Forms such as: *I've done*, *I've adone*, *I bin done*, *I'm after doin*)
- G4. Present Tense of HAVE
(Main verb *haves*, auxiliary verb *have/'ve*, etc.)
- G5. BE forms as Surface Finite Verbs with initial /b/
(Uses of present *be/bees* and past *bin/been* as apparently finite verbs)
- G6. Forms of Past Tense of COME
(Distribution of *came* and *come*)
- G7. Forms of Past Tense of GIVE
(Distribution of *gave*, *gove*, *gid*, *give*)
- G8. Forms of Past Tense of KNOW/GROW
(Distribution of *knew/grew*, *knowed/growed*, *know/grow*)
- G9. Forms of Past Tense of SEE
(Distribution of *saw*, *seen*, *seed*, *see*)

Appendix IV

MAP P10 ALLOPHONES OF POSTVOCALIC L

(The pronunciation of /l/ after vowels)



Appendix V

MAP G2 STRESS CONTRASTS ON OBJECT PRONOUNS

(Are subject forms used as stressed objects? YES or NO)

