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DEDICATION

2012 marks the 30th anniversary of the publication of the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English (DNE)*, probably the most celebrated volume ever to have emerged from this province. Thirty years after its appearance, its importance remains undiminished. To commemorate this milestone, *RLS 23* is dedicated to the Dictionary's three editors: Drs. William Kirwin, John Widdowson, and the late George Story. Fittingly, each of the editors is represented in this issue. George Story's "View from the Sea," originally published in 1990, calls for new approaches to the documentation of Newfoundland place names – a call that remains equally challenging today. William Kirwin's history of approaches to the study of regional differences in Newfoundland English shows that this investigation remains far from complete. And in an interview with English Language Research Centre Manager Suzanne Power, John Widdowson reminisces about his *DNE* fieldwork, and suggests directions for future lexical research.

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THE VIEW FROM THE SEA NEWFOUNDLAND PLACE-NAMING*

George Story

Summary

Five hundred years of European exploration and settlement have left the Island of Newfoundland with a dense historical palimpsest of English, Irish, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Basque place names. The work of the late E.R. Seary, interrupted by his death in 1984, displays in exemplary fashion, a method of collection, presentation, and analysis of these names, and provides the foundation for their systematic study. The present paper suggests other complementary methods of collection and analysis in the context of semi-sedentary settlers, and the topography of the coastal settlement and marine resource area.

LET ME BEGIN WITH the metaphor of looking at a map of any long settled country as “a palimpsest of layer upon layer of toponymic writing, some of it very faint, half obscured or half erased, and all of it still being written upon by new generations of name-givers” (Nicolaisen 6: 47). The metaphor attracted my eye because it summoned up the memory of a time, more than thirty years ago, when the late E.R. Seary and I, having roughly sketched out what we intended to set our hands to in the study of Newfoundland names and the language of Newfoundlanders, but before we had actually worked out the precise allocation of the tasks, we spent long afternoons, armed with a powerful hand-lens, extracting place-names from the sixteenth-century maps of the Island which afford the earliest evidence of the Island’s nomenclature. Only the Plancius map of 1592, I recall, and a small world map in Hakluyt’s *Principal navigations* of 1599, showed Newfoundland as a whole, and this a century after the Cabot discovery. For the most part, the early maps depict it as part of a mainland, or as

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a shifting archipelago; the names that we laboriously transferred to cards (going again over the documents studied by Harrisse, G.R.F. Prowse, and Ganong) indeed suggested the palimpsest image with their oddly layered record of Portuguese, French, Spanish, and Basque names. These became increasingly anglicized in the seventeenth century as “The English Shore” of the Island, stretching from Cape Bonavista to Cape Race, emerged as an area of effective English jurisdiction.

The slowness of this emergence of the island identity of Newfoundland reflects the goals of those European voyagers upon whose reports the early maps were based, and also the complex motives of the map-makers themselves. The discoverers were, for the most part, on their way somewhere else – the Cabots to Cathay, for example, and Cartier too, until his exploration of the Gulf led him to what he eventually identified as a great continental river. As for the map-makers, “nobody”, Admiral Morison remarks (Morison 1971: VIII), “has yet penetrated the secret of how the maps were made”: they are “eclectic compilations [...] at two or more removes from the original pilots” logbooks or sketches; as works of the study they often graft new materials on a traditional stock derived from older prototypes reflecting an inherited cosmology (Skelton 1962: 296); and the heavy proportion of loss among them makes the *cartology* of the Island (to use a term coined by Prowse to meet the need for a word to denote the study, as opposed to the making, of maps) an esoteric, almost a priestly, study – the realization of which may have had its part in determining my own particular direction towards the less speculative field of lexicography; and Ron Seary proceeded on his part of the enterprise in a manner which will be familiar, in part at least, to some of those present.

His work displays, in exemplary fashion, a method of collection, presentation, and analysis of Newfoundland place and family names which provides a foundation for their systematic study. Yet the methods he adopted did not emerge full-fledged, but rather over a period of two decades; and he was interrupted by death in 1984 as he was in the midst of what was to be the crowning work of all; and it is to these things that I turn first under the general rubric of the given title, “The View From the Sea: Newfoundland Place Naming”, though there will, from time to time, be a glimpse of the interior of the Island and of Labrador as well.

The view from the sea is the only view we catch of Newfoundland in the sixteenth century, and indeed much later than that. The characteristic documentation is to be described not so much in terms of Wayne Franklin’s Discoverers, Explorers, Settlers typology (Franklin 1979) as in the navigator’s “card”, the “ruttier” or pilot’s description of a coastline with bearings; that, I suppose, explains the long-lived archipelago shape of the Island on maps – a

land mass of 43 000 square miles so deeply indented by great bays and indentations that the sea view of the 6 000 miles of coastal perimeter is largely one of stretches of water. The Europeans on, or off, that shoreline were fishermen, migrating annually to their “grounds”, actually out of sight of land unless engaged in a sedentary fishery which required the processing of the catch on shore before the autumn voyage home. “In the long run”, I. Wallenstein argues (Wallenstein 1974: 42, 44), “staples account for more of men’s economic thrusts than luxuries”. Fish was such a staple in the sixteenth century, and it is remarkable how quickly and easily the Newfoundland fishery, richer than the gold mines of Mexico and Peru it was said, and may be true (Quinn 1982: 9), was absorbed into the commercial life of Atlantic Europe without permanent settlement. Easy, too, to understand why such settlement was slow to develop and took the peculiar form it did (a subject I will return to later).

Gillian Cell (Cell 1982: 110) has explained the phenomenon by its contrast with the two essential models of successful European overseas exploitation. One was the factory, permitted at first on sufferance by a stronger power, which allowed the European to work his way into the established trade of the Far East, developing into a fortified base from which it was possible to organize production and take over and redirect these trades. The other was the agricultural settlement of the Americas, created in the absence of pre-existing trade, by which the European brought land into production through the labour of the native people or of imported slaves. The early seventeenth-century effort to settle Newfoundland, she argues, failed because it could conform to neither of these models. “No tobacco as in Virginia. No sugar as in Barbados. No fur trade, as in New England. There was only fish” (Cell 1982: 110). And fish, to be profitable, did not require settlement until well into the eighteenth century, by which time we find the remarkable fact that in 1763, when the total wintering population of Newfoundland had risen to between 11 000 and 12 000, the summer population was still around 24 000. In the winter, then, Newfoundland held one in eight of the Europeans who then lived in what is now present-day Canada; in the summer close to one in every four (Head 1976: 141) –, and all of them on the narrow coastal perimeter.

It is this that explains why E.R. Seary’s first major place-name study of the toponymy of the Island of Newfoundland (Seary 1959), a volume entitled *Sources*, consisted entirely of a bibliography of maps, from the 1500 chart of Juan de Cosa, a Basque who was one of Columbus’s pilots, to the Canada National Topographic Series, 1,25 inches to 1 mile sheets (1954-1959); and that three quarters of the list are coastal maps only, with the first to display a real, as opposed to an imaginary inland feature, dated 1768.

It would have been an interesting, and defensible, procedure for a scholar with Seary’s lively historical sense to have adopted, as a principal of

presentation, the toponymic history of the Island as it happened. But he was surely correct in deciding to begin with the contemporary evidence, the modern names; and this he proceeded to do in his second substantial volume, devoted to the place-names of the Northern Peninsula of the Island (Seary 1960). The area was chosen, I recall, partly for its size (about seven thousand square miles) and its history: Cartier was an early explorer here on his first voyage in 1534; the French presence over many years was evident in nearly twenty percent of the names, and James Cook had made some of this first great coastal surveys here between 1763 and 1770. The volume was issued in an edition of no more than a hundred copies, for it was thought of as experimental. The bulk of the space is taken up with an alphabetical gazetteer of some one thousand names, with description, position, pronunciation, in some cases, citations of the name in chronological order from the sources, linguistic, interpretative and other commentary for certain entries; the whole is introduced by a compact essay dealing with the history of the imposition of the names, and their structure. The basic raw material for the gazetteer was, of course, that provided by the maps of the National Topographic Series, and this, incidentally, led to the omission from the list of what, a year later, was to become the most famous of all the place-names of the peninsula: the tiny settlement of l'Anse aux Meadows where Helge and Anne Stine Ingstad uncovered the famous Norse settlement (Ingstad 1977, 1985).

The Northern Peninsula, essentially a pilot study, established a clear and workable method of reference, citation, and commentary, but it gave only a partial hint of the work which was to follow on the place-names of the Avalon Peninsula of the Island (Seary 1971). This area had been the subject of an ethno-linguistic study which Seary, W.J. Kirwin and I had been asked to undertake in 1958 by Jacques Rousseau of The National Museum of Canada, and had completed in 1961 (Seary *et al.* 1968). As the oldest settled part of the Island, and the best documented, it provided us with a good subject for a more holistic enquiry than any one of our special interests afforded, and I think that this helps to explain the particular distinction of Seary's book on the toponymy of the peninsula. In general form, the Avalon book resembles the Northern Peninsula study: alphabetical gazetteer and index of place-names; historical, descriptive and analytical introductions; sources and bibliography. But in each of these features the book has the fullness and richness of a magisterial scholarship which, within its stated limits, could not be better; and added to this is a display of the author's particular familiarity with this part of the Island, and its people as well.

This last matter perhaps explains Seary's decision to provide next what no one else had attempted: a study of the family names of the Island of Newfoundland, at first conceived as an ancillary tool for the identification of

their appearance in the names of both features and settlements, but soon expanding beyond this to meet the intrinsic interest of the names themselves. He treats some three thousand of these names, taken from the 1955 *Official List of Electors*, arranged in the alphabetical form of a dictionary, and tracing their linguistic origin and meaning, their geographic origins in Europe and elsewhere (the southwest of England and southeast of Ireland being especially notable), their historical occurrence and location in Newfoundland, and their modern status. The Preface speaks of the book as “an introductory, pilot chart” (Seary 1976: VII). It is much more than that, though it was produced in a mere six years, and it resides with the Bible in innumerable Newfoundland households, and the voluminous file of slips, of which the published work is a selection, remains a prime archival resource for the many students who have taken up, and are advancing the subject.

The preparation of printed supplements for successive re-issues of the family name volume fully occupied Seary until around 1979 when, now in retirement, he once again took up the task of completing his work on place-names, the desiderata being the names on the South Coast, the West Coast to the start of the Northern Peninsula, the Northeast Coast from the bottom of White Bay to the isthmus of Avalon, and the interior. The work-in-progress stopped approximately halfway along the NTS maps of the first of these, the South Coast, but the Northeast Coast had been completed and so had the east-central interior of the Island by the early spring of 1984.

It is proper, when a scholar of Seary’s distinction who has initiated a great work but is no longer available to tread “in his own giant steps” (Duckert 1971: 65), to ask both how he might have completed it, and how others might usefully address the enterprise and carry it towards final form.

It is clear that a single, consolidated gazetteer of the Island place-names was originally envisaged, with an appropriate apparatus; that the maps of the NTS would have provided the raw materials for, and also set the limits of, this completed toponymical study. It seems unlikely that the detailed scale of the Avalon volume could have been sustained for the whole Island by a single scholar with anything less than several decades to devote to it; and much of the kind of description, discussion and analysis which fills the introductory first half of the Avalon book, and enriches it, would have had to be reserved for a separate narrative account and analysis of the whole body of place-name data. Certainly the unpublished files for the work, which have been preserved and sorted, afford opportunities for numerous kinds of study – particularly the history of the impositions – and will be immensely useful to other students interested either in the original plan and methodology, or in complementary approaches.

The goal of completeness must always remain a tormenting dream for the student of a nomenclature which spans five centuries, and it is perhaps true to say that the results of the published Newfoundland work to date, rest on the decision to confine attention for the most part to names with a printed documentary authority: maps, charts, the narratives of travellers, printed reports, and the like. Yet in the parallel study of the lexicon of Newfoundlanders, my colleagues and I (Story *et al.* 1982: XXVI) found that, in the end, not less than fifty-eight percent of our sources for the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* was drawn from other types of evidence: Field notes, questionnaire responses, taped recordings, and unpublished documents. What I wish to do is to suggest that we can often dispel the obscuring fogs of place-name study by the recovery of this kind of fresh “documentation”, and I select two examples which will lead us from the interior of the Island along the river systems towards our principal goal, the coastal perimeter.

Until the very end of the nineteenth century there was scarcely a town or village in Newfoundland out of sight or smell of the sea, and a whole *genre* of books by sporting travellers grew up, with such typical titles as *Newfoundland and its Untrodden Ways* (Millais 1907), and *Through Trackless Labrador* (Pritchard 1911). Most of these travellers were sufficiently prudent to take with them a local guide who knew the routes to and through the interior, often Micmac Indians, and if it was the Island hinterland they travelled, sooner or later they would find that the ubiquitous Mr. James Howley had been there before them. Howley was a professional surveyor and geologist, employed on the Newfoundland geological survey and later its director, and his manuscript *Reminiscences*, which cover the years from 1868 to 1911, and made available to my colleague W.J. Kirwin and me to prepare for publication, is the most detailed account of the Newfoundland interior that has survived from this period; it is replete with names, including accounts of the motive and the act of naming.

We know, for example, from the published report of the geological survey for 1872 (Murray and Howley 1881) that in this year Howley made the first survey of the Rocky River system of the interior of the Avalon Peninsula, and the report records a number of Micmac names for a series of ponds or small lakes; and it has been assumed that he had with him a Micmac guide from whom the names were obtained. Howley did indeed have a guide with him named John Stevens, but we now know that he was in fact the son of John Stevens, an Indian of the Abenaki Confederacy, through marriage with the daughter of a European settler in Newfoundland. And we know that the naming occurred as described in this passage of Howley’s manuscript *Reminiscences*:

Continuing on down stream and through several small ponds,
we came to a suite of larger and very picturesque lakes,

surrounded by dense woods of large dimensions. These lakes usually contained Islands, the number of which gave a hint to their naming, but I preferred to do so in Micmac which I learned from John. Thus a lake with two islands was named *Taboominnigu Gospen*, or *two-island pond*, the term *Gospen* meaning pond. A pond with several islands was called *Minnigu-Gospen*. One beautiful lake which received a large tributary coming from the East or from Big Barren Lake, also called *Ocean Pond*, was named *Wagee-dee-gulsiboom* or the *Meeting of the waters*. A small lake in which I shot an otter was called *Canick Gospen (Otter pond)* and another occupied by a pair of loons or great Northern diver was *Quimoo Gospen (Loon Pond)* [Howley 1872: 3-4].

The account disposes of the assumption that these Micmac names were traditional Indian names for specific lakes in the interior of Avalon, and the description of the name creation is very clear. Nor was this the last time that we can see the process at work. The younger John Stevens was an expert woodsman, canoeman, and hunter, familiar with the Newfoundland interior. He became, after 1872, one of Howley's principal companions and guides on successive surveys of the interior, along with Micmac guides as well.

It is not an uncommon assumption that most of the interior of Newfoundland is unnamed, and it is no doubt true that the general and very early pattern of coastal settlement and maritime orientation has resulted in a primarily coastal clustering of the nomenclature. But qualifications need to be made, for whatever men travel habitually they observe landmarks and bestow names. When, in 1822, W.E. Cormack, the Scottish explorer whom I like to think of as the earliest Newfoundland pedestrian, became the first European to walk across the interior of the Island (Cormack 1928), he was guided by a young Micmac hunter named Sylvester, a man from the southwest part of Newfoundland. Cormack bestowed names along his route with liberality, one of them in honour of his guide, which still survives on the maps, others to commemorate Scottish friends, royal personages and the like which have not lasted well. On the journey they met a Montagnais Indian and his Micmac wife, completing their journey from Labrador by canoe along the inland waterways towards winter quarters on the South Coast of the Island. In the west central wilderness, the travellers were entertained by a band of Micmac hunters, out on an early winter hunting trip. These men knew very precisely where they were, and no doubt had names for the area too, though Cormack did not take note of it.

Howley did. His guide's father, the elder John Stevens, had been one of Cormack's guides on the expedition to Red Indian Lake in 1827 in search of the

last of the Beothuk Indians; and the younger Stevens, Howley's guide, had in youth been employed in carrying the mail overland from St. John's to Tilt Cove, a mining community on the far-off Northeast Coast; and he had, Howley's *Reminiscences* tell us, "been given minute directions by some of the older Indians who had pointed over several conspicuous land marks to guide him on his (first) journey". He and other guides, we hope to show, played no small part in Howley's place-naming in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Related to these men, and sometimes including them, are the rivermen of the waterways which drain from the interior to the sea along nearly the whole coastline of the principal land mass of the Island. Names of what are conventionally called "important" rivers and lakes (or *brooks* and *ponds* as they are often called in Newfoundland usage) are, of course, included in toponymic surveys. In the case of the great water-systems of the Canadian Shield, the routes of the fur trade have had recorded of them a host of names of particular points and features, some of national celebrity, some of interest now, I suppose, to enthusiasts of whitewater and canoe travel, but all of them, I should think, of at least historical interest (Morse 1971).

No such resonant national history lies behind the riverine nomenclature of Newfoundland; yet the rivers often have a number and density of names which has scarcely been explored. The recent memoirs of a Gander River man (Saunders 1986: 47-50) recall a boyhood canoe trip in 1919 with Jim John, a Micmac Indian, up the river from estuary to the inland settlement of Glenwood. The two-day trip introduced him to names long familiar, and still remembered, by users of the Gander River system: *Dawson's Point*, *Summer Houses*, *The Works*, *Bread and Cheese Steady*, *Jim Brown's Rattle*, *First Rattle*, *Second Rattle*, *Burnt Stump*, *The Boilers*, *Booming Point*, *First Pond*, *Cleaves Island*, *Burnt Wood Rattle*, *Bear Cliff Steadies*, *Long Rattle*, *Big and Little Chutes*, and others. Out gazetteers do not record these names, and only an attenuated handful are noted in *The Salmon Rivers of Newfoundland* (Palmer 1928) with its sketches of some eighty-six streams to lure the sportsman. We are lacking, more or less completely, the record of a nomenclature, which might still be partially recovered by good fieldwork – and which exactly describes the river systems and displays their roles in the lives of those who live and work along them, and their lexicon of *chutes*, *rattles*, and *steadies*.

Involved here are fundamental problems of the scale of toponymic surveys, of what, in a seemingly limitless field, to leave out of account. The delicacy of the issues which hang on decisions of scale can be suggested by one of the names in the Gander River list – the estuary name *Summer Houses*. This belongs to a rather small cluster of gazetted, because mapped, names with specifics containing *summer* or *winter* (e.g. *Winterhouse*), as well as *tilt* "a rude, roughly built hut", and others. Behind this sparse record, however, lies an

important phenomenon which may almost be said to explain one of the fundamental processes of Newfoundland history: the transformation, over time, of a largely migratory English and Irish fishing population to a primarily “settled” people, with a difference.

I suggested earlier that the settlement of Newfoundland by Europeans was not, in the earlier centuries, necessary because the principal produce, fish, could be harvested as well – and with a smaller investment of capital, than a formal “plantation” or colony required for year-round existence. Yet in time, a permanent population, however sparse, did appear, and it did so because it was successful in adopting a form of adaptation which, while it may not be unique, was certainly unusual in the European expansion overseas. What these settlers did was to shift to a semi-sedentary or transhumant mode of settlement, and they maintained it for several centuries. The phenomenon is startling when one is reminded (Smith 1987a: 242) that the basic forms of European colonization typically involve the reproduction and maintenance of a conception of the nature of settlement; that for several thousand years, the European view has been that a settlement is a town or village whose population remains in permanent residence throughout the year, and needed resources are brought to the settlement rather than the residents moving in search of them; and, with few deviations, this is the view which has been maintained in the overseas situations encountered.

The most extreme case of departure from this pattern, it has now been elegantly argued (Smith 1987a), may have occurred in Newfoundland, certainly from the early eighteenth century (and probably before), and continued into the early twentieth century. Briefly, this anthropologist argues, the adaptation involved a system of dual residence based on seasonal aggregation and dispersal on a summer-winter axis. The settlers resided for part of the year in the coastal fishing “outports”, and wintered in dispersed groupings in the sheltered bottom-of-the-bay estuaries and nearby or distant woods. These were seasonal migrations of whole families, not simply individual movements, and often involved if not the entire community than a majority of the residents who would take up residence in their *winter tilts* or huts for as much as half the year. This was the time and place for cutting timber both for heat and for boat-building in the next fishing season; for harvesting the crops of wild berries; for hunting caribou and trapping fur animals. In the spring there was the return to the coastal settlement to prepare for the fishing season with its multitudinous tasks. Many of the details of this pattern of transhumance have been lost, but the general picture is clear from the reports of travellers and missionaries (see also Smith 1987b); and it has left ample and explicit evidence in the vernacular lexical record of Newfoundlanders. I do not know how the consequences for toponymy might be explored except through the closest combination of documentary research and field investigation such as lies behind the similar patterns described

in recent studies of Inuit land use and occupancy in coastal Labrador (Brice-Bennett 1977) – a model which might well be adopted for contemporary Micmac studies on the Island, as well as the historical European-settler transhumant pattern which seems to have evolved independently.

When all is said, though, it is on the coast that the most dense place-name terminology is to be found. To deal with it, however, I wish to develop some themes introduced earlier, and I will do so by concentrating on the water names, the sense here being not streams and lakes, but the *sea*.

That word is itself, in Newfoundland, together with *ocean*, rather literary, except in its numerous frozen proverbial uses and its combinations: it is something far off, distant, beyond the immediate experience of men in small boats. *Sea* in Newfoundland, in one of those common nautical understatement, is commonly used of a single sudden, lumpy and bloody-minded wave which may overturn a boat or drench its occupants. The common terms are *salt water* or simply *water*. To be a fisherman is to be *on the water*, and the more specific terms are those that designate different bodies of water: *bay, cove, reach, run, tickle*, and so on. I early on discovered that the one indispensable work for almost every student of Newfoundland is the British Admiralty's *Newfoundland and Labrador Pilot*, with the charts, in origin reaching back to Cook's eighteenth-century surveys, and continued without break by the Admiralty's Hydrographic Department since 1795. And since the recording, by sounding, of coastal water depths and the location of hazards to larger vessels are basic parts of the surveys, detected hazards, whether awash and visible or beneath the surface, are routinely noted and may, indeed, be named; and we are all familiar with the occurrence of some of these features in gazetteers of coastal countries.

The first such feature in the region of Newfoundland of which there is record are The Virgin Rocks lying to the east on the Grand Banks and situated about one hundred and twenty miles off Cape Race. They form an extensive rocky bank with depths of from three to 30 fathoms; the shoalest spot, three fathoms, is found on a small pinnacle rock, on which the sea breaks in heavy weather. They were first reported in 1516 by the Portuguese navigator Jorge Reinal; their exact position was ascertained by a British naval survey in 1829; and they were explored, and a large bronze plaque fastened to the main pinnacle base, by divers dispatched to the area in June, 1964, in an effort by the Premier of Newfoundland, Joseph R. Smallwood, to suggest to the Government of Canada that it should persecute more vigorously negotiations to establish offshore territorial rights. As the divers fastened the heavy plaque, weighing 500 pounds and bearing an inscription of an imperial character, to the underwater rock face, they were observed by a huge audience of extraordinarily large codfish. For the Virgin Rocks are more than a hazard to careless navigators: they are also the centre of an area in which the most important hook-and-line, and

now long-lining, fishing on the Grand Banks is, and has been since the European discovery, carried on. They are so because the bank combines the principal determinants of exploitable concentrations of codfish: water temperature in the shallows above 1 degree centigrade, close to but not within very cold water, and descending to 25 fathoms, and hence close to concentrations of plankton life, nourished by upwellings of deeper, nutrient-rich water provided by the Labrador Current. These are the basic conditions for the cod population to concentrate during the bottom-feeding seasons, between which the offshore fish populations detach some of their numbers inshore in pursuit of spawning capelin.

These features of the historical geographer's model which I have been paraphrasing (Head 1976: 21-25) are precisely those found also in many thousands of locations in the inshore coastal waters of Newfoundland, especially those exposed to the Labrador Current – the outer portions of the great bays with their peninsular headlands, their islands, shoals, ledges and rocks: their combination constitute the very basis of the traditional fishing economy, of the historical exploitation of the marine resource and, over a long time, the settlement of the Island itself.

The process by which seasonal migratory fishermen from Western Europe learned to locate and identify the resource is, of course, not documented in any detail – it is another of those activities the very ordinariness of which gets left out of the formal historical record. No doubt it grew out of older experience in European waters, and in the Iceland fishery to the north. One can see how it would happen from the example of those generations of Newfoundland fishermen who have been migrating annually from the Island to the coast of Labrador in a pattern which repeats that of their ancestors from England and Ireland to Newfoundland itself. From Dr. Shannon Ryan's Oral History Project, for example (Ryan 1987: 56), we have an account of the Hayden brothers, Timothy and Richard, and their crew from the Conception Bay town of Harbour Grace, c. 1880, engaging in the summer trap fishery at Indian Harbour, Labrador, securing a good catch close to shore, but finding fish scarce in the jigger fishery which followed. Noticing a group of islands nine miles offshore, they rowed over to one of them, which they named White Bear Island after an encounter with a polar bear, and found large concentrations of fish at a point of land which they named Southard Point. Dividing their crew, they commenced intensive fishing around Skipper Tim's Island and Skipper Richard's Island; but there were other islands in the group, and they named them all: *Grapnel Island*, *Pigeon Island*, *Middle Island*, *Southern Island*, the *Middle Bear*, the *Eastern Bear*, the *Southern Bear*, the *Cubs*, *Northern Island*, *Eastern Rock*, and *Black Rock*. And they named also the areas of good jigging ground: the *Dun Shoal*, *Southeast Bank*, *Little Danger*, *Big Danger*, *Fartherest Bank*, *Baker's Bank*,

Jack's Hat, Hurley Shoal, the Greenfields as, in successive years, the Haydens and their crews returned to exploit the discovered resource.

It is curious that there are so few of these named underwater features which have been recorded in print: from Portugal Cove, Conception Bay: *Where the Man Fell Over, Roof of the House, No Man's Land, Brock's Head, Horse Shoe, The Chair, Cook Room, Hanging Cliff, The Gulch where the Vessel was Lost, Stem and Stern* (Story 1957: 4); from Pouch Cove, near St. John's: *Joe Butt's Point, Chimney Gulch, Hauling Point, Blue Madam, Strawberry Anvil Rock, Offer Biscayan Island South, Horrid Gulch, The Spout, Red Scrape, Putty Rock* (Searly 1959: V); from Labrador, in addition to fishing spots named by the Haydens at the White Bear Islands, we have: *Lady Gulch, Golden Slipper, Crack in the Wall, Pot of Gold, Pidgeon Gulch* (Black 1960: 274); and from the small island settlements of Bonavista Bay: *Chaulk Head Ground, Billy Wells' Rock, Martin's Nob, Nailer, Tim's Tooth, Domino, Look-for-it, Poverty, Liver Ledge, The Old Man's Hat, The Back of the Knife, Luff Up* (Feltham 1986: 125-127).

There are a number of things that come to mind in considering these "little names" (Stewart 1958: 3). First is the fact that there is little assistance in detecting underwater features by the eye, even in clear water, because an observer in a small boat is within five feet of the water and cannot see the bottom. Meanwhile, the technique of sounding by hydrographic survey is necessarily highly selective, dense only in major harbours, and intended primarily for the navigation of larger vessels; and in any case, British naval charts are not the common possession of inshore small-boat fishermen. The identification of the underwater features I am discussing, therefore has been the product of hundreds of years of experience in actually locating concentrations of fish in specific local inshore waters, a fine combination of knowledge of water depths, composition of the bottom, season and fish species, and so on; and then a method of fixing the precise location of habitually observed fish concentrations by the observation of bearings, or *marks* as they are called in Newfoundland, which identify the "unseen" underwater feature by triangulation with landmarks, viewed from the sea.

I know of no adequate, densely detailed account of the manner in which this is carried out in the printed literature of Newfoundland; but there has been accumulating a rich file of orally-collected data, from many fishing communities, assembled by Dr. Larry Small, a folklorist, and I cite one report, in summary form, from the settlement of Fermeuse on the southern shore of the Avalon Peninsula (Small 1981: Brennan Report 81-215). This is a record of two generations of experience in one family of prosecuting the fishery in the adjacent coastal waters of the small community, and, with fine discrimination, it describes first some of the names of "berths" or fishing locations, for the fixed

cod-trap, always located near the shore, and ascertained by distance from the shore, depth of water, and the “marks” or bearings:

Clear’s Cove Rock, depth 15 feet, 300 feet from shore: marks – the lighthouse on Ferryland Head with Bull Head and the top of Modrock Point with two knobs in Modrock Cove.

Harry’s Rock, depth 15 feet, 100 feet from shore: marks – a small house on Bear’s Cove Point with Sleeper’s Point and trees in Clear’s Cove with a house in Port Kirwan.

Holes, depth 16 feet, 100 feet from shore: marks – Bull’s Head with saddle on Ferryland Head and Jimmy Mundy’s house with Trace’s Head.

Keys, depth 16½ feet, 60 feet from shore: marks – a rock in cove with a rock in Bear’s Cove in line with Fanny’s Cove Point.

Fishing locations on grounds further offshore, for jigging, handlining, and trawling include:

Lop Stone, depth 16 fathoms, 2½ miles from shore: marks – cove in North Bear’s Cove with Sleeper’s Point and the North Head with Blow-Me-Down Point.

Tinkers, depth 30 fathoms, 3 miles from shore: marks – Bear’s Cove Point with Bull’s Head and the Cemetery Road with Traces Head.

Fermeuse Bantam, depth 13 fathoms, 5 miles from shore: marks –Lighthouse on Bear’s Cove Head and Ferryland lighthouse, with a bunch of trees below Sculpin Point.

North Ledge, depth 40 fathoms, 4 and ¾ miles from shore: marks – North side of Head with Blow-Me-Down and Cape Broyle Head outside Ferryland Head.

And so on for many, many underwater features with their variable but proven productivity. The general technique for fixing location will be clear, but it is subject to even finer discrimination which enables the skilled fisherman to locate, as his deep sea counterpart does with chart and navigation instruments, especially prolific parts of a particular “ground”. And sometimes, when there are variations in water temperature, the weather, season, or fish species involved, or when it is time to haul back a drifting boat, or adjust the fishing gear, in order to get back on the main concentrations of fish, “secret marks”, not generally known or shared, may come into play.

It is not difficult to think of ways in which the names I have been discussing might be studied, though it is less easy to think of the incorporation of such very small features on the grids of large national maps, or perhaps even

in special gazetteers (cp. *Undersea Feature Names* 1983). Yet they command attention. For students of cognition, they are rich in interest of a comparative and cross-cultural nature, for they testify to the existence of purely oral and unwritten mental maps of great complexity, so that it is probably true that an inshore or coastal fisherman inherits from his father and bequeaths to his son more detailed topographical knowledge about the bottom of his bay than he does about the land names around him (cp. Paine 1957: 101; Forman 1967: 417-26). They have much to tell us about how to evaluate better the adequacy of existing man/marine resource ratios, and by extension, the problem of overcrowding in given coastal areas (Cordell 1978: 3). Their existence and exploitation draw attention to fundamental social and technological problems in space division and resource allocation among a fishing people (Martin 1979: 277-98; Andersen 1979: 229-336). Historically, they call for study in terms of their “ownership” or control, whether that of discovery and first occupancy and subsequent inheritance as “a property”, or seasonal occupation by lot (a more recent development in crowded water).

And then, of course, they need analysis in other ways as well – for what they tell us about the structure, the derivation, and the imposition of names. Like the land-names of the Island, these undersea feature names often strike the visitor’s ear as quaint, fanciful, or even poetic. Though a grim humour is often suggested, they seem to me splendidly functional names, for the most part deriving from their “marks”, their shape, their productivity, a remembered incident, a crewman’s name, some special difficulty in “working” the type of gear used thereon, their juxtaposition with other “grounds” or “spots”, and the like – sometimes, perhaps a name intended to conceal the location itself and its small but sufficient harvest. These are our “farms” and “fanies” (Olsen 1928) and their names lie at the heart of the experience of life on the Island, of settlement and survival on a precarious perimeter. Their recovery and study is no less important than that of other names of more conventionally documented authority if the toponymy of the Island is to be distinctly seen as a view from the sea.

Acknowledgements

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THE BACKGROUND OF DIALECT QUESTIONNAIRES IN ENGLISH DEPARTMENT RESEARCH AN INTERNAL REPORT

William J. Kirwin

SERIOUS STUDY OF VARIETIES OF ENGLISH in Newfoundland goes back to the program described in G.M. Story's April 1956 lecture (Story 1956), mainly devoted to the sketch of the proposed dictionary, and to his "interim report" of the following year to a wider Canadian audience (Story 1957). Part of the task refers to linguistic geography, involving "a carefully compiled questionnaire, known also as work-sheets" (Story 1957: 7) and "all the words I have ... [distributed] as a mimeographed pamphlet" (Story 1957: 9). Story and his students were guided by principles noted by dialectologists of their period like Hans Kurath (see Kurath, Hansen, Bloch and Bloch 1939), Sever Pop (Pop 1950) and Angus McIntosh (McIntosh 1952). The Memorial University library had already acquired the large folio volumes of the *Linguistic Atlas of New England* (Kurath, Hanley, Bloch, Lowman and Hansen 1939-1943).

The first questionnaire (Story and Drysdale 1958) had no accompanying instructions or commentary. It was a simple five-page checklist with questions supplying the definition and a list of suggested variants to be underlined or checked by informants:

12. What name have you for a stupid person?

gomel
gomeril
joskin
omadown
omaloor
ownshook
scoependike
scrum sky [*sic*]

It was doubtless prepared by Story, in consultation with Patrick D. Drysdale, the English department's linguistic specialist at the time. The suggested responses probably were drawn from American vocabularies and the popular collections of P.K. Devine (1937) and L.E.F. English (1955).

The initial questionnaire was followed by Story's more comprehensive mimeographed questionnaire of March, 1959 (Story 1959; reprinted in Seary, Story and Kirwin 1968: 108-115). The author provided a cover title, a dated

preface stating the purpose, lexical information sought, explanation of the “variant forms” allowing “untrained students” to identify their usage, and plans to use the questionnaire in a wide-meshed survey. The assistance of P.D. Drysdale is acknowledged. This is followed by an informant identification sheet to be filled out by the person interviewing, a page of detailed phonetic symbols explicitly revealing in detail the indebtedness to the *Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England* (Kurath et al. 1939), and a page of other symbols to be used in the field notes. Then appear on pages 6 to 13 questions on Farming and Homestead; Household, Food, Drink; Games, Popular Beliefs; Fisheries; and Miscellaneous (“a very thin person,” “wooden fence,” etc.). These questions show that modifications had been made as a result of testing on “nearly two-score students” since the 1958 version was devised.

The next questionnaire (Story and Kirwin 1963) revealed the influence of W. Kirwin, who had replaced Drysdale in Memorial’s English Department in 1959 and who had employed the previous interviewing tools in St. John’s and in the field. Instead of the checklist format, the 76 sections (totaling 26 pages) follow the interviewing method of the American dialect projects, which did not ask precisely worded questions, but instead instructed the fieldworker to elicit from the informant a term or a variant thereof (*froze, couch, post(e)s, yeast ...*); known Newfoundland items were interspersed throughout (*paling fence, buoy, proud flesh, jannies, rames ...*). In the United States another regional English interviewing program was initiated for the *Dictionary of American Regional English* under the direction of F.G. Cassidy in 1964, but the details of the comprehensive questionnaire apparently were unknown to Newfoundland researchers. Following the practice of the American regional projects, sometime in the 1980s Kirwin prepared an attachment to the questionnaire, an “Index to Lexical Terms and Selected Topics.”

The Story and Kirwin questionnaire was provided to Harold Paddock in 1964 for his Carbonear fieldwork (Paddock 1966). In his 1971 thesis on Grand Bank speech, Ronald G. Noseworthy also made use of the 1963 Newfoundland questionnaire; added to this framework he devised a considerably expanded section devoted to the fishery employing the numbering system of the questionnaire (reprinted in Noseworthy 1974). The compilers of the 1963 Newfoundland Questionnaire were indebted to Noseworthy’s fieldwork, as they incorporated all of his suggested additions in the next revision as a fishing supplement, Sect. 28.1 (Story and Kirwin 1972). Noseworthy’s added items, however, were omitted from the Index.

At this time, serious attention to compiling the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* (DNE) began in 1969, when Story, Kirwin and J.D.A. Widdowson (and others) planned their individual contributions (cf. Story and Kirwin 1974); actual writing of entries in letters *C* and *K* can be dated to 1971.

With the demanding program lying before the lexicographers, the dialect questionnaires and systematic fieldwork for an eventual Newfoundland dialect atlas received steadily less attention.

A potential researcher into dialect had joined the department by this time, and, along with other language students, was introduced to the evolving questionnaire in the form favored in the United States. J.D.A. Widdowson did take the earlier word list and distributed it to individuals around the island in the form of a postal questionnaire, receiving a fair number of responses, which can be found in MUNFLA C/L 1 W. The questionnaire is described and printed in Widdowson (1979). He also employed the 1963 questionnaire in fieldwork in 1964 in Bishop's Falls, etc., eventually collecting six interviews. Joining Herbert Halpert, a specialist in Folklore, he soon, however, diverted his energies to use of the tape recorder, in interviews where he encouraged informants to speak freely and at length, suggesting folklore topics and life in the communities visited (see the *DNE* (lxv-lxvi; Sup. 645) for the hundreds of listed informants and Newfoundland settlements supplying the data for the dictionary).

This account of Memorial's dialect questionnaires is not intended to touch on a parallel topic, the history of language research and publication at the university. But with the establishment of the 1972 questionnaire, it was felt that the groundwork was laid for any subsequent fieldwork in the vocabulary and any peripheral phonetic and grammatical data that might be entered on the work sheets. No formal program aimed toward a specific dialect atlas by Story, Kirwin, and Widdowson was mounted at that time. However, professors and students continued to use the questionnaire and note informants' responses in their submitted manuscripts, which are stored in Memorial's English Language Research Centre.

Why did the momentum for creating a Newfoundland atlas slow to a halt?

I think the answer points to the history of all the European-inspired dialect projects in the twentieth century. When they were carefully organized and directed by vigorous, commanding scholars, giants in their scholarship, they succeeded. (Examples include the dialect atlases of Orton and Dieth 1962, Kurath et al. 1939-1943, Allen 1973-1976 and Pederson et al. 1986-1993, along with *Dictionary of American Regional English* (Cassidy 1985, vol. 1)). Newfoundland's modest effort in local interviewing was simply not of this calibre.

As the university expanded in the 1970s, the new departments of folklore and linguistics naturally became interested in local languages, and their professors engaged in research. In the Linguistics Department Harold Paddock, a phonetician and dialectologist, continued his interest in geographical variation and about 1974 began his study of dialect mapping (see Paddock 1977).

With his research goals in mind, in a project he named the Survey of Areal Variations in Newfoundland English, he prepared independently a new questionnaire to obtain lexical variants by means of fieldwork, on tape. The new instrument was influenced, he reported, by the Newfoundland Questionnaire of 1963, Harold Orton's Survey of English Dialects questionnaire (Orton and Dieth 1962), the assembled lexicon reported on in the Newfoundland theses of Paddock (1966), Noseworthy (1971) and Virginia Dillon (1968), and "trial use" of some of his questions in the English West Country (Paddock 1984: 86-87). With the use of this questionnaire, Kathleen Manuel in 1982 taped 126 informants. Paddock's 1984 report on the project did not append his questionnaire, as his purpose in this paper was mainly to explain his mapping devices and to illustrate his *dragon-fly* data. (Details of aspects of the interviewing, though, are recorded throughout on the assembled 1982 tapes, copies of which are held by Memorial University's English Language Research Centre.) The item obtaining the *dragon-fly* responses was worded like this: **Insects** Name and describe...the big flying insects with two pairs of wings that catch smaller insects, especially around ponds and marshes (Paddock 2003 [1982] 4.8.14).¹

The Linguistic Atlas of Newfoundland and Labrador: Lexical Questionnaire (2003 [1982]) totals 38 pages. The instrument presents a series of numbered topical categories containing precisely worded questions like the following. What do you call the handle of an axe? (p. 1). What types of crops do people grow around here? (2). If a boy looks exactly like his father you say that he's the WHAT of his father? (23). Can you finish off an April Fool rhyme that starts off like this, "April fool is gone... ? (37). No topical or verbal index was prepared.

These are the divisions of the questionnaire.

Section I (The Farm)	(pp. 1-2)
Section II (Farming and Fishing)	(2-13)
Section III (Animals)	(13-15)
Section IV (Nature)	(15-20)
Section V (The House and Housekeeping)	(20-23)
Section VI (The Human Body)	(23-27)

¹ I am grateful to Sandra Clarke for allowing me to examine Paddock's Linguistic Atlas Questionnaire, as well as her Linguistic Atlas Proposal (2004).

Section VII (Numbers, Time and Weather)	(27-28)
Section VIII (Social Activities)	(28-35)
Section IX (States, Actions, Relations)	(35-36)
C. (Collocations)	(37)
S (Semantics)	(38)

Since II is the largest section, here is a sample of the subdivisions:

- 2.13 **Seamanship and ropework** (Sections 2.13.2–2.13.20)
- 2.14 **Fishermen’s clothing and crewing arrangements**
(Sections 2.14.1–2.14.11)
- 2.1.5 **States of the sea and ice** (Sections 2.15.4–2.15.21)

This final questionnaire in the series I have discussed has been used to assemble on tape a large amount of data that is now being analyzed and selectively edited for digital dissemination (Clarke 2004, 2006). It is a research tool which seems hardly comparable to the aims and structure of the previous questionnaires dating from 1958 to 1973. Besides being a large investigating tool it exhibits several traits like those in other dialect research elsewhere: it poses exact (printed and orally administered) questions like Orton’s program. It abandons the collection of written field records of interviewers, which permit comparability and instead assembles extensive recording sessions on tape, with lexical items embedded throughout. It abandons the type of extensively hoed questions of the European, English, and Kurath traditions, and reveals the phrasing of the cultural insider devising questions on his culture. (Many of the queries employ Newfoundland usages rather than generalized standard ones in the wording.)

Looking to future study of the province’s speech, it will be a challenge for students or directors to somehow amalgamate the considerable amounts of data transcribed with the North American-modeled questionnaires with the much more comprehensive data elicited by means of the eclectic 1982 questionnaire.

A linguistic atlas has been envisioned from the early years of planning. Story, as usual, covered all the bases. In his 1957 report to the Canadian Linguistic Association, there is this conclusion: “And urgent though we feel a Newfoundland Linguistic Atlas to be, we hope we will not have to proceed with it except in the closest collaboration with similar projects on the Mainland” (55).

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[For some questionnaires below, new title pages were prepared in 1987 to make the items uniform.]

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REFLECTIONS ON FIELDWORK WITH DR. JOHN WIDDOWSON

Suzanne Power

AT THE BEGINNING OF AUGUST 2012, *Dictionary of Newfoundland English (DNE)* editor J. D. A. Widdowson stopped by the English Language Research Centre (ELRC) to do an interview. Although he is currently living in England, he makes an annual visit to St. John's. Since he would not be in town for the upcoming 30th anniversary celebrations for the *DNE*, he offered to participate in an interview that could be a part of the celebrations. While we discussed many topics, such as the beginnings of the *DNE*, the future of Newfoundland English research, and the changing lexicon of the province today, the focus of this piece is to highlight the stories of those who helped along the way, since, without them, the *DNE* would not have been possible.

Going into a community as a fieldworker, often as an outsider, can be quite intimidating to both the fieldworker and the people in the community. Dr. Widdowson spent time doing fieldwork with Dr. Herbert Halpert and Fred Earle, and he had quite a lot to say about the subject.

So, in a sense, you were catechized when you went, if you're a fieldworker, you know, were you a threat to the local women, for example, were you selling something, or do you want to buy something, even worse! And so, when people realized, no, you'd just come to talk and listen to them talk. And as a linguist, of course, you have the wonderful advantage, no matter what people say, they're talking, so you have the language, freely given, and in its natural context in those cases. If you go with a questionnaire, and this is always a problem with questionnaires, the response to, say, "What do you call a so-and-so?," it's out of context in a sense. And people perhaps feel they have to answer, that there's a pressure there. But if you just say, "Just tell me something, talk about..." and just nudge along to, say, "What happened at Christmas?" or whatever, suddenly all that mummering stuff comes flowing out. Other things, say, asking people to sing a song, might be more difficult but that depends on the situation...

When Dr. Halpert and I went up the West coast, we originally went to follow Kenneth Peacock's footsteps and try and record some of the songs he'd recorded from the same people or families of the people he'd recorded. And long before we got there, we were told after we'd gone, "The song men are coming" was the phrase that was passed up, you know, like the bush telegraph, long before we'd got there. But wherever I went, people were unbelievably hospitable and helpful. And, so, you know, I've always had a great affection for Newfoundland and all the people who have helped us out.

I remember in one of my early recordings in England, somebody saying, "Oh I'm supposed to be telling these stories while I'm supping ale," he said, drinking beer in other words. And so this was a hint that he wanted someone to give him a drink, but it was also showing you that whatever it is in a situation of recording, it's not the same as it would be if he was telling them in the public house, or whatever. It's never quite the same.

I was always extremely nervous about going in unannounced, dropping from the sky into someone's house. But Dr. Halpert was very good at this. He would bowl in. And he was known for being rather gruff in his social relations sometimes. But somehow or other he overcame that. And instead of going in and insisting on doing something straightaway, would sit down and talk to people. Five minutes, ten minutes, half an hour or longer before he brought in that fearful man with the box who was outside. And then he would call me in to, you know, "I'm just talking to you now in a friendly way, but the man that really..." and so, it was a trick, really, in one sense, but a very clever way of putting people at their ease and also of introducing this technical person, as it were, with the machine. And very often, in my fieldwork, I was particularly fortunate with Fred Earle, because people would simply talk to him. And so, all I had to do was be the fly on the wall, be the listener and have the machine on, and I learned as a fieldworker to sort of cut myself out of a lot of the early recordings. Maybe because we hadn't got much tape, it wasn't freely available, so you saved on that. But this turned out to be a mixed blessing. My tutor at the University of Leeds used to say, "Oh John, no one wants to hear you, just record the voices of the people you're recording." But that then

resulted in the fact that people would be saying things and I don't know what question had been asked. And so, sometimes in the early tapes, even here, you know there's this wonderful comment about whatever it happens to be, but I don't know what the question was!

Of course, Dr. Widdowson's fieldwork was not confined to Newfoundland. He did a great deal of work in East Yorkshire as well where he recalls one story where the connections between the maritime cultures of both East Yorkshire and Newfoundland came bubbling to the surface.

I suddenly remembered that this man had said, "I'll scalp you, I'll scalp your backside" or something to that effect and the first thing he got hold to was a piece of "sort-fish" as he said and I thought it was sword fish and then it all began to click because obviously in the community I was working in, in years gone by, fish had been *made*, as we use the term made here in a very specialist term again, to make fish which is an extraordinary usage when you think about it, how do you "make" fish? I mean, terms as simple as [salt-fish] have this important local usage. And so I realized then that there must have been a fish-making system in the East Yorkshire ports, not so far before I'd been working, in which the fish were so solid and so dried that you could use it as a weapon against a child. But I never made that connection. So I quickly moved on from just looking at the maritime material which is so important in Newfoundland to looking at all kinds of other forms.

During the course of the interview, Dr. Widdowson told several stories about the time spent in the field in Newfoundland. It was a very different place in the 1960s and 70s and the isolation of rural communities is illustrated in the following tale.

I went out even to the Horse Islands where people were still living before resettlement, and there in these places, visitors, strangers were rare. So rare that I remember, in St. Joseph's, my wife who was staying down there...we walked across the island to the settlement on the other side and as you're walking you become aware that there's somebody following you. We looked around and there's half a dozen kids,

youngsters, just looking, following to look at these strange people because, in those days, places were so remote in that sense, before the TCH and before the modern communications and before even everyone had a radio. And that was something, if you visited then, in a sense, you were in a privileged position because you were walking into communities which, in many cases, hadn't changed materially and their families had lived there and their forefathers had lived there for a couple of centuries, and the feeling of belonging and identity was extremely strong. And, of course, all that changes when places are opened up and the communications change and road links and so forth develop.

The Horse Islands was a classic example. The Horse Islands is like a huge basin which was like a garden. It was full of small gardens and there was a single road down the center, not a tree in sight and a sort of declivity in the middle, it's like a basin. And the whole island was cultivated, like so much of the Newfoundland I knew when I first came, where you'd be growing your own potatoes, you'd be growing your own cabbage, you'd be growing your turnip and so forth. Even in the early years I was here, suddenly carrots started coming in the supermarkets from California or from Florida, even though we could have, and they had, grown these things. Now, the new movements, the self-help movements are sort of maybe restoring some of that goat's milk cheese or whatever it might be are now possible again indigenously whereas before, they were all imported. And the choice, when I first came here in supermarkets was rather limited. Everything still has to be largely imported just because you're an island [that] doesn't have the kind of climate or soil conditions to be self-sufficient agriculturally and so on.

Once it was established that he was no threat to anyone, a great deal of kindness was extended to Dr. Widdowson. He recalls these times with fondness for the people and gratitude for the memories. When asked if there are any stories that really stick out for him, Dr. Widdowson had this to say:

Well, I suppose those early visits were, you know, what *do* stick in my mind because it was entirely new to me. But Fortune Harbour was particularly interesting because there were a couple of men there, that I recall, one of whom, I think

his father, let alone his grandfather, was born in England, so, the beginning of the 20th century. And another man had English extraction, but everyone in Fortune Harbour spoke like people do on the Southern Shore. They were all Catholic, they were all Irish speakers, and so, then going into Bishop's Falls where this group had mingled with other people from southwest England sort of style speakers. But then going to Change Islands or to Beaumont and Green Bay, where Harold Paddock very kindly took me and introduced me to people, there you have old west country Devon and Dorset speakers, so someone, I remember, said to Fred Earle from Change Islands, about me, "Bees old Jack comin' down d'year?," meaning me. So, first of all, he was calling me Jack, which no one does, so it was as if he knew you. In fact, so many older men, after you got to know them, treated you like a cousin, or a son, or a grandson, or something like that. And after this early catechizing about [if you] were you any danger to anybody, the hospitality, the generosity, the friendliness, more than friendliness in many cases, where someone would put an arm around your shoulder or whatever it happened to be, if you were young and they were old, somehow or other, that relationship helped.

I remember recording Freeman Bennett telling stories in St. Paul's on the west coast. One night, it got darker, and darker, and darker and Freeman went on, and on and on telling more and more fantastic stories as the night went on. And there am I, trying to look at the machine, which is in more and more darkness, thinking, "When's this tape going to finish? I'm going to have to turn it over in a minute, he's in the middle of a story, can I possibly get the end of the story before I turn it over, if I stop him, then..." and in that occasion, I just sort of felt that there were children lying on the floor listening, two or three adults in the room and the fieldworkers. We were the sort of audience and it didn't matter then, who you were or what your background was and whether you were educated, or you come from St. John's, or whatever. You were, then, part of the audience and as it got darker, and darker, and darker, it got more, and more like that. Eventually, we left about one o'clock in the morning having collected all these incredible tales.

Dr. Widdowson has a good sense of humour, particularly about himself. Looking back on some of the situations he faced while in the field has led him to some interesting realizations about himself as is revealed in this next tale.

I remember this, it was like a whole series of allotments or small holdings, all of them tended, all of them growing vegetables or the occasional animal and so forth, a cow here and a goat there and a few sheep...We recorded, the last person we spoke to there, just out on a hillside in the open air, he was lying down on a grassy bank and we were recording. And then I saw that Fred Earle was getting kind of agitated because he could see a big storm coming. It's typical of me that I didn't even notice the storm because I was listening to what the man was telling us. So, a pretty big lightning storm appeared and I remember thinking that we were in this metal boat, a speed boat, coming back from Horse Islands to La Scie and the lightning was coming down in the sea. And it may have been a mile away, but as far as I'm concerned, it might as well have been a few feet away. It was really quite frightening. I remember covering my watch up. It was a rather stupid thing to do, considering we were in a metal boat anyway. But when we got to La Scie, the storm- La Scie is a very wide, semi-circular harbour, and the storm literally went round and round the harbour. And we went into a house there and they were watching TV, and I remember my saying, "Did they think it was a good idea to have the TV on?" when there was this pretty big lightning storm. "My God, by, never thought about it." So, then of course, no one dared to unplug the TV, which everyone was watching, anyhow. So, I had to unplug the TV. It was some while later that I discovered, with my science ignorance, that houses are no more likely to be struck if your TV aerial is up or if you've got your TV on, than if you didn't have a TV in the house. Statistically, I gather. But nevertheless, sometimes TVs do get blown up, so I began to think, "Who is superstitious around here?", and decided it must have been me!

One of themes that surfaced several times throughout the interview was that of the importance of continuing the study of regional language and local traditions. Dr. Widdowson voiced concerns that there are just "not enough

bodies on the ground to do the work here,” and that, specifically, there does not seem to be a resurgence of native Newfoundlanders taking an active interest in studying their own language and culture. He did point out that, for the interested researcher, there would be plenty of work to do without even stepping into the field, with various almost untouched collections at the MUN Folklore and Language Archive and new perspectives and technologies that could be applied to their study. Of course, if one did wish to engage in fieldwork, he suggests that the oil industry and the lexicons and glossaries associated with that culture might be an interesting project. He feels that the technical vocabulary superseding a more traditional fishing vocabulary is very worthy of serious inquiry.

In the meantime, Dr. Widdowson is still busy on various projects, including a collection of London children’s games and research with Dr. Paul Smith of Memorial’s Folklore department. They are working on a collection of mumming texts and are preparing to create a website that will make available all texts collected in fieldwork and printed sources since Halpert’s 1976 publication *Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland: Essays in Anthropology, Folklore and History*. He had this to say about the link between a people and their folklore:

So when you’re thinking about folklore and tradition, everyone thinks, “Oh that’s in the past.” [Canon] Earle referred to it as “old foolishness.” Now, “old foolishness” was what people talked about when they talked about past customs, superstitions, beliefs and things that had disappeared and were no longer valid. But my experience has been that taking the valid material from the past, whether it’s linguistically or whether it’s culturally, helps you to build the future. A study like folklore or the cultural tradition is to do with a dynamic view of culture, in other words, what’s important is the rootedness of it through the present to see what lessons you can have learned from the past and the present to take you into some kind of a reasonably secure future. So when people talk about folklore in Britain, they more or less dismiss it as the opposite of fact or silly old superstition, where in fact everybody is part of tradition, wherever they come from and tradition is part of each one of us whether we like it or not.

While data collection is the main part of fieldwork, there are times when researchers can just sit back and take it all in. There are times when fieldworkers are completely blown away by the amazing people they meet. The

editors of the *DNE* undoubtedly met many people through their work by whom they were pleasantly surprised. Here is one final story from Dr. Widdowson, where he recalls one of these people, in one of these moments.

One of the most beautiful tunes I ever recorded was from a lady... it was someone at a party in Black Duck Brook, Emile Benoit took us to this party, and everyone got happy with a lot of homebrew, which was available and in the middle of all this evening an elderly lady began to sing a song in French. Very, very simple song, a simple rise and a simple fall, one of the most beautiful tunes I've ever heard. And then the chorus, everyone around would come in on top of her voice and so forth, so. The Port-au-Port peninsula was just something again; the hospitality there was just, even more perhaps than anywhere else I've been. But before I went, I was always warned, "No, don't go there." "Why not?" So, even then in those days, Port-au-Port was sort of, you know, "People speak French out there. They're different." But if you went when I went, for me, everyone was different, so I just enjoyed meeting everybody. I just feel privileged to have been there at a time when the colony, as it were, originally, and the province it now is, and the part of Canada that it now is, was in a different phase in its development in history. It was a privilege and, as I say, my thanks go to all the people who gave us their time, free, to talk about their lives, their language and their traditions.

NINE DAYS TALK: LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL FIELD NOTES

Jeff A. Webb

IN 1964-65 THE AMERICAN- and English-trained anthropologist James C. Faris lived in the community of Lumsden North, Bonavista Bay, Newfoundland. His study was one of several ethnographies of outports funded by Memorial University, and the published version of his thesis, *Cat Harbour: A Newfoundland fishing settlement*, was one of the texts excerpted by G.M. Story and William Kirwin for the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*.¹ The *DNE* cites Faris' publication as a principal source for several words, and decades later Faris deposited his unpublished field notes at Memorial University's library – allowing the opportunity to survey the material for examples of his attempts to sort out meanings and additional lexical evidence. But not all of the words in Faris' publication were included in the *DNE*; Story, Kirwin and Widdowson's criteria for inclusion was clear. They included words which entered the English language first in Newfoundland, were unique Newfoundland usages, or continued to be used in Newfoundland when they had become archaic elsewhere.

American anthropologists were trained in the “four fields” approach – cultural, archaeological, physical and linguistic – so Faris had some exposure to linguistics before going to Cambridge for his doctoral work. A coup in the Sudan forced him to abandon his plans for field work in Africa, so he spent a year in Lumsden North. His observations reflect a snapshot of language use in a particular outport in 1964-5. Part of his method was to learn the words and the idioms they used for kinship, social, and economic roles. Until now, no one has revisited the field notes with an eye to gathering linguistic data.

Faris had pointed out to scholars that people told *cuffers*, not with the intention to deceive, but to keep the conversation going and entertain themselves when there was little relevant news. Given that, and the playful use of language by the people of Lumsden North, it is often unclear which of these uses Faris noted are actual local words and which are idiosyncratic speech or metaphorical uses. Some people seem to have been having fun with a naive outsider. The use of *old woman* for the mouth of the lobster (because one person observed a

¹James C Faris *Cat Harbour: A Newfoundland Fishing Settlement* (St John's: ISER, 1966), revised and republished 1972. G.M. Story, W.J. Kirwin and J.D.A. Widdowson *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

resemblance to a pudendum), for example, may have been unique.² How common the use of the words was is of secondary importance – the conversations reflect an aspect of popular speech which is not represented in formal interviews, published texts, or linguistic questionnaires.

The two terms that appeared in *Cat Harbour* which attracted the most attention among anthropologists were *cunny kin* and *fork kin*. The first Faris initially thought referred to those who were born illegitimate, but later decided referred to one's relatives through marriage:

Females will use the designation, tho usually not openly, as it is regarded as "just that old dirt," but it is used perhaps as often or more so as the term "in-laws" or "wife's people." It is more specific than the general term in-laws, for this could refer to one's sister's in law (ie, bro's wife) as well, whereas "cunny kin" refers specifically to one's in-laws thru his (or her) spouse.³

As indicated, Faris reported that women rarely used the term; not surprisingly, *cunny* was considered vulgar in "polite" society – certainly one would not use it in front of an outsider, the minister, etc, and females hesitate to use it except among their close friends, exp in female company."⁴

People in Lumsden North varied in their definitions of the word *fork*, but most agreed that it referred to the groin, "i.e., the fork made by the legs," and he speculated that the term *fork kin* was derived from that use.⁵ *Fork kin* were, he initially believed, relationships founded on lust (often outside marriage), and any resulting children.⁶ Yet even after finishing his fourteen months of field work, he had to write a long-time resident of Lumsden, asking about the meaning of *fork kin*. His friend replied with yet another idea:

Your interpretation of fork kin may be as good as mine or anyone else's for everyone seems to see it differently. Here is my view. ... My idea is that where a person has made friends or is tied to someone (not in-laws) through husband and wife

².Field Notes, 10 June 1964, 467, Faris Papers, Archives and Special Collections (ASC), QEII Library, Memorial University.

³.Field Notes, 10 October 1964, 763, Faris Papers, ASC.

⁴.Field Notes, 5 November 1964, 868, Faris Papers, ASC

⁵.Field Notes, 16 December 1964, 987, Faris Papers, ASC.

⁶.Field Notes, 4 November 1964, 862; 5 November 1964, 863, ASC.

then that is fork kin. Although – fork kin – is used by many here when referring to kindred or friendship very few actually stop to think of what they are trying to say. Where that term came from I don't know but I think the person who used it first must have been trying to distinguish some distinct relationship.⁷

Faris' field notes were never intended to be read by anyone else, so he did not censor any of his reports to the spare feelings or protect the privacy of his informants. Generally people in Lumsden North talked fairly openly about sexual relationships, and both men and women often joked about sexual matters – but in his first few months in the community Faris reported not having heard any of the common four letter Anglo-Saxon vulgar terms.⁸ During a meeting of the United Church Women, the women were discussing “how many litters a dog ‘Rusty’ ... had produced. Someone suggested yes, that many dogs had had their finger in her pie. This was greeted with gales of laughter.”⁹ Faris' wife also reported upon women at a bridal shower joking: “On looking around the room at the way various women had their skirts over or above their knees, remarks were passed, ‘I see Dark Cove’ or ‘I see Hare Bay’ (all Nfld place names). Millie then contributed ‘If I don't get up and go, there's going to be Middle Brook.’”¹⁰ Other words for sexual matters were more widely used than just in Lumsden, such as *box* for vagina, “get your skin” for sexual intercourse, and “to go” for ejaculate.¹¹ Other words had a nautical reference, such as *for'ard hook* for breasts and comments about how “full she was a'ford.”¹² While sexual matters were subjects of jocular discussion, “Words like ‘pregnant’ ‘labour’ or anything else to do with birth were taboo – a woman was ‘sick’ and her labor was ‘sickness.’ Women will speak of ‘when I was sick with so and so.’”¹³

The use of marine terminology extended to other aspects of life as well. People spoke of “the ‘lu'ard side’ of the car – about the back seat and the ‘after room’, the hood as the engine house, and if a car is hit in the middle, it is hit ‘amidships.’ Also, people if disposing of anything, such as a cigarette butt, old

⁷. Jack to James Faris, 8 August 1965, Faris Papers, ASC.

⁸. Field Notes, 11 March 1964, 73, ASC.

⁹. Field Notes, 20 February 1964, 36, Faris Papers, ASC.

¹⁰. Field Notes, 12 August 1964, 608, Faris Papers, ASC.

¹¹. Field Notes, 12 June 1964, 487; 3 December 1964, 963; 3 December 1964, 953, Faris Papers, ASC.

¹². Field Notes, 26 November 1964, 940, Faris Papers, ASC.

¹³. Field Notes, 10 March 1965, 1082, Faris Papers, ASC.

flashlight batteries, etc, instead of saying ‘they’re no good, throw them away’, simply say, ‘throw them overboard.’ Everything is ‘thrown overboard.’”¹⁴

The field notes also include several fishery related usages which are not reflected in the lexical data of the *DNE*. A man was telling Faris

of a particularly good summer when their trap berth was completely glutted and they filled 18 boats with fish. The “hawks” all came and took all the fish they could hold. They gave X 140 quintals that summer and he didn’t put a hook in the water and was not a shareman – simply a “hawk” ... a trawler who waits for the trapmen to glut. Y is a notorious hawk. He usually buzzes around the UH fish killers ... There is a definite social stigma attached to hawking, even tho men like to be able to give away fish. Hawkers will also vehemently talk about how much work they do for the bit of fish they get – how they earn every bit of it and about how hard they work for it.¹⁵

Despite the fact, as Faris observed, that the centrality of cod in Newfoundlanders’ mental universe is well represented in the *DNE*, some uses of the term *cod* do not appear in the dictionary. This includes the following. “The locals have often told me,” Faris noted, “‘cod fish was really well named – the guy who thought of that name really hit the nail on the head.’ This puzzled me at first, then I found that cod refers to something that is there when you think it isn’t, and isn’t there when you think it is – something tricky, especially elusive, etc.”¹⁶ Faris also noted the terms *herringfish* and *caplinfish*, words which Story, Kirwin and Widdowson had not collected.

A person who only lobster fishes or who only goes after seal or salmon, is not considered a fisherman – this is not in a sense of pride of status, but in the sense of conceptual category. ... This is also evident in the reference made to cod that come in early after herring and cod that come in later after caplin men speak of herringfish (which an outsider would assume to be herring) and caplinfish (which the outsider would assume to be caplin) when they mean in one case cod,

¹⁴.Field Notes, 26 November 1964, 941, Faris Papers, ASC

¹⁵.Field Notes, 9 June 1964, 459, Faris Papers, ASC.

¹⁶.Field Notes, 18 June 1964, 502, Faris Papers, ASC.

tho at a different time of the summer and presumably after different bait. This shows the extent to which cod pervades the lives of the outport.¹⁷

Faris also documented the names of various trap berths. *Skerries* was named for “an admiralty chart term, meaning a rocky reef,” and the berth twice as far out was called *doublet*. *Millennial dawn* was named by a local man when the Jehovah’s Witnesses predicted the end of the world. *Apukes* had rocks which resembled “a puke of hay.” The logic seemed to be that “trap berths are named after incidents, famous landings, people first of customarily using them, or after the nearest point of land, their shape, location, etc.”¹⁸

Faris speculated on many linguistic features which seemed to him to be unique. The frequent use of *old man*, he wondered might be an effort to make the statement impersonal, and imagined that *my son* might be its opposite.¹⁹ He also wondered if the desire to make things impersonal was also responsible for people saying “give us a coke” when they meant “give me a coke.”²⁰ He observed the use of the adjective *poor* before the name of anyone who had died, and *aunt* and *uncle* for older people.²¹ Faris was unaware that many of these uses parallel those in Ireland and England. His wife had heard the term *hard girl*, which she believed referred to girls past puberty.²² The lack of a distinction between afternoon and evening, he wondered, may have reflected the long hours of work.²³

Other terms that are widely noted may also be found in the notes; famously such terms as “Scoff – a big meal, usually very late at night, corresponding somewhat to a late supper,” and *bucking*, which seemed to him to mean socially sanctioned stealing (such as stealing water barrels to burn on bonfire night).²⁴ Any event of socially sanctioned license, he suggested, was known as a *time*.²⁵ Less commonly noted are things such as the woman who threatened her nephew with a “lacing,” or the “term ‘mother-giver’ for maid of

¹⁷.Field Notes, 18 June 1964, 503, Faris Papers, ASC.

¹⁸.Field Notes, 9 October 1964, 761, Faris Papers, ASC.

¹⁹.Field Notes, 6 February 64, 7, Faris Papers, ASC.

²⁰.Field Notes, 5 May 1964, 317, Faris Papers, ASC.

²¹.Field Notes, 2 April 1964, 155; 21 April 1964, 248, Faris Papers, ASC.

²².Field Notes, 5 May 1964, 317, Faris Papers, ASC.

²³.Field Notes, 11 July 1964, 586, Faris Papers, ASC.

²⁴.Field Notes, 9 April 1964, 194, 21 April 1964, 247, Faris Papers, ASC.

²⁵.Field Notes, 14 October 1964, 787, Faris Papers, ASC.

honour or ‘chief’ bridesmaid.”²⁶ He described a game in which a bat is used to hit a four or five inch stick called a *hopper*, and noted that “one gets a ‘rattle’ on one’s stomach, not one’s chest when one has a cold.”²⁷ An accordionist was called a *fiddler*, a horse kicking with two feet was *fleezing*, and *helping tom* was loafing.²⁸ “‘Winds up’ – good water, ‘winds down’ (i.e. southerly winds continually) bad water” he noted.²⁹ People told him that men in the past “used weasel skins as ‘cock stalls’ (i.e. penis sheaths) during the winter time when they went on the ice or into the woods.”³⁰

While there is lexical evidence in the notes, there is little phonetic or grammatical material. One exception, although without having it rendered in the IPA it is difficult to imagine how it might have been pronounced, was a friend mentioning that with a heavy trap “you ‘skite your putticks out’ (i.e., tear or pull your guts out.)”³¹

Many different corpora have been mined for descriptive linguistic data. Unpublished social scientist field notes, such as those by the anthropologist James Faris, offer the opportunity to recover evidence of linguistic uses. Some of the words recorded in these notes were not collected by the *DNE*. In this case, since Faris had not imagined anyone else reading the notes, the notes are richer in vulgar and sex related terms than any of the published material. The evidence shows people using words without being able to articulate their exact sense, and using language inventively. Faris had emphasized the *cuffer* as a social form, and the people of Lumsden North seemed aware of their playful use of language. Provocatively, he reported “the use of the expression ‘9 days talk’ which refers to the length of time a situation can be drug around – talked about, cuffered about.”³²

²⁶.Field Notes, ,21 April 1964, 247; 5 July 1964, 557, Faris Papers, ASC.

²⁷.Field Notes, 5 May 1964, 318-9; 2 July 1964, 521, Faris Papers, ASC

²⁸.Field Notes, 3 February 1965, 1014; 3 December 1964, 960, Faris Papers, ASC.

²⁹.Field Notes, 2 July 1964, 525, Faris Papers, ASC.

³⁰.Field Notes, 8 March 1965, 1080, Faris Papers, ASC.

³¹.Field Notes, 5 January 1965, 1009, Faris Papers, ASC.

³².Field Notes, February 1965, 1031, Faris Papers, ASC.

RETHINKING OUR SOCIAL LABELLING OF NEWFOUNDLAND SPEECH FEATURES

Gerard Van Herk

OUR CURRENT MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECT, looking at urbanization and rapid (social and linguistic) change, has wrung a lot of mileage from the study of local language variables with differing degrees of salience and susceptibility to speaker control. We have taken to referring to a couple of variants, verbal –s-marking (*I goes*) and interdental stopping (*dis ting* for *this thing*), as “superstars”, in that they are “famous” (enregistered and commodified) aspects of Newfoundland language and identity. Our quantitative analyses of sociolinguistic interview data show both variants declining in overall rates of use across the generations in urban and urbanizing areas (although probably not in rural areas).

At the same time, new uses are developing, and usage surveys show us that young Newfoundlanders are reclaiming these variants – claimed rates of use among under-30s are as high as among over-60s, separated by a few decades of apparent-time decline. In other words, these variants are undergoing a comeback, at least in claimed use. This is in sharp contrast to variables like past habituals, where there is a distinct Newfoundland variant compared to other varieties of English (*we would go* instead of *we used to go*), but nobody talks about it. Use and claimed use of this variant remain basically flat across the generations.

Early on in our work, we developed a working hypothesis for these divergent behaviours. Borrowing some notational tricks from theoretical phonology, we assumed that linguistic variants have social meanings or labels attached to them, of which speakers are (generally) aware. In the case of the superstars, these would include things like [+NL] and [-education], meaning that the variants were seen as “Newfoundlandy,” but associated with limited education. Changes in rates of use or claimed use, then, reflected changes in the relative strength of these social meanings. Decline in earlier decades reflected speakers’ prioritization of [-education]; later rebounding reflected a re-ordering of priorities, whereby [+NL] became more important. Non-superstar variants didn’t share these labels, and so they didn’t participate in this re-ordering process. The labels are obviously shorthand for a broader and subtler complex of ideas, but they are useful heuristics, and feedback from conferences suggests that our argument has been fairly convincing.

Of course, our presentations and publications always included a caveat: that we needed to test these claims by investigating linguistic variants that

carried different labels. A good candidate is the use of participial preterits (e.g., *I seen it*). This is a variant that is both common and stigmatized around the English-speaking world. It is widespread in Newfoundland and Labrador, but is not particularly associated with local-ness. Its labels might be [-educated, 0NL], where the [0NL] indicates a neutral position. Our competing-labels argument would predict a dire fate for this variant: an early period of decline due to [-educated], followed by non-participation in the rebound due to its absence of [+NL]. Instead, our sociolinguistic interview data shows a decline across generations, as for the superstar features, but our survey data shows no such decline. Participial preterits start fairly high, then increase slightly across the generations.

Why should this be? Why didn't the standardizing forces that suppressed (claimed) use of verbal -s and interdental stopping also affect participial preterits? Our current line of thinking is that we didn't really need a two-part label to explain the behaviour of our superstar variants. Instead, both their decline and rebirth are directly related to [+NL], and reflect the stigmatization and later renaissance of local culture and identity more broadly. In other words, the variants were stigmatized specifically *because* they were local, because they allowed speakers to be identified as Newfoundlanders during a time when external norms were dominant. When those external norms weakened (for example, when local-sounding education students stopped being given elocution lessons by CFAs), and local-ness became an asset, local-associated variants rebounded. This reinterpretation of our findings is reinforced as we start to look at other variants, those whose strong [+NL] labels are more recent. One example is locative *to* (*Where is it to?*), which shows a steady increase across generations, as we would (now) predict. It would be productive for future surveys to include information on respondents' attitudes toward Newfoundland culture and identity, to see if this correlates with claimed language use.

It is entirely possible that future analysis of a wider range of variants and communities will require us to rethink our position yet again. Perhaps we should proceed more cautiously in our hypothesis generation, learning from the old story of the writer who moves to a new country and after a week plans to write a book about it, after a year plans to write an article, and after a decade has abandoned the project entirely. On the other hand, testing and rejecting theoretical frames for our findings is what keeps the work engaging, and the richness and speed of the social and linguistic change we see around us makes it hard to settle for small, tentative claims. Perhaps what we are learning from our mistakes is how to make new, better mistakes

COFFEE AND CHANGE: ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY AND PHONOLOGICAL VARIATION IN ST. JOHN'S

Paul De Decker

Introduction

THE CITY OF ST. JOHN'S offers an exceptional opportunity to examine the relationship between language and culture. The current state of English spoken in St. John's is a product of both its rich history dating back to early British and Irish settlers (Clarke 2010) and the massive social and economic changes presently underway. Some of these changes have opened the doors for new retail and employment opportunities which consequently pose a challenge to tradition. Such potential for new growth and innovation presents an interesting challenge to sociolinguists: to what degree do organizations "from away" introduce non-local business identities, consumer values and non-traditional linguistic practices to the island?

I, along with students in my LING 3210 class in the winter semester 2009*, set out to address this question by examining differences in the accents of workers in retail settings as markers of the organization for which they were employed. We focussed on two types of coffee shops located in St. John's: corporate, non-local (e.g. Tim Hortons and Starbucks) and local independents (e.g. Coffee Matters, Hava Java, Chatters). This report outlines our quantitative study of phonological variation. The following section briefly outlines the social landscape in Newfoundland as an area of recent, significant change pushing Newfoundland further along into its "post-insular" stage of development (Clarke and Hiscock 2009) and reviews studies indicating that traditional ways of speaking may be threatened. A short discussion of organizational identity, one of the theoretical frameworks used in this study, is then introduced. This is followed by our methodology, and our results. The section following these presents an analysis of the findings, highlighting current changes in the consumer culture in St. John's, which serves to further marginalize features of traditional Newfoundland English. We conclude this report with a summary of the main findings.

* Many thanks to the students who were able to contribute data presented in this paper. Their hard work and caffeine addictions are the driving forces behind this report.

Economic change and the traditional dialect

Recent economic changes to hit the island have been driven, if not solely, then in a large part by development of the oil industry (e.g. Fusco 2007). In 2007, oil was responsible for 35% of Newfoundland and Labrador's Gross Domestic Product (13% in 1990; 24% in 2004) and in 2007 its economic growth was recognized as the strongest in Canada (Higgins 2009). At the same time, Newfoundland saw its highest rate of in-migration in 30 years, which co-occurred with its first population increase in 15 years (The Daily 2008). St. John's showed the largest increase in new home prices in Canada (CBC News 2010a) with a significant rise in the average price of a home (CBC News 2010b).

As can be expected, Newfoundland's recent oil boom has brought the province increased attention from the mainland, perhaps the most significant since joining Canada over 60 years ago. Therefore, with demographic and economic shifts like these, are traditional linguistic features being wiped out as a result of more and more contact with speakers from beyond the island? In this initial examination of language use in organizational settings, we narrowed our observations to the occurrence of words containing "TH" sounds such as *this*, *that* and *other*. In traditional dialects of NE, these are frequently pronounced as *diss*, *dat* and *udder*. This process, known as interdental stopping, applies to both voiced and voiceless interdental fricatives. It is a perceptually salient marker of NE and is widely distributed across the entire province (Clarke 2010). If NE is subject to the forces of non-local influences, then it is likely that features like interdental stopping, which are closely associated with traditional local dialects, will exhibit a process of decline.

In her extensive work documenting a number of linguistic consequences resulting from Newfoundland's extended and now strengthening contact with mainland Canada, Clarke (1991) found a drop in the frequency of traditional NE forms among younger generations of speakers in St. John's. Teenagers, aged 15-19, stopped roughly one quarter of their interdental fricatives, compared to speakers aged 55+ who stopped nearly half of the tokens they produced. Fifteen kilometers outside of the city, a similar apparent time pattern was found in the non-urban community of Petty Harbour. Van Herk, Childs and Thorburn (2007) found further evidence of rapid social change on the local dialect citing significant rates of decline across age groups for interdental stops. These are important findings as they show that a long-standing traditional feature is being lost in both larger cities and smaller villages.

If the gradual decline in interdental stopping reflects the status of the larger NE system, then traditional ways of speaking seem to be on the decline.

But what happens when these Newfoundlanders go to work? Do they speak the same way as when being recorded by a researcher? What role does their work environment play on their linguistic choices? Do employees working in places that align with traditional Newfoundland culture (such as a music shop specializing in accordions) adapt their language use placing them in line with the local character of the store? This is what we wish to address in this paper: do places of employment promote or hinder the use of traditional dialect features?

Organizational identity

Before moving on to the details of our study, I want to introduce the sociological framework we adopted. Labov (1972) reported the rate at which employees working at three department stores in New York City deleted post-vocalic /r/. The highest rates of deletion were found in Klein's, followed by Macy's. Saks Fifth Avenue showed the lowest rates of deletion. Why should place of employment matter? Labov argued that employees borrowed the social status of the store and shifted their speech to accommodate customers. Saks, being the most prestigious store, was found to delete /r/ the least, followed by Macy's and then Klein's.

What does this have to do with Newfoundland? The Manhattan department store study gives us a testable framework to apply to our research in St. John's. Building on Labov's argument, I note that at the heart of the linguistic behaviour exhibited by each employee is an ability to accurately convey, to potential customers, the store's *identity* through linguistic performance. This willingness is called Organizational Identification (OI). OI has not been explicitly discussed in sociolinguistic work and so I define it here, following organizational behavior researchers Dutton, Dukerich & Harquail (1994: 242), as: "the degree to which a member defines him- or herself by the same attributes that he or she believes define the organization". The application to linguistic variation is clear: employees with high OI will linguistically mark their alignment with their workplace in order to promote its identity to their customers.

The OI framework is particularly relevant to the current study in that the situation in St. John's mirrors that found in countless small cities and towns across North America. Big Box stores, positioned at municipal limits, have relatively recently expanded into the Newfoundland and Labrador market. While local residents are hired to run and manage these stores, the stores themselves are often seen as a challenge to the sustainability of local, "Mom & Pop" shops in the downtown core. And with the rise of these non-native retail options, we find a concomitant loss of local control over the St. John's economy. This brings

us to the precise question our study was designed to answer: do employees working at retailers with non-locally-based identities use local, traditional linguistic forms when interacting with customers? Or do they adopt a more standard way of speaking in response to the non-local orientation of their place of employment?

We hypothesize that employees of coffee shops that are identifiably locally-owned and operated are more likely to adopt an organizational identity associated with the local community. We predict that this will promote a higher occurrence of interdental stop variants for each variable. We tested this hypothesis by collecting data from both local-identifying and non-local identifying coffee shops operating in St. John's. To categorize each coffee shop into local or non-local identities, we divided them according to how the stores are often perceived by community members¹. Table 1 below lists the stores included in this study. Our specific predictions follow.

Coffee Shop	Identity	# of Locations
Tim Hortons	Non-local	12
Starbucks	Non-local	3
Hava Java	Local	1
Coffee Matters	Local	2
Sappho's Cafe	Local	1
Coffee & Company	Local	1
Jumping Bean	Local	1
Bagel Cafe	Local	1
Chatters Cafe	Local	1
Total		24

Table 1. Coffee retailers included in this study

1. Starbucks: strongly non-local identity; employees more likely to favour innovation and inclination towards standard pronunciations. We predicted the highest rates of interdental fricatives for these shops.

¹ For the purposes of this preliminary study, these perceptions are based on those of the students in LING 3210. Any future research will include a larger sample of the St. John's community.

2. Tim Hortons: non-local (but still in the "Canadian" family chain of stores). With a strong and iconic national identity, we predicted more standard pronunciations in the speech of their workers and expected lower rates of interdental stopping.

3. Locally-owned shops: by definition, the most local of our coffee retailers. We expected to hear the fewer standard variants and more traditional interdental stops.

Methodology

Data were collected using a Rapid and Anonymous Survey (Labov 1972). Student researchers entered one of the designated coffee shop as a paying customer, placed their order and then asked the employee for the time. Since they planned to be in the store on the half-hour, the response usually was "It's ____ (blank) -thirty" giving us one token of the "TH" sound. When the researcher was out of view of the employee he/she would make a note of the pronunciation variant: whether it was pronounced as the standard fricative or as the traditional stop. In addition to this token, researchers listened for the pronunciation of "thanks" (if there was one) as their transaction ended as well as any other words containing the "TH" sound that occurred while they ordered their coffee.

While the primary focus of this study is the voiceless variable (θ), as identified in the above mentioned examples, the fieldworkers also collected a large number of voiced variables (δ). Therefore, both (δ) and (θ) are reported in the results below. We will, however, restrict any subsequent analyses to (θ), as previous studies (Clarke 1991, 2010; Van Herk, Childs, and Thorburn 2007) report that of the two variables, (δ) is more likely to be realized as the stop variant. Van Herk et al (2007: 89) identify theta stopping as "totemic... the non-standard variant acts as a salient marker of traditional Newfoundland identity". This makes (θ) a more appropriate variable to investigate here as its realization is more susceptible to the types of social influence under examination.

In order to assess the role of social influence on variation in the production of these forms, researchers coded both their results for a number of factors, including gender of the employee (Male or Female), the estimated age of the employee (Teenager, somewhere in their Twenties, Thirties, Forties, or Fifty + [those considered to be above the age of 50]), and the store in which he/she worked (Tim Hortons, Starbucks, or a locally-owned and operated store). In the case of the estimated age of employees, researchers were instructed to make impressionistic judgements based on features other than linguistic practices (as doing so would introduce circularity into the data). All data were

analyzed statistically using a multivariate test that included these three social factors in the Goldvarb X statistical software (Sankoff, Tagliamonte and Smith, 2005).

Results

This paper reports on a total of 473 tokens collected over the fieldwork period. Table 2 shows the number of (ð) and (θ) variables collected in each store according to the gender and age of employee. As illustrated, females and employees in their twenties are over-represented in the present sample. This is true for both (ð) and (θ). With this in mind, we turn to a description of the frequency of which [ð] and [θ] variants appear, respectively, in the speech of the coffee shop employees.

Factor	Starbucks		Tim Hortons		Locally-owned		Total	
	(ð)	(θ)	(ð)	(θ)	(ð)	(θ)	(ð)	(θ)
Gender								
Female	31	107	63	70	36	47	130	224
Male	13	34	24	18	9	21	46	73
Estimated Age								
Teenagers	0	0	2	16	1	0	3	16
Twenties	43	84	60	83	40	53	143	220
Thirties	1	4	15	16	4	15	20	35
Forties	0	0	7	15	0	0	7	15
Fifties	0	0	3	11	5	0	8	11

Table 2. Number of tokens collected for each variable at each store by gender and estimated age of employee

Our first finding shows that, overall, 85% of (θ) tokens were pronounced as the standard fricative variant. In contrast, 69% of the (ð) variables recorded were of the fricative variant. That is, in both cases, employees working in St. John's coffee shops used a higher percentage of the standard variant, a finding which

echoes the more general samples reported on from previous studies of St. John's (see Clarke 1991, 2012). This suggests that the patterns of variation in both personal conversations and in institutional encounters, such as ordering a cup of coffee, are broadly comparable. To what extent then, does working in a coffee shop influence the way these variables are pronounced? Does the Organizational Identity of the store actually influence the speech of the employees working within? To answer these questions, we turn to our results of the multivariate analysis of the social factors outlined above. As noted earlier, we will restrict ourselves to variation in the use of the voiceless interdental fricative (θ).

The first question we will consider is whether the coffee shops reflect the overall linguistic change occurring within St. John's (see above) or if the pattern is the result of another external influence termed the *linguistic marketplace effect* (e.g. Chambers 1995). While employees working in any customer service position might be considered "technicians of language" (Chambers 1995: 178) by virtue of their need to communicate with customers on a regular basis, the present study does not treat all employees as equal by virtue of their employment in different types of coffee shops. We would then expect that if the patterns observed here simply reflect the outside community, male employees should be more conservative than female employees, and older more conservative than younger (Labov 2001). If on the other hand the data reflect the marketplace, then males should be no different than females and young no different than old.

Factor	Factor Weight	% of fricative variants	# of tokens
Females	[.50]	89%	224
Males	[.49]	83%	73
Range	1		
Teenagers	.73	94%	16
Twenties	.50	88%	220
Thirties	.79	97%	35
Forties	.14	47%	15
Fifties +	.04	18%	11
Range	68		

Table 3. Probability and descriptive statistics for gender and estimated age of employee

Table 3 presents results of the multivariate test for gender and estimated age of employee. We see that females used interdental fricative variants more than males. However, the difference between the genders (6%) is not spectacularly large and was not found to be statistically significant (factor weights bolded in column two indicate significant effects). The absence of a significant difference across genders is inconsistent with typical patterns of linguistic variation and change. This suggests that the marketplace does impose a significant effect on how language is used in institutional encounters, effectively reducing any gender-influenced differences the employees would otherwise exhibit in their speech outside of the coffee shop environment.

Table 3 also shows the distribution of stop variants by the age of the employee. Older employees (those estimated to be over the age of 40) used the standard variant significantly less often than younger age groups. This is not surprising given that older individuals are more likely to favour non-standard, traditional forms. At the other end of the spectrum, we see that workers in their teens and twenties used interdental far more frequently than their older counterparts, though with one small exception. Employees in their twenties were less likely than teenagers and those in their thirties to use the standard variant. With the exception of this one case, the data for Age is consistent with the overall community norms shown in St. John's by Clarke (1991, 2012) and in Petty Harbour by Van Herk, et al. (2007). The blip in the pattern does require some explanation, though at the present time we offer only a conjecture: the teenaged and thirty-something employees, who are nearly categorical in their use of the standard, are highly influenced by a marketplace norm that favours the standard variant. Clearly this requires further research to confirm.

To summarize so far, the age distribution resembles the community norm, apart from one deviation, but the gender pattern does not. If the marketplace were the sole factor involved, we would not expect significant variation across the age groups. It seems that gendered linguistic differences are reduced in a workplace setting whereas age-related differences, we suspect, affect some age groups more than others. Thus, these results do suggest that the marketplace plays a role in the realization of the interdental fricative.

We return now to the original question concerning Organizational Identification and linguistic variation: are the corporate, franchised coffee shops "from away" linguistically different from the independent locally owned and operated ones? These results are found in Table 4.

Factor	Factor Weight	% of fricative variants	# of tokens
Non-local	.37	80%	229
Local	.90	99%	68
Range	53		

Table 4. Comparison of non-local and local identity stores

Here we find that employees of local shops used a higher rate of fricative variants compared to their non-local counterparts. While both types of stores used the standard fricative at high rates, a small statistical differences is found. Relative to each other, non-local shops are less likely to use the standard form. This finding runs against our initial hypothesis. To determine what is behind these numbers, we looked at the role each non-local shop makes to the overall value, by comparison to the contribution of their local counterparts (Table 5).

Factor	Factor Weight	% of fricative variants	# of tokens
Tim Hortons	.24	76%	141
Starbucks	.63	94%	88
Locals	.85	99%	68
Range	61		

Table 5. A closer look at non-local shops, relative to local independents

When we break down the data in this way, we can see that Tim Hortons' employees use fewer fricatives than Starbucks' employees. In fact, Starbucks is aligned closer to the local shops than to Tim Hortons, its non-local counterpart. So the division between local and non-local employees shown in Table 4 is due, in a large part, to Tim Hortons. From Table 5, we also see only a small difference (5%) between Starbucks employees and those from local shops. This alignment between Starbucks and the local stores, followed by Tim Hortons where the lowest number of fricative variants were found, is inconsistent with the predictions of our organizational identity model. In terms of who sounds the most local, Tim Hortons' employees are first in line. They used the standard variant about 3/4 of the time. A gap separates them from the near categorical usage found at Starbucks and the local coffee shops. How do we explain this?

Discussion

While the results reported above revealed a few surprises, our findings are consistent with what Hammonds (2006) refers to as *The Starbucks Effect*: “the emergence of new competitors with superior business models that force [existing retailers] to reconsider the viability of what [they’ve] always done.” In other words, the presence of a Starbucks initiates developments that depart from the status quo.

This is illustrated in the following quote from the local paper, *The Telegram* (Whalen 2006): “...the growth of local independents is no coincidence... The best thing that ever happened for coffee in Newfoundland is when Starbucks came here... It kind of introduced people to a different sort of coffee, like lattes and cappuccinos.” If this sentiment is widely held and at the heart of coffee culture in St. John’s, then the apparent disorder in the rates of standardization we observed above can be accounted for. In terms of linguistic practices, the Starbucks Effect has re-shaped local organizational identities and related linguistic practices. The locally-owned and operated independent coffee shops in the city are largely upscale cafes that cater to coffee connoisseurs and specialize in premium espresso-based drinks.

Given that the highest rates of interdental stopping were found in the speech of Tim Hortons’ employees, we might reconsider its classification as a non-local coffee shop. Based on linguistic data, the franchised stores in St. John’s have taken on a local identity, replacing the small scale bars, restaurants and convenience stores, all places where one could go to for a cup of coffee. In this sense, the landscape has permanently changed. Responding further to this sea change brought about by Starbucks, Tim Hortons announced in November 2011 “the biggest new specialty coffee introduction ever in Canada... the addition of lattes, mocha lattes and cappuccinos made with premium espresso” to their menu (Tim Hortons 2011) and began testing wifi service at locations in the United States and Canada in an effort to keep competitive in the coffee house market (Findley 2012).

To find that 1) the locally-owned and independently operated coffee shops of St. John’s are on the forefront of sociolinguistic innovation and change and 2) Tim Hortons is the place to go to hear local dialect is interesting in a city that has strong heritage preservation initiatives. We expected, at the outset of this study, that those with local ties to the community would show higher rates of non-standard forms. The sentiment is echoed in a 2007 report *Downtown St. John’s Strategy for Economic Development and Heritage Preservation* (Downtown St. John’s, 2007) in which residents were asked about how they envisaged their community. The following quote is particularly telling: “A city

rife with character, local crafts, good views, old world ambience combined with businesses appropriate to such ambience. Not an upscale yuppi haven.” (ibid, emphasis added). This suggests that the city of St. John's is involved in a delicate balancing act to bridge the best of two worlds – old world charm with the comforts of innovation and competitive change. It is in this tension that sociolinguistic identity practices are played out, revised and headed for change.

Conclusion

On the most basic level, we have seen that employees working at coffee shops in St. John's use, by-and-large, the standard interdental fricative pronunciation for words containing the (θ) variable. However, some coffee shops support traditional NE features to a greater extent. We were left with an unexpected result concerning the local independents that cannot be accounted for by a strict local/non-local divide posited above. Rather, I suggest that here, in post-insular Newfoundland, employees working at local coffee shops use a type of organization-based stylistic model to mark who they want to be identified with. Given the closed set of options, Starbucks vs. Tim Hortons, the data suggest that independent retailers are choosing the former. This is mediated by the employees' organizational identity – in addition to providing gourmet coffee, like espressos, cappuccinos and mochaccinos, employees draw on non-traditional linguistic practices as a resource that fits into their perception of their coffee shop as an elite urban cafe. What we have here is a case of hypercorrection. Local cafes actually "out-standard" the standard model offered by Starbucks, the organization most widely perceived as non-local and non-traditional.

The linguistic patterns presented here confirm what Labov's department store study suggested over 40 years ago: that organizational identity constrains sociolinguistic production. However, I interpret our results as suggestive of a change not just in the dialect but in the organizational identities that exist in St. John's 300 year-old historic downtown. Despite Canada's labeling of the downtown area a heritage conservation area, local coffee retailers are challenging their local affiliation in favour of a more national or non-locally-based identity. In their place Tim Hortons has moved in as the neighbourhood coffee shop. During a time when the local dialect is receding from widespread use, St. John's coffee shops are making their own contribution, one latte at a time.

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UPDATE ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE RESEARCH CENTRE

Suzanne Power and Sandra Clarke

Word-file Digitization Project

Directed by the ELRC Management Committee

Although the 30th anniversary of the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English (DNE)* is upon us, there is still much work to be done at the English Language Research Centre. As many readers know, the ongoing *Word-file Digitization Project* aims to digitize the more than 100,000 word-files that went into the creation of the *DNE* and to make the data available to interested researchers and the general public. Digitization will also help to preserve the *DNE*'s primary and secondary source records. The research collection for the *DNE* largely exists in a floor to ceiling stack of index card drawers.

There are 72 drawers of cards in total. Although the project has been ongoing since 2005, the work really picked up when Jenny Higgins was hired as the ELRC Manager in February 2010. At that point, 5 drawers had been completely digitized and 16 had been partially digitized. When she left the ELRC in August 2011, 35 drawers had been completely digitized and 7 were partially digitized. At the time of writing, 49 of these drawers have been fully digitized and 9 have been partially digitized. Some drawers are about half full (i.e. the XYZ drawer) while other drawers are completely full (i.e. the 12 drawers of S word-files).

Digitizing involves scanning each individual index card and typing its contents into an Interface designed by Don Walsh at the Digital Archives Initiative. Sounds simple? Well, not necessarily. The scanning is straightforward but each card is its own unique entry. There are numerous fields in the interface and, while students do receive training, it is really up to each student assistant to decide what goes where and to follow the digitization protocol all the while. Once students get used to the task, they can digitize anywhere from 10-20 cards per hour, depending on the card.

The most difficult cards tend to be the queried and withdrawn cards. Queries are those examples or citations that require more evidence in order to support or reject the term as a Newfoundland English usage. An example is *wimera*, meaning 'instead of' according to the single word file for this term in the collection. Withdrawn cards are those examples or citations that are clearly not particular to Newfoundland, such as *darbies*, meaning 'handcuffs' which is in widespread usage elsewhere. These cards are difficult mostly because of the

many hand-written slips - typically editor's notes - that have bewildered almost every student who has worked on the project. For example, in Dr. Kirwin's hand, the letter *k* can also look like *p* or *h* and context is not always helpful since the rest of the letters in the word can also be difficult to pick out. After a while, it gets easier as students learn the parts of each editor's handwriting, but there are still times when nobody can figure it out. This is when a card gets flagged and brought to Dr. Kirwin for decoding. Miraculously, there has never been a card (in my experience) that has stumped him.

So, we continue on with the project and hope to make the entire collection available online, something that no other dictionary has done, to our knowledge. This will not only illuminate the process of creating a dictionary, but will hopefully inspire future research on Newfoundland (and perhaps Labrador) English.

The Online Dialect Atlas of Newfoundland and Labrador

Directed by Sandra Clarke (Linguistics), in collaboration with DELTS (Distance Education, Learning and Teaching Support), along with C&C Webworks. .

While the unique lexicon of Newfoundland and Labrador English is captured in the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*, information on the regional distribution of its linguistic features is largely lacking. The aim of the Dialect Atlas project is to document the spatial distribution of traditional features of lexicon, phonology and morphology within the province, in the form of an online interactive dialect atlas accessible to both scholars and the general public.

The Dialect Atlas project expands on data originally assembled under the direction of linguist Harold Paddock, based on interviews and conversations tape-recorded with conservative older rural speakers from c. 1960 to 1982. Its phonetic/morphosyntactic component yields information on the distribution of 65 features in 69 coastal Newfoundland communities; its lexical component documents responses to a 566-item questionnaire from 126 speakers in 20 representative communities throughout the province.

The Dialect Atlas, to be officially launched early in 2013, will join the small number of existing web-based linguistic resources that document the geographical distribution of words, pronunciations and grammatical forms in the English-speaking world.

The Atlas project gratefully acknowledges the financial support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Council of Canada (SSHRC), in the form of a Public Outreach Dissemination Grant. Earlier versions of the Atlas were supported by the J.R. Smallwood Foundation for Newfoundland and Labrador Studies, as well as Memorial's Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER).

Voices of Newfoundland and Labrador

Sandra Clarke (Linguistics), Philip Hiscock (Folklore), Robert Hollett (English)
 This project addresses an important gap in the documentation of Newfoundland and Labrador English: the need for high-quality sound samples representing the wide range of linguistic variation to be found within the province. Over 60 short samples of speech have been digitized from conversational as well as radio interviews. These span the last 50 years, and represent 58 different communities from all areas of the island, along with 11 communities in Labrador.

Though the primary focus is on traditional rural speech (the oldest speaker was born in the 1870s), coverage extends to younger urban speakers born in the 1980s. The samples thus provide not only a picture of spoken English as it has evolved over the past century, but also considerable information on the regional differences in phonology and morphosyntax that occur within the province. The identification of the principal linguistic features of each speech sample should provide a baseline for future linguistic work on regional variation in Newfoundland English.

The project's output will be a CD of digitized speech samples, along with a volume of transcripts, notes and interpretive texts. This is intended not only for a linguistic audience, but for all those with an interest in the cultural heritage of the province.

The Voices project has received financial support from the Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation of the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Student Assistants

Names of Memorial University students who have helped in projects of the English Language Research Centre were presented in *RLS...Newfoundland* 18, p. 31. It might be of interest that, since 2005, 50 students have worked on the *Word-file Digitization Project*.

Student assistants who have worked with the ELRC on the *Word-file Digitization Project* since October 2011 include Shane Beehan, Joelle Carey, Hailey Gallivan, Maegan Gill, Manjot Gill, Nic Hartmann, Elie Kalombo, Josué Kalombo, Rebecca Kalombo, Alison McEvoy, Sarah Milmine, Michael Philpott, Shamiso Simango, Brittany Stamp, Krista Nugent-Thomas, Allyson Wheeler, Cathy Wiseman. Students who have worked with the Online Dialect Atlas of Newfoundland and Labrador (DANL) include Melanie Hurley, Meaghan Malone, Suzanne Power, Harmony Roberts, Jennifer Thorburn.

REPORT ON NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR ENGLISH RESEARCH IN THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

Suzanne Power

Memorial University Sociolinguistics Laboratory (MUSL):

The Memorial University Sociolinguistics Laboratory (MUSL) is continuing work on **Urbanization and Rapid Change in Newfoundland English**, focused on language variation in Petty Harbour. Currently, Dr. Gerard Van Herk and MUSL research assistants are studying past and present temporal reference, and variable –ING (whether speakers use *going* or *goin'*) in Petty Harbour. In addition to the Petty Harbour corpus, MUSL also houses corpora of sociolinguistic interviews from Corner Brook, the Battery, the Goulds, Placentia, and various student research projects.

MUSL has started a new project this summer called **Sisters Under the Skin: Input, maintenance, and post-insularity in the Englishes of the Atlantic World**. This project compares the social and linguistic conditioning of similar linguistic variables in five different Atlantic communities – in Newfoundland, South Carolina, the Bahamas, and Liberia – to determine the role of locally-relevant social forces in dialect formation and maintenance. Working with existing sociolinguistic interviews, oral history recordings, and archival historical written data, we will exploit the distinct profiles of each data set to determine the contribution of input, contact and isolation, ethnicity, and post-insularity to the maintenance and social meaning of traditional local language. Student research assistants are in the initial stages of transcribing letters hand-written by 19th century African Americans.

Other ongoing MUSL projects:

- **Language Change in Newfoundland Survey Project** (Principal investigator: Dr. Gerard Van Herk)

For the past several years, students taking LING 2210 have been collecting usage surveys and these surveys have been kept and compiled. Demographic information (age, sex, etc.) and usage information (i.e. *Do you use this form?*) on 41 morphosyntactic and phonetic features associated with traditional Newfoundland English, vernacular Englishes, and language change have been collected via the Survey Project. These surveys are a complement to

sociolinguistic interviews. The survey data is available online as part of MUSL's endeavor to become more involved in data-sharing.

- **Dialects in Contact: Quoted Voices and the (h)Art of Storytelling** (Principal investigator: Dr. Paul De Decker)

Emerging from pilot work (*Dialects in Contact: The Townie/Bayman corpus*), The *Dialects in Contact* project investigates the sociolinguistic practices of St. John's, NL, and aims to uncover patterns of linguistic variation, and change in Newfoundland. The initial phase of research looks at how residents of St. John's and migrants from rural Newfoundland communities living in St. John's use Quoted Speech. Researchers are interested in how speakers re-tell someone else's words. Typical verbs of quotation are "He *said*... She *was like*... They *went*..."

The goals of this project are to: first, describe the ways quoted speech is different from non-quoting speech; second, to assess the social function of phonetic and dialect variation in Quoted Speech; and third, to describe the social and linguistic constraints on dialect use in Quoted Speech.

For more information about MUSL, its projects, and MUSL holdings, visit musl.ling.mun.ca or email <musl@mun.ca>.

Student research:

Rachel Deal (M.A. Candidate) is studying language variation in Ferryland, Newfoundland. She spent a summer working with the local dinner theatre, recording participants during the shows and interviewing them after the show. Specifically, Deal is comparing actors' on-stage and off-stage production of Newfoundland Irish English vowels. Through this study, she hopes to examine participants' control of a performed dialect. Deal works under the assumption that performing narratives produces and distributes ideologies and ideas about an identity, culture and community.

Sarah Knee (PhD Candidate) is studying Chisasibi Child Language Acquisition but has also teamed up with Gerard Van Herk to study the role of local affiliation and social aspiration by examining interdental stopping among twelve adolescents in New-Wes-Valley, a rural Newfoundland community. Informants share social characteristics and speech community, but differ in sex and aspiration: some intend to remain in the community, while others plan to leave at the earliest opportunity. Their findings demonstrate the theoretical and

methodological importance of considering social aspiration and affiliation when exploring linguistic diversity in communities undergoing rapid social change.

Paul Pigott (M.A.) is completing his Master's thesis in Linguistics. Pigott looked at geminate consonants and stress patterns in the spontaneous speech of Labrador Inuktitut speakers from four Labrador communities.

Suzanne Power (M.A. Candidate) is studying language change in Placentia, Newfoundland. From 1941-1994, an American naval base and air station were active at neighbouring Argentia. The base brought thousands of American servicemen and their families to the municipalities that make up Placentia today. Power's research will be the first to address American dialect contact in the area. Her work is grounded in dialect contact, identity and variationist linguistic theory. Through an examination of the realization of interdental fricatives and word-final stops (/p,t,d,k,g/), Power hopes to reveal sociolinguistic conditioning that may inform the extent of dialect contact.

Jennifer Thorburn (PhD candidate) is in the final stages of her dissertation on Labrador English in Nain. Thorburn is working within a variationist sociolinguistic framework and focusing on interdental stopping (dis ting for this thing), verbal *-s* (*I loves it*), and adjectival intensifiers *right* and *some*. Thorburn compares the Nain data against provincial norms, while considering transfer effects, since some Nain residents are native speakers of Inuktitut.

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Recent publications:

An efficient way to locate printed works related to Newfoundland and Labrador language studies is to consult the resources in the Queen Elizabeth II website: <<http://www.library.mun.ca/>>

For books search “catalogue” by keywords:

linguis\$

language\$

dialect\$

after you have changed the “**all libraries**” setting to “**Centre for Newfoundland Studies**,” so that only the Newfoundland and Labrador material comes up.

For articles, on the same page (<<http://www.library.mun.ca/>>) click “**Article Indexes**,” then under “**P**,” the “**PAB (Newfoundland Periodical Article Bibliography)**” and search by keywords:

linguis*

language*

dialect*

Combine these terms with any other keywords (map*, word*, names*, surnames*, place names*, etc.) joined by “and” to find Newfoundland and Labrador articles.

With the assistance of Joan Ritcey.

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Regional Language Studies (RLS) Style Sheet

To aid authors in the preparation of their manuscripts, we offer the following style guidelines. Please direct any questions that you may have to <elrc@mun.ca>.

Please submit your manuscript in Times New Roman 12 with double spacing throughout, using either Word or WordPerfect. Indent all paragraphs except for the initial paragraph and the first paragraph of each section. If the paper contains separate sections, section headings should be bolded. Do not number section headings, but number examples sequentially through the paper.

Punctuation. Use double quotation marks, but single for citations within citations, as well as for glosses of lexical items. Periods, commas, colons etc. should appear inside rather than outside quotation marks. Use a single rather than a double space after periods, colons etc.

Tables and Figures. These may be either enclosed within the text, or submitted separately. Titles should be placed immediately above each table or figure.

Footnotes. Use footnotes rather than endnotes, when additional information is required.

References. Footnotes should not be used for in-text references. Instead, enclose the author's surname, date of publication and (if necessary) page reference within brackets in the text. Examples: Kirwin (1993: 72) states that "..."; "No studies are available of local Anglo-Irish intonation patterns" (Kirwin 1993: 72).

All works referred to in the text must appear in a separate **Reference section**, directly following the text. Reference order should be alphabetical by author surname; if more than one reference is cited from the same author, start with the earliest. Please follow the format given in the various examples below.

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