Izaro Zalacain Mendia

Degree in English Studies 2019-2020

NEWFOUNDLAND ENGLISH

Supervisor: Miren Alazne Landa

Departamento de Filología Inglesa, Alemana y de Traducción e Interpretación

Área de Filología Inglesa

Abstract

The English language has undergone many variations, leaving uncountable dialects in every nook and cranny of the world. Located at the north-east of Canada, the island of Newfoundland presents one of those dialects. However, within the many varieties the English language features, Newfoundland English (NE) remains as one of the less researched dialects in North America.

The aim of this paper is to provide a characterisation of NE. In order to do so, this paper focuses on research questions on the origins of the dialect, potential variation within NE, the languages it has been in contact with, its particular linguistic features and the role of linguistic distinction in the Newfoundlander identity. Thus, in this paper I firstly assess the origins of NE, which are documented to mainly derive from West Country, England, and south-eastern Ireland, and I also provide an overview of the main historical events that have influenced the language. Secondly, I show the linguistic variation NE features, thus displaying the multiple dialectal areas that are found in the island. Furthermore, I discuss the different languages that have been in contact with the variety, namely, Irish Gaelic and Micmac, among others. Thirdly, I present a variety of linguistic features of NE -both phonetic and morphosyntactic- that distinguish the dialect from the rest of North American varieties, including Canadian English. Finally, I tackle the issue of language and identity and uncover a number of innovations and purposeful uses of certain features that the islanders show in their speech for the sake of identity marking.

I conclude this overview of the variety of English spoken in Newfoundland by revisiting some of the aspects that are still pending of further research if we are to understand both this minority variety and its sociolinguistic situation better. Among these pending issues, I mention that the role of language contact in the formation of NE is yet to be investigated, and the differences between the dialectal areas of the island are also to be further documented. Additionally, future research could focus on the changes NE has undergone -or is most likely to undergo- with the territory's newfound role as a tourist destination.

Key words: Newfoundland English, Newfie, language and identity, Irish English, Irish identity.

Table of Contents

0. Introduction

The English language is arguably one of the best known and most studied languages in the world. Considering its spread around the globe, language variation is expected. Put differently, it is assumed that English speakers from different parts of the world and belonging to different social or ethnic groups speak differently. In fact, countless atlases, books, articles and research papers have been devoted to the description of said nuances. This is also known as the study of varieties of English. This field of study has been approached synchronically and diachronically within both theoretical frameworks and more applied linguistic disciplines, such as sociolinguistics, sociology of the language, language acquisition, language planning, etc.

Within this frame, not all varieties have received the same amount of scientific attention. There are some varieties of English that are very well documented; this is the case, for instance, of Irish English or African American English. However, even within one of the most investigated varieties in the world, such as North American English, the existence of less researched dialects is still possible. This is the case of Newfoundland English (NE), which is the object of study of this paper. NE is a variety spoken in the island of Newfoundland, to the northeast of Canada.

The aim of this paper is to present a characterisation of NE. In order to do so, I deem it necessary to offer an adequate answer to the following questions:

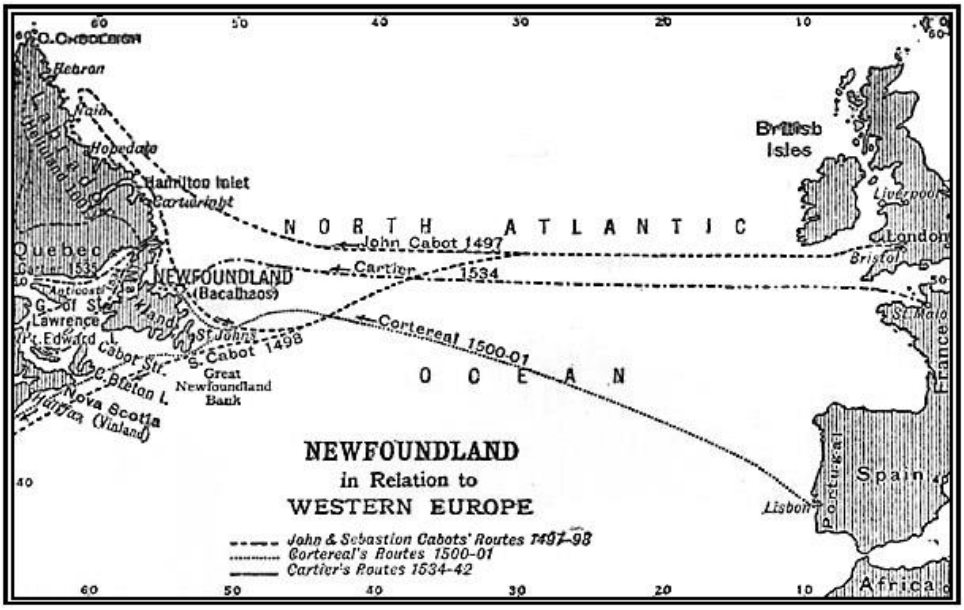
(i) What have been the linguistic sources of this variety? Has this variety ever been influenced by other languages?
(ii) Is there any dialectal variation within NE itself? That is, are there different NE dialects?
(iii) What distinctive features characterise this variety?
(iv) Does language use correlate with identity in Newfoundland? If so, how?

The organization of the present paper is as follows. In section 2., I review the history of the island. In section 3. the language landscape of the area is examined, along with the dialectal variation attested within the variety itself. Section 4. characterises the linguistic features that shape the variety and, lastly, I will explain how Newfoundlanders feel about using NE in section 5.

1. The history of Newfoundland English

1.1. British migration

Although British fishermen searching for cod made frequent landfalls in Newfoundland during the 16th century, it was not until the 17th century that a permanent population settled in the island. According to Clarke (2004), both the origins of the settlers and the areas that were first established were very well documented. Map 1 illustrates the route migrants of various countries of Europe followed to the island.



Map 1. Newfoundland's relationship with Western Europe (Smith, 2006:32).

The majority of settlers from England came from the southwestern counties of Devon, Dorset, Somerset and Hampshire. Devonians were some of the earliest settlers of Newfoundland, and its merchants dominated the Newfoundland fishery on its early days. Regarding the counties of Dorset, Somerset and Hampshire, the rise of Poole as the main port in the Newfoundland fish trade might have been a major factor in the prominence of the peoples from said counties (Clarke, 2004).

The places where the British established themselves include the south-western areas of Placentia Bay and the Burin Peninsula and the east of Notre Dame Bay in the north. The latter was considered the main area of settlement until the nineteenth century (Clarke, 2004).

1.2. Irish migration

The Irish became involved with Newfoundland in the 17th century when the British started collecting supplies for the journey to this island in the ports of Waterford, Dungarvan, Youghal and Cork. As a consequence, the Irish took part in the seasonal migration for fishery (Hickey, 2004). In the peak of migration to the island, between 1730 and 1830, the Irish began making the island their permanent residence. The region they came from and the areas they established are also very well localized (Clarke, 2004).

Their origins are said to be within a thirty-mile radius of Waterford city, that is, south-west Wexford, south Kilkenny, south-east Tipperary, south-east Cork and County Waterford (Mannion 1974, as cited in Clarke, 2004). Although these counties are reported to have had a low rate of Gaelic speakers, Kirwin (1993) suggests that some monolingual Gaelic speakers did migrate to Newfoundland.

Regarding the areas they occupied, the majority of Irish immigrants settled the southern Avalon Peninsula, including the Southern Shore (i.e. Coastal communities southern of St. John's) and Placentia Bay to the west. Furthermore, they also settled in Conception Bay together with the English (Clarke, 2004).

1.3. Union with Canada and onwards

The 1940s brought a number of factors that changed the socio-economic situation of the island (Childs & Van Herk, 2014). Said changes by default brought 'mainland' North American linguistic features, which mostly affected the formal speech of younger segments of the population (Clarke, 2004).

Some of the most significant factors that caused these changes were the presence of U.S. and British military bases during World War II and the union of the region with Canada as its tenth province. The latter brought compulsory education into the whole province, as well as the expansion of the university (Childs & Van Herk, 2014). Furthermore, a major resettlement program caused a decrease in small towns and villages (Clarke, 2004).

In addition, 1992 brought the downfall of traditional cod fishery and the exponential increase of offshore oil exploitation and development. These events caused a migration

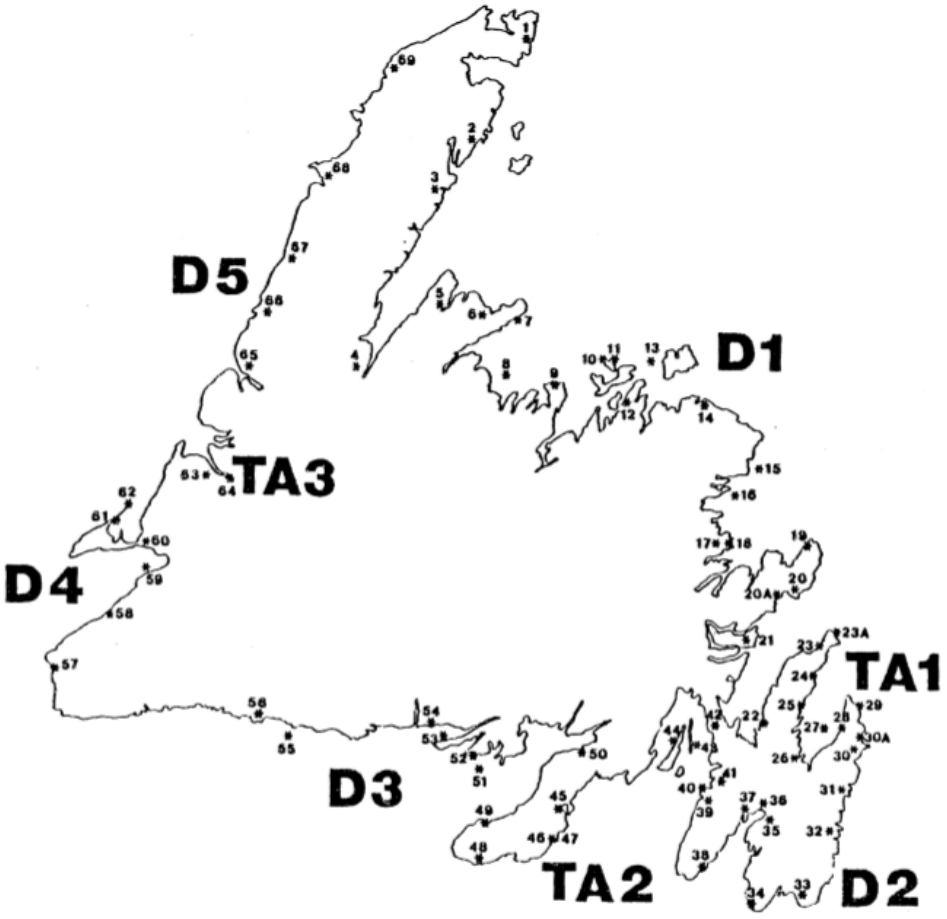
movement to both the capital of St. John's and outside the province, an increase of post-secondary education and a significant decline in birth rates (Childs & Van Herk, 2014).

2. Language landscape

Although the aim of this paper is to characterise NE, it is important to be aware of other linguistic systems present in the area, due to the potential influence they may have had on NE. Furthermore, no language or variety is monolithic, especially in a language contact situation. Therefore, this section will focus on characterising NE variation and on illustrating the languages that are or have been in contact with NE, whether European or Native American in origin.

2.1. Dialects of Newfoundland English

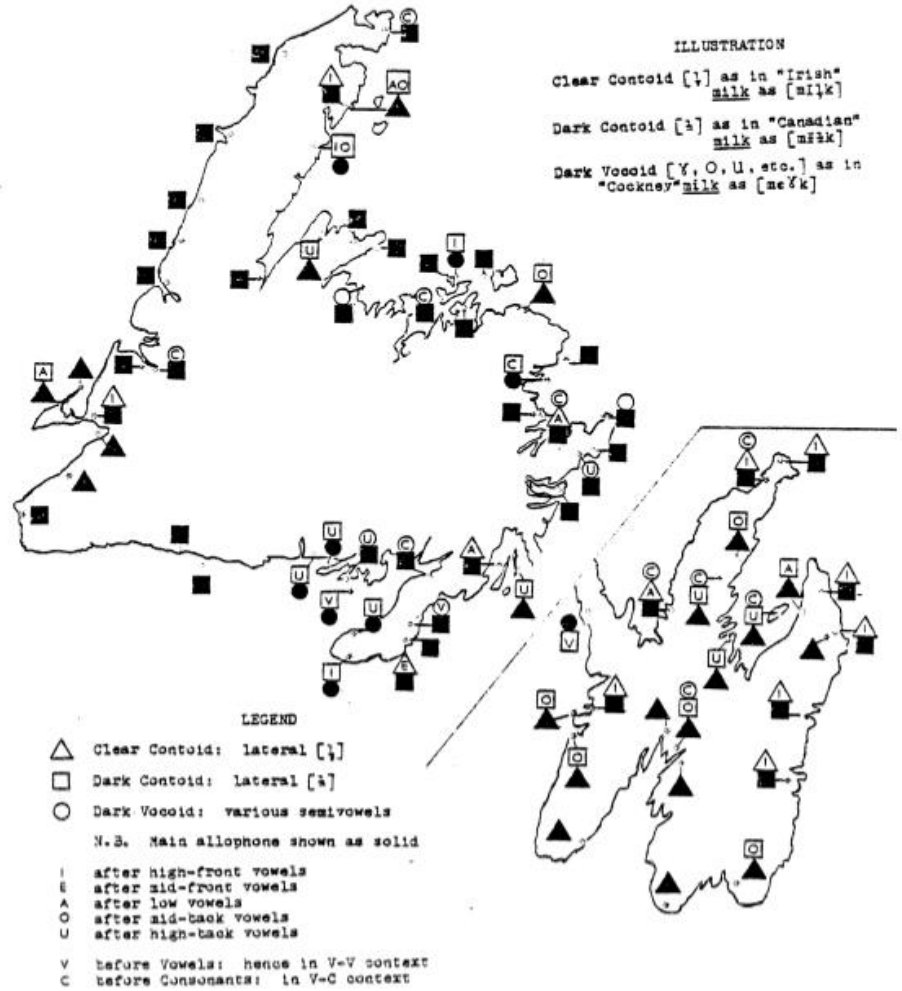
As mentioned before, Newfoundland witnessed the arrival of settlers from the south-west of England and Ireland. As these people settled in different regions of the island, Paddock (1982) was able to distinguish eight different dialectal areas. This geographical distribution of dialects can be seen in Map 2 below:



Map 2. Eight Dialectal areas of Newfoundland English (Paddock, 1982:83).

These dialectal areas include: Dl English-North, TAl Conception Bay and/or St. John's Area (roughly communities 24 to 30A), D2 Irish Avalon Peninsula, TA2 Placentia Bay (roughly communities 39 to 47), D3 English-South, D4 Southern West Coast, TA3 Corner Brook and Area D5 Northern West Coast.

The dialects with the letter D represent focal dialect areas whereas TA indicates that it is a transitional area between focal dialects. The transitional areas are considered as such because there are different sources or settlers there or because of a higher degree of standardization (Paddock, 1982). Map 3 actually shows how a feature gradually changes through TA areas:



Map 3. The pronunciation of postvocalic /l/ in Newfoundland (Paddock, 1982:88).

Non-English settlers, mainly the Irish, Scottish and French, brought "clear" pronunciations of post-vocalic l ([l]) to Newfoundland whereas a velar pronunciation of postvocalic l ([ɬ]) was brought by English settlers. In Map 3, the pronunciation of postvocalic L can be seen to gradually change from [ɬ] in 21 (Deer Harbour on Random

Island, Trinity Bay) to [l] in 30 (Freshwater Valley of St. John's). The opposite change occurs across TA2 from [l] in community 38 (Branch) to [ɬ] in 48 (Lamaline at the foot of the Burin Peninsula). The preferred use of [l] after vowels in both TA1 and TA2 is significant to define the dialect area of D2, the Irish Avalon. The use of [l] in the area D4 can also be explained by the regional and dialectal origin of its dwellers, due to the fact that speakers of Scottish origin live in 58 and 59 (Highlands and Sandy Point), and people with French ancestry can be found in 61 and 62 (on the Port-au-Port Peninsula) (Paddock 1982).

However, there are cases of boundary blurring between dialects in Newfoundland. One of the most noticeable ones is that the Irish feature known as the *AFTER*-PERFECT (*after* + V-*ing* with the meaning of very recent past and complete action) has spread to the entire island[1]. In this construction, the use of a sentence such as (1) would have a perfective aspect (Paddock, 1982:78):

(1) Look what I'm after doin now!
"Look what I have just done."

It seems that the reason behind such a quick spread is that West Country English contained an identical form, though with the opposing meaning (Paddock, 1982), as I will illustrate in section 3.2.1.

2.2. European languages

2.2.1. Irish Gaelic

The documentation of the presence of Irish monolingual speakers in Newfoundland has been scarce. However, in a letter from 1784, directed to Mons. Talbot, Vicar apostolic in London, inhabitants of the Avalon Peninsula in the island were noted to not understand any language other than Irish (Foster, 1982a).

By the 19th century, the language seemed to have mostly disappeared from social life, though it was still spoken by the families of the Southern Shore and Conception Bay South. Considering its already decreasing pattern, it is not surprising that the institutions in charge of formal education completely ignored the existence of the language, even in the areas in which it was still spoken (Foster, 1982a).

[1] This construction (and same meaning) is a typical feature of Hiberno English (Hickey 2002).

The transmission of Irish was carried out by women, in particular by grandmothers who tended to deliberately try to teach the language to their grandchildren. This took place in a completely domestic and informal manner. Against all odds, Irish was still spoken in isolated areas of the Avalon Peninsula by older people until that generation died out around the time of World War I. As Foster (1982a) concludes, the lack of inclusion of the Gaelic language in formal education curricula might be one of the most significant factors in its extinction, as Irish became isolated within rural and domestic areas, dwindling further and further in time until disappearance.

2.2.2. Scottish Gaelic

Scottish Gaelic was widely spoken until the 1960s in Newfoundland, specifically in the western area, from the Port-au-Port Peninsula to the low Codroy Valley. In more recent times, Foster (1982b) affirms that the language has not gone extinct, and it is still used in family contexts. The transmission of Scottish Gaelic, just as with Irish Gaelic, was carried out by women.

It is also worth mentioning that there was a migratory movement of the Scottish who originally migrated to Nova Scotia towards Newfoundland. They first settled at the mouth of Cordoy Valley and later on at the Highlands (Foster, 1982b).

The Cordoy Valley where the first Scottish migrants lived was shared with other communities, predominantly English speaking ones. From the start, English was the dominant language in the contact situation, both politically and economically speaking (Foster, 1982b).

2.2.3. Port-au-Port French

Port-au-Port French is a variety of French that is remarkably different to the Canadian and French standards in phonetics, morphosyntax and lexicon. The main reasons of such variation are the isolation from any other French variety and the influence of English (Thomas, 1982).

The French spoken in Port-au-Port has been completely oral, that is, its use is not manifested in any written form. In fact, most Newfoundland French speakers are unable to read or write in the language. This is due to the fact that except for the first literate migrants that arrived at the island, Port-au-Port French did not have a written tradition. Therefore, it is safe to say that Port-au-Port French developed without any of the

constraints a written standard imposed (Thomas, 1982). Put differently, it would seem that because there was not a written standard, the variety was able to evolve and change without any written indication of what was perceived as right or wrong.

Regarding the origins of French Newfoundlanders, they seem to be of three main origins. The first French speakers came from Brittany. It seems that some had Breton as their first language, though it does not seem to have made much impact on Port-au-Port French. The second source of origin was the settlers of the island of St. Pierre. Although they made an impact on the settlement of the peninsula, their French did not influence the variety at hand (Thomas, 1982).

Finally, the third source of French speakers came from the former French colony of Acadia, that is, what is now known as Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. Although their French was at first similar to the one of their origins (the centre-west of France), by the time they arrived at Newfoundland in the nineteenth century, their French had developed and changed from their original variety (Thomas, 1982).

The peninsula of Port-au-Port was quite isolated; therefore, English did not become important to its inhabitants until the Catholic Church established itself properly in the area in the late nineteenth century. It was in this period that schools were built in the French communities. However, the teachings were in English. It is important to note that the first students of said schools attended classes for a very short time, just enough to learn the basics (Thomas, 1982).

English became more dominant because of economic factors in 1910, when the railroad gave access to the logging industry in the Corner Brook and Deer Lake Region. Other economic factors such as the opening of the American Air Force in Stephenville in 1941 might have also pushed the French to learn English, owing to the fact that it was necessary to speak and understand it in order to work there. It was while working in said base that the French started to have an inferiority complex towards their language, as they were allegedly made fun of because of their accent. From 1941 onwards, some parents stopped talking to their children in French (Thomas, 1982).

2.3. Native American languages

2.3.1. Beothuk

The first Native Americans the Newfoundland settlers encountered were the Beothuk who spoke an Algonkian language, known in the literature as Beothuk (Hewson, 1982a). The affiliation of Beothuk to the Algonkian family, which stretches from Hudson's Bay in the north to the Gulf of Mexico in the south, and from the Great lakes up to Quebec, is controversial because the language was documented by people who did not speak it and had no training in phonetics or linguistics. Consequently, the documentation of Beothuk was not adequately done, and that hindered the chance to make a connection between Beothuk and other Algonkian languages (Hewson, 1982a).

2.3.2. Micmac

Micmac is a language that is spoken by the Micmac tribe. The language also belongs to the Algonkian family of languages and is spoken in the Gaspe Peninsula of Quebec, in the north shore of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and, after having crossed the Cabot Strait, in Newfoundland too. The Micmac tribe's arrival at Newfoundland was a direct consequence of the Seven Years War (1756-1763) as it left the Micmac, allies of the French, without a territory after having lost Acadia to the English. After being denied settlement in the French islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, the Indian tribe arrived at Newfoundland and inhabited the Bay D'Espoir, where their descendants still live in the village of Conne River (Hewson, 1982a).

It is remarkable that the Micmac developed a writing system known as the Micmac hieroglyphics. The tribe made use of their custom of marking birch bark to create a system of hieroglyphics. This system was developed with the help of a missionary. The Micmac hieroglyphics are ideographic, that is, each ideogram represents a word. Most of the hieroglyphics are of completely Micmac origin, as most symbols were adapted from the patterns they already used to decorate clothing, moccasins, etc. (Hewson, 1982b).

When arriving at Newfoundland, the Micmac maintained the hieroglyphic system with them for a hundred years without any outside help. That notwithstanding, the Micmac did eventually develop a modified Latin alphabet, which was taught in the

school of Conne River until 1910. Said alphabet is comprised of five vowel symbols (a, e, i, ô, o) and eight consonants (p, t, g, tj, s, l, m, n) (Hewson, 1982b).

3. Linguistic features of Newfoundland English

NE is a variety of English that is quite different from the Canadian standard, both phonetically and morphosyntactically speaking. Thus, this section will focus on the description and characterisation of some of the most prominent features that distinguish NE from standard Canadian English and other standards when relevant. These include phonetic features regarding both vowels and consonants and morphosyntactic features.

3.1. Phonetic features

3.1.1. Vowels

The phonological inventories of vowels in NE and Canadian English (CE) are very much the same. That notwithstanding, phonetic realisations can be quite different. In what follows, I present these differences with reference to the lexical set representations that are typically used in the literature on English variation.

3.1.1.1. KIT and DRESS lexical sets

Standard NE speakers distinguish /ɪ/, as in KIT and /ɛ/, as in DRESS, just like most standard speakers of English around the world. However, both vowels seem to go through some raising in standard NE, mostly in Irish-settled areas of the province (Clarke, 2010b).

In fact, many speakers of Newfoundland Irish English (NIE) tense /ɪ/, which is usually accompanied by lengthening, especially in two instances, namely, with verbal *–ing* and possessive *his* which can sound like *he's* in NE. Regarding /ɛ/, this may also show some raising towards the KIT vowel, mostly before nasal and oral stops; thus *pen* would be pronounced like *pin* and *bet* like *bit* (Clarke, 2010b).

Newfoundland South Western English (NSWE) speakers seem to have a more intricate system with KIT and DRESS vowels, as they are phonetically and lexically conditioned. Depending on the environment, said vowels may raise or tense, but also lower or retract (Clarke, 2010b).

KIT word sets tense to an [i(:)] when followed by certain consonants: voiced velars (*dig*), alveopalatals (*fish*), labiodentals (*if*) and alveolar nasals (*in*). Moreover, some speakers of NSWE, also tense /ɪ/ when preceding /l/, as in the word *hill*. DRESS raising is a more common process than KIT raising, and it happens in different instances. It most clearly happens when preceding a stop or affricate (*set*, *when*, *ledge*) (Clarke, 2010b).

In opposition to vowel raising, KIT and DRESS vowels might also lower or retract. KIT lowering most commonly happens when followed by a lateral approximant /l/ (*tell*). DRESS lowering can happen before a voiceless velar, for instance, when the first syllable of *breakfast* is pronounced with [æ̝], sounding like *brack* (Clarke, 2010b).

3.1.1.2. TRAP/BATH

In parallel to the vast majority of North American varieties, NE does not distinguish the pronunciation of TRAP and BATH words, as /æ/ is used in both lexical sets. What makes NE different in the Canadian context, however, is the tensed, fronted and raised articulation of the TRAP/BATH vowel. This retraction is an innovation in CE, as the CANADIAN SHIFT [2], which affects lax vowels, is still ongoing (Clarke et al., 1995).

The fronting and raising of /æ/ happens in all environments of NE. However, it is the easiest to notice before a nasal consonant, as in *lamb* or *land*. Furthermore, NSWE features the raising and diphthongisation of /æ/ before a voiced velar in words such as *bag* [bɐ̟ig] or *plank* [plɐ̟iŋk] (Clarke, 2010b).

3.1.1.3. LOT/CLOTH/THOUGHT

NE features the merger of the vowels of the LOT, CLOTH and THOUGHT sets, where words like *cot* and *caught* or *collar* and *caller* are pronounced in the same way. That also happens in standard CE. What distinguishes NE from CE is the articulation of these sounds as, where CE pronounces the merged vowel with [ɑ(:)] or [ɒ(:)], NE pronounces its merged vowel as more fronted and unrounded, as [ɐ(:)] or [a(:)]. This seems to be inherited from both southern Irish and south-western English (Clarke, 2010b).

[2] Canadian shift: A change in pronunciation of front short vowels, usually caused by the retraction of the vowel from the TRAP set (from [æ] to [a]). The phonetic realisation of this shift differs from place to place, though it is mostly realised as a back vowel with wavering levels of rounding (Hickey, 2014).

Furthermore, standard NE speakers seem to use a LOT/CLOTH/THOUGHT vowel that is very similar to the realisation that characterises the NORTHERN CITIES SHIFT, which is the process of the raising of short vowels (*bad*, *back*), the centralisation of DRESS and KIT vowels, and the rounding of the vowel in *buck* that is attested in the cities of northern United States (Labov et al., 2006).

3.1.1.4. FOOT and STRUT

Some standard NE speakers articulate the FOOT and STRUT vowels in a fashion parallel to the way plenty of North American varieties do, as [ʊ] and [ʌ], respectively. However, other speakers of standard NE, along with NIE speakers articulate the STRUT vowel differently. It is usually pronounced with a back, rounded [ɐ̟] vowel. Also in association with areas of the island the Irish first settled, the FOOT vowel may be raised and tensed towards the GOOSE vowel (Clarke, 2010b).

FOOT tensing also seems to occur in NSWE; nonetheless, it is quite uncommon and it seems to have both lexical and phonetic constraints. It is usually found in words in which the vowel is followed by /k/ or /d/ as in *book*, *cook*, *look*, *good*, *wood*, etc. Regarding distribution, it seems that NSWE also differs from both standard North American varieties and standard NE, as certain words that in the standard would belong to the FOOT word set belong to the STRUT set in NSWE. Said words include *put*, *took* and *look* (Clarke, 2010).

Furthermore, particularly for NSWE but also for some standard NE and NIE speakers, the initial *un-* sequence tends to be pronounced with [ɐ] from the LOT/CLOTH THOUGHT set rather than with the STRUT vowel [ʌ]. Words affected by this include *until*, *understand* and words with the negative prefix *un-*. Therefore words such as *untie* or *unlike* sound like *ontie* and *onlike* (Clarke, 2010b).

3.1.1.5. GOOSE centralisation

The centralisation of the GOOSE word set to an [ʉː]/[ʉʊ] is characteristic of traditional speakers of NSWE outside the Avalon Peninsula. It is not clear if this is an innovation or an inherited feature. However, as young female speakers seem to be using this pattern of GOOSE centralisation, this might be a change in progress (Clarke, 2010b).

Regarding NIE, centralisation is most frequently accompanied by diphthongisation, and although it is not limited to this context, it is most noticeable before /l/. For example, *school* may sound like [skɵwəl] (Clarke, 2010b).

3.1.1.6. Tense vowel laxing

The laxing of tense vowels is more prevalent in NE than in CE. This mostly happens with the GOOSE set, although certain NSWE traditional speakers also lax their vowels in the FLEECE and FACE sets (Clarke, 2010b).

Regarding the FLEECE set, when the tense vowel is followed by /p/ or /k/ (*keep*, *week*, *cheek* and *creek*), it can be pronounced with the [ɪ] of KIT, that is, *creek* may sound like standard English *crick*, and *week* like *wick*. In the FACE set, past forms such as *made* and *paid* are pronounced with [ɛ] and, finally, concerning the GOOSE set, lax pronunciations are mainly used by older speakers of NE. Lax /ʊ/ instead of tense /u:/ occurs when the vowel is followed by /m/, /n/ or /f/ (*broom*, *spoon* or *roof*) (Clarke, 2010b).

3.1.1.7. The CHOICE set

Standard speakers of NE differentiate the CHOICE set from the PRICE/PRIZE sets with the use of [ɔ] or [o] in CHOICE words. That notwithstanding, in NIE and NSWE, unrounded nuclei are used in CHOICE diphthongs. These vowels include [ʌ], [ə], [ɐ] or [a]; consequently, a word like *toy* may sound like *tie*. These are especially salient in the discourse marker *boy*, which tends to be pronounced [bʌɪ] or [bɐɪ]. This marker is usually spelled as *b'y*, although younger generations have also been attested to write and pronounce it as *bah* (Clarke, 2010b).

This unrounding process results in the overlapping of the PRICE and CHOICE sets, because they may be realised with similar nuclei. However, in southwest English settled areas, the two sets are kept separated by using higher, more retracted and more rounded nuclei in the PRICE/PRIZE words (Clarke, 2010b).

3.1.2. Consonants

In the case of NE, the consonant system is the one that marks most of the phonetic distinctions between NIE and NSWE. However, there are certain non-standard

consonant realisations they share. I tackle these consonantal contrasts and similarities in the next subsections.

3.1.2.1. /θ/ and /ð/

One of the most best-known features of NE is *th*-stopping, that is, the articulation of interdental fricatives as stops. Voiceless /θ/ (*thin*) would sound like [t] (*tin*) and voiced /ð/ (*then*) would sound like [d] (*den*); this characteristic is featured in both NIE and NSWE (Clarke, 2010b). That notwithstanding, it seems that *th*-stopping may have had an Irish origin (Clarke, 2010a), although this feature is attested in different varieties spoken in the British Isles (Britain, 2007).

This phenomenon is more common for /ð/ than /θ/ to occur, as it is much more frequent in function words such as *the*, *that*, *this*, *those*, *their*, etc. Used in function words, this feature can be found in the speech of speakers from all socioeconomic levels, as well as in that of younger inhabitants of the island (Clarke, 2010b).

Another process that affects interdental fricatives is *th*-fronting, that is, the substitution of labiodental fricatives [v/f] for [θ/ð]. The result of this feature would be the pronunciation of the word *bath* as *baf*. This process is rare in current NE, and it seems to be restricted to NSWE, where it is only used in intervocalic (*Matthew*) or syllable final positions (*with*). Furthermore, in a quite isolated area of the southwest coast, a very unusual pronunciation for *th*-fronting has been documented. In this case, [s] is considered as a variant of voiceless [θ] in non-initial position. For example, *path* might be pronounced as *pass*. This realisation is stigmatised (Clarke, 2010b).

Finally, /ð/ can also be subject to deletion, mostly in NSWE. This process mainly happens in non-initial position and the most common words in which it can be heard include: *whether*, *mother*, *father*, *with*, and most popularly, *either* and *neither* (Clarke, 2010b).

3.1.2.2. Assimilation of fricatives

In NE, the assimilation of sibilants to a following syllabic nasal is restricted to the negative forms of the verb *to be*, that is, the /z/ of *is* and *was* is realised as a [d]. Therefore, *it isn't* would be pronounced as [tɪdn̩] and *it wasn't* would be pronounced as [twʌdn̩]. This process in not uncommon in NE, but it is becoming less frequent (Clarke, 2010b). In addition, it is interesting that in southern US, for example, this assimilation

rule has been broadened to include a more general environment in which all sibilants assimilate to a following nasal, for instance, in words such as *doesn't* or *business* (Troike, 1986).

Furthermore, NSWE also features assimilation on fricatives. In this case, the assimilation takes place to a following stop. For example, sequences where /v/ is followed by syllabic /n/ are subject to this assimilation. Therefore, words such as *seven, eleven* and *heaven* would assimilate the stop feature of the nasal, thus exhibiting the bilabial stop [b]. Meanwhile, the nasal may assume the bilabial articulation of the preceding sound and thus transform into [b]. The result would feature a pronunciation of the word *seven* as *sebm* or *sabm* (Clarke, 2010b).

Both of these assimilation processes seem to have been inherited from NE's source dialects (Troike, 1986; Hickey, 2002).

3.1.2.3. Initial H

One of the most prominent features of NSWE is the deletion and insertion of word and syllable initial /h/. This is considered one of the most stereotyped features of NSWE, though it is also documented in varieties as Bahamian English (Childs & Wolfram, 2004). Initial /h/ is most commonly deleted in non-functional words (*health, hungry, haul*) and intrusive [h] is inserted before a word or syllable initial vowel, therefore, *oven* would be pronounced *hoven* and *easy* would be pronounced *heasy*. The presence of [h] is more probable to occur in two specific contexts. The first one is related to stress: when a syllable is stressed, [h] is more likely to appear. The second context has to do with syllable structure, as [h] insertion is more common after a vowel (*the end*) (Clarke, 2010b).

Considering this, it is fair to conclude that [h] is not a segmental phoneme in NSWE (Clarke, 2010b). It can considered a SANDHI, a phonetic shift across boundaries, or a LIAISON phenomenon, which is the pronunciation of a consonant at the end of the word when it is followed by a vowel in the next one (Hickey, 2014).

3.1.2.4. Post vocalic /l/

The pronunciation of postvocalic /l/ is one of the features that most significantly mark the differences between NIE and NSWE. In NIE, the pronunciation of /l/ in a postvocalic position is clear. This was inherited from Irish English but it attested in

varieties spoken on the west coast of the island, where French and Scottish speakers first settled. In NSWE, however, dark postvocalic /l/ [ɬ] is the preferred pronunciation in all situations.

Furthermore, parts of the English settled coastline seems to have vocalised the velar /l/, that is, [ɬ]. This has happened by losing contact of the front of the tongue with the roof of the mouth. It has been documented that, after low vowels, /l/ might disappear, sometimes leaving a trace with vowel lengthening (Clarke, 2010b). This innovation seems to be independent and internally motivated (Clarke, 2004).

3.1.2.5. Final /t/, /d/ deletion

In NE, final /t/ and /d/ are deleted when they occur after another consonant in word or syllable final position. Furthermore, in parallel with other varieties, /t/ is deleted when followed by a /s/ or /z/, as in *it's* [ɪz] and *that's* [dæs]. What is striking about /t/, /d/ deletion in NE is its frequency, as it occurs in very high rates by traditional NE speakers. In fact, this frequent occurrence causes the deletion of /t/, /d/ even when the segments carry a grammatical past meaning, such as in *sailed*, *fastened* and *moved*. The result of this is the past tense sounding almost identical to the present tense. The same phenomenon can be found in varieties such as African American English (Thomas, 2007) or Caribbean English (Childs & Wolfram, 2004), and many New Englishes both in Africa and Asia.

Even though /t/, /d/ deletion is a very frequent process, the opposite has also been observed in the speech of NE conservative speakers. In other words, final /t/, /d/ insertion can be found in some lexical items. These include *clift* for *cliff, skift* for *skiff, townd* for *town* in NIE (Clarke, 2010b).

Furthermore, intrusive [d] is also observed in non-final positions, particularly in the pronunciation of *weren't* as *weredn't(t)* or *dodn't* for *don't* (Clarke, 2010b).

3.1.2.6. Glides in NE

Yod-coalesence can be found in NE. Yod-coalesence involves the fusion of [t] and [d] into their corresponding palatal affricates [ʧ] and [ʤ] respectively. An example of this process would be that the word *tune* would sound like *choon* and the word *dune* would sound like *June*. This feature is quite rare in North America. In Canadian English, it seems to be limited to a number of words, such as *Tuesday* or *opportunity*. In

contrast, NE seems to have an alternative variant in the complete set of /t, d, st/ + /ju:/ words (Clarke, 2010b).

3.2. Morphosyntactic features

3.2.1. *After*-perfect

Newfoundland English speakers display the use of the *after*-perfect form, which consists of the following formula: the conjugated verb to *be* + the preposition *after* + a verb with the *–ing* ending. Let us look at an example in (2):

(2) I'm just after talking to him.
"I have just talked to him."

This form finds its origins in Irish English, and it is actually one of the most clear examples of substrate influence in that variety, that is, this construction is a parallel of the same Irish Gaelic construction, as we can see in (3) and (4) (Wagner, 2012:133):

(3) Tá siad tar éis teach a thógáil.
Is they after house build (verbal noun with progressive function).
"They just built a house."

(4) They are after building a house.
"They just built a house."

As a note of interest, a construction similar to (3) can be found in Welsh Gaelic. However, the *after*-perfect form is not attested in Welsh English (Filppula, 2006). What is interesting about this, in my opinion, is that although we can many times establish a correlation between a feature and a substrate language trait it is not possible to predict that the same feature will show up in a similar contact situation.

Although (2) above is an example of the *after*-perfect's recent event meaning, NE can have several different perfect meanings, as can be seen in the following examples (Clarke, 2010b:79):

(5) No, I made one of them, too. I'm after makin' three or four.
"No, I made one of them, too. I made three or four."

(6) The fire's after burnin' all the woods up this way.
"The fire burnt all the woods up this way."

(7) Anyhow, yes, I'm after losin' it ('the Gaelic'), losin' it fast, too.
"I am losing my ability to speak Gaelic fast."

(8) I'm after wanting that so bad, Sharon.
"I want it so bad, Sharon."

As can be inferred from their translations, (5) and (6) above refer to events that took place in the past. Furthermore, (7) refers to an event which has occurred over a lengthy period (durative aspect); lastly, (8) refers to an event that is still ongoing, because the speaker still wants the item.

This variety of meanings notwithstanding, the NE *after*-perfect seems to have certain restrictions that are shared with Irish English. The Newfoundland English *after*-perfect used is used mostly for present reference and it is usually preferred in the affirmative (Clarke, 2010a).

In the beginning, the *after*-perfect only occurred in the Irish and Scottish settled areas (Clarke, 2010b). However, over time, it spread to a more general use and, as mentioned at the beginning of this paper, can now be found in most communities in the island (Clarke 2010a).

The reason behind the *after*-perfect's success may be the linguistic reinforcement from the SWE variety in Newfoundland; that is, the Dorset variety that came to Newfoundland would have an identical form. Nonetheless, said form would have a solely prospective meaning, that is, a sentence such as (4) would mean "They are trying to build a house" (Paddock, 1982). Consequently, SWE-based dialects would only have to go through a semantic shift in order to keep the construction at hand.

3.2.2. The accomplished-perfect construction

The ACCOMPLISHED PERFECT (Kallen, 1989) or the MEDIAL-OBJECT PERFECT is a construction in which the object is placed before the past participle (Clarke, 2010b):

(9) I already have it done. (Clarke, 2010a:119)

This construction can obviously only be applied to transitive verbs and the auxiliary that is used is mostly *got* instead of *have* (Clarke, 2010a), as can be seen in (10):

(10) I got her outlived by a good many years.
"I've outlived her."

Moreover, this construction is not limited to the present, as it can refer both to the past (11), or the future (12), and can also convey a generic temporal interpretation (13) (Clarke, 2010a:119):

(11) She didn't have it [i.e. her house] sold when she left.

(12) Do you need to have anything made for them? [i.e. when they come in at some future point]

(13) You'd have them [i.e. cookies] eaten before you got home.

The accomplished-perfect construction is highly prevalent in Irish English, where this construction occurs mostly with dynamic verbs such as *eat*, *sell*, *buy*, *find*, *lose*, *do*, and *make* (Clarke, 2010a). Similarly, the NE accomplished-perfect construction only occurs with dynamic verbs.

However, this construction is used in dialects of both Irish and SWE origin, probably due to the fact that the accomplished-perfect construction was brought to Newfoundland from both the southwest of England and Ireland (Clarke, 2010a).

3.2.3. Gendered pronouns of inanimate reference

NSWE presents a very different way of representing inanimate objects. Where Standard English uses the pronoun *it*, NSWE has a more complex usage of pronouns. Generally speaking, inanimate count nouns (i.e. nouns that can be pluralized) are represented by what in other varieties is considered a masculine referential pronoun, that is, *he*, *his* or *him* (Clarke, 2010b):

(14) The more barrels is under, see, the higher [h]e'd ('house') float.

Nominals that feature a masculine pronoun in this variety may include nouns referring to buildings, tools, clothing, food, body parts, plants, etc. (Clarke, 2010b).

However, NSWE also makes use of the pronouns *it* and *she* for inanimate referents. The former is used to replace mass nouns (*weather*, *rain*, *frost*, *beauty*, etc.), while the latter refers to mobile objects, that is, boats and vehicles (Clarke, 2010b).

As opposed to its source variety, NSWE seems to have a preference for the use of feminine referential pronouns when referring to objects that have the ability of producing sound, noise or destruction. Such referents may be radios, engines, sound recorders, etc. (Clarke, 2010b):

(15) ‘Well . . . I had a little gun,’ he said, ‘an’ I shoved her in through the hole in the door’. (Halpert & Widdowson 1996: 61)

Traditional NSWE notwithstanding, contemporary NIE and NSWE both make an extensive use of *she/her*, as illustrated in (16) below (Clarke, 2010b):

(16) Every now and then I gets out and lets ’er go, right, when I get there. (Lanari, 1994)

Even though the use of *she* for inanimate referents is quite common in some varieties of North America, NE distinguishes itself from mainland varieties with some well-known expressions that have become markers of local identity (I return to this issue in section 4). Some of these expressions include (Clarke, 2010b:87):

(17) How’s she goin’?

(18) How’s she cuttin’?

(19) She’s gone, boy, she’s gone.

In most English varieties, the equivalents of (17)-(19) would involve the use of non-referential *it*.

3.2.4. Pronoun exchange

Although to a certain extent it sounds as the characterization of a construction in terms of deficit from standard instead of difference, I follow Wagner (2012) when I use the label PRONOUN EXCHANGE to refer to subject pronouns used in contexts that require oblique forms and the use of oblique forms with a subject pronoun function. This is a feature inherited from South Western England (Wagner, 2012).

The former is commonly used in conjoined noun phrases, as can be seen in (20)-(21) (Clarke, 2010b:84):

(20) He (‘John McCain’) said it was important for he and Senator Obama to debate the financial crisis.

(21) We gave she and her husband a tour of the place this morning.

Pronoun exchange is still used in rural areas of NSWE speakers (Clarke, 2010b). That notwithstanding, it is a typical feature in many varieties. Many times, it has to do with LEVELLING, a very natural process in language change and a very common source of variation (see AAVE, Caribbean English, etc.).

Furthermore, in parallel with its ancestor, NSWE makes use of etymological object pronouns when they are in an unstressed subject position, that is, this feature is governed by syllable stress when it comes to the form of the object (Clarke, 2004):

(22) Have 'em (= them) had . . .? (Noseworthy, 1971: 78)
"Have they had…?"

The use of object-like pronouns seems to only occur in questions, including tag questions (Clarke, 2010b):

(23) Is 'em ('them') goin' to get any? (Noseworthy 1971: 78)

(24) We lived up on a hill, didn't us? (Harris 2006: 113)

This construction does not occur in NIE, therefore, we could say that it is an exclusively NSWE feature within NE.

3.2.5. *Have* and *do* inflection

The verbs *have* and *do* are both full verbs and auxiliaries. However, NE *have* and *do* seem to feature some non-standard features (Clarke, 2010b). When these verbs constitute full verbs, the *–s* inflectional morpheme is applied in all paradigms in the present (Clarke, 2004). This is probably due to the process of levelling, which involves, according to Hickey (2014), the decrease of variation in any linguistic environment, as is the case in (25) and (26):

(25) They haves no business being here. (Clarke, 2004:250)

(26) We doos [du:z] that all the time. (Clarke, 2004:250)

When *have* and *do* are used as auxiliaries, they have no inflection, even in the third person singular:

(27) No, she haven't been nowhere the ('this') summer. (Lanari, 1994)

(28) . . . and she ('horse') haven't got her coat back. (Clarke, 2010b:75)

These patterns are used in the NSWE dialect of all age groups. In traditional speech, when used as a full verb, the verb *do* might be pronounced [du:z], as can be seen in (26). Although *–s* inflection is a common feature of NIE, conservative NIE speakers do not seem to use this pattern, as can be seen in (29) (Clarke, 2010b):

(29) There's hardly a day but he have a different complaint. (Dillon 1968: 140)

Therefore, it seems that the *–s* inflection of *have* and *do* in NIE might the result of contact between NIE and NSWE speakers, and that it was not used in NIE before said contact.

3.2.6. Verbal *-s* marking

In Standard English, the suffix *–s* is used on verbs to mark agreement between the verb and a 3rd person singular subject in the present tense. However, the *–s* suffix in Newfoundland English marks *–s* on the verb with all subjects (Clarke 2010a:122):

(30) They likes you.

The *–s* inflection finds its origins in Southwestern varieties of England, where the *–s* is used in a similar fashion. This feature was probably strengthened by the *–s* suffix some dialects of Irish English carry, which indicates agreement with all subjects except for the third person singular. This Irish influence is shown in the NIE of southern Avalon, as the verb *have* does not receive any marking in the third person singular, as shown in (31) and (32) (Clarke, 2010a):

(31) He have a lot of money, he. (Clarke, 2010a:123)
(32) There's hardly a day but he have a different complaint. (Dillon 1968: 140)

It is also worth mentioning that *–s* marking is going through a trajectory of change, as the feature is reversing on its constraints. Therefore, stative verbs are now preferred for *–s* marking, as Childs & Van Herk (2014:643) illustrate with the following example:

(33) I loves it.

A reversal of constraints is quite unusual, and it suggests that the speakers are aware of the constraints the construction has, while deciding to do just the opposite. In the context of NE, young female speakers of Petty Harbour seem to be the leaders of this shift (Childs & Van Herk, 2014). I return to this linguistic feature in section 4.2. where I deal with the marking of identity through speech.

3.2.7. *Bin*-perfect

Although Caribbean English Creoles and Gullah also feature the use of perfects with the auxiliary *bin* instead of *have*, NE seems to be the only variety without African

influences to feature this construction, even if it has not been documented in either Irish or British varieties (Clarke, 2004).

The *BIN*-PERFECT is a construction comprised of the auxiliary and past participle *been*, which is pronounced [bin] (Clarke, 2010b) and in NE it seems to distinguish itself from the *have*-perfect by referring to an event to a remote past, further in the past than the *have* perfect (Noseworthy, 1971:69), as in (34):

(34) I been heard it.

Moreover, Noseworthy (1971:69) provides a number of other examples of *bin*-perfect with the auxiliary *have*, as well as its negative form *ain't*:

(35) Have 'ee been eat?
"Have you [singular] eaten?"

(36) I ain't been done it.
"I haven't done it."

The examples above show affirmative *bin* might have been a more complex construction comprised of *have/'ve* + *bin* + past participle. This construction is limited to the NSWE speakers of the southern coast of the island (Clarke, 2010b).

3.2.8. Marking of habitual aspect

Newfoundland English features different forms of habitual marking. On the one hand, NE speakers make use of the stem *be* to mark habituality, also known as HABITUAL *BE*. NSWE speakers apply the *–s* suffix to non-past paradigms, thus making use of the *bees* habitual construction (Clarke 2010a:124):

(37) Yvonne, I guess she bees down every day.

(38) In the winter time, we sits down every night and watches a couple of movies bees on, right?

Furthermore, this feature is not constrained to an exclusively habitual aspect interpretation, as NE speakers also make use of the stem *be* to refer to events of short duration, either punctual (39) or ongoing (40) (Clarke, 1999):

(39) Where the Devil be 'em to? (Wakelin 1986:130)

(40) I can't be doin' that now. (Clarke, 2010b:78)

On the other hand, NE uses the unstressed *do* + *be* in order to mark habituality. This feature came from south Irish varieties. Although it can be used in an affirmative form (41), this is only used by NIE speakers, and it is most common in the negative (42) and the interrogative form (43) (Clarke, 2010a):

(41) I do be so hungry I don't know what I'm at. (Dillon 1968: 131)

(42) There don't be no weather lights. (Clarke, 2010b:77)

(43) Do [duu] I be sick all the time? (Noseworthy 1971: 67–8)

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that the use of the stem *be* is also common in Northern Irish English (44), whereas the use of *do* + *be* is more frequently used in Southern Irish English (45) (Clarke, 1999: 329):

(44) They *be* sick a lot.

(45) They *do be* sick a lot.

However, these habitual aspect markers are not exclusive to Hiberno English and NE, as habitual *be* can be found in many English-speaking varieties such as Caribbean English (Rickford 1986) or African American English (Loflin 1967, Fasold 1969, among others).

Although both the use of *bees* and *do* + *be* in the affirmative are only used by speakers of rural areas, the negative and interrogative form of *do* + *be* seems to be used by both NSWE and NIE speakers alike (Clarke, 2010a).

4. Identity

Since its union with Canada in 1949, Newfoundland has maintained its distinctive cultural and dialectal features. In fact, Newfoundlanders show a significant sense of local pride: when asked to identify themselves, they are Newfoundlanders first and Canadians second. The preservation of these dialectal features and the heightened provincial pride has been ridiculed by mainland Canada (Childs et al., 2010). Since 1949, Newfoundland has been stereotyped as a place that is out of time, inhabited by stupid *Newfies* who are completely unaware of North American society yet eternally proud of their homeland and lifestyle (Byrne, 1997, as cited in King & Wick 2009).

Newfie was a term used to refer to native Newfoundlanders by British and American militaries stationed in the island in World War II. Said term has been under debate

lately. According to King and Clarke (2002, as cited in King & Wick 2009), Newfoundlanders have three different reactions towards the term: some find *Newfie* a positive term, even a source of pride; others believe the word should only be used by members of the community, and the last group believes *Newfie* is an ethnic slur. This is similar to *Nigger* in the African American community.

Newfie jokes, which reinforced the stereotypes mentioned above, became popular during the 60s and 70s. Furthermore, said type of jokes can still be found on the internet. The popularity of these jokes caused the appearance of tourist merchandise exploiting the idea of the stupid *Newfie*, with products such as the *Newfie* mug, whose handle was inside the cup.

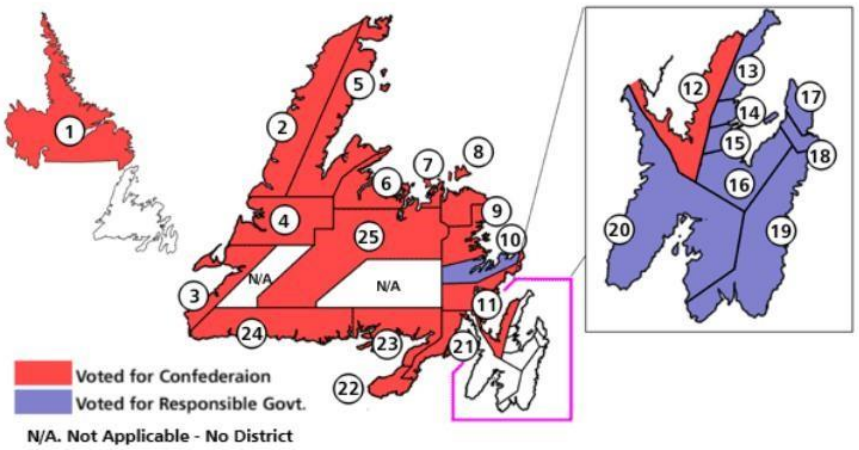
As of late, Newfoundland has reinvented itself as a touristic location, calling on the public's nostalgia for a place that is lost in time with advertisements, implying the island to be different and more 'real' (King & Wicks, 2009).

In what follows, I discuss language and identity in the region and whether Newfoundland's union with Canada and the island's urbanisation have had any impact on the identity of Newfoundlanders.

4.1. Irish identity

Most of Newfoundland's Irish population arrived at the island pre famine. The island is one of the few places outside Ireland to have a distinct Irish name: *Talamh an Éisc* (lit. "the fishing ground") (Vaughan, 2016).

A significant portion of Newfoundland's current population descended from Irish migrants, and seems to strongly identify with their Irish heritage (Vaughan, 2016). The idea of Newfoundland as a nation in itself was linked to the island being an Irish place, that is, Newfoundland as a nation was forged on the idea of it being Irish. As expected, this was deeply disliked by the English fraction of the population, and language, one of the most obvious differences between the communities, took political significance. This was reflected on the vote rates for Newfoundland's union with Canada in 1948 (52%/48%) which was neatly split between the English and Irish populations. Map 4 shows the areas that voted in favour and against (Collins, 2012):



Map 4. Electoral Boundaries and Results of the First Referendum (1948). Retrieved from http://www.heritage.nf.ca/law/ref1map.html

After its union with Canada only 14% of inhabitants self-identified as Irish (Keough, 2008, as cited in Collins, 2012), even if there had not been significant migration and 48% voted to remain independent, which was directly linked to Irish identity. This disappearance might be related to the idea of prestige, due to the fact that, as mentioned before, Newfoundlanders were shamed for their linguistic and cultural features by the rest of Canada (Collins, 2012).

In fact, any Newfoundlander who tried to improve professionally or academically outside of the island in the 60s and 70s suffered the implications of being a Newfoundlander. This might have happened because Irishness was associated to the idea of Newfoundland being a nation different from Canada, hence the shaming of its inhabitants (Collins, 2012).

In the 90s, however, a re-awakening of Irish identity emerged, and businesses, tourism and the government supported this cultural shift of Newfoundland as an Irish culture distinct from Canada (Collins, 2012). In fact, there seems to be some community knowledge about Irish Gaelic's history in the region. Its historical status has led Irish identity to become a cultural icon of Newfoundland itself, distinguishing the province from the rest of Canada (Vaughan, 2016).

4.2. *S*-marking

As mentioned before, there has been a shift in the use of *–s* marking. That means that both the Old *–s* (with non-stative verbs) and the New *–s* (with stative verbs) are

attested in the English spoken in the island. According to Childs & Van Herk (2014), the use of the New *–s* is more common in most demographic groups. In fact, the New *–s* has become one of the most known features of Newfoundland English, to the point that it is used for tourist merchandise, as can be seen in Image 1 (Childs & Van Herk, 2014):

Image 1. Tourist merchandise featuring *s*-marking (Childs & Van Herk, 2014:638).

It is also worth mentioning that the Old *–s* survives mostly in the Avalon Peninsula. Regarding the use of *–s* marking by age, younger generations use the feature more frequently. This implies that younger speakers are fighting against the stigma of *–s* marking by using it to show their local identity. Childs & Van Herk (2014) conducted some association tests in the island and found that New *–s* is associated to young women and it seems to be restricted to a limited number of stative verbs: *loves, hates, knows, thinks, wants, needs, remembers, forgets, hopes*.

The explanation behind the shift from Old *–s* to New *–s* could be explained by the influence of conscious identity creation. Old *–s* entails certain social meanings, some positive, thanks to the increasing popularity of traditional culture and music (folk festivals, the Mummers' parade, etc.), and some more traditionally negative connotations, such as the association with uneducated speakers. When young speakers use New *–s*, they do without the negative meanings Old *–s* carries with it but still ensuring that they sound local (Childs & Van Herk, 2014).

Furthermore, research on a 46 minute sample of a casual exchange among nine members of the St. John's drag community has shown the existence of a new form

which features *–s* marking as can be seen in (46) (Sheppard, 2006, as cited in Childs & Van Herk, 2014):

(46) Taking pictures of me, too. Loves. (Childs & Van Herk, 2014:647)

This type of construction seems to have evolved in the following way: *I love it > I loves it > Loves it > Loves*. This innovative use of New *–s* marking was widely associated to women in the association tests (Childs & Van Herk, 2014).

4.3. [ð] vs [d]

One of the most marked features of NE is the variable production of [θ] and [ð]. When a speaker produces the stopped version of an interdental fricative, they are communicating something that goes beyond the intended linguistic message.

In a study carried out by Childs et al. (2010), older generations showed a higher rate of [d], which would be the less prestigious variant of [ð]. It is also interesting that women tend to lean more towards the standard, whereas men seem to preserve the vernacular option. This is actually pretty consistent in many varieties, and although there is no clear explanation for this phenomenon, the fact that women seem to be more status-conscious, usually have a heavier pressure to conform to social forms and that they seem to want to sound polite are some of the reasons that are usually given when findings of this type occur (Rhys, 2007).

Regarding the use of [ð] vs [d] in informal settings, both women and men showed similar results, whereas in formal speech, women had a higher rate of the use of [ð]. This could imply that women are more concerned with the standard (Childs et al., 2010).

It is also interesting that especially young women tend to use *th*-stopping only in function words and have abandoned the feature elsewhere. Childs et al. (2010) argue that as function words are very frequent words, young women might intentionally focus on words with a higher frequency in order to mark their identity. This sort of distinction is not as clearly attested in the speech of other age groups (Childs et al., 2010).

Concerning style switching, rural males and urban females seem to be the two groups that make the most style shifts. In fact, young women seem to switch to the local vernacular in casual speech (Childs et al., 2010).

Overall, young women seem to be making a conscious use of *th*-stopping to mark their identity, as well as being the ones most concerned with the standard. In contrast, although there is a difference between men and women in regard to the standard, the conscious use of *th*-stopping is not noted in other age groups.

In conclusion, language and identity seem to correlate in the island, as Newfoundlanders, especially young women, seem to consciously produce a stopped interdental fricative for identity purposes, as well as innovating with their use of *–s* marking and creating a shift on the perception of the construction. Furthermore, even though Newfoundland's union with Canada did bring forth some shaming and a decrease in people who self-identified as Irish, the transformation of the island as a tourist destination has caused the revival of Irish identity among Newfoundlanders.

5. Conclusion

This paper has presented a historical, linguistic and sociolinguistic characterisation of NE, a variety of North-American English that could be described as conservative and about which research has been rather scant. South-western British and south-eastern Irish migrants arrived at Newfoundland around the 17th century. The settlement of different groups in different locations can account, in part, for the existence of 8 dialectal areas for NE. From a linguistic point of view, I have shown that NE has many features, both morphosyntactic and phonetic, that make the variety different from the Canadian standard, the extended use of the Irish-based *after*-perfect construction being one of the most characteristic traits of this variety. Lastly, the fact that NE speakers purposefully use the language to identify themselves as Newfoundlanders, and the controversies regarding the term *Newfie* also show a deep connection between the variety and the identity of the peoples in the island.

On another note, it would be interesting to further investigate how much the languages that cohabit or have cohabited with NE - Irish Gaelic, Scottish Gaelic, Port a Port French, Beothuk and Micmac - have influenced the language, as well as further documenting the differences between NSWE and NIE.

In addition, even if it requires waiting, I would find it of interest to keep an eye on how Newfoundland's reinvention as a tourist location affects the local variety, as well as tracking how young women innovate with the variety as a means of identity marking.

References

Britain, D. (2007). *Language in the British Isles*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Byrne, P. (1997). Booze, ritual and the invention of tradition: The phenomenon of the Screech-in. In T. Tuleja (ed.), *Usable pasts: Traditions and group expressions in North America*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 232-48.

Childs, B. & Wolfram, W. (2004). Bahamian English: Phonology. *A handbook of varieties of English*, 1, 435-449.

Childs, B. De Decker, P., Deal, R., Kendall, T., Thorburn, J., Williamson, M. & Van Herk, G. (2010). Stop signs: The intersection of interdental fricatives and identity in Newfoundland. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*, 16(2), 24-35.

Childs, B. & Van Herk, G. (2014). Work that–*s*!: Drag queens, gender, identity, and traditional Newfoundland English. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 18(5), 634-657.

Clarke, S. (2004). The legacy of British and Irish English in Newfoundland. In R. Hickey (ed.) *Legacies of colonial English. Studies in transported dialects*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 242-261.

Clarke, S. (2010a). The role of Irish English in the formation of New World Englishes: The case from Newfoundland. In E. Gold, & J. McAlpine (eds.) *Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader*. Kingston, ON: Queen's University, 112-129

Clarke, S. (2010b). *Dialects of English Newfoundland and Labrador English*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Clarke, S., Ford E. & Amani Y. (1995) 'The third dialect of English: some Canadian evidence'. *Language Variation and Change* 7(2), 209–228.

Collins, M. (2012). They do be anxious about their speech: Performance and Perceptions of Authenticity in Irish-Newfoundland English. *The English Languages: History, Diaspora and Culture, 3*, 1-17.

Dillon, V. M. (1968). *The Anglo-Irish element in the speech of the Southern Shore of Newfoundland*. MA thesis. Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Fasold, R. W. (1969). Tense and the form *be* in Black English. *Language*, 45(4), 763-776.

Filppula, M. (2006). The Making of Hiberno-English and Other "Celtic Englishes". In A. Van Kemende & B. Los (eds.) *The handbook of the history of English*, Oxford: Blackwell, 507-536.

Foster, G. (1982a). Irish in Avalon: An Investigation of the Gaelic Language in Eastern Newfoundland. In H. Paddock (ed.) *Languages in Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's, NL: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2nd ed., 2-13.

Foster, G. (1982b). Gaeldom and Tír (N)úr- 'The-New-Found Land': Sociological Patterning of Scottish Gaelic in Western Newfoundland. In H. Paddock (ed.) *Languages in Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's, NL: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2nd ed., 14-41.

Halpert, H. & Widdowson J. D. A. (1996). *Folktales of Newfoundland*. St. John's: Breakwater.

Harris, L. (2006). *Two island dialects of Bonavista Bay, Newfoundland*. MA thesis. Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Hewson, J. (1982a). Beothuk and the Algonkian Northeast. In H. Paddock (ed.) *Languages in Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's, NL: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2nd ed., 176-187.

Hewson, J. (1982b). Micmac Hieroglyphics in Newfoundland. In H. Paddock (ed.) *Languages in Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's, NL: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2nd ed., 188-199.

Hickey, R. (2002). *A source book for Irish English*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Hickey, R. (2004). Development and diffusion of Irish English. In R. Hickey (ed.) *Legacies of colonial English. Studies in transported dialects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 82-117.

Hickey, R. (2014). *A dictionary of varieties of English*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons.

Kallen, J. L. (1989). Tense and Aspect Categories in Irish English. *English World-Wide,* 10, 1-39.

Keough, W. (2008). Creating the 'Irish Loop': Cultural Renaissance or Commodification of Ethnic Identity in an Imagined Tourist Landscape? *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 34 (2), 12-22.

King, R. & Wicks, J. (2009). "Aren't We Proud of Our Language?" Authenticity, Commodification, and the Nissan Bonavista Television Commercial. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 37(3), 262-283.

Kirwin, W. J. (1993). The planting of Anglo-Irish in Newfoundland. In S. Clarke (ed.) *Focus on Canada.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 65-84.

Labov, W., Sharon A. & Charles B. (2006). *The Atlas of North American English*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Lanari, C. E. P. (1994). *A sociolinguistic study of the Burin region of Newfoundland*. MA thesis. Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Loflin, M. D. (1967). A note on the deep structure of non-standard English in Washington, DC. *Glossa* 1, 27-37.

Mannion, J. (1974). *Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Noseworthy, R. G. (1971). *A dialect survey of Grand Bank, Newfoundland*, MA thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Paddock, H. (1982). Newfoundland dialects of English. In H, Paddock (ed.) *Languages in Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's, NL: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2nd ed., 71-89.

Rickford, J. R. (1986). Social contact and linguistic diffusion: Hiberno-English and new world Black English. *Language* 62(2), 245-289.

Rhys, M. (2007). Dialect variation in English. In Graddol, D., Leith. D., Swann, J. Rhys M., & Gillen, J. (eds.) *Changing English*. Abingdon/New York: Routledge, 189-226.

Sheppard, M. (2006). *Madonna – loves: Gay speech in Newfoundland, Canada.* Unpublished course paper. St John's, Canada: Memorial University.

Smith, F. E. (2006). *The story of Newfoundland*. London: Horace Marshall & Son. Retrieved from: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/18636/18636-h/18636-h.htm

Thomas, G. (1982). The French Spoken in the Port-au-Port Peninsula of Newfoundland. In H. Paddock (ed.) *Languages in Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's, NL: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2nd ed., 42-61.

Thomas, E. R. (2007). Phonological and phonetic characteristics of African American Vernacular English. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 1(5), 450-475.

Troike, R. C. (1986). McDavid's law, *Journal of English Linguistics* 19 (2), 177–205.

Vaughan, J. (2016). Landscapes of the Irish Language: Discursive Constructions of Authenticity in the Irish Diaspora. *Irish Journal of Applied Social Studies*, 16(1), 55-76.

Wagner, S. (2012). Newfoundland English. In B. Kortmann & K. Lukenheimer (ed.) *The Mouton World Atlas of Variation in English.* Berlin: De Gryuter, 109-125.

Wakelin, M. F. (1986). *The Southwest of England (Varieties of English around the World, T5)*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.