

THE DIALECT OF LUNENBURG COUNTY, NOVA SCOTIA:

A study of the English of the
county, with reference to its
sources, preservation of relics, and
vestiges of bilingualism.

by

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PREFACE

The study which follows aims to bring the procedures and techniques of dialect geography to bear upon a very special linguistic situation in order to record as accurately as possible the chief features of the speech of the most conservative speakers of one county and to shed as much light as possible on the past of a dialect of English which has developed in a region originally settled by German speakers.

The genesis of this dissertation lies in experiences of the remote youth of the writer, but attention was first turned toward the subject as a matter for formal study in discussion with W. Freeman Twaddell of the German Department of Brown University. Between that initial discussion and the final focussing assisted by my Chairman, Albert H. Marckwardt, many good friends and scholars contributed assistance and encouragement. The two most continuously associated with it are Hans Kurath, chairman of the program in Linguistics when I began my doctoral program at the University of Michigan, and Raven I. McDavid, Jr., my mentor in field work and strenuous but genial critic.

I have been very fortunate in the courteous assistance of linguists engaged in related projects and scholars in peripheral fields. First among these is Henry Alexander who did the first field work in Nova Scotia and graciously permitted the use of his collections. Murray Emeneau, who first drew attention to Lunenburg in a linguistic article, and Helen Creighton, who recognized the need for linguistic work in Lunenburg County in her folklore publication, were helpful from an early stage. I have also enjoyed the courtesy of D.C. Harvey, then Nova Scotia provincial archivist; J.B. Brebner; Thomas H. Raddall; the late Burns Martin of Kings College, Dalhousie University; Morton Bloomfield; Carroll E. Reed; and Walter S. Avis; to all of whom I owe a debt of gratitude not only for their tangible help but for their encouragement.

My colleagues at Augustana College have been interested and helpful, especially my department head, Henriette C. K. Naeseth, who has put up patiently with a rather preoccupied teacher, and Edward Hamming of the Geography Department and Roger Spitznas of the Geology Department, who assisted with advice on technical problems beyond my own competence.

The unsung heroes of any dialect project are the informants who, by the conventions, must remain anonymous. Their patience, hospitality, and generosity will long be warmly remembered.

My family, both immediate and in remoter degrees, have been a source of encouragement, especially my wife, Eleanor, who has cheerfully undertaken numerous odd jobs at short notice to assist in the completion of the manuscript.

H. Rex Wilson,
Rock Island, Ill.,
April, 1958.

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CHAPTER I

General Introduction

Almost anywhere in Nova Scotia some old timer can be found who will claim to be able to tell what county of the province any man comes from by listening to his speech. Whatever skepticism there may be about such claims does not apply to the speech of a part of Lunenburg County. "Lunenburg Dutch", as it is popularly known, is widely known for its distinctiveness and somewhat exotic quality. Unlike "Pennsylvania Dutch", "Lunenburg Dutch" is not a dialect of German but a peculiar way of speaking English in an area where the original colonization was by German-speaking settlers. German itself may be accounted a dead language in the county, though some claim to speak it. The ability to speak German is a social accomplishment rather than a necessity or even a convenience, and the comment, "Der kann a bissel Daitsh spreche," is an introduction to an elite made up entirely of a part of the older generation in some villages. These use "the old Dutch language", as the uninitiated of the county call it, as a sort of cant to keep the younger folk out of their gossip and, one suspects, to give their communications an unmerited air of importance.

"Lunenburg Dutch", as distinct from "the old Dutch language", has peculiarities of pronunciation which are striking even to the linguistically untrained outsider. Throughout Nova Scotia, Lunenburgers are notorious for their tendency to let "the" become "de", "vessels" become "wessels" (and "wees" generally become "wubbleyous" -- and "wice wersa"). There has long been a tendency for these features to be grossly exaggerated, but it is true that many respected old skippers of Lunenburg or offshore fishermen from the outports can be found who speak with an accent reminiscent of the "German" comedians of old-time vaudeville.

Vocabulary and Syntax

The vocabulary and syntax of the county enjoy an equally widespread reputation in the province and, if possible, even more exaggeration, usually in the interests of humor. A favorite saying of my youth in Halifax was the comment of a surely fictitious "Dutch" carpenter on a house remodelling job he proposed to do: "Veel svivel it around a piece a vays, put a vindy-bay in de back and a randy-bo in de front and de front door vere de back door used to vas." (Translation -- equally necessary for Lunenburgers: "We'll swivel it around part way, put a bay window in the back and a veranda in the front and the front door where the back door used to be.") Most stories concentrate on the way Lunenburgers are supposed to "svivel" the language around -- a tendency to "talk backwards" resting in German syntactic habits carried over into English. This is popularly assumed to be a sign of mental deficiency and a lack of logical aptitude. A typical authentic example cited by Helen Creighton in Folklore of Lunenburg County is: "In the woods it grows."¹ A distorted report is the story of the Lunenburg skipper who found he was going to need transportation from the wharf out to his vessel anchored in the harbor. He hailed the apprentice of the crew or "header" (whose job in getting the fish down is to cut off the heads before more experienced hands finish the cleaning): "Hey, heada, come ashore vunce and bring de dory vit." This story, still capable of causing merriment in Halifax or Queens Counties, neglects the point of German word order, and emphasizes the popular notion of mad logic. Incidentally, we do have here effective illustration of two idioms which are authentic, the use of the emphatic "once" and the "with" in final position.

1 -- Helen Creighton, Folklore of Lunenburg County, Bulletin No. 117, Anthropological Series No. 29, National Museum of Canada, Ottawa, 1950, p. 107.

Linguistic Attitudes

The impact of Lunenburg County on the linguistic consciousness of Nova Scotia has been unmistakable. Lunenburg pronunciations are regarded as substandard and "ignorant" and an accusation that he was "speaking like a Dutchman" was enough to bring a young Halifax boy of thirty years ago back into the circle of linguistic propriety. As indicated above, many features of vocabulary and of sentence structure are regarded with amusement; yet in the domestic circles from which I derive most of what might be called "the folklore of Lunenburg Dutch" I have noticed that some Lunenburg sayings were regularly used, albeit self-consciously. They included the familiar "all" for "all gone", and a final "ain't" as a request for confirmation.

Bibliography and Earlier Work

The linguistic peculiarities of Lunenburg County are part of a larger cultural pattern other details of which are recorded in Helen Creighton's Folklore of Lunenburg County. The first linguist to call attention to the dialect was the Sanskritist Murray Emeneau in 1935¹. His is a brief article but it is the product of long firsthand experience as a boy and youth in Lunenburg County.

Two transcriptions of Lunenburg County speech were made by Henry Alexander of Queens University in the course of a wide-mesh survey undertaken in connection with the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada. No results of this fieldwork have been published and I have been fortunate in obtaining permission from Alexander and Dr. Hans Kurath, director of the Linguistic Atlas, to use these two and other records made by Alexander in Nova Scotia. In addition I have gathered dialect materials from ten other localities in the vicinity of Lunenburg.

1 -- Murray Emeneau, "The Dialect of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia", Language, vol. 11, pp. 140--147.

Area of Field Work

The field of the intensive part of this study is the southwestern half of Lunenburg County and the northeastern part of neighboring Queens County. This area is unique in Nova Scotia in that it was filled up simultaneously at a rather early time by secondary settlers from two culturally and linguistically distinct focal points. Around most of the rest of the coast, with the exception of the Minas Basin area, early settlements long remained relatively remote from one another, effectively cut off from casual day-to-day communication. The Queens-Lunenburg situation affords an opportunity for the close examination of the effects of one dialect upon another. It is not surprising in such a situation to find that descendants of the German-speaking settlers had developed a distinctive way of speaking the English which they learned from the settlers who surrounded and outnumbered them in the province.

Methodology

As has been implied, the materials for this study were obtained chiefly by direct field work. The procedures developed for the Linguistic Atlas of New England from those used by European dialect geographers, form the basis of both Alexander's field work and my own. These are described fully in the handbook of the Linguistic Atlas¹. Briefly, the procedure in field work is to interview a native informant who is also a lifelong resident of the area in which he lives, asking questions from a standard questionnaire or worksheet. All questions are asked by indirection, that is, in looking for the word drought the field worker asks the informant, "When it goes without raining for weeks at a time you say you are having a --." The field worker avoids asking a direct question in which he himself mentions any form

1 -- Hans Kurath and others, Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England, Providence, Brown University, 1939, pp. 39--50.

of the response sought. He would ask the question, "Do you use the word drought?" only as a last resort, and the fact that he had suggested the word would be indicated in the field record. All replies are transcribed in phonetic notation, and as far as possible the informants' comments are too. All irregular material, such as a report by an informant that he had heard the term from someone else but did not use it himself, that his father had used a term different from his own, or a reply from some other native present, is specifically noted for later interpretation.

As an addition to the techniques of the ~~older~~ geographical projects, I used a tape recorder in connection with my 1952 interviews to aid in shortening each interview and catching both question and incidental comment for later reference, and to check on the accuracy of the hand-written transcription. An evaluation of this technique has been published in the Journal of the Canadian Linguistic Association¹.

Interpretation of Phonetic Transcription

Since phonetic transcription, even when backed up by an electrical recording, is at best a controlled notation of a personal impression, there are bound to be personal differences between the work of individual field workers. These have to be analyzed and reconciled in order that a false interpretation of the geographical extent of a phonological feature may not emerge. If a feature of pronunciation is found only within an area covered by one field worker, the boundary of its occurrence is called a personal isogloss. Although the

1--- Rex Wilson, "The Implication of Tape Recording in Dialect Geography", Journal of the Canadian Linguistic Association, vol.2, no.1, pp. 18--21.

see also:

Raven I. McDavid, Jr., "Tape Recording in Dialect Geography: A Cautionary Note", Journal of the Canadian Linguistic Association, vol.3, no.1, pp.3--8.

two fieldworkers for this study have their transcriptional peculiarities, the maps resulting from their efforts seem to be free of sharply drawn personal isoglosses.

Notable divergence in transcription is to be found only in some vowels. Alexander, with few exceptions, writes the high tense vowels as diphthongal types, [iⁱ, u^u], occasionally modified by shift signs and, in the back vowel, sometimes as slightly upgliding rather than fully diphthongal, [u^w, u^u], often marked for length. In contrast I tend to write monophthongal types, [i, u], often marked for length. Whether or not these notations mark true personal isoglosses is difficult to determine. The break between the two types of transcription is abrupt for the high front vowels at the northeast border of my area of intensive field work, but Alexander's record immediately southwestward continues my type of transcription. Conversely, in the high back vowels I note a diphthongal type at the northeast corner of my area while there is a sharp break between long monophthongal types and Alexander's diphthongal type to the southwestward. I also have transcribed one fully diphthongal type in Queens County, in afternoon at 25 Milton (See Fig. 1 on the following page.)

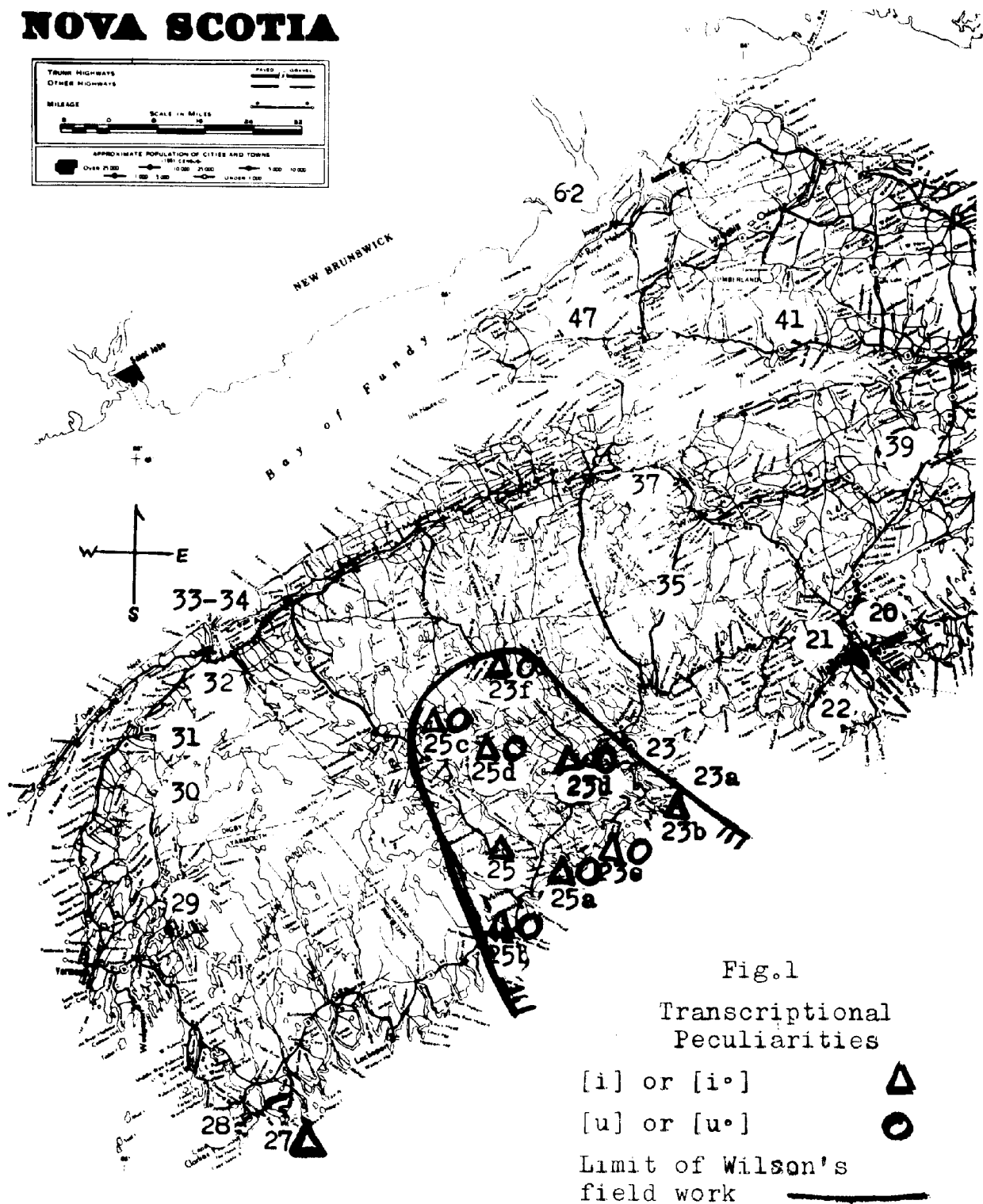
The notion that Alexander more readily records diphthongization and does so with more subtlety than I is supported by his treatment of the mid front tense vowel. This is usually diphthongal in his transcription, [eⁱ] or [e^ɪ], occasionally upgliding, [e^{ɪ̃}], while I tend to write [e] or [e[•]], occasionally noting an upglide, [e^{ɪ̃}] or [e^{ɪ̃}].

Contrary to the tendencies noted above, we both write the mid back vowel as [o] or in an upgliding form, [o^u], and sometimes with an inglide, [o^{ɔ̃}].

In the low back region I tend to write [ɔ̃] with great relative frequency, while Alexander tends toward [ɔ̃], but there is considerable overlap.

In the diphthongs an apparent sharp personal isogloss

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occurs between Alexander's records and mine in words like twice and house. I record a more or less central-upgliding diphthong in contrast with Alexander's low-upgliding types. Thus I differentiate these diphthongs from those of five and houses. Alexander seems to write similar diphthongs for both twice/house and five/houses. To some extent these discrepancies can be reconciled by a study of the modifications indicated by shift signs in Alexander's records. This is dealt with fully in Chapter VI.

Evaluation of Responses

In the discussions of lexical, morphological, and phonological matters which follow, only the immediate, unforced responses of the informants, or materials recorded from their conversation, are used. This parallels the cautious practice of E. Bagby Atwood in his study of verb forms¹. In the study of syntactic peculiarities the same limitation is imposed upon material drawn from field records, but this material is supplemented by reference to the reports of Emeneau and Miss Creighton, which cannot be so controlled.

The Worksheets

Alexander's Nova Scotia records, made in the summer of 1939, were elicited by means of a short worksheet (SWS) of some 500 items based on the long worksheet (LWS) of over 800 items that had been used in the field work for the Linguistic Atlas of New England². My own field work consisted of two trips, in 1950 and 1952. On the 1950 trip, confined to Queens County, I used the SWS, augmented by additions made by Alexander in the field. For the 1952 trip, guided by the experience of Alexander's recording and my own and by a more refined notion of the nature of my research, I evolved a set

1 -- E. Bagby Atwood, A Survey of Verb Forms of the Eastern United States, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1953, p.3.

2 -- Kurath, Handbook, pp. 149--158.

of condensed worksheets (CWS) from which were eliminated some of the less productive items of the SWS and to which were added items suggested by Emeneau's experience. Items peculiar to the CWS are noted in the index.

The Informants

The informants, whose vitae are provided in Appendix A along with those of Alexander's informants whose records were used in this work, were all of the older and largely of the least educated type. With limited time in the field I felt that priority should be given to the recording of the speech of the generation which was rapidly passing away. Practical considerations of availability for interviews and the desire to mesh as closely as possible in point of birth date with Alexander's informants who had made their contribution thirteen to fifteen years earlier also dictated concentration on the older generation.

All of the principal informants in Lunenburg-Queens were born between 1867 and 1885. These people were between 66 and 84 years old in the census year 1951. The census for that year reports for the area of intensive field work¹ a total of 3,564 people over 65 years of age. Thus the 14 informants in the area of intensive field work represent almost exactly one in 350 of the older generation of their district, or a somewhat higher proportion if only native-born lifelong residents could be counted. The ratio of informants to total population is much more favorable in the area of intensive field work than that usually found in atlas projects. Such a ratio is exemplified by Alexander's earlier survey.

By purely statistical criteria all but three of these informants belong to Kurath's type IA (older or old fashioned

1 -- Queens Census District b plus the town of Liverpool, and Lunenburg Census District a minus the town of Mahone Bay, as described in Ninth Census of Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Department of Trade and Commerce, Ottawa, 1953, Table 23.

types with little formal education)¹. Of the others two are type III-A (older, with superior education, cultured background, wide reading, and/or extensive social contacts) in Milton and Halifax, and one a type II-A (older with better formal education than type I and/or wider reading and social contacts) in Dartmouth.

Within these three classifications there is apt to be considerable variation, and occasionally the records will indicate close resemblances between the speech of informants of different types. Of the type III informants the one in Halifax, a woman and the product of a year at Normal School and three years teaching in her young womanhood, is definitely bookish, while the one in Milton, a local man of affairs, college graduate, and former teacher with some experience in the Canadian West, is natural, unaffected, and provides little in his speech to distinguish him from type I informants in the same county.

Education varies greatly among type I informants, with the advantage going to the women. During the youth of the informants Nova Scotian rural schools were ungraded. Children went to school to get what learning there was time for. Education was respected, but for many families it proved to be a luxury at times, and the apparent deprecating statement of one fisherman that he "went to school a coupla months" is probably closer to the truth than might at first seem. Often a boy was needed in the fish plant or at sea, and even when he was not needed to work regularly the family economy may often have restricted his time at school to the depth of winter. There is thus, in general, a gap in education between the women and the men. However, all in the area of intensive study read newspapers, listened to the radio, and enjoyed social contact with their neighbors. Most of them

1 -- Kurath, Handbook, p. 44.

were alert and intelligent, sometimes with the curiosity of the type possessed by the Five Houses informant who always took books to sea with him and had sufficient curiosity to investigate "real German" and compare many common words with his own "old Dutch language". Alexander's Lunenburg informant was the founder of a private museum of local interest.

Generally, then, in the discussions which follow, the informants will not be subdivided as to type except in comment on individual responses where caution or modification of interpretation is suggested by something in the informant's background.

The Communities

The communities covered within the area of intensive field work were chosen with regard to their position in the settlement pattern of the counties, while a selection was made from the available records from the Alexander survey to account as far as possible for the counties with similar settlement histories. A full description of the criteria used in selecting communities will be found following the discussion of the geography and history of the region in Chapter II. A full list of the communities with brief descriptions will be found along with informant vitae in Appendix A.

CHAPTER II

Population History and Regional Culture

In respect of population Nova Scotia is a misnamed peninsula and adjacent island lying north-east of New England. (For location see Fig. 2 on the following page.) It was part of the indeterminate territory called Acadia during the French occupation. It received its present name in 1621 when King James I granted it to Sir William Alexander. No permanent settlement resulted from this grant or from the subsequent scheme under which Charles I created an order of Nova Scotia baronets in the interests of colonization. The fact that Sir William Alexander's New Scotland is populated in the north by people of Scottish origin is a matter of historic accident.

The peninsula and its northern island, Cape Breton, represent the northern terminus of the Appalachian Range--essentially rounded mountaintops projecting above the Atlantic. The country is on the whole rocky. The chief farming regions are the Annapolis Valley; the isthmus of Chignecto, which connects the peninsula with New Brunswick; and the area around the shores of the Minas Basin, an inlet of the Bay of Fundy. Although the main part of the province is the remnant of a mountainous upthrust, the country is gently rolling, with highlands more like the foothills of the White Mountains than like the mountains themselves. The highest elevation in the peninsula is about 800 feet above sea level, but a few abrupt ridges, such as the North and South "Mountains" which bound the Annapolis Valley, afford charming and picturesque lookoffs. (See Fig. 3 on page 17.) The climate is moderate, with mild winters and relatively cool summers, which make it a favorite place of refuge for coastal New Englanders.

Legend has it that Nova Scotia is the Markland of the

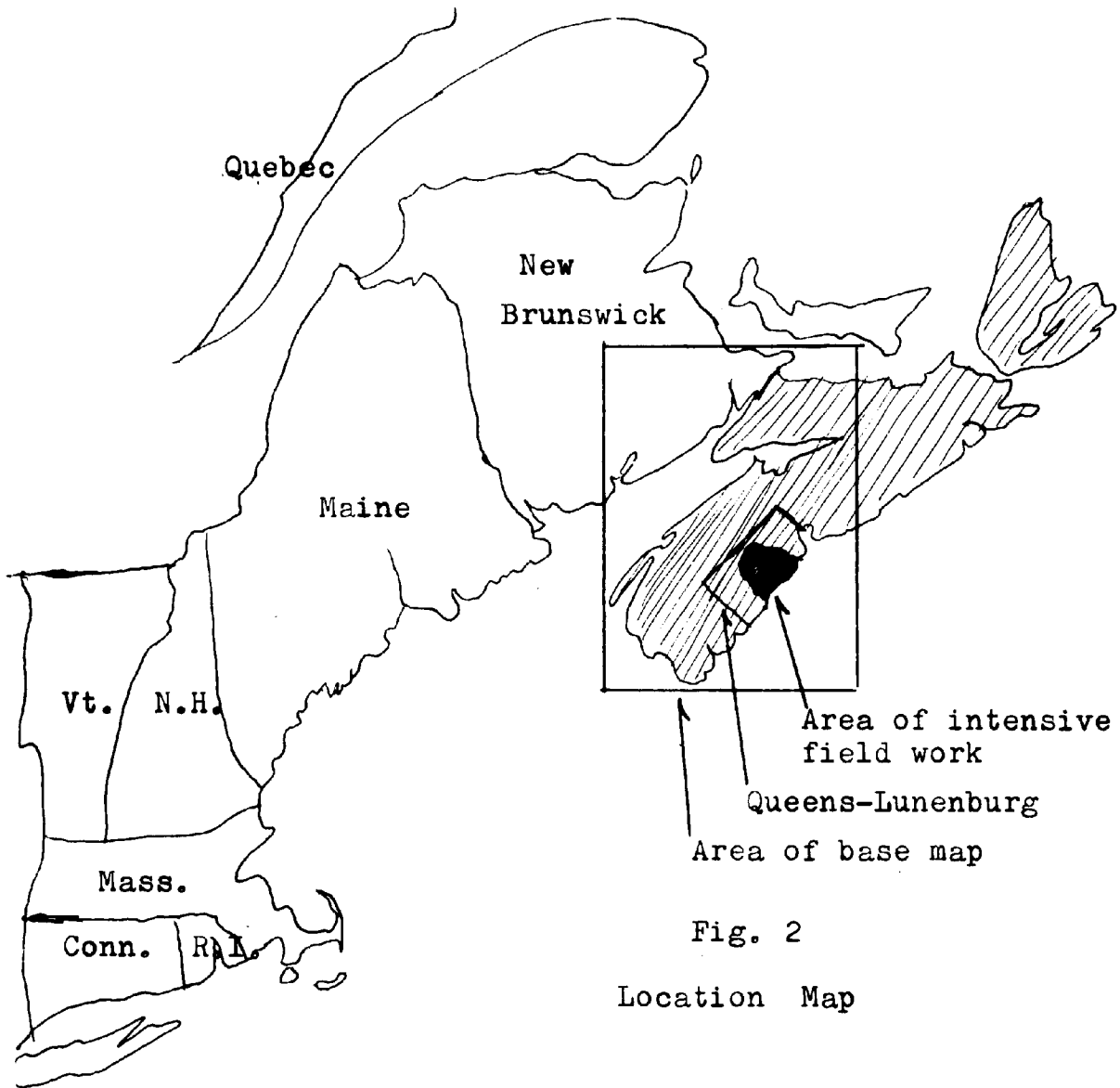


Fig. 2

Location Map

Vikings. John Cabot recorded a landing at Cape North, Cape Breton Island, where he claimed the land for King Henry VII, but it was the French who first made a serious effort to settle it. Mainland Nova Scotia fell into English hands under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713, and a long period of struggle for the allegiance of the Acadian inhabitants began. This came to a head in 1755 when, under pressure from worried New Englanders, the British Government authorized the now notorious expulsion of the Acadians. The Acadians who avoided expulsion became refugees, and to all intents organized settlement in most of Nova Scotia came to an end.

It was in the period between 1760 and 1775 that the basic stock of the present population of much of Nova Scotia was rooted in the soil. The settlers came largely from New England and their story is told fully in J.B.Brebner's The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia¹.

The Country

The brief description already given of the country to which New England Yankees came during the fifteen years between 1760 and 1775 may at first raise some doubts as to the validity of the Yankees' reputation for shrewdness. It would be difficult to find a country more aptly described as "rock ribbed"; everywhere the "bones" show, and in the dirt road age of the 1920's motorists said that the road westward out of Halifax was built by filling the spaces between the rocks with earth.

The whole province, including Cape Breton, is about 350 miles long with a maximum width (not including the Isthmus of

1 -- John Bartlet Brebner, The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia; a Marginal Colony During the Revolutionary Years, New York, Columbia University Press, 1937, pp. 6 and 7, gives figures permitting an estimate of not more than 3,000 white settlers for the whole province at this time, not counting a fugitive remnant of the dispossessed Acadians

Chignecto) of 70 miles. It lies approximately between 66° west longitude, 44° north latitude in the southwest, and 60° west longitude, 47° north latitude in the northeast. The chief watershed of the southwestern lobe of the province lies in the counties of Digby, Annapolis, and Kings, being more or less three quarters of the way across the province from the Atlantic Coast to the Bay of Fundy. A considerable part of this watershed is the ridge known as South Mountain. Beyond it lies the famous Annapolis Valley, which is again divided from the Fundy shore by North Mountain. South Mountain separates the waters which flow into the Annapolis Valley and Minas Basin from those which drain circuitously through systems of lakes into the Atlantic and St. Mary Bay at the mouth of the Bay of Fundy.

It is the rivers, lakes, and bogs, combined with deep estuaries along the coast, and the generally rocky nature of the country, rather than any abrupt changes in elevation, which long hampered communication by land in Nova Scotia. Until well into the nineteenth century the most convenient and rapid transportation was by sea. Today the main roads of the province, while hard-surfaced and well maintained, tend to be winding, reflecting the old basic problem. Two loops of highway, which join at Halifax, cover the coast. Roads across the peninsula connect points on the opposite shores. Corresponding railways were completed soon after the turn of the twentieth century.

Lunenburg and Queens Counties

The choice of communities in the area of intensive field work under consideration has been influenced by the typical Nova Scotia topography. The lakes and bogs of Queens County, for instance, cut it into two districts, the fishing and commercial area in the south and the agricultural and logging Northern District in the far northern corner of the

county. Between the two lie the lakes and bogs of the Mersey and Medway river systems. The western corner of the county is taken up by the Lake Rossignol reservoir and related ponds of the Mersey system. It is largely roadless and uninhabited. The Northern District is connected with Liverpool by Provincial Highway No.8, which in the other direction connects with Annapolis Royal. The chief towns of the coastal part of the county, like those of Lunenburg County, are on Highway No.3 and by it are linked with Halifax and other chief points on the South Shore.

The settlement of Lunenburg County was more favored by the topography than was that of Queens. The valley of the La Have River provides a corridor of arable land up to New Germany, which is in a geological extension of the Northern District of Queens, to which it is connected by a branch line railway and a secondary road. Bridgewater is connected with New Germany and Annapolis County by Highway No. 10. The northern corner of Lunenburg County resembles the western corner of Queens except that it lacks a huge reservoir like Lake Rossignol and does possess two secondary roads through to the Minas Basin district.

Queens-Lunenburg has always been relatively remote, like many another area in the province. Even today the bulk of the population is centered in the area between Lunenburg and Liverpool on the coast and northward between the valleys of the Medway and La Have Rivers. Settlement between Liverpool and Shelburne to the southwest is sparse, and between Chester, in Lunenburg County, and Halifax almost as sparse, although to the traveller appearances are deceiving, since this is Halifax summer cottage territory. The total population of Queens County in 1951 was 12,544, of whom 9,903 lived within the area of intensive field work. In Lunenburg the total figure was 33,256 of whom 24,949 lived within the area of intensive field work.

NOVA SCOTIA

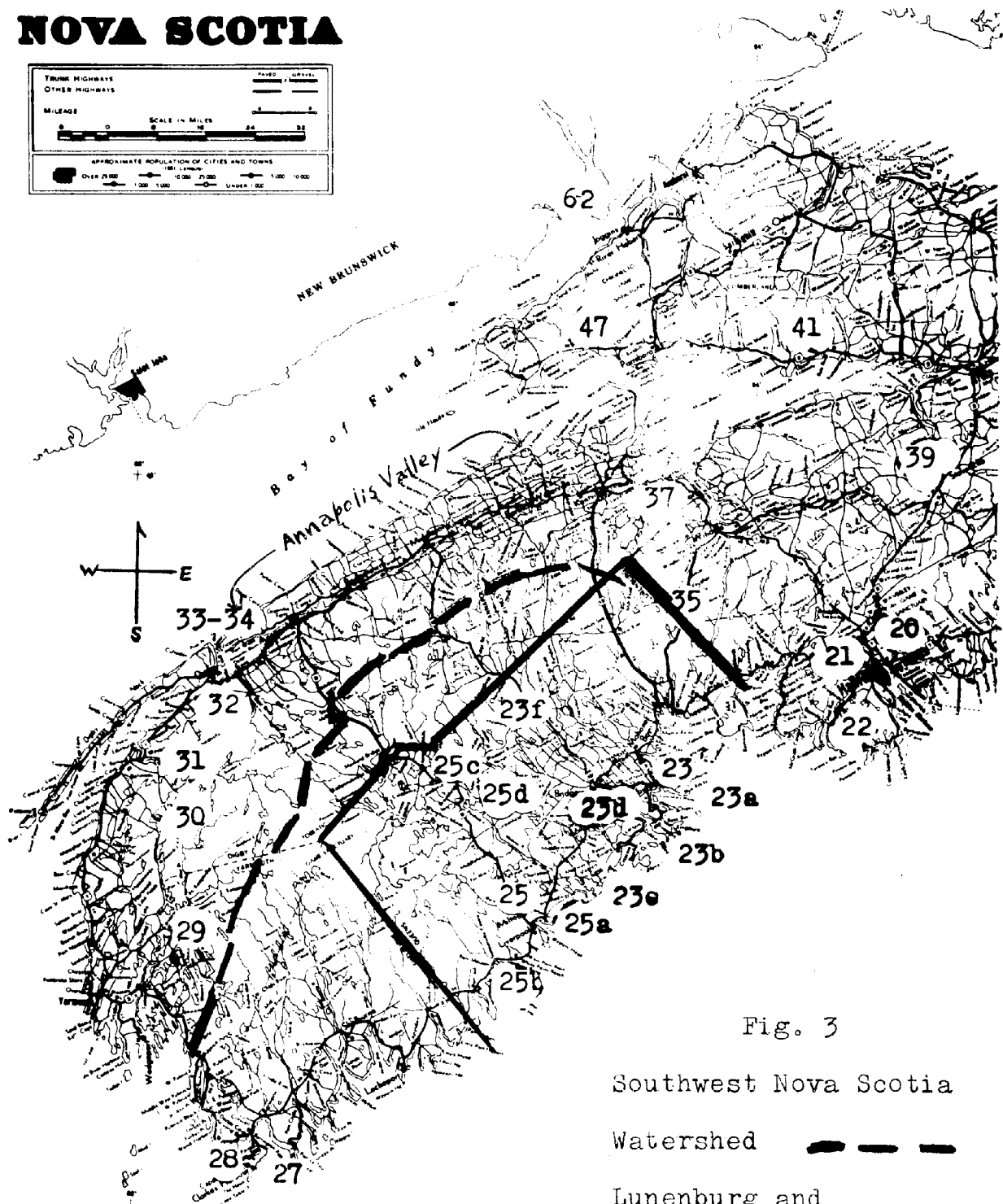


Fig. 3

Southwest Nova Scotia

Watershed 

Lunenburg and Queens Counties 

Fishing and logging form the basis of the economy of the Queens-Lunenburg district today as they did when the New England settlers first chose Liverpool for their settlement because it afforded just this combination. The majority of the logs cut today are for wood pulp. Virtually all of the pulpwood cut is processed right in the district at the mill of the Mersey Pulp and Paper Company at Brooklyn between the Mersey and Medway Rivers near Liverpool. Since the building of the pulp mill in 1927 a yeast plant using some of the by-products has been established alongside it.

In addition to being the home of a substantial banks fishing fleet, Lunenburg is still a center for the building of large wooden vessels and possesses repair shops for vessels of all kinds. Liverpool has a shipfitting and repair company also.

Aside from those engaged in local commerce and the professions, the bulk of the population in both counties is directly supported by farming, woods work, fishing, or a combination of the three. There is also a seasonal tourist "industry" which involves the renting of rooms and cabins, and the guiding of hunting and fishing parties.

Settlement History

The present settlement -- or re-settlement -- of Nova Scotia dates from the period when the English sought a population which would be loyal to the Crown and help hold the province once and for all for the British flag. Settlers were sought on the European continent through the publication of a proclamation making an offer of free land grants and favorable tax arrangements¹. Some 1,615 settlers, chiefly from Germany, with a few French-speaking Montbeliards and some Swiss, had been gathered at Halifax by 1753 and in

1 -- Mather Byles DesBrisay, History of the County of Lunenburg, Halifax, 1895, p.22.

May of that year 1,453 of these were transported to a new site on Merliguish Bay on the South Shore where they founded the new town of Lunenburg (originally Lüneburg)¹. Although by tradition many of these settlers were from the Rhenish Palatinate and nearby lands the name is from Hanover and may be due to the settlement of German veterans of the King's service among the civilian immigrants.

Meanwhile representatives of interested groups from New England began scouting for sites, especially in the Minas Basin region, from which the hapless Acadians had just been expelled. The New England influx began about 1760 with the settlement of Chester, northeast of Lunenburg, by 65 grantees from Massachusetts Bay, and of Liverpool to the southwest by 70 families, apparently chiefly from Nantucket and Cape Cod². In the following eight years the basis for continuing New England influence³ was laid at Barrington and Yarmouth on the South Shore; Annapolis, Granville, and Wilmot (now Aylesford) in the Annapolis Valley; Cornwallis, Horton, Falmouth, and Newport on Minas Basin; Amherst, Cumberland, and Sackville (New Brunswick) on the Isthmus of Chignecto. Initially these consisted of small groups of settlers, usually former neighbors in the "old" colonies. Barrington was settled in 1761 by Nantucket and Cape Cod men who had established 48 families there by the following year. Yarmouth had 50 families in 1763, and Annapolis and Granville, on opposite sides of the Annapolis River, had 140 families between them. Wilmot, in the central part of the valley, was settled relatively late and **shows** only 40 inhabitants in the 1767 census quoted below. The Minas Basin group of colonies, whose improved farmlands were especially attractive, were peopled by settlers from

1 -- DesBrisay, pp.23 and 27.

2 -- Brebner, pp.50 and 55.

3 -- Brebner, p.24.

rural Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Probable figures in 1763 were: Cornwallis, 656 persons; Horton, 689; Falmouth, 356; and Newport, 345. The Chignecto region in 1763 had three townships of New England origin: Cumberland, Sackville, and Amherst, reflecting Rhode Island interest and including some disbanded New England soldiers, most of whom no doubt had known the region in the campaign against the French Fort Beauséjour, which commanded the isthmus¹.

In 1768 a treaty was made at Fort Stanwix with the Six Nations which opened up Kentucky and other western lands to settlement. With these lands open, the tide of migration from the eastern colonies turned west and Nova Scotia was neglected². New England settlement dwindled but did not fail completely. Although settlers were found from other sources as they had been to some extent during this major settlement period from 1759--1768, a New England dominance had been established for quite some time to come. While wholesale movements became a thing of the past it is probable that acquaintances and relatives of the original settlers continued to come in. As Brebner comments, the increase from an estimated 8,200 in 1763 to a minimum estimate of 17,500 in 1775 cannot be accounted for by natural increase and known immigration³.

Besides Lunenburg, the non-New England settlements were Yorkshire farmers in the Isthmus of Chignecto⁴, a beginning of Scottish immigration, along with a few from

1 -- Brebner, pp. 55--61.
and

W.O. Sawtelle, "Acadia: The Pre-Loyalist Migration and the Philadelphia Plantation", Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, vol. 51, p. 263.

2 -- Brebner, pp. 94 and 115.

3 -- Brebner, p. 94.

4 -- Brebner, pp. 114 and 119.

western Maryland in Pictou County¹, a strong Ulster settlement about the head of Minas Basin², and a few scattered settlements of returned Acadians, such as the one at Pubnico⁵. (Approximate settlement locations are summed up in Fig. 4 on the following page.) A summary of the population situation is offered in the 1767 census return from the several townships reprinted by Sawtelle⁴:

Township	Americans	Total
Amherst	29	123
Annapolis	370	513
Barrington	365	376
Blandford	11	95
Cape Breton	170	707
Canso	73	519
Chester	175	231
Cornwallis	697	727
Cumberland	269	334
Dartmouth	8	39
Dublin	60	107
Falmouth	200	292
Granville	350	383
Halifax and environs	1,351	3,022
Hopewell	62	159
Horton	617	634
Lawrence	5	15
Liverpool	594	634

1 -- Sawtelle, pp. 279--281.

2 -- Brebner, p.59,
and

M'Robert, Patrick (Carl Bridenbaugh, ed.) A Tour Through Part of the North Provinces of America, 1774--1775, Edinburgh, 1776, as reprinted in The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, April 1935, p.15.

3 -- James F. More, The History of Queens County, Nova Scotia, Halifax, 1873, p. 21.

4 -- Sawtelle, p. 267. The term American is interpreted by Sawtelle as meaning almost always New Englander.

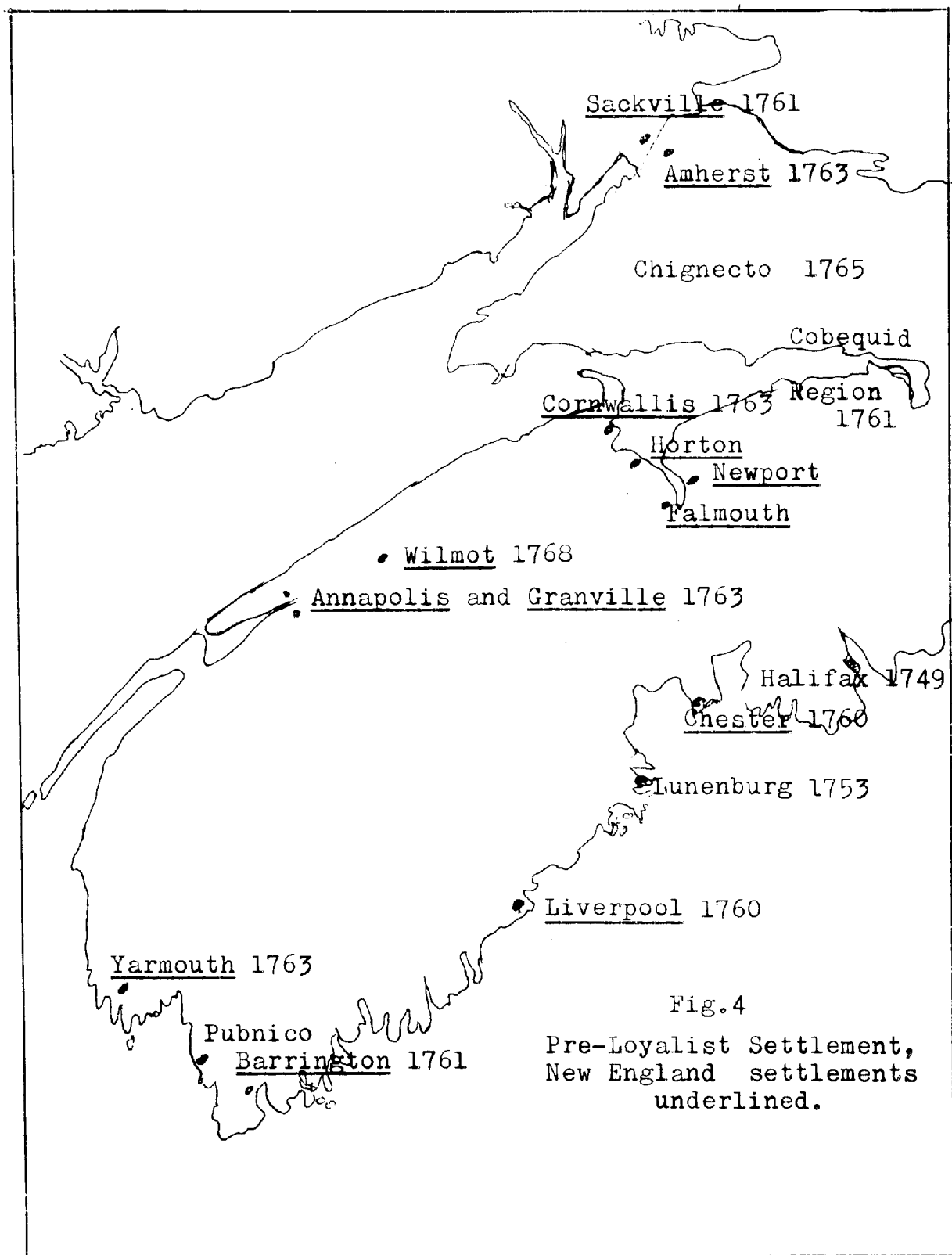


Fig.4
Pre-Loyalist Settlement,
New England settlements
underlined.

Township	Americans	Total
Londonderry	10	148
Lunenburg	25	1,468
Maugerville ¹	235	261
Monckton ¹	7	60
Newport	242	279
Onslow	137	245
Sackville ¹	343	349
St. John Island ¹	70	519
Truro	0	301
Wilmont (Wilmot)	19	40
Windsor	48	243
Yarmouth	351	371
St. John River and Cape Sable ²	20	172
	<u>6,913</u>	<u>13,374</u>

This census shows the composition of settlement just at the end of the early settlement period. The population of the present counties of Lunenburg and Queens was at that time made up approximately as follows:

Queens:			Lunenburg:		
"Americans"		Others	"Americans"		Others
Liverpool	594	40	Blandford	11	84
			Chester	175	56
			Dublin	60	47
			Lunenburg	25	1,443
	<u>594</u>	<u>40</u>		<u>271</u>	<u>1,610</u>

Even assuming, as Sawtelle does, that the "Americans"

-
- 1 -- Returns are for the country then known as Acadia. Sackville, Monckton, and Maugerville are in New Brunswick, St. John Island is Prince Edward Island.
- 2 -- Inexplicable; there are no adjacent points with these names. The St. John River is in New Brunswick. Cape Sable is at the extreme southern tip of Nova Scotia.

were chiefly New Englanders, we can see that this region was actually less strongly Yankee than the average in Nova Scotia at this time. The "others" noted above are largely German, those in Lunenburg, Liverpool, and Dublin almost exclusively, those in Chester of uncertain origin, and those in Blandford all English settlers from the old country. The net figure for German settlement at that time would be about 1,500. The maximum number of Yankees 865.

This is the basic population from which the culture of Queens-Lunenburg derives, although there has been some less clearly recorded settlement from other sources. It does not appear that in any generation after this new settlers ever rivalled the natives in numbers. The established elements of the population in any generation were more numerous than the accretions regardless of source. The Ninth Census of Canada, 1951, lists the population by national origin outside of the North American continent. This reveals that 15,531 out of 33,183 in Lunenburg belong to the old German stock. For Queens County the figures are less helpful since the Yankee stock is lost amid a general British Isles group which includes the descendants of Irish, Scots, and English settlers who have come in small but steady numbers through seven or eight generations.. Another 1,598 of German extraction, no doubt chiefly from Lunenburg County, are noted in Queens, making the German representation 17,129 in a total population of 45,800 -- the largest national stock in the Queens-Lunenburg area.

Culture Traits of Queens and Lunenburg Counties

There is little in Queens and Lunenburg Counties today to distinguish the material cultures from one another. To the casual observer New England seems to prevail in the landscape. The earlier surviving houses are of types to be found in New England, the small Cape Cod house, the salt box,

larger square two storey houses built around a central chimney, and hiproofed variations of these. Later houses are of familiar balloon frame construction with little to distinguish them from one another or from those of much of the rest of the United States and Canada. Lunenburg has its own version of the storey-and-a-half Cape Cod house to be found on the hillside in Lunenburg town itself. These all face the harbor and each has a bay-windowed dormer projecting over the front doorstep, which apparently served the same purpose as the widow's walk of New England, affording a vantage point for watching the ships. They seem to be a local development and are not found in Liverpool whose townsite is flat.

Both counties seem to have shared the general developments of North American house architecture. The primary informant in Milton, Queens County, lived in a comparatively "pure" Cape Cod house to which a nineteenth century tower had been added at one corner. The secondary informant, who lived next door, had a "newer" house which reflected a classic revival influence. The informant at Five Houses lived in a massive, symmetrically arranged, late nineteenth century house with a mansard roof. It looked out of place among the surrounding six houses, all Cape Cod types.

Farm architecture is in contrast with that of the towns and fishing villages. It is less coherent in type. Almost always the structures are ad lib expansions of earlier simple cottages. All feature large, comfortable kitchens, and modern improvements have been added as they came along without completely displacing older equipment. Electrified homes still have lamp brackets; hooks remain unused that once held carcasses during home butchering; the hand water pump stands in good working order at sinks now served with running water; and the iron range, either wood-burning or converted to oil, shares many a kitchen with newer oil or electric stoves which cannot be depended upon for much heat.

Barns are generally of a simple peaked type, seldom attached to the houses, and often with a leanto added at the side to house the cattle. The barn itself is chiefly for the storage of hay in a loft above and in hay bays at the sides, with room to drive a wagon in between.

One feature of Lunenburg's material culture often associated with the county is the characteristic ox yoke. Unlike the bowed yoke in broad use in the pioneer period of this continent, which fit on the beasts' necks, this yoke is strapped to the horns. It has become characteristic of a wide area in Nova Scotia and can be found in all the counties of the southwestern lobe of the province. In contrast the famous Lunenburg fishing fleet shares North Atlantic designs in its dories (rowboats) and its vessels (schooners), while a distinctive Nova Scotia motorboat, originating in Shelburne County, the Cape Island type, is also used in the offshore fishery.

Non-Material Culture

The people are simple and hospitable. In the inland farming districts cash incomes are not large, but most families seem to live comfortably though simply, and freely share what they have with visitors -- even dialect field workers. It is an area of self-respect and tolerance which seem to justify the partisan claims of local historians.

With the exception of language, only the church affiliation affords a clear index of the cultural past. Some of the folklore seems to reflect a distinctively German heritage but adequate collections have not been published from the surrounding counties, so comparison with Miss Creighton's work is not possible.

Originally the majority of Lunenburg settlers belonged either to the Lutheran or the Reformed church. The Church of England maintained a missionary of the Society for the

Propagation of the Gospel in the province for many years in the early period of settlement and attracted many to the established church. Difficulty in obtaining clergy from the European Reformed Churches resulted in a drift of the Reformed group into the Presbyterian Church. The Lunenburg Reformed congregation was first served by a minister of the Church of Scotland in 1837¹.

Lutherans continued to receive German-speaking clergy either from the old country or from Pennsylvania until well toward the end of the nineteenth century.

The bulk of the earlier settlers of Queens County were Congregationalists but in the 1770s there was an "awakening" which resulted in the formation of an indigenous Baptist Church². A later division gave the county a small body of Disciples of Christ. A somewhat distorted image of this feature of the cultural past may be seen in the table which follows³. The union of most of the Congregationalists, Methodists, and some Presbyterians in the United Church of Canada in 1926 has caused the distortion.

	Lunenburg	Total Population	Queens	Total Population
Baptist	5,145 ⁴	33,256	3,705	12,544
Disciples	23		652	
C. of E.	10,869		3,445	
Reformed	39		1	
Lutheran	7,564		147	

1 -- DesBrisay, p. 92.

2 -- M.W. Armstrong, The Great Awakening in Nova Scotia--1776 to 1809, Ph.D. Thesis, Harvard, 1944.

3 -- Ninth Census of Canada, 1951.

4 -- Of this total almost 2,000 are in Chester, a New England settlement somewhat removed to the East from the core of Lunenburg County.

	Lunenburg	Total Population	Queens	Total Population
Presbyterian	1,573	33,256	47	12,544
United	6,577		3,365	

From the last census before church union we have the following figures¹:

Congregational	560	33,742	671	9,944
Methodist	5,427		2,052	
Presbyterian	3,622		102	

Lunenburg Disacculturation

The loss of most distinctive culture traits in Lunenburg County is part of a transformation whose most remarkable outward sign is the development of a group of "land-lubbers" into a community of noted sailors and fishermen. Unlike their Queens County neighbors, who chose their rocky lands because of possibilities of combining fishery with lumbering which they had noted when they had fished off those coasts in earlier days, the Lunenburgers were settled on their bay to suit the strategic convenience of a world power. When they developed their fishery is not fully known. The first generation of their colony presumably stuck very close to farming², but some time between settlement and the turn of the century the farmers and woodsmen of Lunenburg had taken to the sea. In 1818 the port of Lunenburg shipped 5,320 quintals (1 quintal = 112 lbs. dry weight) of fish in a little over two months. The greater growth of the fishery, however, seems to have come after 1850³. This change in the economics of the county seems to have been in especially

1 -- Sixth Census of Canada, 1921.

2 -- cf. Brebner, p.53.

3 -- DesBrisay, p.464.

close step with the loss of the German language. Long continued in the German churches, although lost by the Reformed after 1837 (See p.27) , the language was used in 1880 on the special occasion of the 350th anniversary of the Augsburg Confession, which was read in German. "Although many in the audience could not understand the German tongue, yet the older people, and the better educated, could, and a respectful hearing was obtained to the close"¹. The major address on this occasion was given in English. More significant, perhaps, are the epitaphs which as early as 1793 begin to appear in English although they celebrate the lives of members of patently German families. Yet mixed with these are many others in German, the latest of those recorded by DesBrisay being 1803². Bibles and devotional books bear German inscriptions as late as 1777³ and a Lunenburg pastor prepared a German office book which he had published in Philadelphia in 1816 for use in the county⁴. In 1951, 78 residents of the county listed German as their mother tongue. These are presumably all members of the oldest generation who "know the old Dutch language".

The Loyalist Migration

Although its effect within the immediate area of intensive investigation was slight, the Loyalist migration which began after the end of the American Revolution helped to surround the Germans of Lunenburg County more completely with English-speaking neighbors. This no doubt hastened the process of disacculturation, including the gradual loss of the German language.

In relation to the province at large it is very difficult to estimate Loyalist influence. Such was the nature of the "migration" that few remained where they were landed

1 -- DesBrisay, p.99.

2 -- DesBrisay, pp.387 and 388.

3 -- DesBrisay, p. 389.

4 -- Des Brisay, p.22.

in the province and a large but undetermined number actually returned to the victorious colonies, while others sought civilization in England or the West Indies. Within the area of intensive field work, however, we have a fairly full record of Loyalist settlement¹. To the south-west of Liverpool a remnant of the British Legion was settled at Port Mouton on a shallow, exposed bay in October, 1783 -- 125 veterans of Tarleton's forces who, with their dependents, according to tradition, totalled "something over 300"². Land grants registered in 1784 designate 102 grantees as belonging to the Legion³. Of these, however, only 42 are represented in the census return of 1787 for the area of the present Queens County. (In that period Queens and the present Shelburne and Yarmouth counties were one administrative unit.) The total number of their families is 157 in a total population of 1,116⁴. The dissipation of the Port Mouton settlers is not presented here as an accurate index of the fate of Loyalist settlement generally, but it possibly represents the average.

If the net Loyalist settlement in Queens County is small in proportion to the established population it is even less noticeable in Lunenburg County. There 121 Loyalist grants were made, chiefly in and around the old New England settlement of Chester. Only five appear to have been made in the southwestern half of the county under study here⁵.

1 -- Marion Gilroy, Loyalists and Land Settlement in Nova Scotia, Public Archives of Nova Scotia Publication No.4, Halifax, 1937.

2 -- Thomas H. Raddall, "Tarleton's Legion", Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, vol.28, 1947, p.24.

3 -- Gilroy, pp. 72--75.

4 -- Return published in Report of the Board of Trustees of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax, 1935, pp.56 -- 61.

5 -- Gilroy, pp. 67--69.

It is difficult to tell how many were added to the population of the province as a whole. Brebner estimates the population at between 17,000 and 18,000 in 1775; the net accretion to this number in the Loyalist migration must also be estimated. Miss Gilroy lists approximately 4,500 grants. If the Port Mouton grantees appearing in the 1787 census return are typical, this figure should be multiplied by about four to find the probable total of refugee families. Thus we arrive at a reasonably firm figure of 18,000 additional settlers on the land. This does not, of course, include Loyalists who were able to establish themselves in the older towns, nor can it account for grants given up within a single generation. (The disappearance of more than half the British Legion settlers between 1783 and 1787 cannot be taken as typical, since their location was particularly unpromising -- and of course the abandonment of a grant does not mean that the grantee left the province.) At any rate it is reasonable to suppose that with the ebb of the Loyalist wave Nova Scotia had at least doubled in population.

However numerous, the Loyalist group was not homogeneous, and certainly a large part of it was from the same New England colonies which had dominated earlier settlement. Moreover, family connections with the established settlers must have tended to keep this part of the influx stable. To what extent any part of the Atlantic seaboard is represented is hard to tell since origin by place or military unit is an item more often than not missing from the records. There is just enough indication by characteristic names and unit designations to suggest that, initially at least, the colonies were all represented among Loyalists in Nova Scotia.

Post-Loyalist Settlement

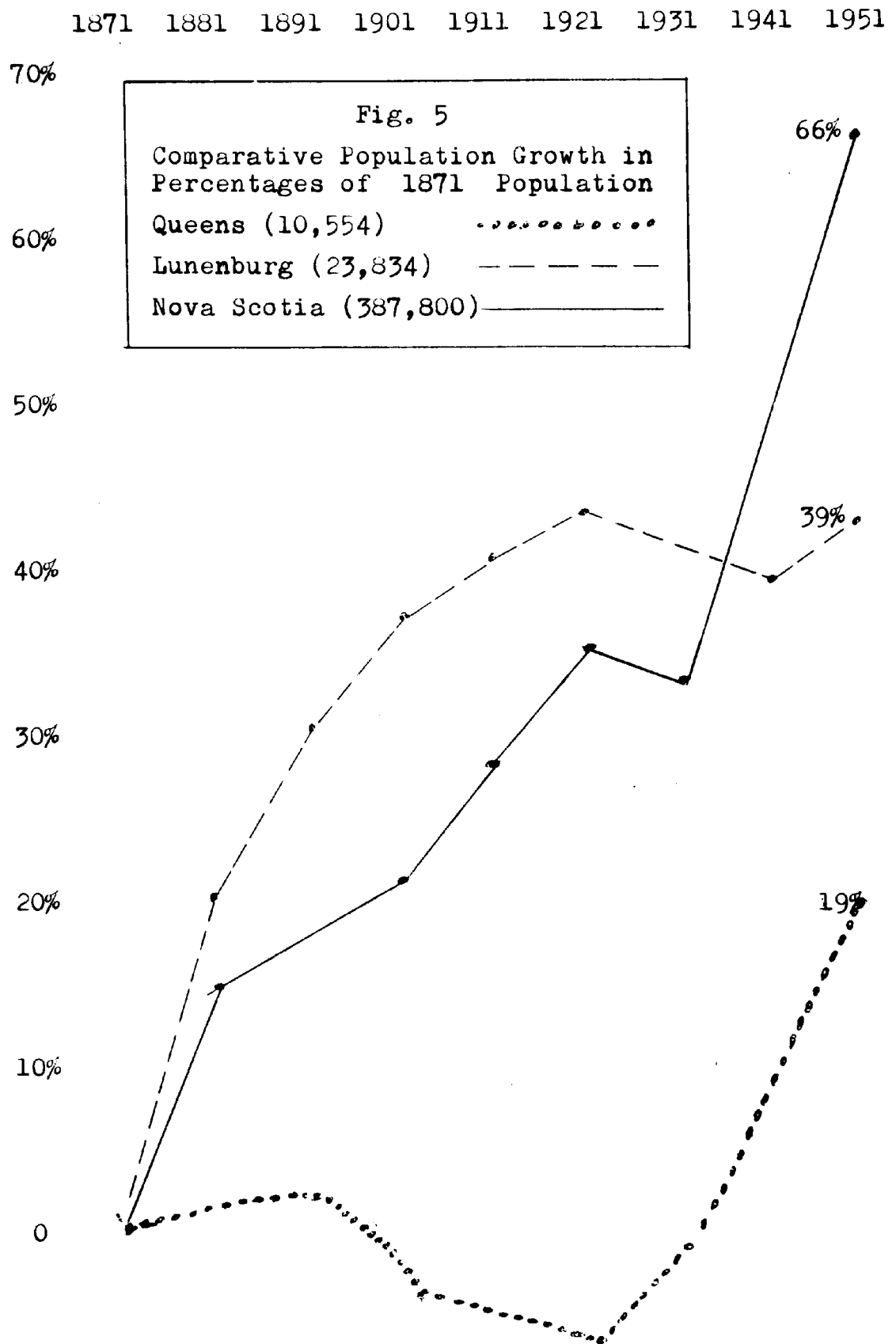
Later settlement is even less easy to trace. The Scottish settlement of Pictou and Antigonish Counties on the

mainland, and of Cape Breton Island, is well documented but lies outside the area of New England and German settlement. For the rest people came as individuals and families, and since the Loyalist settlement no substantial single group has moved into southwest Nova Scotia.

Relative Growth of Nova Scotia and
Queens and Lunenburg Counties

The growth of population is represented on the graph on the following page (Fig.5) which shows the relative population changes of Queens and Lunenburg Counties and of the province in terms of percentages of the 1871 population. The rates of growth are sharply contrasted. Lunenburg, a substantial port in the days of the wooden ships, falls behind the province in rate of gain in 1901 and never regains its lead. Queens, on the other hand, shows no appreciable growth until 1931 when the county is seen to be recovering from a chronic population slump. It is notable that in this depression year only Queens is gaining in population. Two chief factors in this gain are the opening of the pulp mill and the generally poor conditions of employment outside the province. Queens and to some extent Lunenburg have been steady exporters of manpower, with many of the young people seeking employment in New England or in "Canada" (Ontario and Quebec). I discovered a case in point on my return from the field in 1952. On visiting a friend in Worcester I learned that his secretary was the granddaughter of my informant in New Germany. My own great uncle from Milton served his apprenticeship as a carpenter in and around Boston.

The picture in the area in general, and Queens in particular, is one of a stable population unaffected by mass influxes over a period of 185 years from the close of the basic settlement period in 1767 to the last year of field work.



Choice of Communities

Within the area of intensive field work the communities were chosen representatively. First the original focal settlements were accounted for. This resulted in the selection of 25 Milton (settled simultaneously with Liverpool) and 23 Lunenburg. The chief market town and crossroad of the South Shore is 25d Bridgewater. The early coastal settlement is covered by 23a Blue Rocks, 23b Five Houses, 23e Voglers Cove, 25a Port Medway, and 25b Port Mouton. The farming villages of 25c South Brookfield and 23f New Germany represent the later-settled inland portions of both counties. The informant at 23d Molega Road was chosen less for his precise location than for his occupation. He represents the professional woodsman -- lumberman, guide, and fishwarden -- and although his residence is only a few miles from South Brookfield he represents the sparsely inhabited wooded areas in general. Another record at 23c Getsens Cove was intended to complete the picture by covering the side of the mouth of the La Have River opposite Five Houses (as Voglers Cove and Port Medway cover the barrier of Port Medway harbor and the mouth of the Medway) but objections to the interviews on the part of a dominant member of the household cut short the record. About one third complete, it is referred to only incidentally here.

Outside the area of intensive field work communities were chosen from those available in Alexander's field records to account as closely as possible for the counties in which "Americans" predominated in the 1767 census or to fill gaps between such districts -- for instance, 41 Bass River. Sometimes these are fairly remote from the districts they are supposed to cover (like 47 Diligent River, which represents Cumberland County whose "American" settlements were actually very close to the New Brunswick border some 30 miles away

across the peninsula). On the whole, however, these communities are fairly representative and as a result of Alexander's fortunes in the field Digby County, which was filled up relatively late, is over-represented. Halifax, since 1749 the capital of Nova Scotia, and the meeting place of fishermen, lawmakers, and merchants, from not only the whole peninsula but from England and the older colonies as well, is represented by records 20 and 21. The communities and informants are described in Appendix A.

CHAPTER III

The Vocabulary of Southwest Nova Scotia

In seeking the characteristic features of the English of Lunenburg County it would be well first to get a clear notion of the features of the speech of the immediately surrounding region. With these established a clearer view of the peculiarities of the dialect of the formerly German-speaking colony will emerge.

In the light of the settlement history of southwest Nova Scotia it would not be surprising to find features of vocabulary parallelling those in use in almost any part of the Eastern United States. A number of tables in Kurath's Word Geography afford a starting point for comparison¹. In these Kurath classifies features in a number of regions grouped under the headings of the chief dialect areas, Northern, Midland, and Southern. Of his three classifications, "regular", "fairly common", and "rare", only the first is used in the compilation of the following table of features which are also found in the southwestern Nova Scotia records. The initials to the right of each noted feature indicate the chief dialect area or areas in which each has been tabulated by Kurath as "regular": N = Northern, M = Midland, and S = Southern.

Table I Parallels Between Nova Scotia
and the Eastern United States

piazza	NS	pail	N
gutter	NS	bucket	MS
spout	M	spicket	MS
haycock	NM	poke	MS
stone wall	N	burlap	NM
stone fence	M	whiffletree	N
		singletree	SM

1 -- Kurath, Hans, A Word Geography of the Eastern United States, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1949, pp. 12, 28, 29, 38, 48, 59.

Table I
(Continued)

stone boat	NM	harslet	NS
sawbuck	M	johnnycake	N
bawl	M	fassnacks	M
moo	NM	thick milk	M
low	S	husks	NM
whinny, whinner	NM	angleworm	N
whicker	S	earthworm	S
clock	M		

At first sight this list seems to confirm the reasonable expectation that in its vocabulary southwest Nova Scotia might yield evidence of legacies from settlers who came from diverse parts of the eastern United States. There are in the preceding list 14 features which parallel Northern terms, 17 Midland, and 10 Southern. However, the amount of overlap in the dialect areas of the eastern United States to which these may be compared limits their usefulness seriously. The immediate exclusion of all features tabulated for more than one of these areas reduces the list to 5 features tabulated only for the North, 7 tabulated only for the Midland, and 3 tabulated only for the South. Of these a number more have minor representation in sub-regions of other dialect areas. They are examined in detail in the following pages.

Southern Features

On closer examination the remaining three tabulated Southern features are a doubtful representation. Although low is common from Baltimore on south, it also occurs in southern New England alongside the form loo, which is not characteristic of the South¹. Southwestern Nova Scotia records show three occurrences of low and twelve of loo, further suggesting that low in Nova Scotia may well be attrib-

1 -- Kurath, Word Geography, p.62 and F96.

uted to the New England settlers.

Whicker, while strong from Delaware south through the Virginia tidewater and the Carolinas, has considerable, though less predominant, representation along the lower Susquehanna and in southeast New England from the lower Connecticut to Cape Cod and the islands offshore, and in Maine areas settled from Plymouth and Cape Cod. In New England this is yielding to whinny¹.

Earthworm as a folk word maintains itself a little better under close examination. It is recorded in the coastal South all the way from the Virginia tidewater through the Carolinas in a band broadening gradually to a maximum depth of about 150 miles. It also occurs in New England². This feature should also be considered with caution in any attempt to draw parallels with the southern coastal states.

There thus appears to be no single Southern feature at present in use in southwest Nova Scotia which cannot be accounted for from some other source.

Midland Features

The relatively strong Midland list maintains itself rather better in the face of careful scrutiny. Three features must, however, be eliminated. The first is spouts. In the forms spouts, waterspouts, rain spouts, and spouting it is very closely limited to the North Midland and West Virginia, but in the form eaves spouts it is used in the upper Connecticut valley and for some distance to the east without actually being recorded on the coast. Relics are found in eastern New England, especially in Rhode Island, and on Cape Cod

1 -- Kurath, Word Geography, p. 63 and F97.

2 -- Kurath, Word Geography, p. 74 and F35,
Handbook, p.2.

and Nantucket¹.

Stone fence is chiefly a North Midland and Maryland feature, but a scattering of occurrences are recorded in the Northern area, notably on Martha's Vineyard and in the towns of Yarmouth and Denmark in Maine. These Maine towns drew a large part of their earliest settlers from Plymouth and Andover, Mass., respectively². The feature is not recorded for the regions of the two older towns.

Bawl for the cry of a calf is quite firmly restricted to western New Jersey and Pennsylvania, with the exception of the German area and the northern counties, and Virginia and the Carolinas from the Blue Ridge westward³. It does, however, appear in the New England records in a scattering of localities, notably in Plymouth County, on Cape Cod, and in York County, Me. It must also be taken out of consideration as a distinct Midland parallel to Nova Scotia vocabulary.

Sawbuck is another feature which extends nominally into the Northern area, but it is of a rather special nature. It is a strong feature of the German settlement area of Pennsylvania and is to be found in Maryland, the Shenandoah Valley, on the upper Potomac in West Virginia, and on the Yadkin in North Carolina. Here Kurath assumes that its origin is in the German Sägebock. It also appears in the Dutch settlement area and is to be found over an area extending from Western New England to the Lehigh and Susquehanna. In these places it is assumed to have originated in the Dutch zaagbock⁴.

1 -- Kurath, Word Geography, p. 53.

2 -- Kurath, Handbook, pp. 364 and 368.

3 -- Kurath, Word Geography, p. 62.

4 -- Kurath, Word Geography, p. 59.

The remaining three parallel features are closely restricted to the Midland area in their occurrence in the eastern United States. Fassnacks for doughnuts is restricted to the Pennsylvania German area¹, while clook for setting hen, also typical of the Pennsylvania German region, is used, with variants, from the Delaware to the Ohio. It is rare outside the state of Pennsylvania². Thick milk for sour milk has a similar extent, plus some relics in the Mohawk Valley where Palatines settled in the pre-Revolutionary period³.

It will be noted that all of the four "Midland" features which are confirmed by this examination are of German origin (or German and Dutch), and that Nova Scotia has its own resources for producing such features in the English which developed there. Presumably the Palatine settlers of Lunenburg County might as readily have brought these homely terms over into their English as their Pennsylvania cousins did. Lunenburg occurrences of these features probably result from parallel development, and no direct Midland influence need be inferred, but the recording of thick milk at 47 Diligent River, and 62 Rockford, along with sawbuck at 41 Bass River, all communities with scant contact with Lunenburg County, suggests possible Midland influence through Loyalist settlement. This inference is reinforced by the recording of possible Midland features stone fence and bawl at 62 and 41, and stone fence at 47⁴.

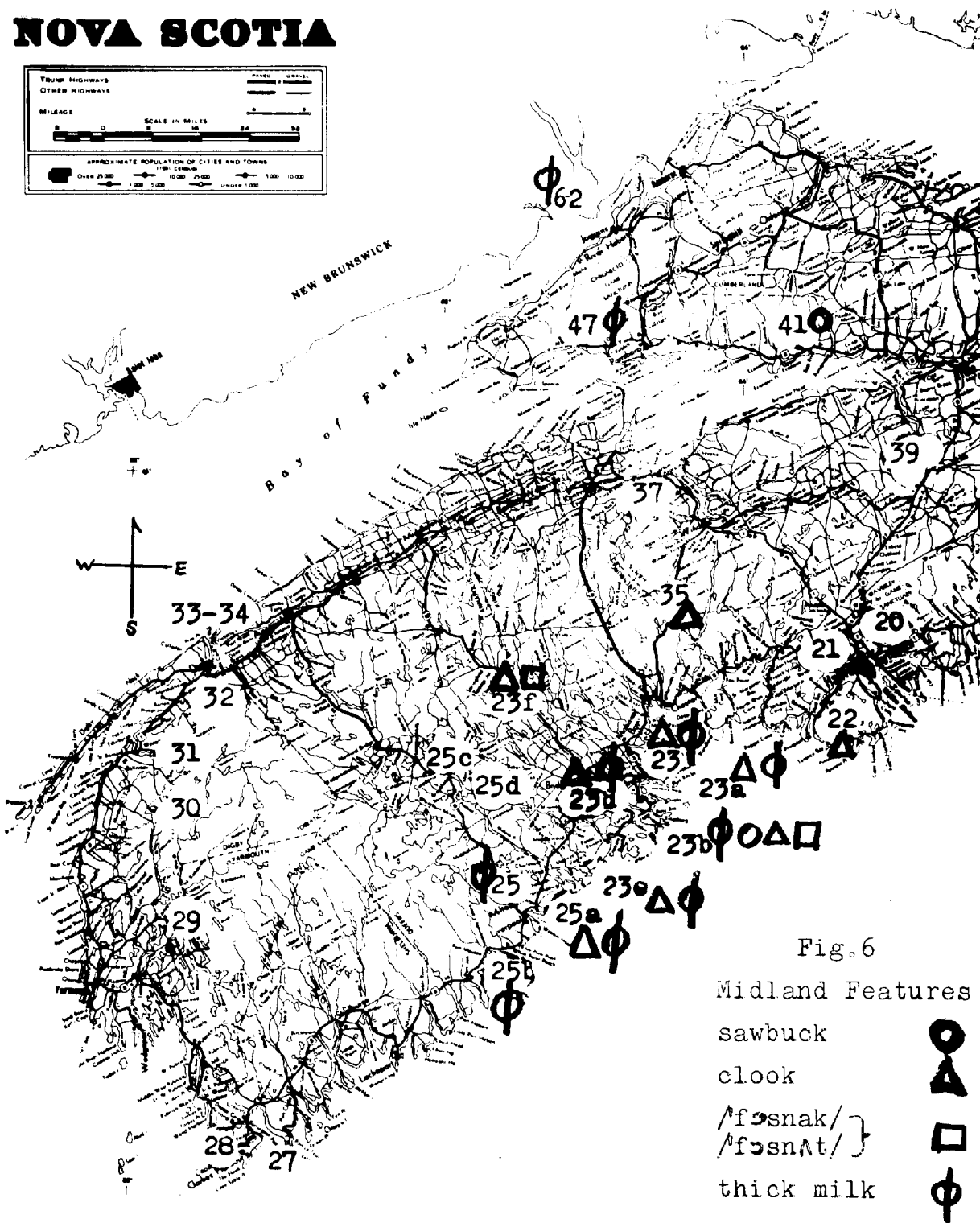
1 -- Kurath, Word Geography, p. 69.

2 -- Kurath, Word Geography, p. 63.

3 -- Kurath, Word Geography, p. 70.

4 -- One or more of these last four features was recorded by Raven I. McDavid, Jr., in Welland, Kingston, and Brockville, Ontario, Loyalist settlement centers.

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Northern Features

Of the five parallels of Northern features which are not listed for other regions in Kurath's tables, four survive close scrutiny. The feature which must be eliminated is angleworm. While in the main restricted to the northern area it is found in a number of "islands" in the southern coastal region¹. The other four are either restricted to New England or to the New England settlement area with their centers of diffusion in New England.

Stone wall is predominant in New England and as far west as central New York State. It extends to the southern border of Pennsylvania in the extreme eastern part of the state in heavy competition with stone fence, and might be considered purely Northern only with some reservations. By contrast pail extends only to the limits of the Northern area as outlined by Kurath². Whiffletree is a New England and Hudson Valley term³, and johnnycake is a name for corn bread throughout all New England except Rhode Island, with relics in New York City and New Jersey⁴.

The map on the following page (Fig.7) indicates the distribution of the last three Northern features in southwest Nova Scotia. It will be noted that their extent is much wider than that of the quasi-Midland features.

General Indications of Eastern United States Features in Nova Scotia

Although detailed examination has eliminated most of the apparently typical regional terms it has not changed the main indications. The Northern area, especially New England affords the only clearly demonstrable parallels, in keeping with indi-

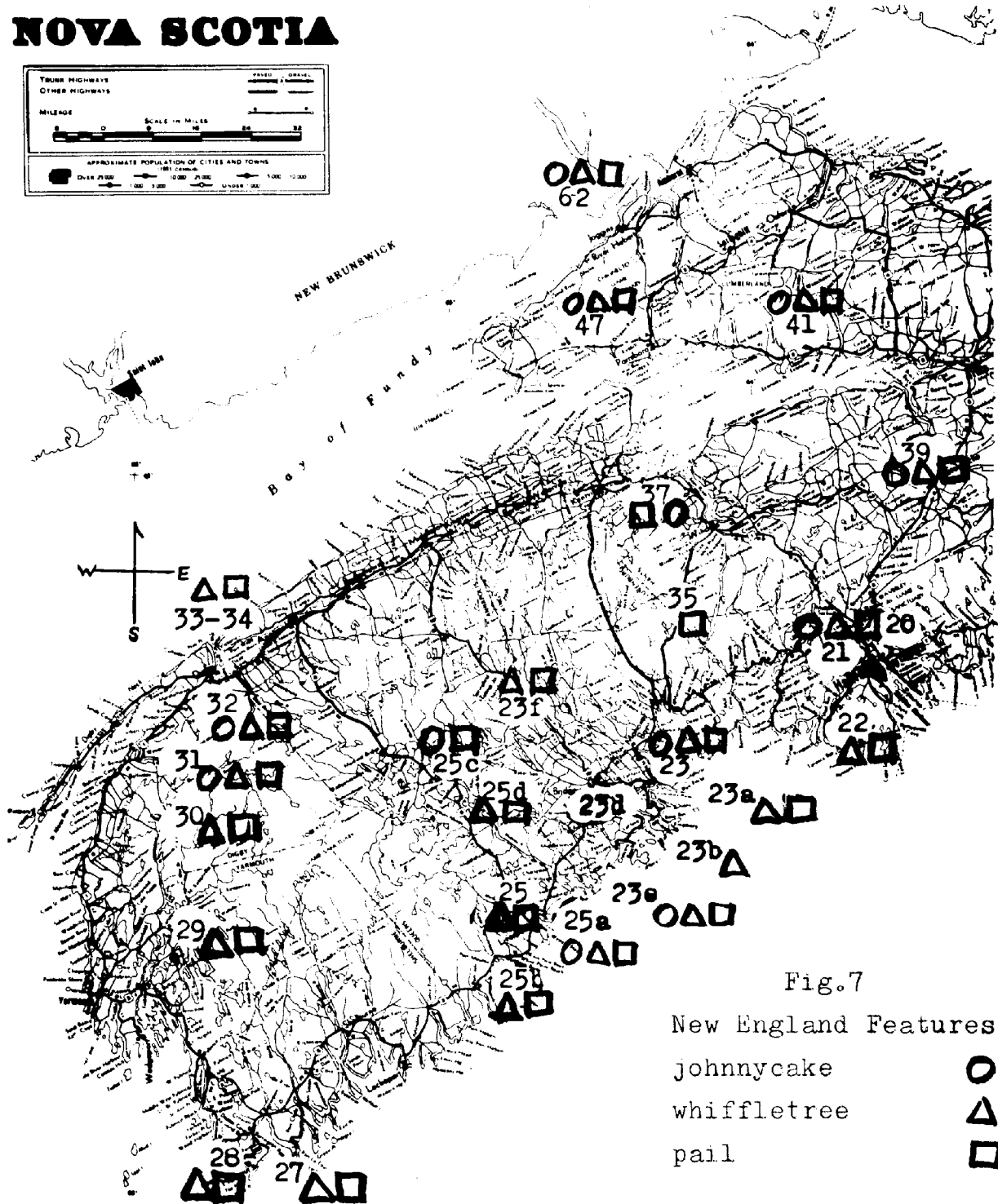
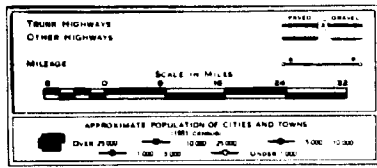
1 -- Kurath, Word Geography, p. 74.

2 -- Kurath, Word Geography, F3, F66.

3 -- Kurath, Word Geography, p. 13.

4 -- Kurath, Word Geography, p. 67.

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cations in the maximum list of possible regional parallels on pages 36 and 37. Although this list shows only 14 Northern features against 17 Midland the total of actual responses in the field records is 201 versus 142. The number of actual responses from the maximum Southern list is only 81.

Three features of the lists remain to be accounted for, spicket, poke, and singletree. In no combination listed by Kurath are these included among the Northern features. They are a residue of typical Midland and Southern responses. Spicket for water faucet actually is recorded (in that form or as spigot) in a scattered dozen communities in New England -- in Connecticut, southwestern Massachusetts, or Narragansett Bay and Massachusetts Bay, and in southern Maine. Poke seems to be a real Midland and Southern parallel but is recorded merely as "heard" (but not used) by a rather bookish informant at 21 Halifax and is therefore suspect. Single-tree is an equally authentic Midland and Southern feature and seems more reliably recorded in Nova Scotia, but only once, as the second choice of an informant at 29 Kemptville.

This small sample of available parallels between Nova Scotian vocabulary features and those of the eastern United States leaves us, then, with no evidence of purely Southern influence; only a trace of Midland influence or combined Midland and Southern influence, weakened by the existence of an indigenous source for features of German origin; and a confirmation of the social historian's impression of a strong Yankee impress on much of Nova Scotia¹.

1 -- cf. Brebner, p. 24: "...the mark of New England has always been evident in Nova Scotia, largely because of strong regional influences, but perhaps more because the New Englanders who moved in after 1760 laid the abiding foundations of Nova Scotian life. They and Nova Scotia itself worked upon the Loyalists and other subsequent immigrants to produce an amalgam far more similar to New Hampshire and Maine than to the other Loyalist refuge in Upper Canada."

The Mark of New England

A more precise notion of the nature of Yankee influence on Nova Scotian vocabulary is indicated by about two dozen features elicited in southwest Nova Scotia which have geographically restricted distribution in New England. When these features are considered we find that every community studied in Nova Scotia yields at least one, with the exception of 27 Baccaro. In New England the situation is about the same, with one feature at least being found in almost every community studied. But when we shift our focus to those communities yielding five or more of these features we find the regions of parallel occurrence sharply restricted both in Nova Scotia and in New England. In Nova Scotia the area shrinks in proportions but is still apparently continuous except for Halifax-Dartmouth (See Fig.8, following page.) In New England this shift in focus results in three chief areas and one lone outlying community, 8 Danbury-Bethel, in southwestern Connecticut.

The three chief areas are (See Fig.9, p.47):

- 1) Southeastern Massachusetts and Narragansett Bay, Block Island and Nantucket;
- 2) Southern New Hampshire and northern Essex County, Massachusetts;
- 3) Cumberland and Kennebec Counties in Maine.

Within these areas not every community yields five or more features from the list. Fig.9, p.48, indicates the communities under consideration here as well as the approximate outlines of the areas mentioned. With the exception of 190 Haverhill and 194 Newbury¹ all communities of regions 2) and 3) (and even the baffling outlier, 8 Danbury-

1 -- Community numbers for New England are those of the Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England, in which the communities are described on pp. 175--230.

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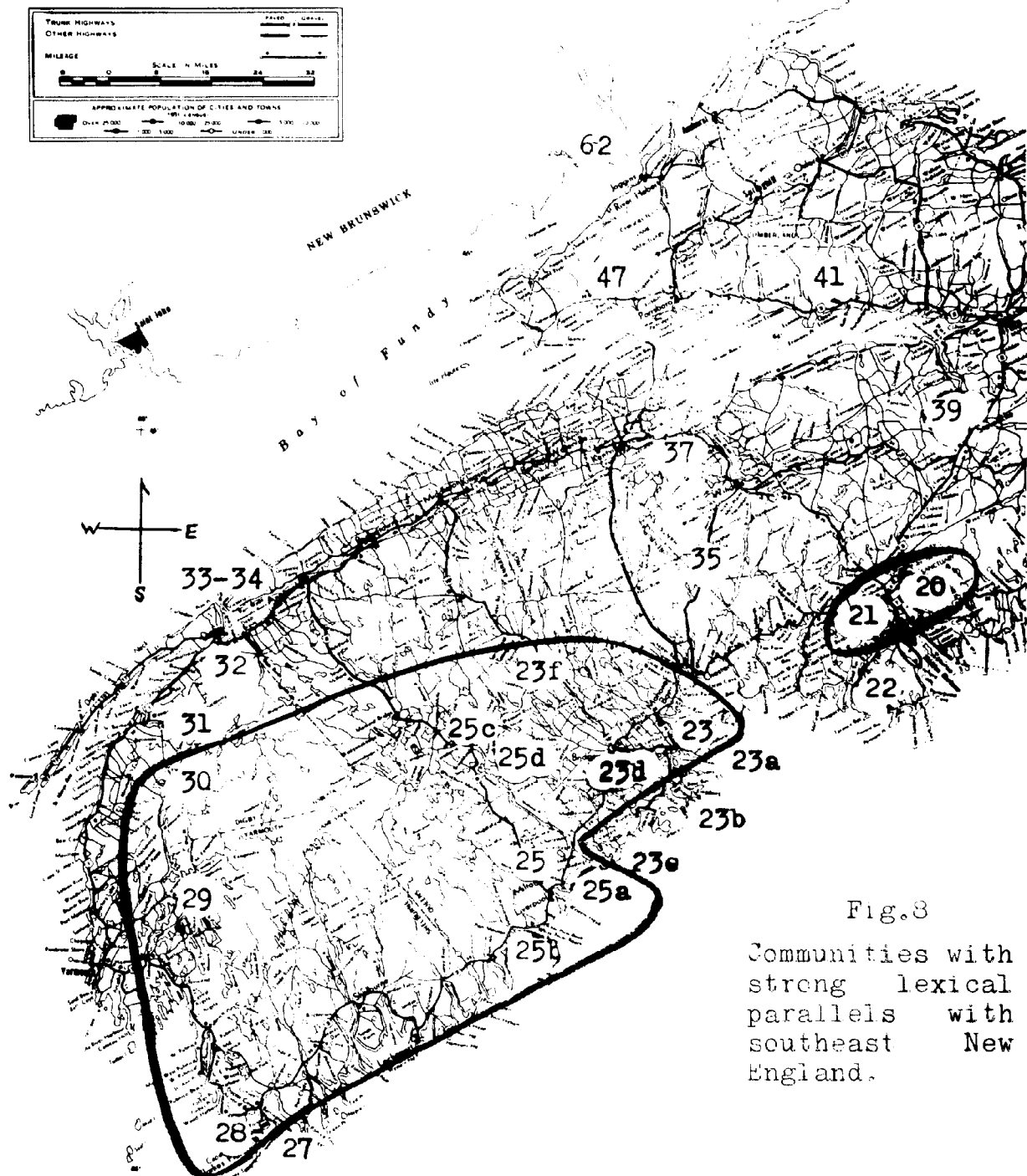


Fig. 8

Communities with strong lexical parallels with southeast New England.

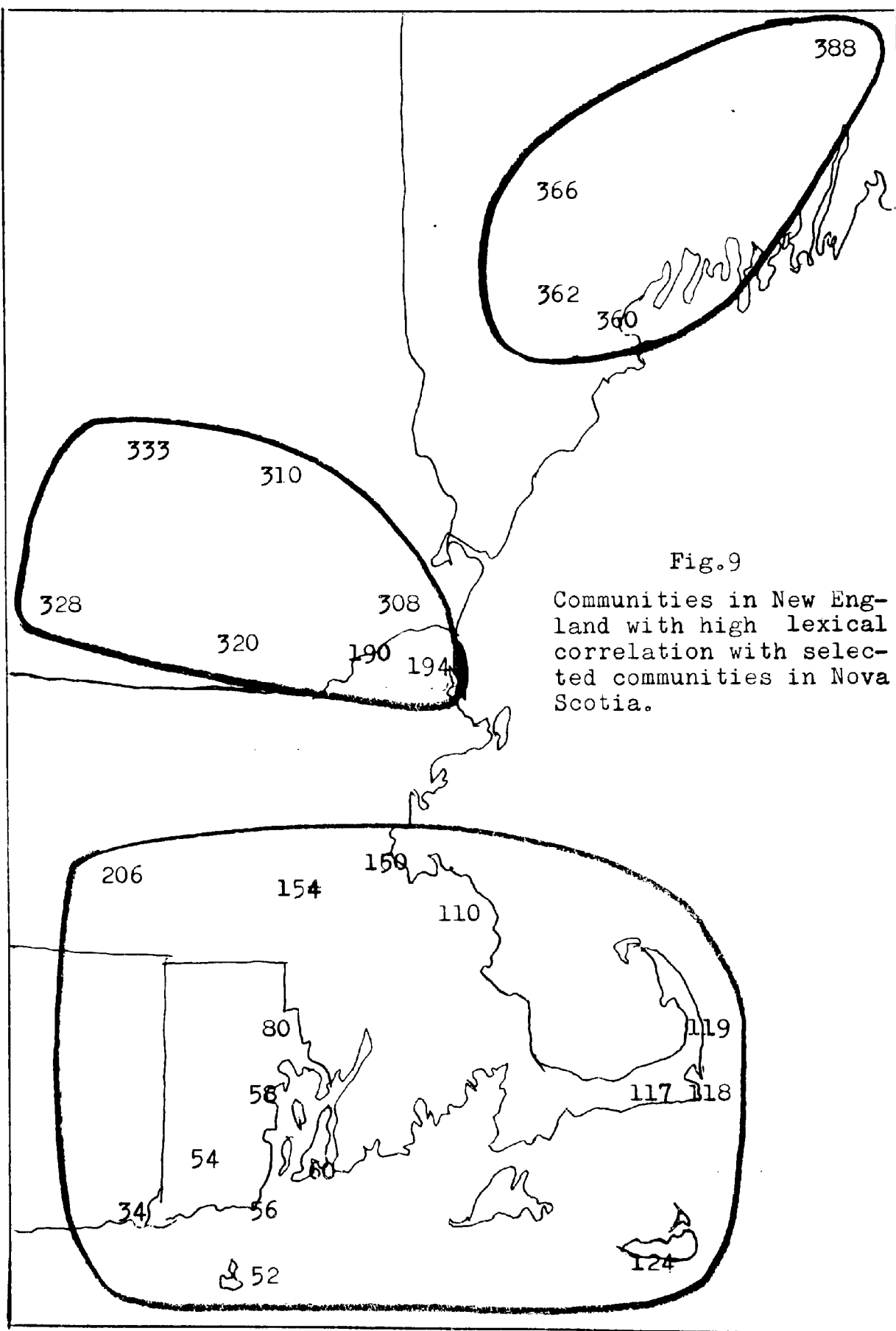


Fig.9

Communities in New England with high lexical correlation with selected communities in Nova Scotia.

Bethel in Connecticut) can be linked through settlement with area 1), as can all Nova Scotia communities under consideration here, with the exception of 20-21 Dartmouth-Halifax, and the three Lunenburg communities, 23 Lunenburg, 23d Bridgewater, and 23f New Germany. Thus settlement here seems to have determined vocabulary.

The relationship of communities 190 and 194 in New England to the vocabulary sample under discussion here is difficult to determine. These towns, unlike the rest, were originally settled from England¹. Their relatively high degree of correlation here may originate in England or it may be the result of diffusion from older settlements in southeastern New England. The situation in Lunenburg is much clearer. There the only possible source of these vocabulary features is the neighboring Yankee communities.

The list developed from these investigations is given below with general indications of the areas in which these responses were elicited. The list is restricted to those features found in communities of Nova Scotia yielding five or more features of the original list as well as in one or more of the groups of New England communities yielding five or more features of the original list. A full listing of occurrences community by community is to be found in Appendix B.

Table II Nova Scotia and New England Parallels

	New England			Queens	Lunenburg	Other N.S.
	1)	2)	3)			
sunup	x			x		
sundown	x	x	x	x		x
clearing	x	x		x	x	x
tempest	x			x		x
portico	x	x	x	x	x	
gutters	x	x		x	x	x

¹ -- Kurath, Word Geography, p. 189.

Table II

	New England			Queens	Lunenburg	Other N.S.
	1)	2)	3)			
hay heap		x		x	x	
leanto	x			x		
wood horse	x			x	x	x
umb(e)rel	x			x		
blare	x	x				x
baa	x			x		
neigh	x	x	x	x	x	x
brooder	x			x	x	x
broody hen	x			x		x
bannock ¹	x	x	x	x	x	x
curd ²		x	x	x	x	x
steep coffee	x	x	x	x	x	
earthworm	x	x	x	x		
rainworm	x					x
was taken sick x				x		x

Although it is inferred that much of this sample is a legacy from the Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, and Cape Cod colonies it is striking that there is an immense hole in the center of the eastern Massachusetts area. Plymouth itself does not rank as one of the communities considered here and, indeed, there is only one community considered in the whole of Plymouth County. Only half of the Cape Cod communities are represented. This situation is a typical result of linguistic diffusion. Often features of language will survive longer or less changed in areas settled from or under the influence of some older community. Innovations replace the

1 -- In New England sought as Indian bannock, an unleavened corn preparation. In Nova Scotia bannock refers to an unleavened wheat flour preparation well known among woodsmen, but used by others as the name for a pigs' food made from spoiled flour.

2 -- Includes curd cheese and cheese curd.

earlier features in the older settlement so that it often appears in contrast with areas surrounding it and has relatively little in common with areas some distance away which were settled from it. This is true not only where Plymouth proper has been "bleached out" but can be seen in the higher total of parallel responses in Queens County than for any of the subdivisions of New England. In part this reflects not only early settlement from New England but also influence from diverse individual towns and localities in the older colonies. Queens County yields 19/21 of the revised list in contrast with 13/21 for Rhode Island and 16/21 for eastern Massachusetts. Nova Scotia also reveals a higher individual total of listed responses in 11/21 for 25 Milton than we can find in New England (9/21 for 150 Boston and 8/21 for 124 Nantucket). Nova Scotia has four communities with more than eight responses from the revised list.

Nova Scotia is thus said to be a typical relic area, a region where older forms are preserved. Many of the features cited are in no danger of dying out where they occur in New England but the tendency for there to be fewer of them found in any one community is symptomatic. The classification of Nova Scotia as a relic area, however, is no assurance that disappearing features of New England speech will be found there. For example, the term conductors for eavestroughs failed to appear in any of the records of the more strongly "Yankee" communities, although it has a meager representation in area 1). It turns up, surprisingly, as one of the two New England parallels at 23b Five Houses. Another item excluded from the final list above was eace worm, which occurs once at 62 Rockport as a memorial to Rhode Island interest in the Chignecto region almost two hundred years ago. It survives as a term for angleworm in Rhode Island.

Of the lexical relics listed by Kurath in the Handbook¹

1 -- Kurath, Handbook, pp. 5 and 6.

only porch in the sense of ell, curd(cheese), noted above, and rain worm¹ for earthworm were recorded in Nova Scotia.

Lexical Contrasts Between
Lunenburg and Queens Counties

As we have noted, Lunenburg County is adjacent to a relatively "pure" Yankee county, Queens, which yields the strongest representation of southeast New England lexical features in the whole of southwest Nova Scotia, at 25 Milton. There is thus an opportunity to make a close comparison between the features of the German-settled county and one of the most typically Yankee speech communities in the province. Because of neighborly relations extending over almost 200 years we might well expect that some reciprocal influence would have been felt.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find on further examination that lexical contrasts between Lunenburg and Queens are not as sharp as their disparate settlement histories and the example of the Pennsylvania Dutch region at first suggest. There are, however, peculiar terms which set Lunenburg County off from the others. These include features of German origin and some non-German terms which contrast with usage in the areas immediately adjacent to Lunenburg County. These are listed below in two sets. Set L-1 consists of items recorded only in Lunenburg County or immediately adjacent points. These are chiefly German in origin although some are not distinctively German, and two patently German features are assigned to the second list.

This second list, L-2, is made up of features which are not limited to the Lunenburg area, but serve to set it off from adjacent localities investigated. "Outside" occurrences are always at some distance.

1 -- Suspect in a province which once contained a German-speaking county. However, only one instance is recorded, at 28 Shag Harbor, remote from Lunenburg where it could have been derived by loan translation from Regenwurm.

List L-1

the paper wants (predicts) rain	/wɪŋklaɪzə/(three-cornered tear)
snits (dried apple slices)	get awake
Daks Day (Feb.2) ¹ (and in translation as "Badger Day")	cellar porch (structure sheltering outside cellar entry)
hay heap	pair of oxen
troft (trough)	cluck, cluck, clucker (setting hen)
vootsie! (call to pigs)	/fɔːsnak/, /fɔːsnʌt/(doughnut)
/hankes/(cottage cheese)	all (all gone)
sick in his stomach	

Most of these items can in some way be associated with the German background of the county, but cellar porch, troft, and sick in his stomach cannot so easily be associated. Geographical distributions of features in list L-1 are recorded in Figs. 10, 11, 12, and 13 on the four following pages. These contribute strongly to the delineation of Lunenburg County as a distinct dialect area distinguished, for instance, from Queens County, and reflecting a much more striking contrast in earlier generations.

Ten other items occur both in and around Lunenburg County and again some distance away.

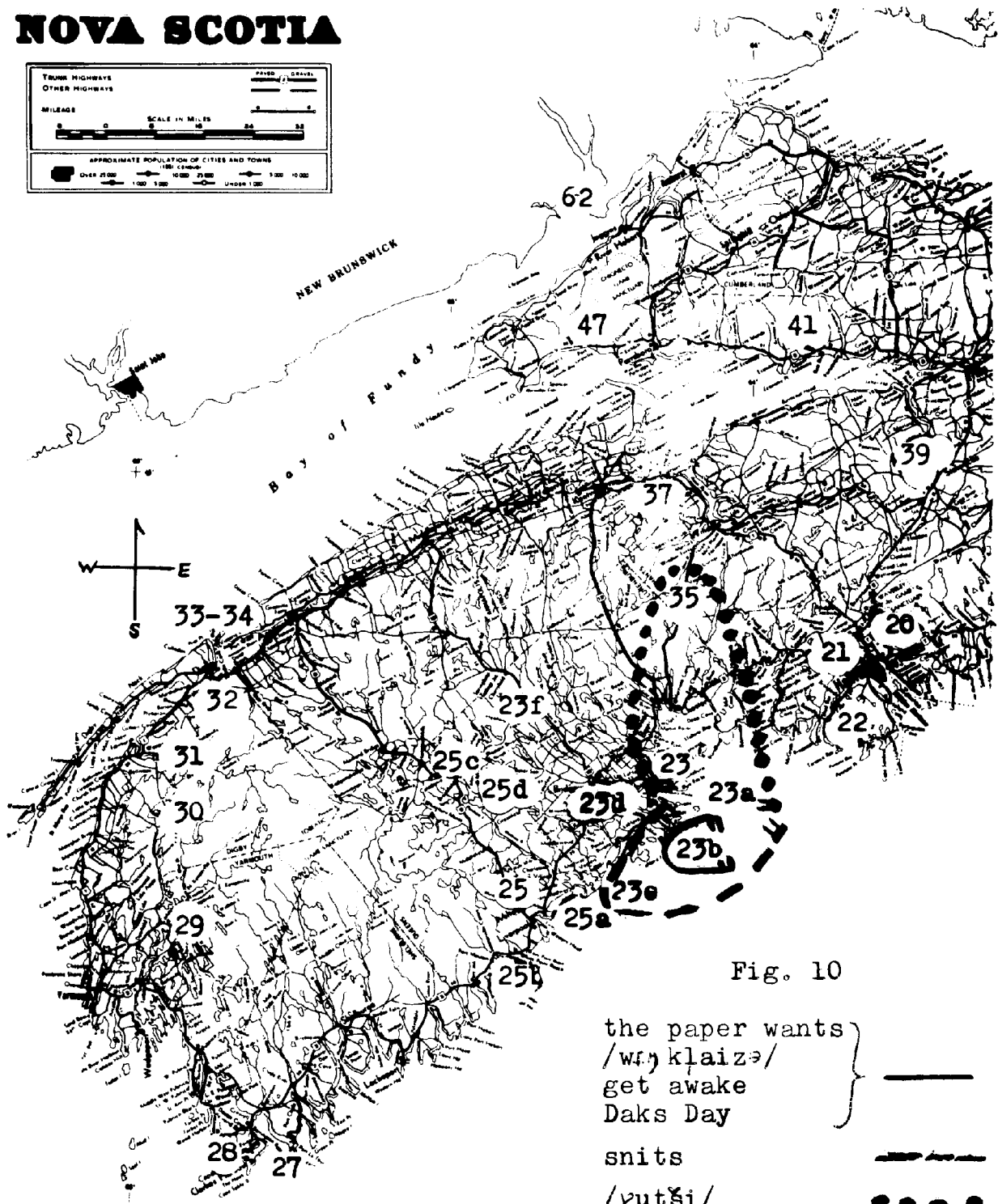
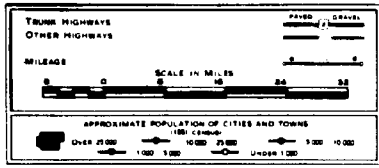
List L-2

dry spell	sitting room
chimbley (chimney)	porch (ell)
wagon tongue	sawbuck
scythestone	neigh
thick milk	got sick

The geographical distribution of this list is shown in Figs. 14 and 15 on pages 57 and 58, and in Figs. 23--31 on pages 69 -- 78.

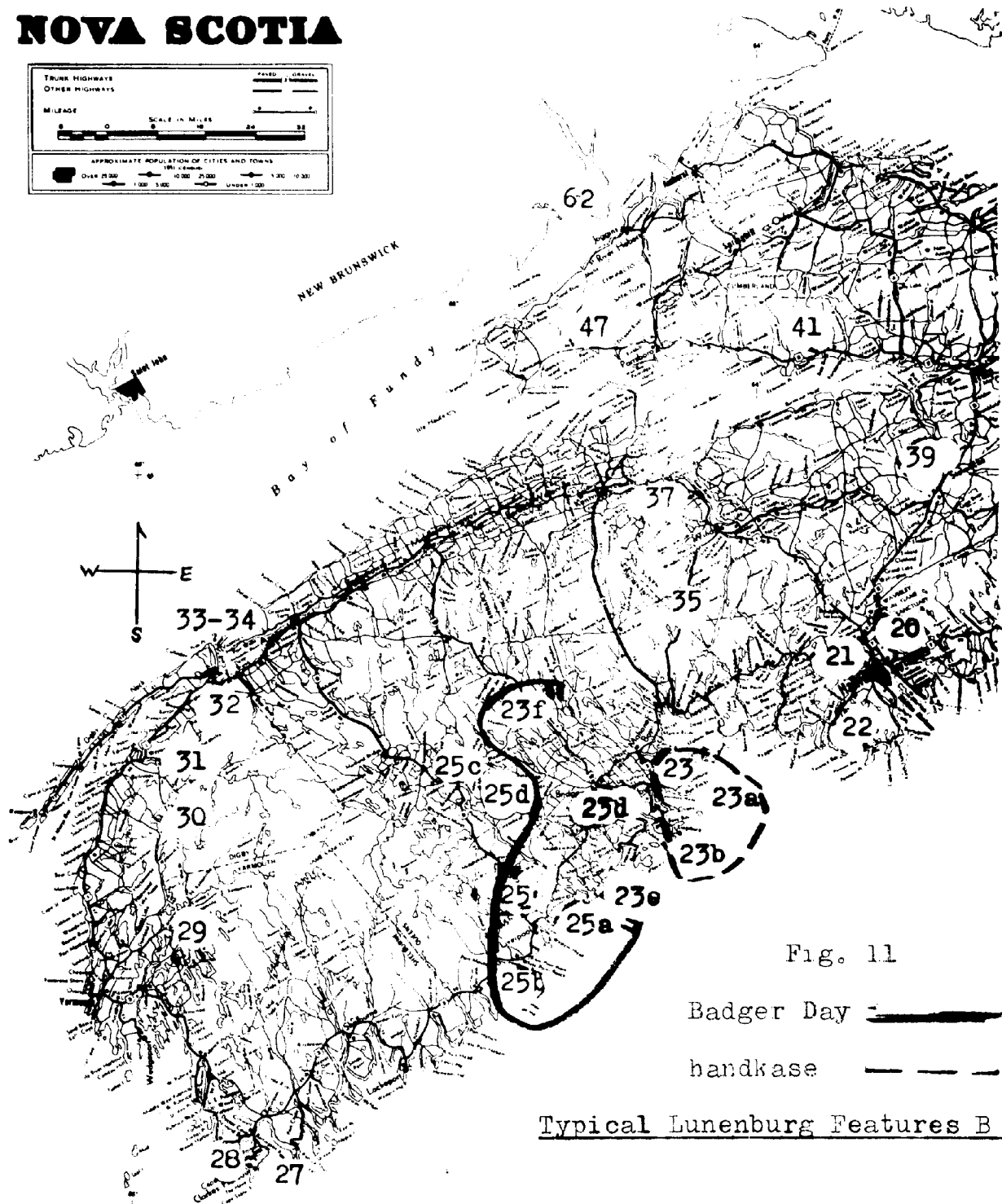
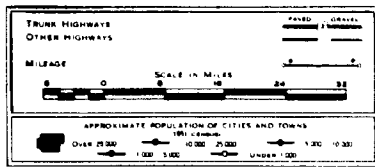
1 -- The first five features in L-1 are found only in the CWS and therefore are not comprehensive of county usage. The term vootsie! was elicited only through the SWS.

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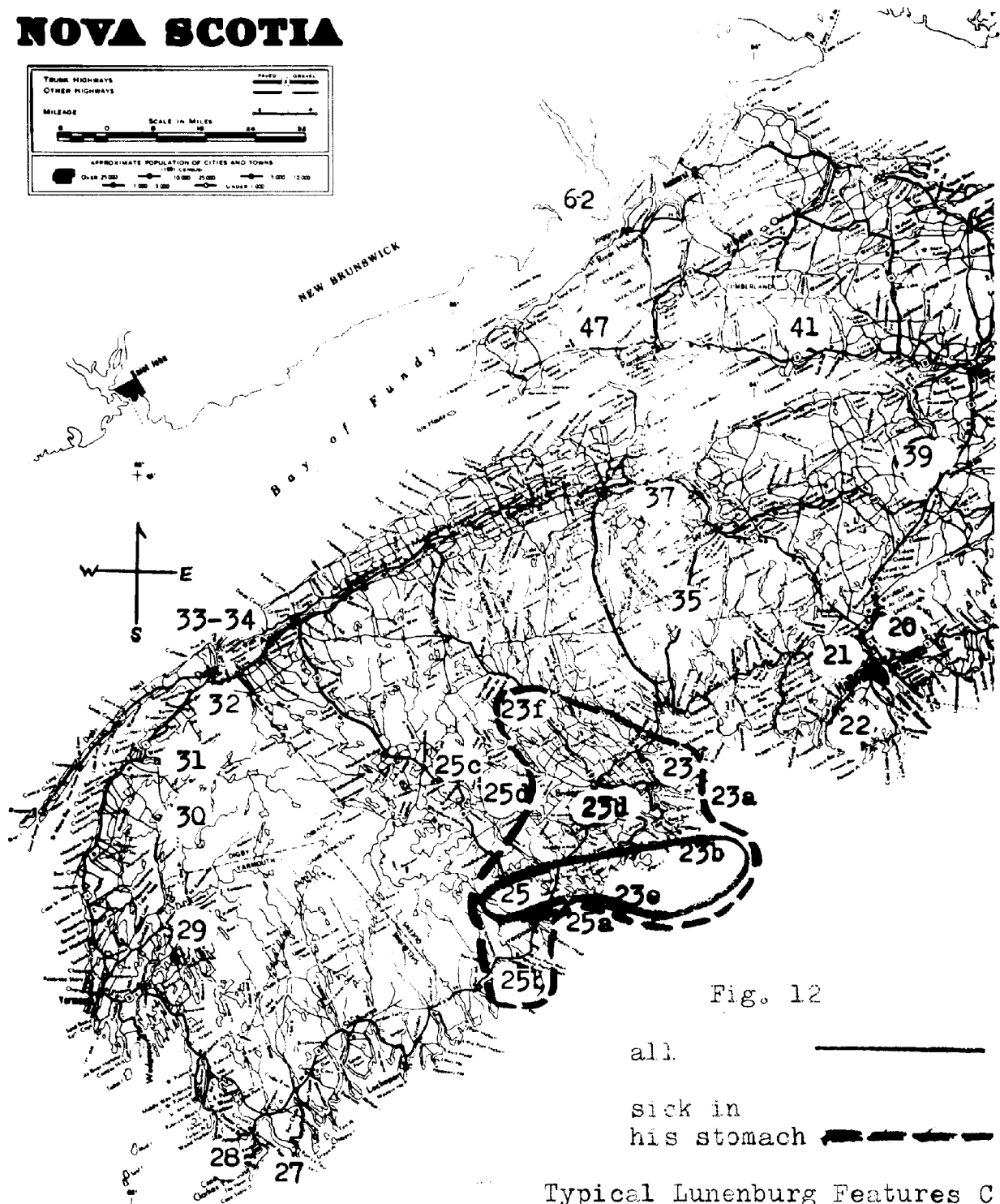
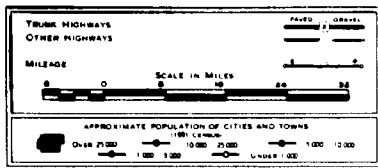


Typical Lunenburg Features A

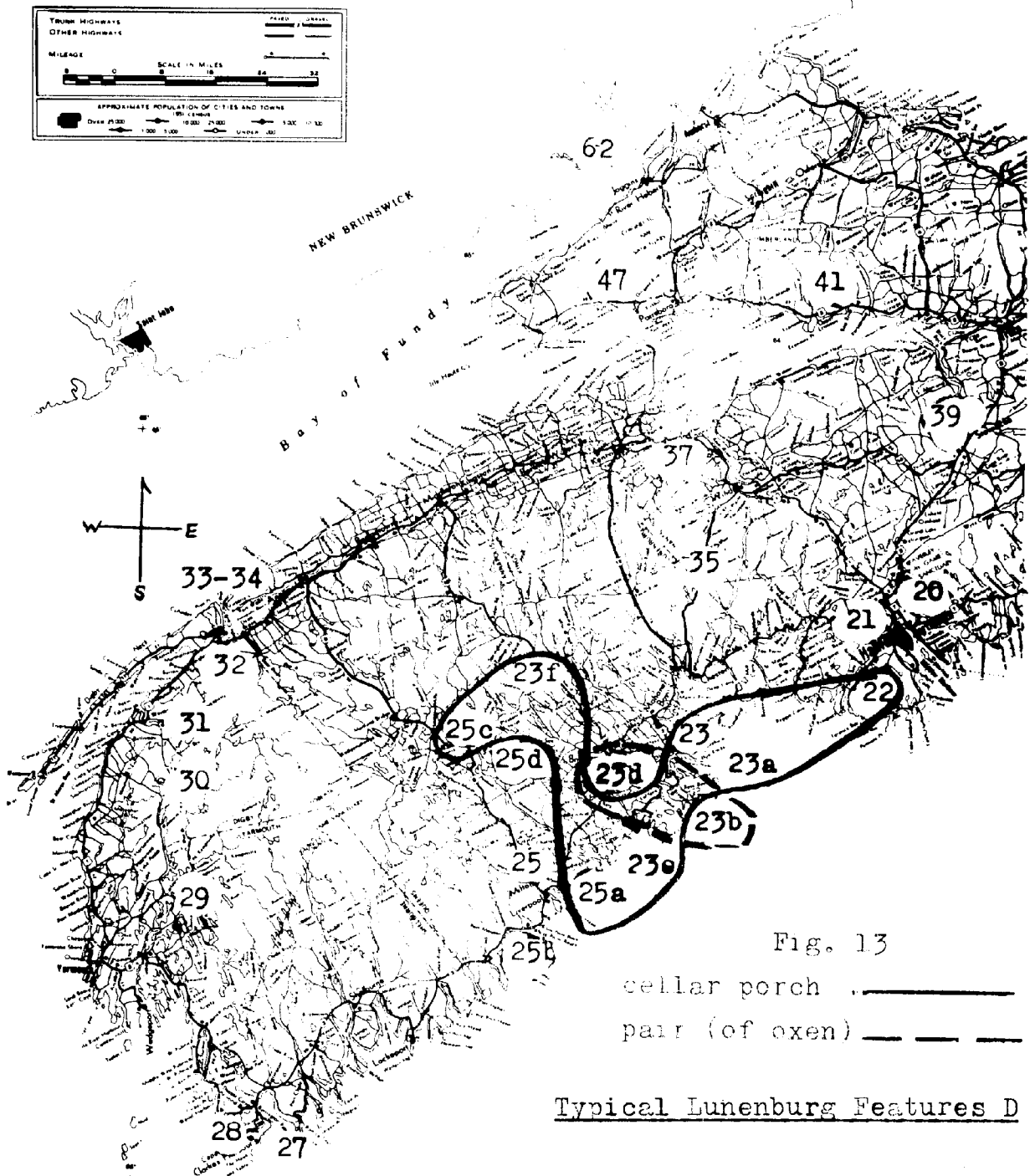
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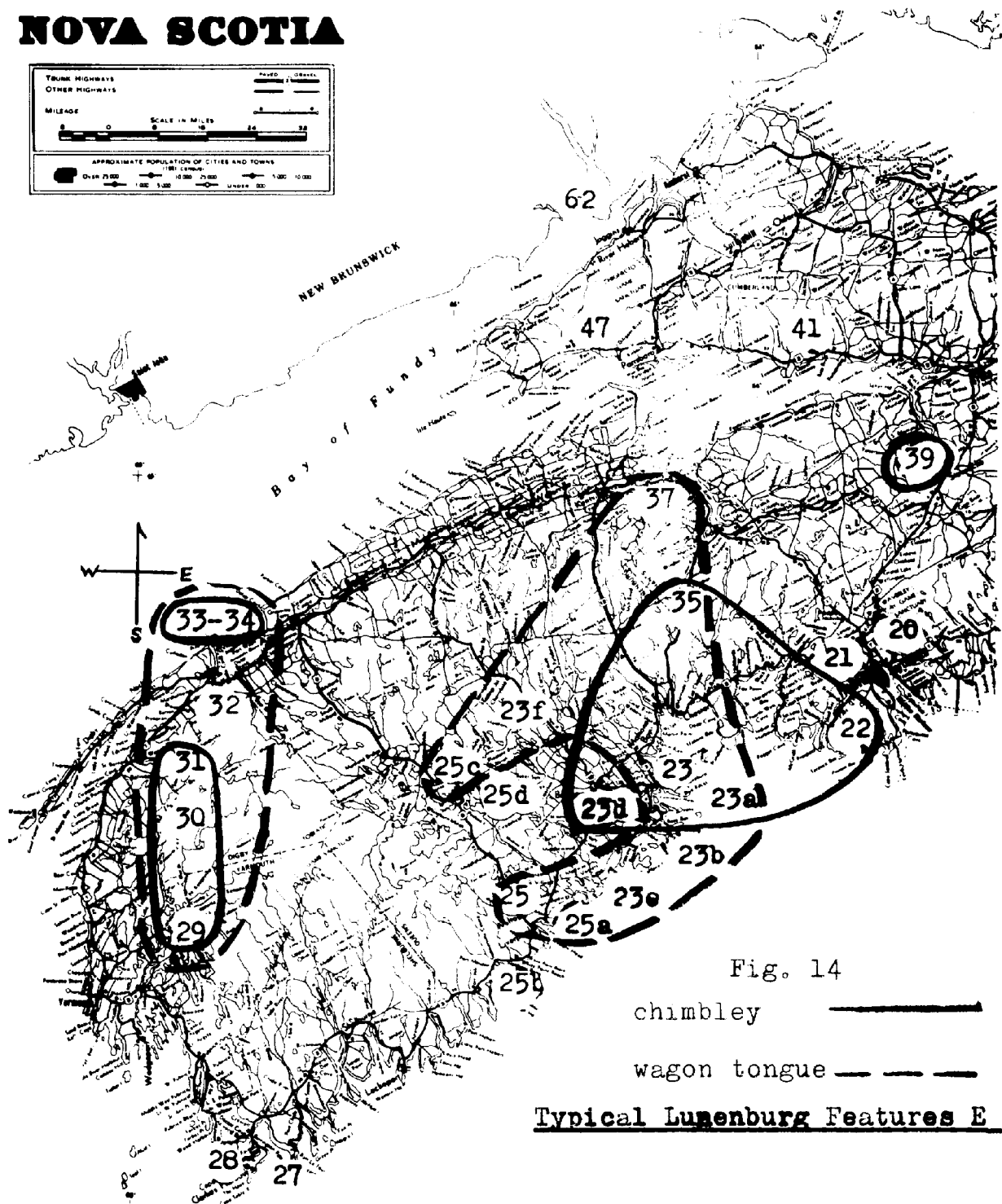
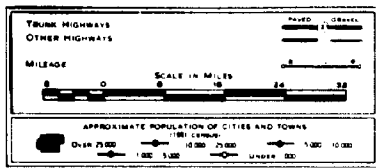


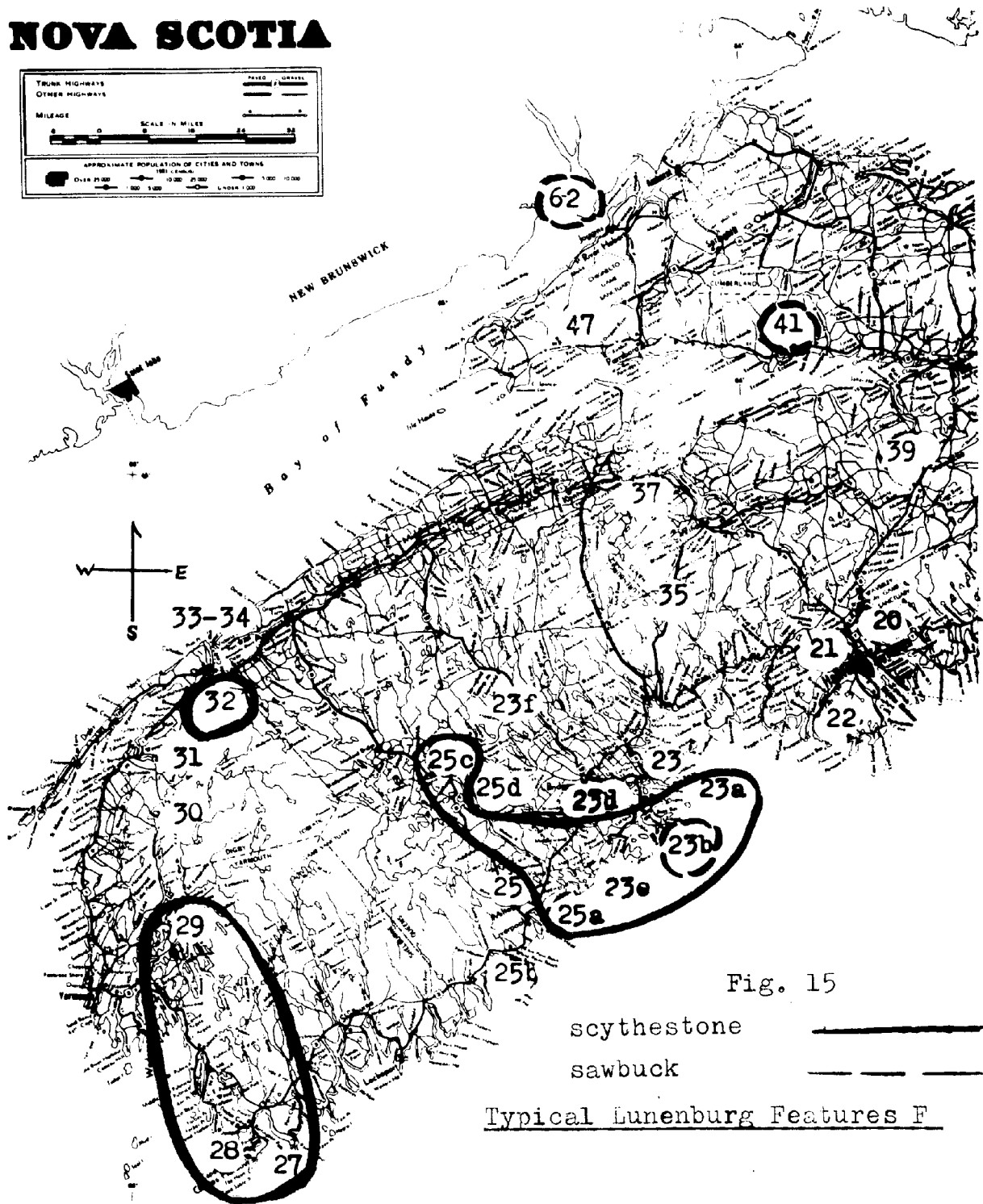
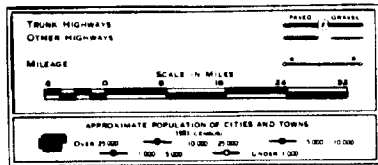
Fig. 14

chimbley

wagon tongue

Typical Lunenburg Features E

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Attempts to evaluate these isoglosses as they stand will lead to confusion. To summarize the relative participation of the various communities under consideration in these features of vocabulary a simplified "participation map" is provided in Fig. 16 on the following page. The 19 items in the test list include all the features of list L-1 which are available both in the SWS and CWS, and all the items of list L-2. For simplicity the map jumps from the highest total, 14, at 23b Five Houses to the line encircling those communities yielding between 9 and 13 of the features of the test list. This boundary encircles a group of communities showing a relatively smooth gradation in numbers of features elicited. Below 9 the total jumps to 6 (for 25 Milton only) and 5 (for 35 Waterville and 22 Sambro) after which the gradation shades off gradually to the bare representation by one feature each of 39 Stewiacke, 47 Diligent River, and 62 Rockport. Boundaries are provided arbitrarily for the groups of communities yielding 5 and 6 features and those yielding 3 and 4.

Table III
Relative Participation
in Lunenburg Test Lists

23b Five Houses	14	32 North Range	4
23 Lunenburg	12	27 Baccaro	3
23e Voglers Cove	12	28 Shag Harbor	3
23d Bridgewater	10	31 Danvers	3
23f New Germany	10	33-34 Victoria Beach	3
25a Port Medway	9	20-21 Dartmouth-Halifax	3
23a Blue Rocks	9	30 Southville	3
25 Milton	6	37 Forest Hills	3
22 Sambro	5	25d Molega	2
35 South Waterville	5	41 Bass River	2
29 Kemptville	4	47 Diligent River	1
25b Port Mouton	4	62 Rockport	1
25c South Brookfield	4	39 Stewiacke	1

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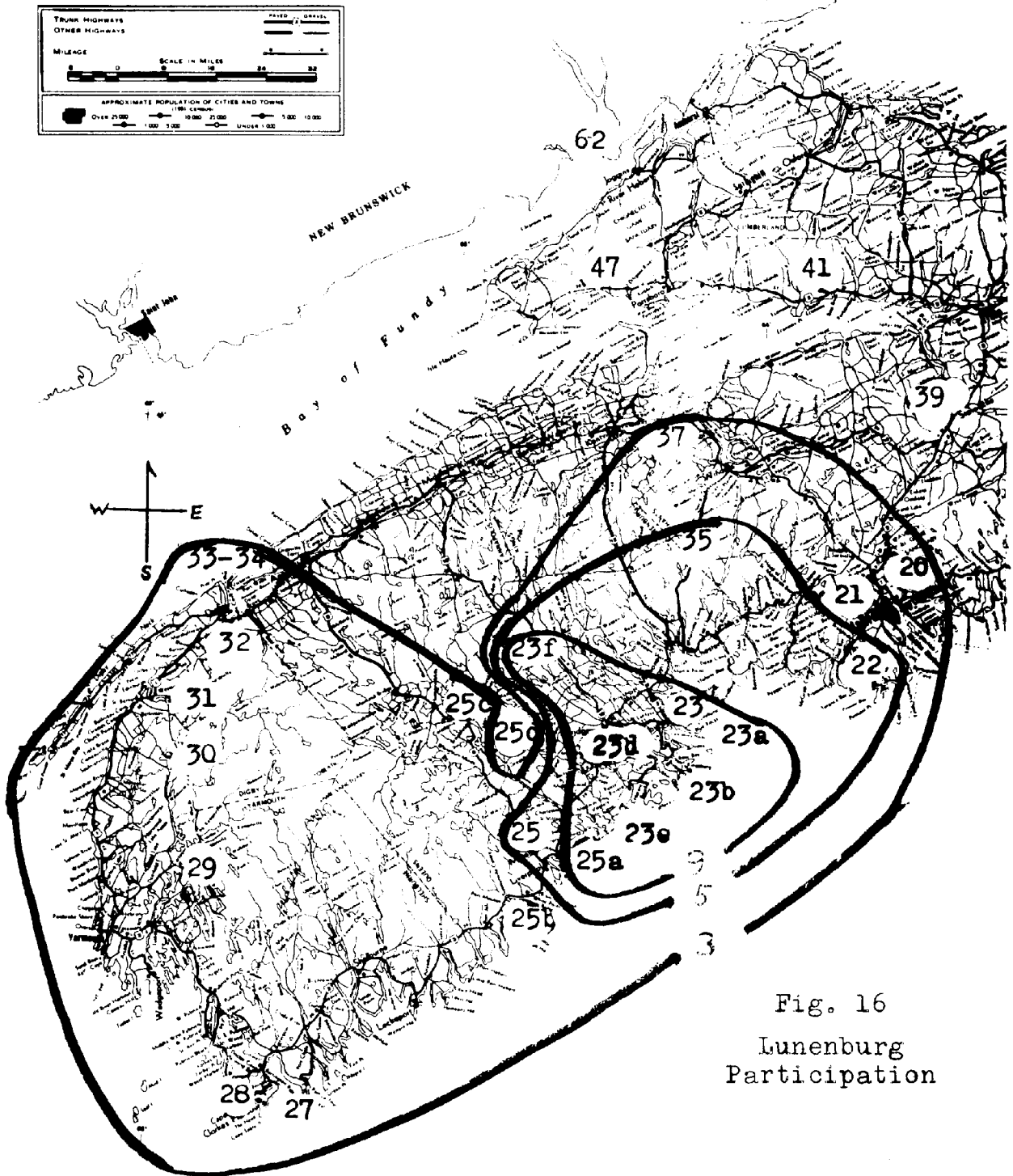


Fig. 16
Lunenburg
Participation

Queens County offers little to parallel the L-1 list. Only two items in the worksheets yield responses centered in Queens County without occurrences outside the Queens-Lunenburg area. These are clearing (of the weather, without up or off) and /ju/ (ewe, female sheep). See Fig. 17 on the following page. These are included in a general Queens County list along with parallels of the L-2 list (features with occurrence in and around Queens County and again at some distance, represented by blat, Fig. 29). These merge gradually with responses such as matter, Fig. 17, which are found over much of southwest Nova Scotia, and are represented in the same general list. The general Queens County list includes the following features:

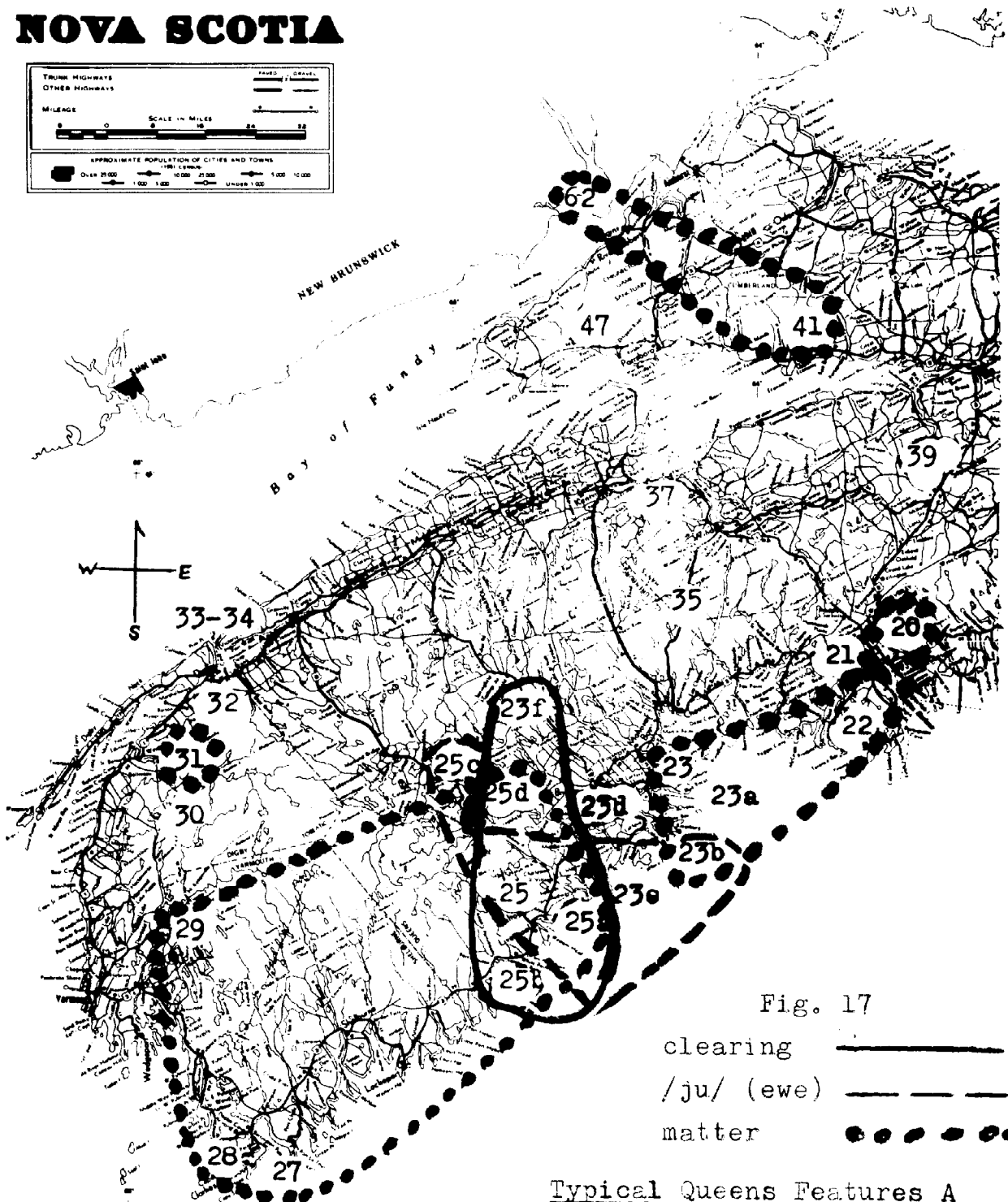
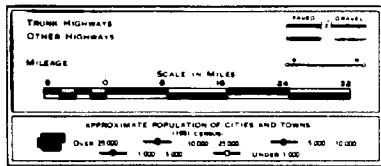
clearing	tempest	drought, drouth
living room	veranda	eavestrough
ell	haycock	gutter
goad	stopple, stopper	faucet
comforter, comfortable	/ju/ (ewe)	stoneboat
blat	low, loo	troth
aftercrop, aftergrass, afterfeed	/jok/ (yolk)	whinny, whicker curds, bonnyclapper
angleworm	whiskers	
was taken sick	matter	

The geographical distribution of these features is illustrated in Figs. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, and 22 on the following six pages and in Figs. 23 through 31 on pages 69 through 78.

A useful sub-list is provided by the following nine items which yield responses in direct contrast between the two counties:

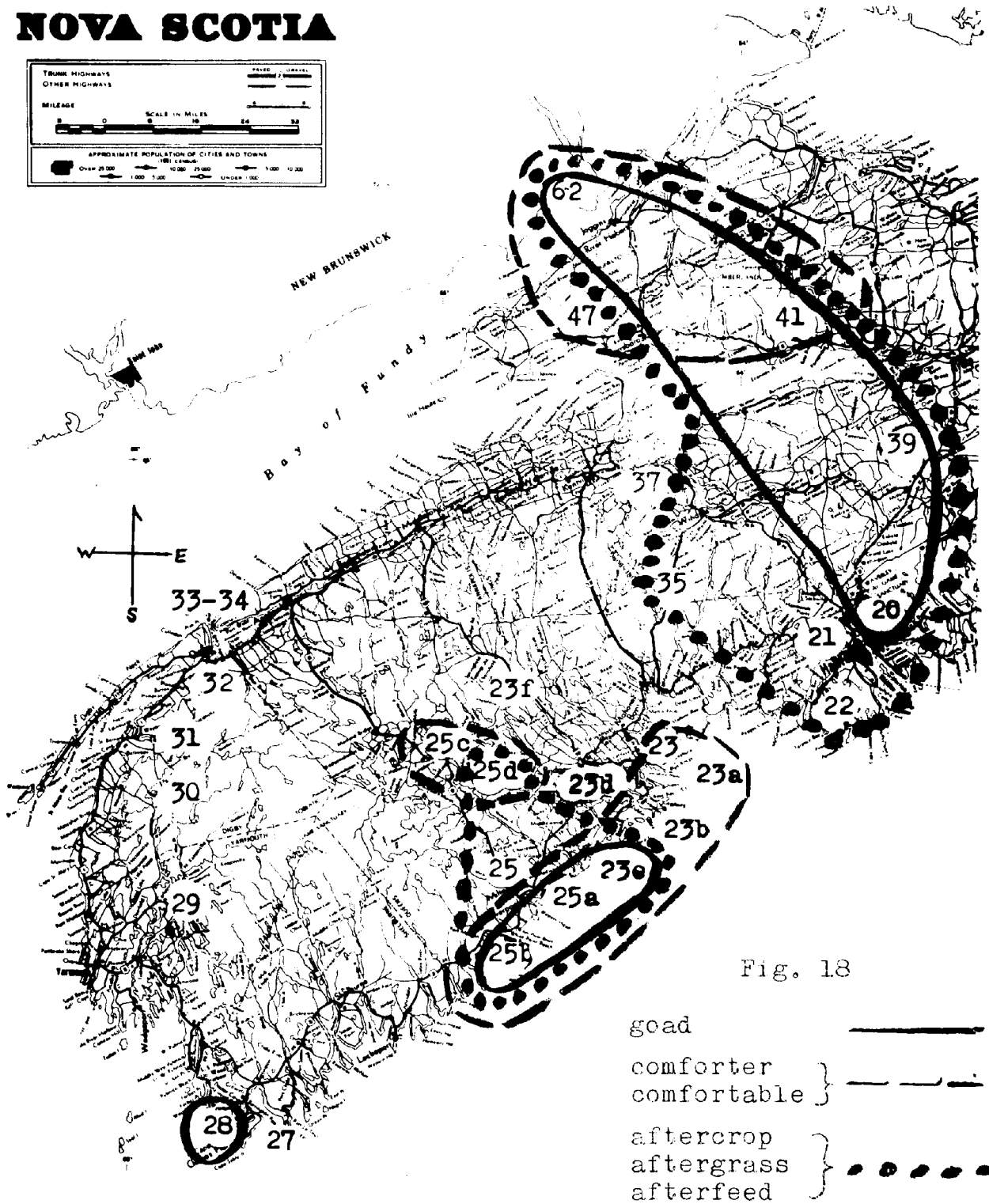
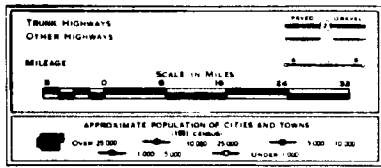
drouth vs. dry spell	living room vs. sitting room
el vs. porch	haycock vs. hay heap
troth vs. troft	bonnyclapper vs. thick milk curd(s)
blat vs. bawl	whicker, vs. neigh
was taken sick vs. got sick	

NOVA SCOTIA



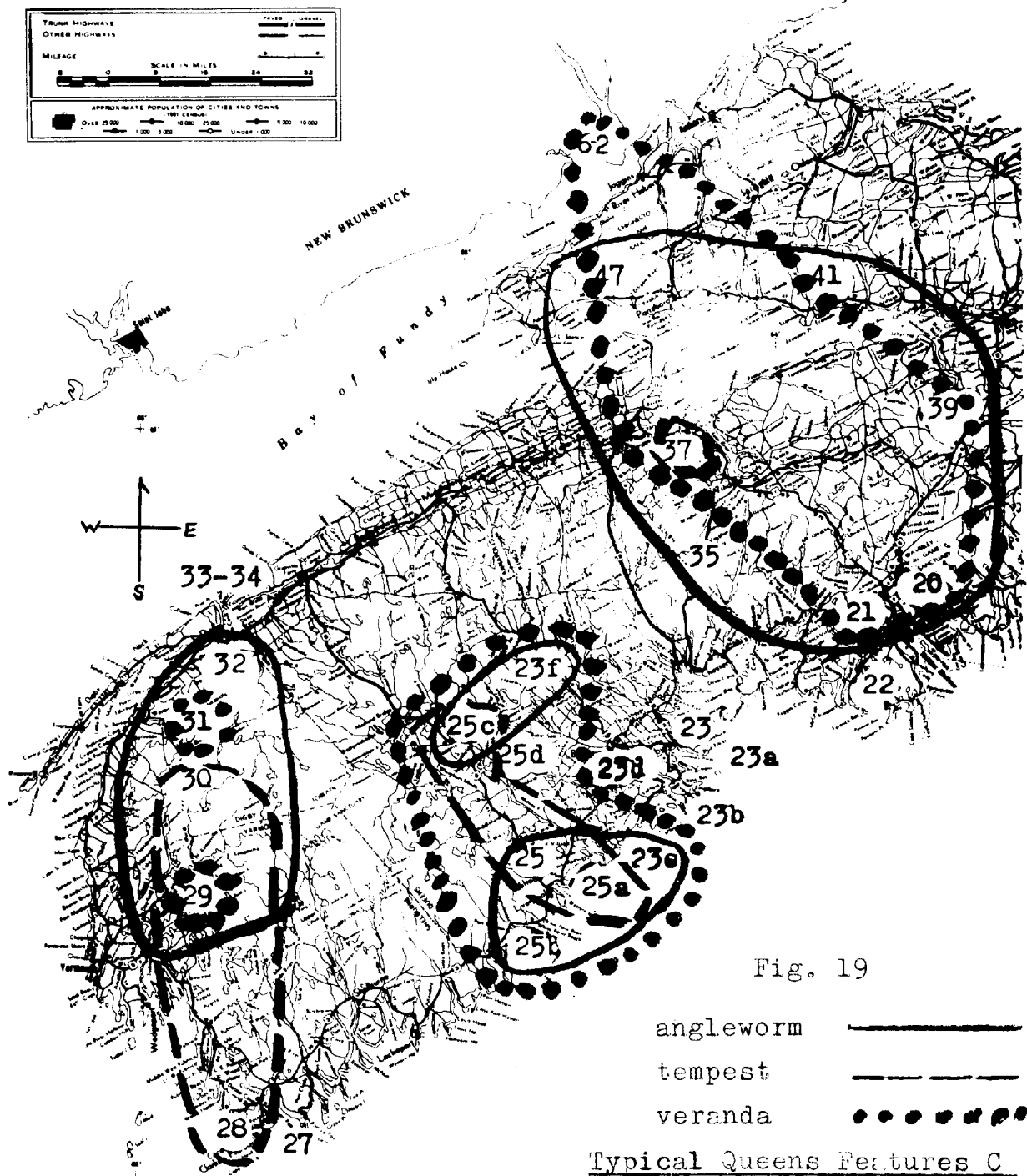
Typical Queens Features A

NOVA SCOTIA

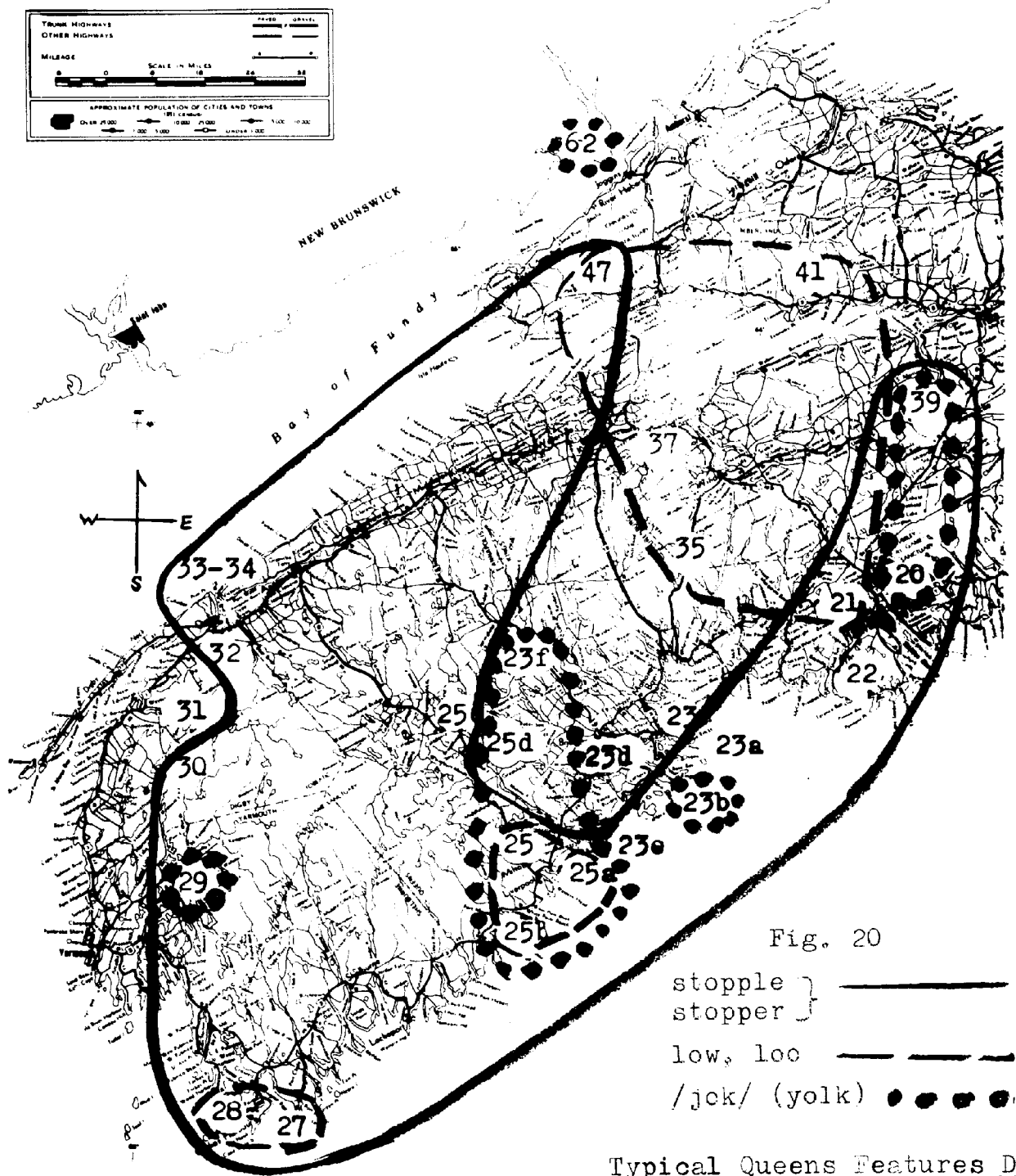


Typical Queens Features B

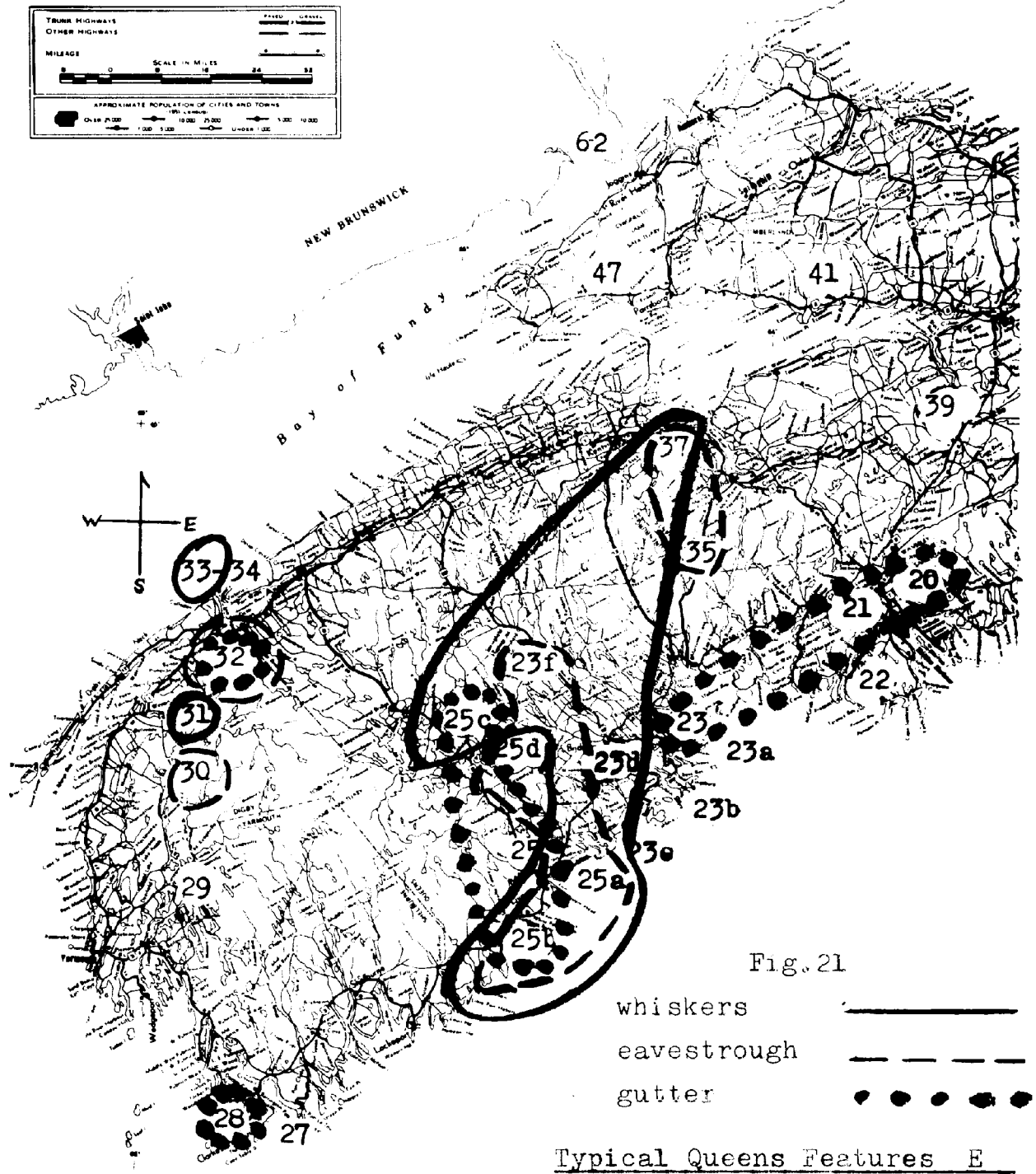
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NOVA SCOTIA



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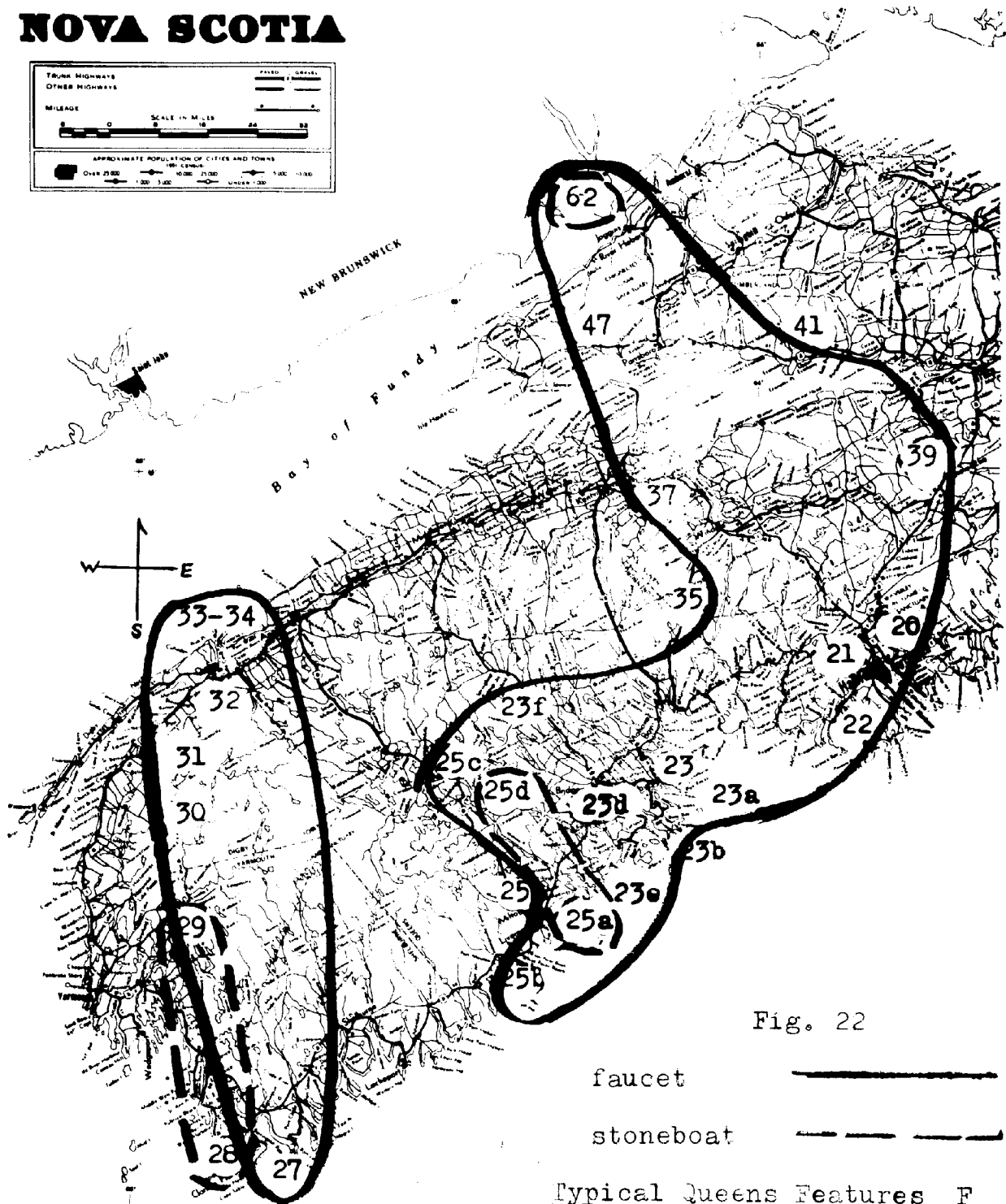
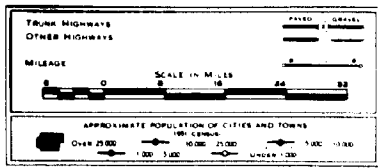


Fig. 22

faucet

stoneboat

Typical Queens Features F

This type of list, which makes possible the comparison of directly competing forms, permits a table like the one in Fig. 23 on the following page, where each community is assigned a proportion indicating the relative strength of Queens (the left hand figure) versus Lunenburg features. There are, of course, competitors for all Queens and Lunenburg responses listed so far, but only these nine provide direct contrast between forms that can be regarded as characteristic of the one or the other county¹. If a line is drawn between the communities showing Queens usage predominant and those showing Lunenburg responses in the lead we have a boundary which effectively sets off the Lunenburg communities investigated from those in the surrounding area. The community of 23e Voglers Cove is represented by an even balance between typical Queens County features and those of Lunenburg. At 22 Sambro in Halifax County there is a similar situation. Lunenburg representation is comparatively strong along the coast in the area of intensive investigation, with 25a Port Medway showing as strong a representation as 23b Five Houses and only slightly less than 23 Lunenburg, and 25b Port Mouton equalling the representation of 23e and surpassing that of 23f New Germany. Beyond the borders of Queens-Lunenburg on the coast and inland within Queens County, Lunenburg representation decreases roughly in proportion to the distance from Lunenburg County.

The center of Lunenburg strength in these figures lies in 23d Bridgewater (1:8), 23b Five Houses (0:6), and 23 Lunenburg (2:7).

1 -- The figures given in the proportions rarely total 9. Many communities provide more than one response for an item and some none at all. (See maps of the individual contrasts, Figs. 23 through 31 on the following pages.)

NOVA SCOTIA

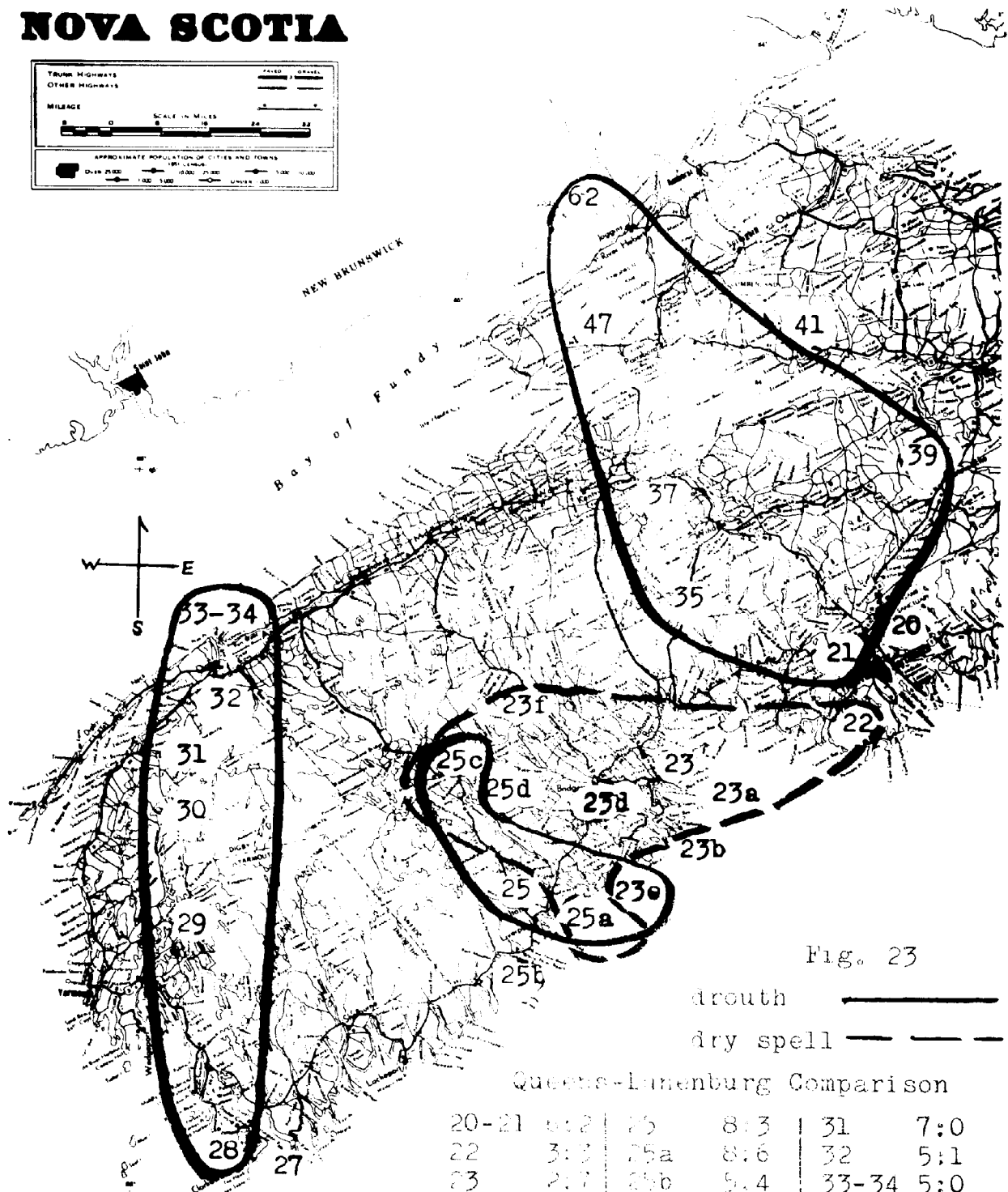
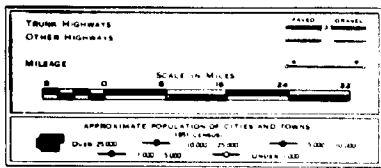


Fig. 23

drouth —————

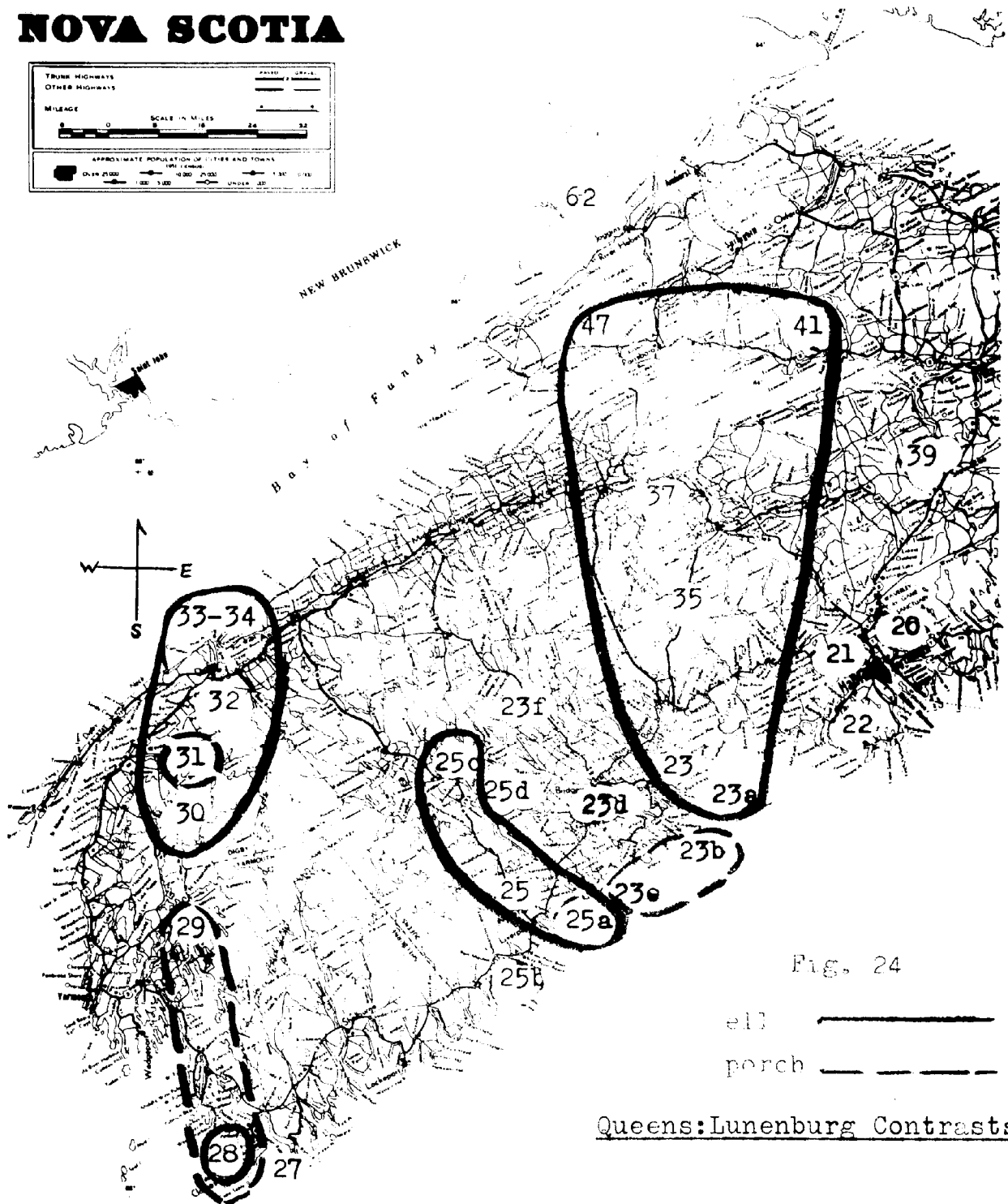
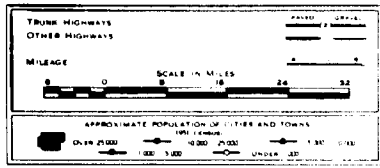
dry spell - - - - -

Queens-Lunenburg Comparison

20-21	6:2	25	8:3	31	7:0
22	3:3	25a	8:6	32	5:1
23	2:7	25b	5:4	33-34	5:0
23a	2:5	25c	5:1	35	3:2
23b	0:6	25d	4:2	37	7:1
23d	1:8	27	3:1	39	2:1
23e	4:4	28	5:2	41	4:1
23f	2:3	29	5:1	47	4:1
		30	5:0	62	3:3

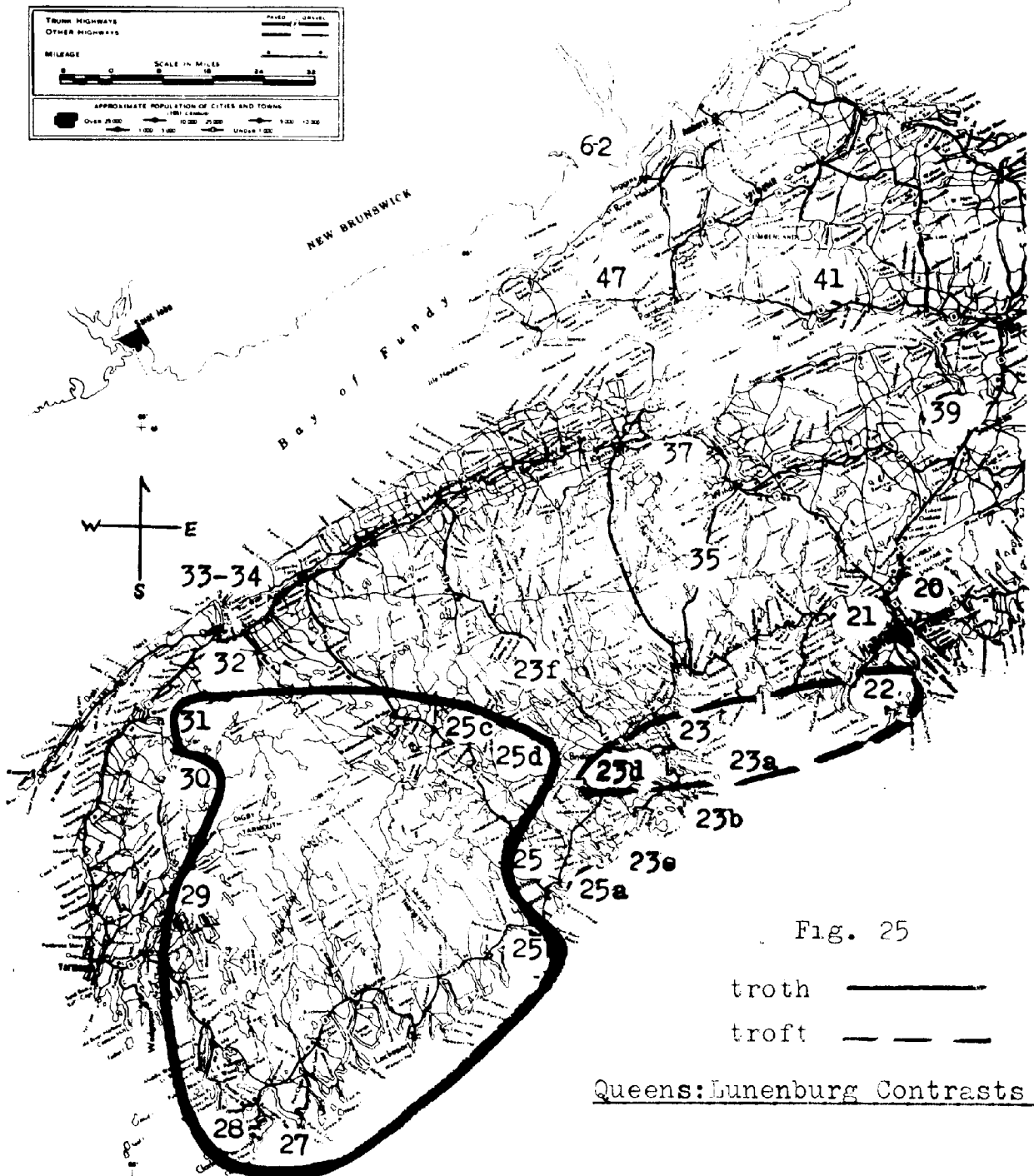
Queens:Lunenburg Contrasts A

NOVA SCOTIA

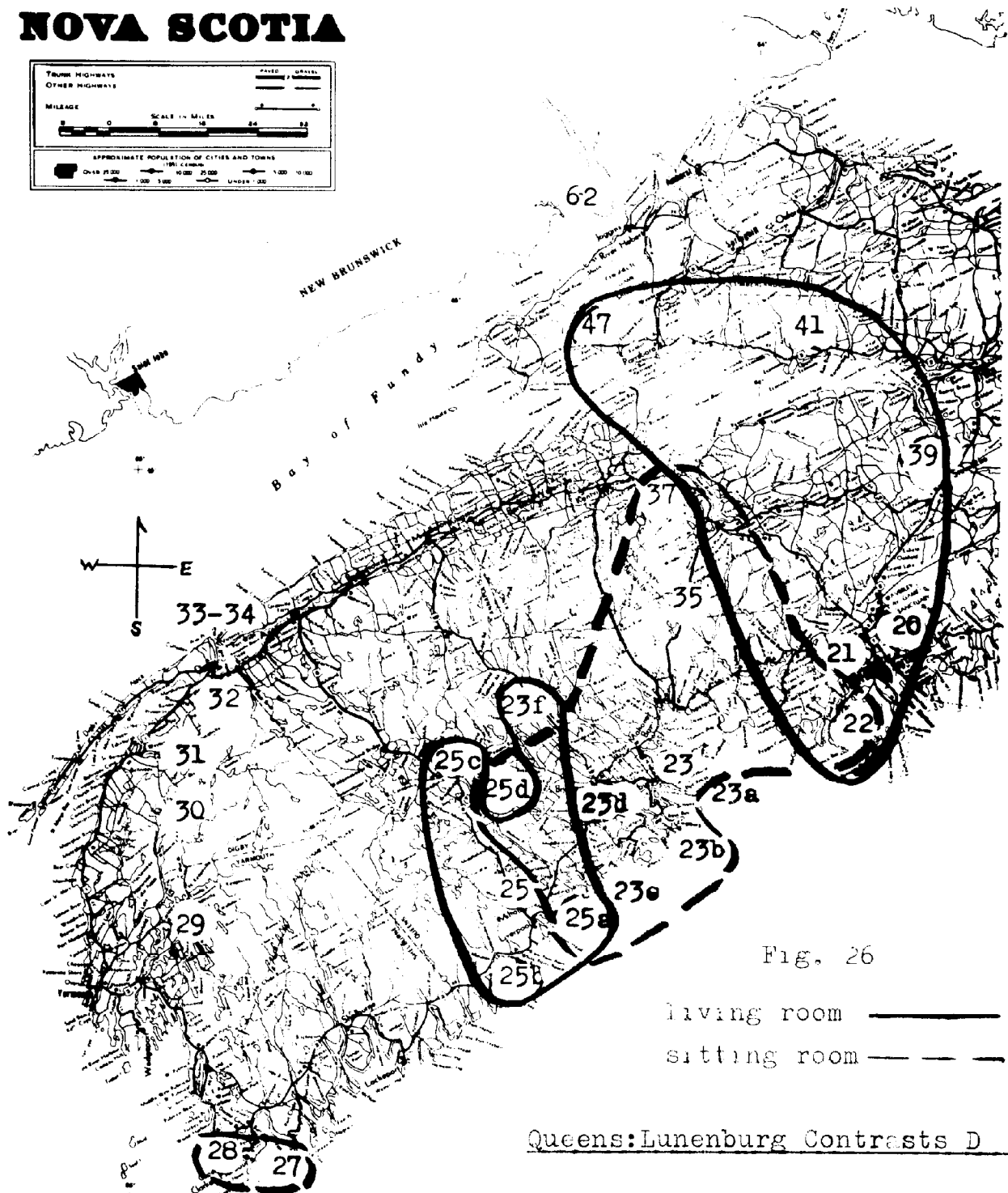
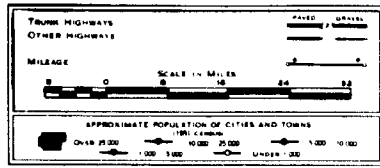


Queens:Lunenburg Contrasts B

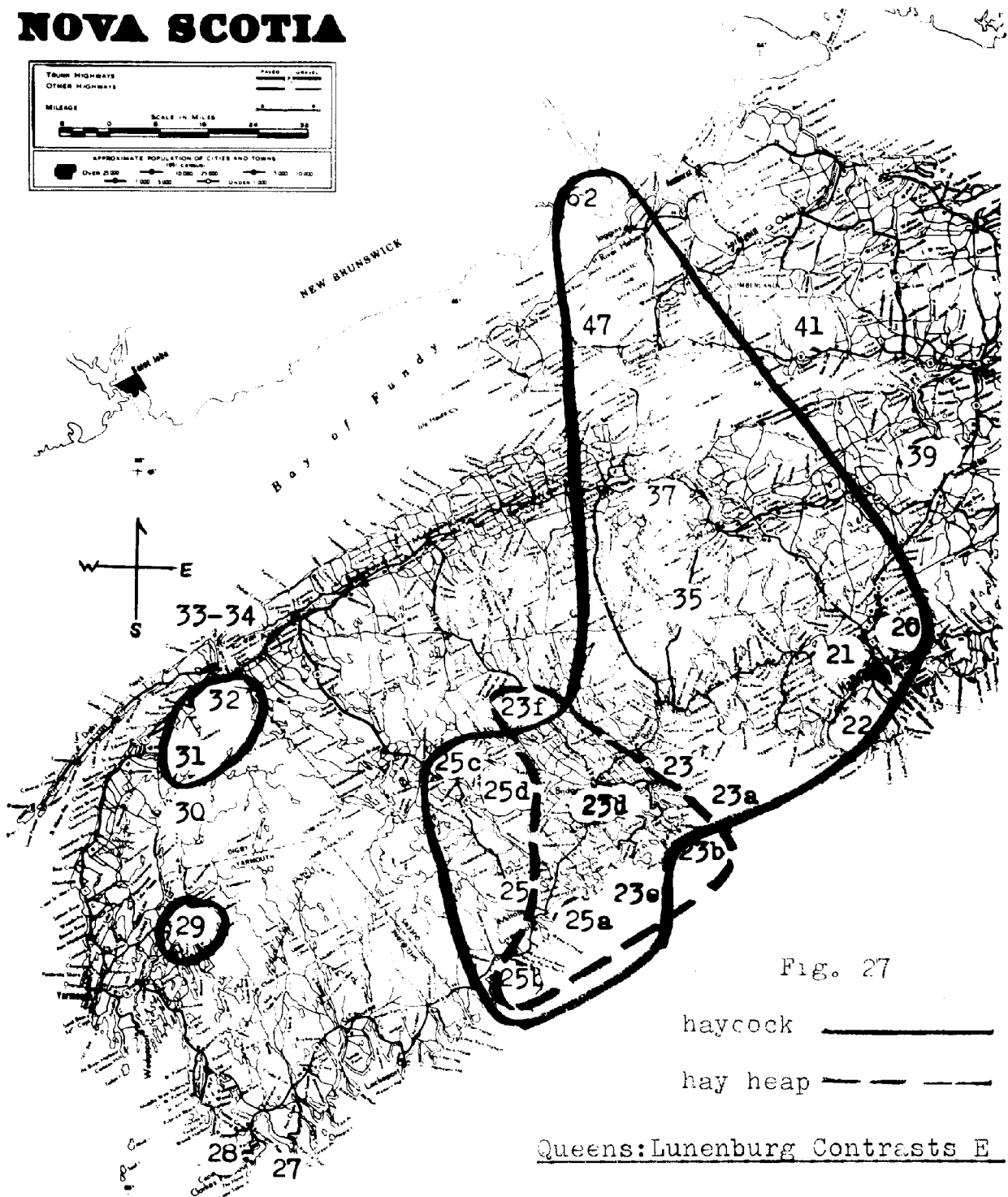
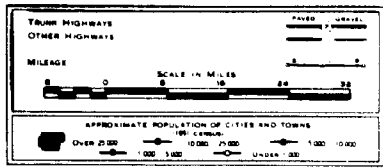
NOVA SCOTIA



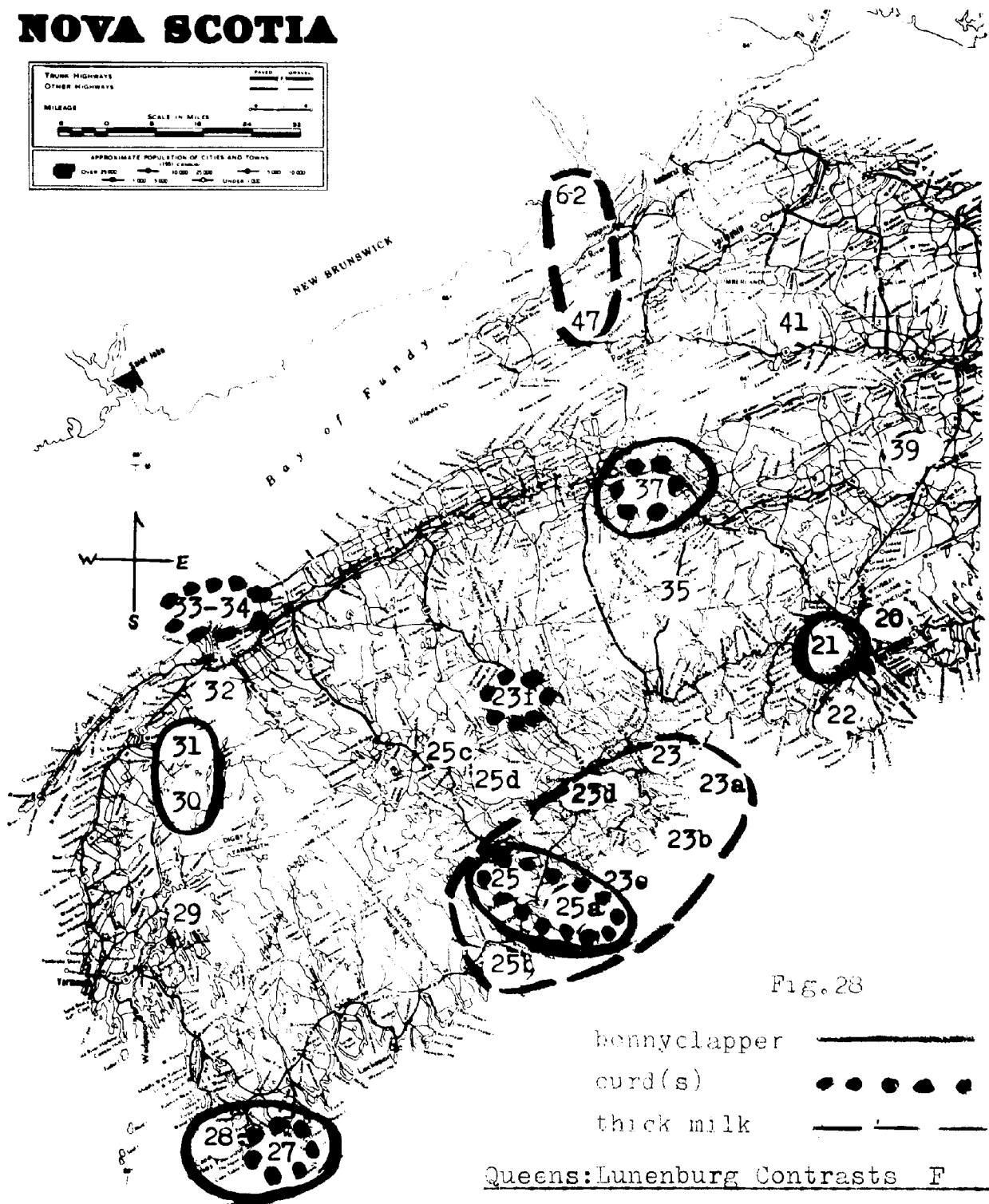
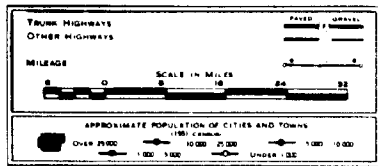
NOVA SCOTIA



NOVA SCOTIA



NOVA SCOTIA



NOVA SCOTIA

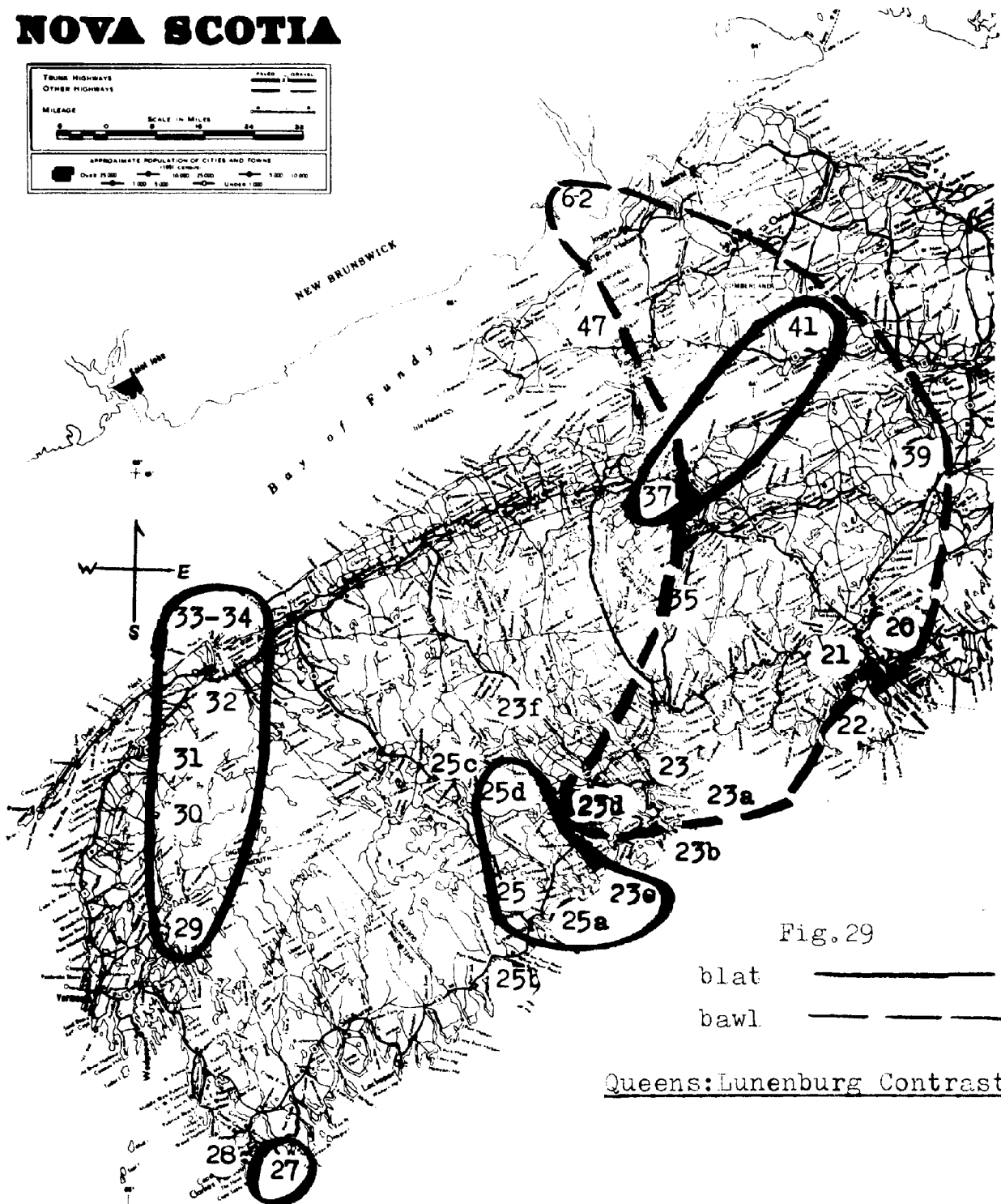
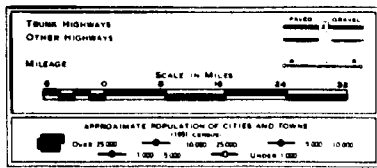
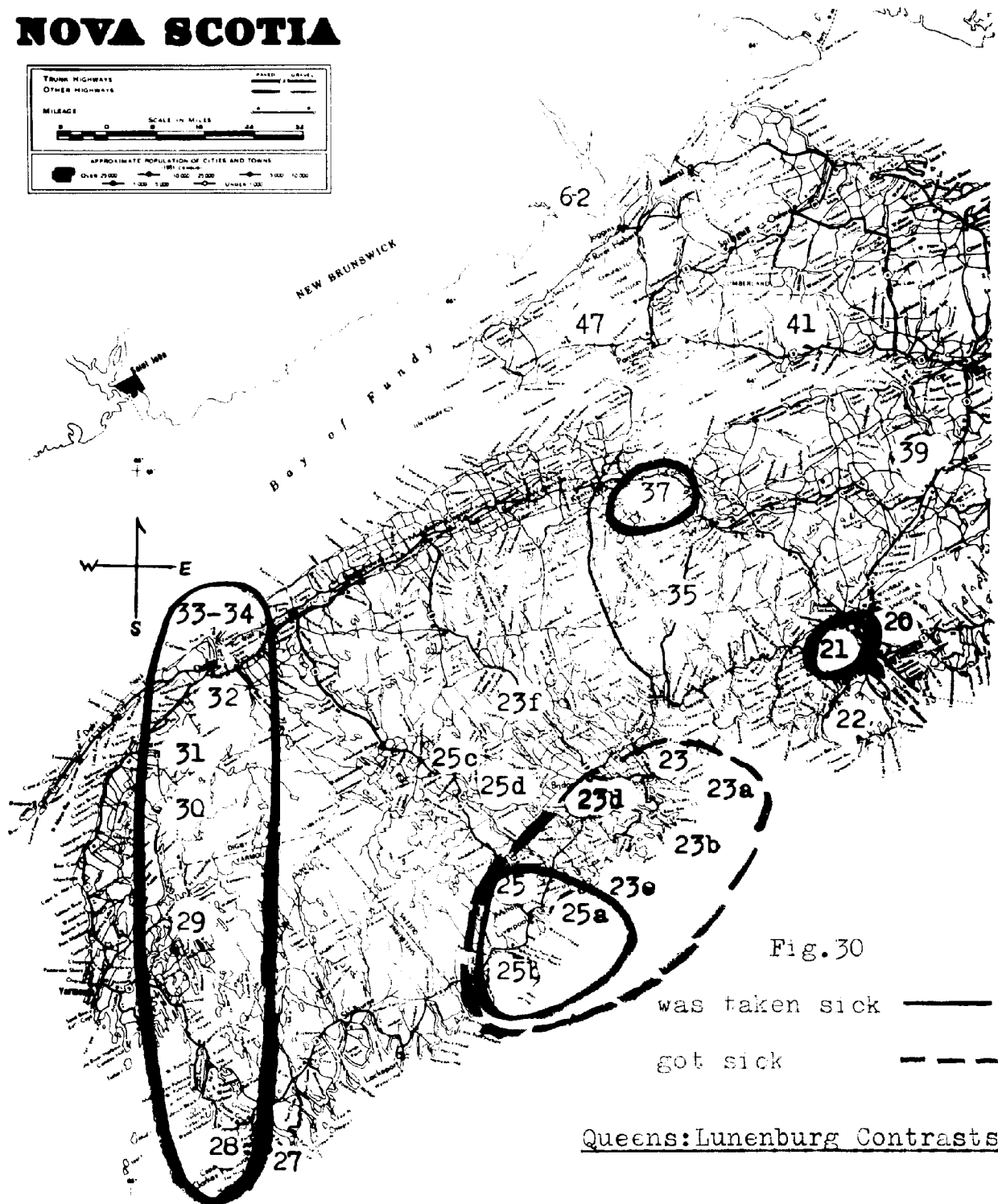
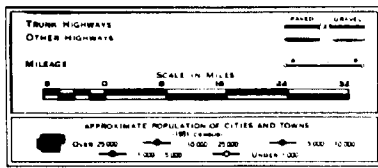


Fig.29

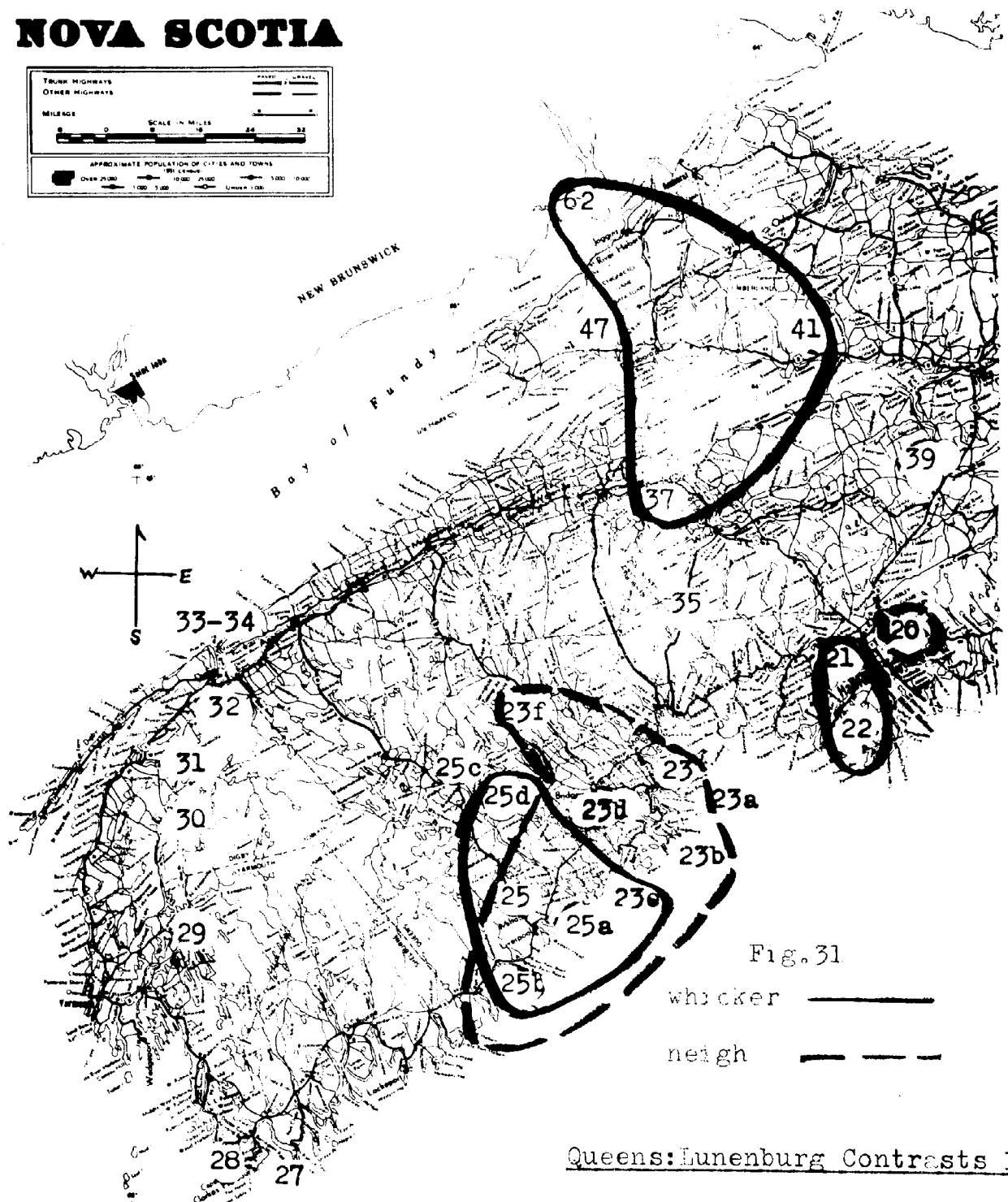
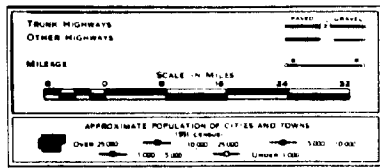
blat _____
bawl _____

Queens:Lunenburg Contrasts G

NOVA SCOTIA



NOVA SCOTIA



Numbers of typical Queens responses, in contrast, decline less sharply and less evenly with the distance from Queens County and in general are more strongly represented everywhere. While 25 Milton and 25a Port Medway look something like centers comparable to the three Lunenburg communities just mentioned, the relatively high totals elicited in Shelburne, Yarmouth, and Digby County communities and the total of 7 Queens features each recorded at 31 Danvers and 37 Forest Hills indicate that Queens is less a center of a well-defined speech area than a typical representative of southwest Nova Scotia in general.

Participation of southwest Nova Scotia communities in the Queens County list on p.61 is tabulated below in order of strongest representation:

Table IV Relative Participation in Queens Test Lists

25a Port Medway	22	32 North Range	11
25 Milton	20	33-34 Victoria Beach	11
25b Port Mouton	19	23f New Germany	10
20-21 Dartmouth-Halifax	16	47 Diligent River	10
37 Forest Hills	14	30 Southville	9
25c South Brookfield	13	39 Stewiacke	9
25d Molega Road	13	22 Sambro	8
29 Kemptville	13	23 Lunenburg	7
31 Danvers	13	27 Baccaro	7
41 Bass River	12	35 South Waterville	7
62 Rockport	12	23b Five Houses	5
23e Voglers Cove	12	23a Blue Rocks	4
28 Shag Harbor	11	23d Bridgewater	1

Here again we have a pattern like that indicated by the features used in the list of nine sets of rival responses. Concentration of typical Queens responses is similar to that shown in the smaller list with 25 Milton and 25a Port Medway

looking like centers of concentration, but with relatively high totals recorded outside the county at 31 Danvers, 29 Kemptville, 37 Forest Hills, and 20-21 Dartmouth-Halifax. (See. Fig. 32 on the following page.)

It is now clear that dialect differences between Lunenburg County and adjacent parts of southwest Nova Scotia can be demonstrated on the basis of lexical materials, but the picture would not be complete without the inclusion of representatives of a group of responses elicited about equally in both counties of the area of intensive field work, or significantly excluded from parts of both. Some of the features referred to above, such as haycock (Fig.27), might seem to belong to this category, but the occurrence of the contrasted hayheap, of apparent German origin, and the omission of haycock at 23f New Germany and 23b Five Houses (the latter a part of the apparent core of Lunenburg vocabulary), along with its appearance in all Queens County records, led to its being listed for Queens County. Other marginal responses were assigned by careful weighing of similar evidence. Some, however, defied such placement. They are:

spout	whinny, whinner	mugup
scythestone	harslet	snack
weskit	johnnycake	corruption (pus)

They may be grouped into three classes:

- 1) Coastal: whinny, whinner; mugup; snack; (Fig. 33, p. 81) and scythestone (Fig.34, p.82).
- 2) Inland: spout (eavestrough) (Fig. 34)
- 3) Scattered: weskit (Fig.34); harslet; johnnycake; corruption; (Fig. 35, p.83). (All but johnnycake are consistently described as "old fashioned".)

NOVA SCOTIA

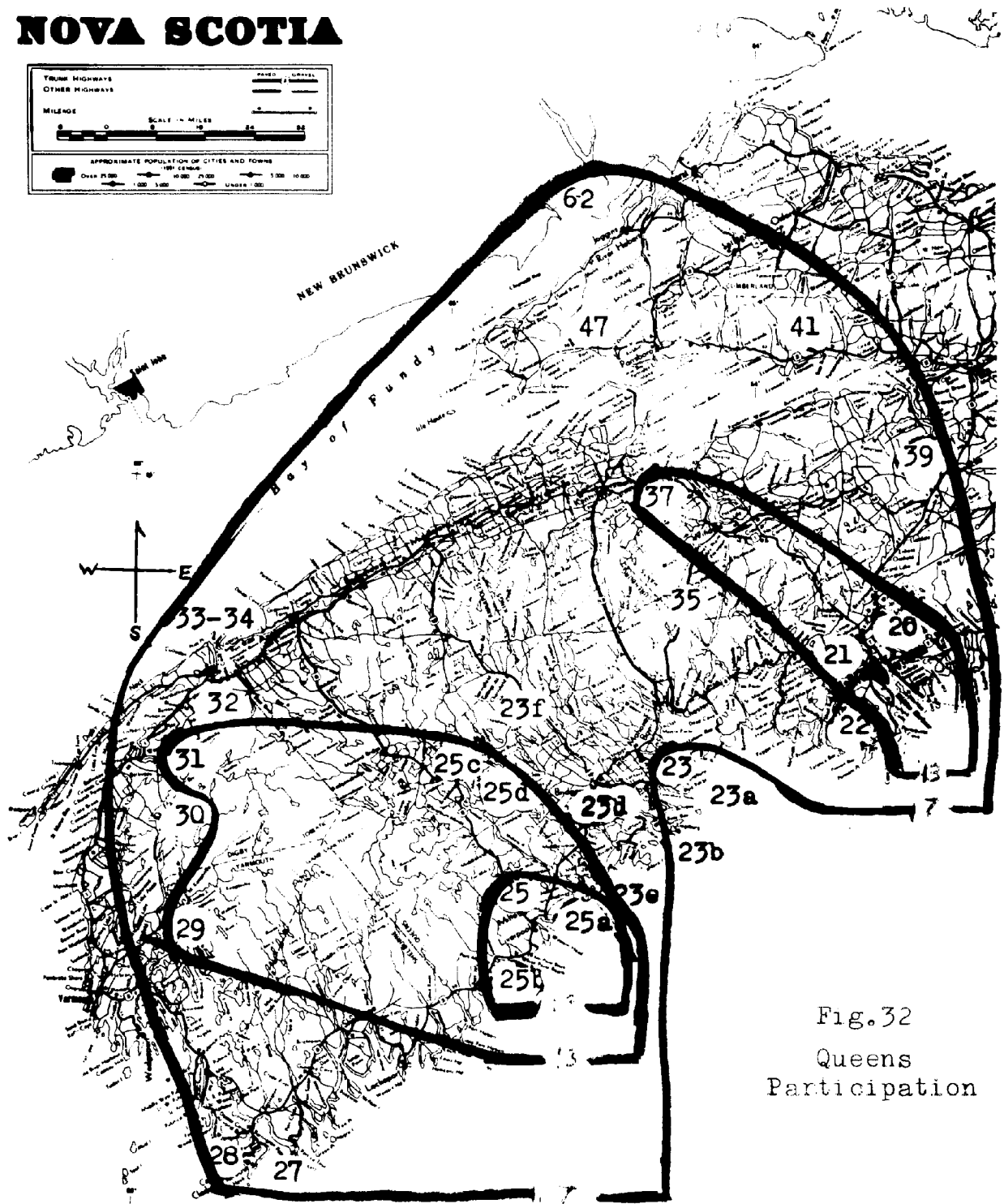
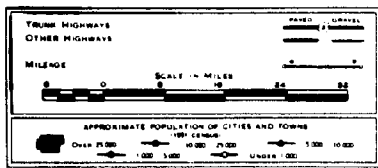
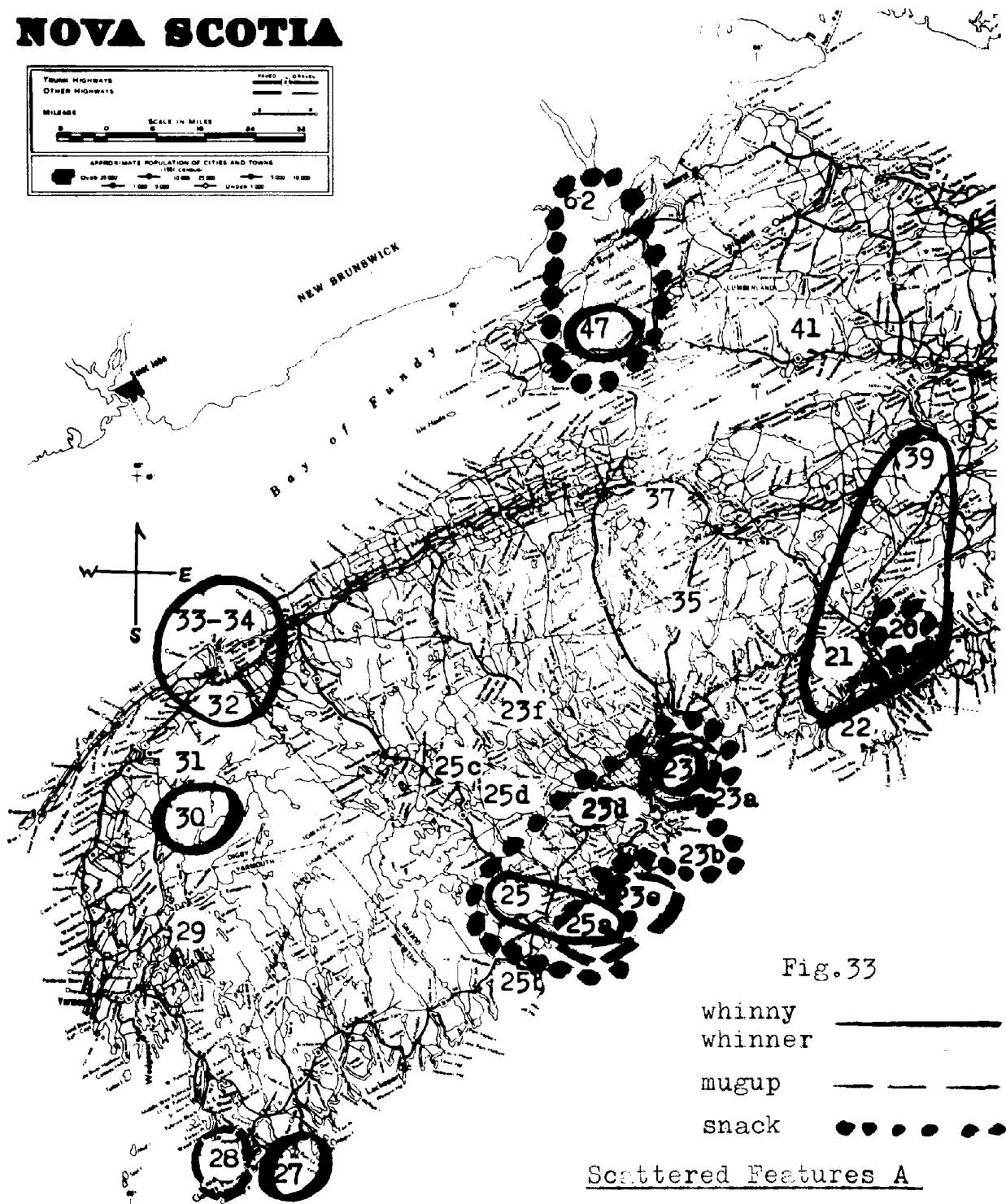


Fig.32
Queens
Participation

NOVA SCOTIA



NOVA SCOTIA

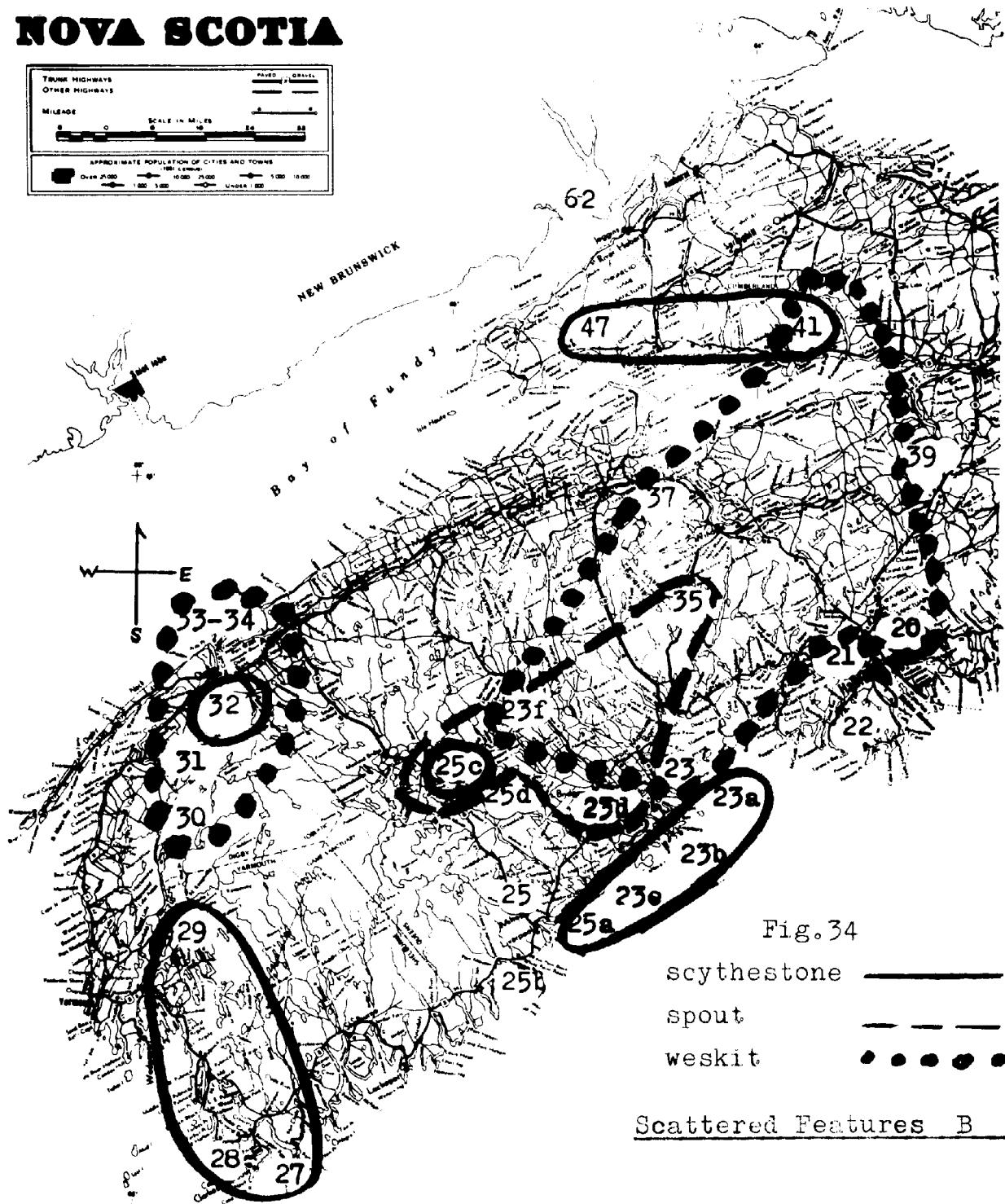
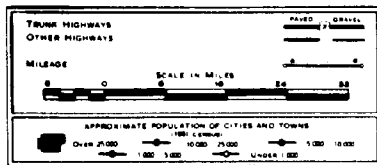
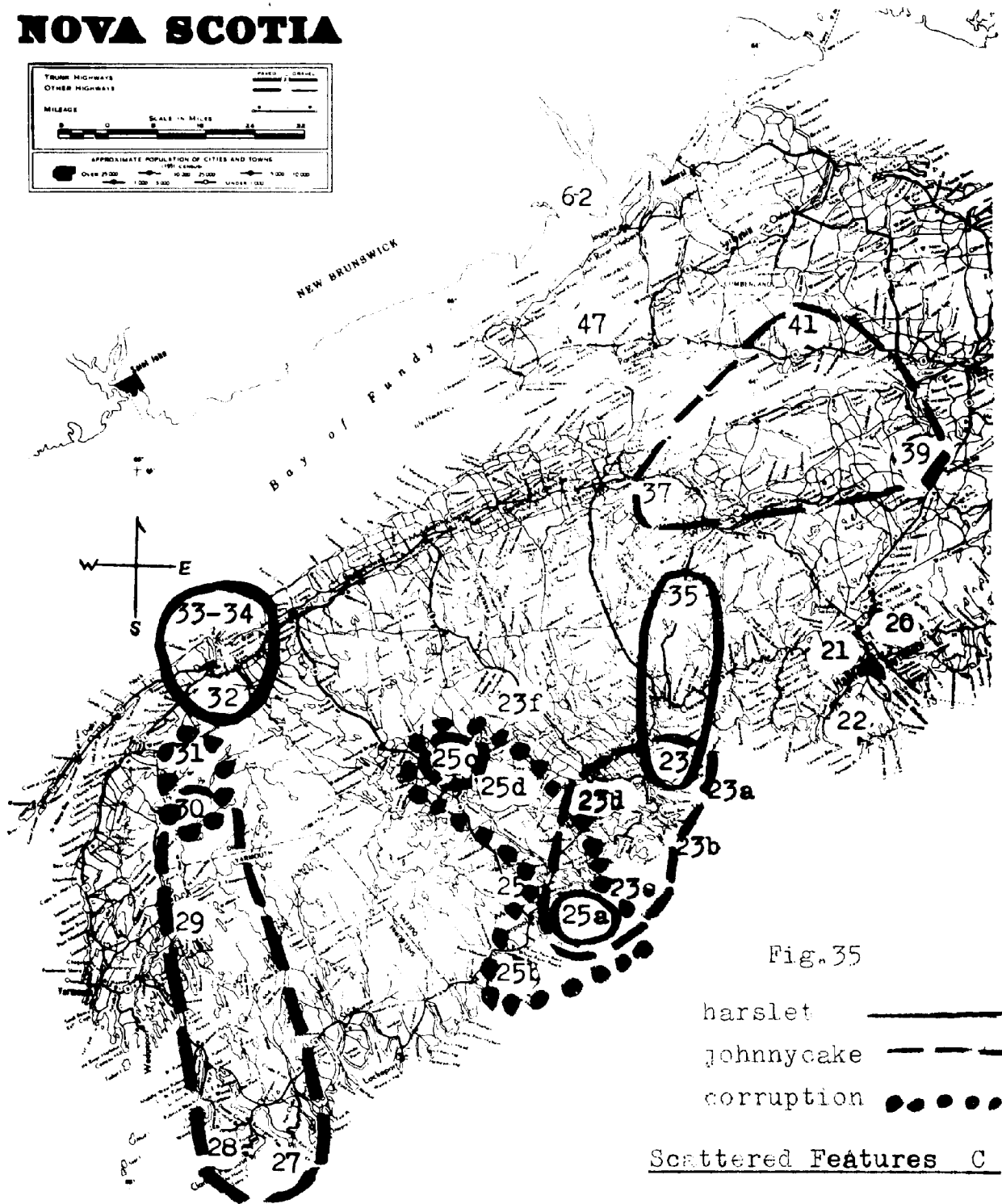
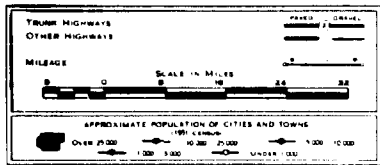


Fig.34

scythestone —————
spout - - - - -
weskit

Scattered Features B

NOVA SCOTIA



Conclusions

The boundaries of linguistic Lunenburg County may be set, on a lexical basis, substantially within the political boundaries of the county. Queens County does not appear to represent the same sort of linguistic entity, but shares a substantial part of its typical vocabulary with communities outside its political borders.

Although distinctive features may be found within it, the vocabulary of Lunenburg County emerges as in part an adaptation of that of the neighboring county, and in part a word stock peculiar to the German settlement area. The first component is to be expected in an area whose earlier inhabitants were dependent on the Yankee settlers for their English vocabulary. The second component, too, is expected. That homely terms such as /fɒsnak/ should survive more or less unchanged from the earlier language of the settlers, or that familiar farming compounds like Heuhaufe should appear as the corresponding English hay heap, is not at all surprising. And that there should be a residue of less easily traceable features, such as sick in his stomach which appears not to belong to the Yankee word stock and seems to have no German source, is also to be expected in the present state of dialect research.

There is also a second residue which reveals an extraordinary feature of Lunenburg English vocabulary. This is the preservation of New England features which are rare or obsolete in the rest of southwest Nova Scotia. This is indicated notably by the survival of porch in the sense of an addition built onto a house, which is recorded only in southern Lunenburg County at 23b Five Houses and 23e Voglers Cove in the area of intensive field work, and at 28 Shag Harbor and 29 Kemptville in the south end of the province. Else-

where in Nova Scotia the term is ell. An apparently unique Lunenburg development is the term cellar porch, the name given to the roofed outside cellar entryway. The term is known to several Queens County informants but apparently not used there.

Another minor indication of this conservative tendency is the single occurrence of clothes pantry in the record of the informant at 23 Lunenburg, for clothes closet. This suggests the earlier existence of the old Narragansett term closet for pantry or buttry¹, with clothes pantry developing out of the equation of the two terms pantry and closet.

Although there is naturally a good deal of variation in the word stock of Lunenburg County there seems to be a centering of characteristic vocabulary in the region of the original settlement, Lunenburg, though not specifically in the town itself. There are at least five ways of viewing the materials discussed in this chapter in an attempt to determine the core of Lunenburg dialect on a lexical basis, all to some degree overlapping:

- 1) The ratio of Lunenburg to Queens terms as revealed by the "rivals" list,
- 2) High participation in the general list of typical Lunenburg responses,
- 3) Low participation in the Queens list,
- 4) High participation in a selected list of features most closely associated with German origins,
- 5) High participation in a selected list of terms having fifty per cent or more of their occurrences in Lunenburg County.

The bases of lists 1), 2), and 3) have already been given. The list for 4) includes:

/'wɪŋklaɪzə/ (three cornered tear)	snits (dried apple slices) get awake
---------------------------------------	---

1 -- Kurath, Word Geography, pp. 16 and 17.

Daks (Badger) Day (Feb.2)	sawbuck
clock (and variants)	/'wotʃi/ (call to pigs)
/'fɔsnaks/ (doughnuts)	thick milk
/'hankes/ (cottage cheese)	all (all gone)

List 5) includes:

dry spell	troft
porch (ell)	sick in his stomach
cellar porch	pair (of oxen)

The ranking of each Lunenburg community in participation in each list is indicated below. List 4) is adjusted to compensate for differences in the worksheets used:

Table V Ranking of Lunenburg Communities in Concentration

	<u>of Typical Features</u>			
List 1	List 2	List 3	List 4	List 5
1) 23b Five Houses	23b	23d	23b	{ 23 23d
2) 23d Bridgewater	23	23a	23	
3) 23 Lunenburg	23e	23b	23a	{ 23a 23b
4) 23a Blue Rocks	{ 23d 23f	23	23e	{ 23e 23f
5) 23f New Germany		23f	23f	
6) 23e Voglers Cove	23a	23e	23d	

By a simple weighting we arrive at an approximate composite view which places the communities in the following order of relative "Dutchness" in matters of vocabulary: 23b, 23, 23d, and 23a, with 23e and 23f approximately even in their claims for the fifth position. The first three communities yield records which are strikingly more consistent in their conformity to typical Lunenburg practice than are the other three, and are the only three to be ranked first in any of the five examinations of vocabulary used here. On the basis of lexical evidence we might call these three communities, Five Houses, Lunenburg, and Bridgewater, "Old Lunenburg" on ground of a high yield of typical Lunenburg County responses and resistance to the vocabulary of the surrounding region,

in contrast with the other three Lunenburg communities, which reveal much greater conformity to the general vocabulary of the region.

Some modification of this delineation of "Old Lunenburg" might be suggested on the basis of relatively high representation of two of these communities in the list (Table II, pp. 48 and 49) used to indicate the relationship of southwest Nova Scotia to New England. Indeed, Lunenburg, Bridgewater, and New Germany are the only Lunenburg County communities yielding features from this list. The Lunenburg total of 5 compares with the lower end of the range in Queens County, equalling the number recorded for 25d Molega Road. (See appendix B.) Bridgewater falls below this range with 4, and New Germany, in other respects also resembling Queens communities, yields 6 responses from this list¹. This does not so much disturb the previous picture as confirm the impression of a relatively strong "Yankee" influence upon the speech of the informant at 23f New Germany, and reveal the relatively cosmopolitan aspect of the two chief towns of the county, which are also strongly representative of typical Lunenburg vocabulary.

1 -- Hay heap is omitted here as ambiguous, having two possible sources in Lunenburg County.

CHAPTER IV

Morphological Features

On the morphological level the worksheets of the Linguistic Atlas of New England and their derivatives do not provide materials for a complete morphological description of the idiolects and dialects investigated, nor were they intended to. Although the items which may be used in lexical studies are more numerous than those revealing morphological features, both are meant to be illustrative rather than exhaustive. Only a few morphological features of special interest are sought in field work. These are chiefly verbs and as far as the eastern United States are concerned have been summarized by E. Bagby Atwood¹. In addition to the verbs a few undeclined plurals and adverbial items offer some significant variations in form.

In the preparation of the condensed worksheets a number of morphological items were abandoned as unproductive so that the Lunenburg area cannot be directly compared with the rest of southwest Nova Scotia at all points. However, Alexander used the short worksheets in Lunenburg town and at Blue Rocks. In all, Lunenburg County yields 31 verb responses which illustrate divergence between Lunenburg County usage and the standard or "school" forms². Of these 27 are discussed by Atwood as they occur in the eastern United States. Of the total of 31 non-standard responses recorded in Lunenburg County, 25 can be found in the speech of the Blue Rocks informant. The Lunenburg town informant provides only 10, but

1 -- E. Bagby Atwood, A Survey of Verb Forms in the Eastern United States, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1953.

2 -- Here I use the term "standard" in the "conventional and admittedly inexact sense" adopted by Atwood (Verb Forms, p.8, footnote). A "standard verb form" is one recorded in a reputable dictionary designed for general use without special label or caveat.

three of these, rid (past participle), catched (preterite), and drank (past participle) are additions to the list. These two informants, the only two that can be compared point for point with those in other parts of southwest Nova Scotia, rank respectively among the highest in point of occurrence of non-standard verb forms, and among the lowest. The range of occurrences of non-standard verb forms in this list of 31 lies between 28 at 47 Diligent River, and zero in the record of 21 Halifax. The other Dartmouth-Halifax informant, 20, has only one non-standard verb form. The Blue Rocks informant has the fourth largest total of non-standard verb forms in southwest Nova Scotia.

None of the non-standard verb forms found in Lunenburg County is peculiar to the county, unless we include the single occurrence of the distinctive verbal structure get awake (for wake up) at 23b Five Houses. The remainder are typical of the other parts of the province considered and parallel those found in the field records of the eastern United States. Atwood provides a table¹ similar to those of Kurath referred to in Chapter III, but this is in no way useful since only three Lunenburg verb forms are represented, one each characteristic of the North (et), Midland (seen, pret.), and the South (riz). Each of these is recorded to some extent somewhere in each of the other two regions. Examination of Atwood's discussions of the eastern U.S. occurrences of the Lunenburg verb forms somewhat reinforces the impression of New England parallels demonstrated by the lexical material. Of the 27 parallel verb forms discussed by Atwood, six are either more consistently recorded in New England or the North, have wider social distribution there, or are strikingly characteristic of the area². The remainder, with the single ex-

1 -- Atwood, Verb Forms, p.40.

2 -- Atwood, Verb Forms, done, p.9; drank (ppl.), p.11; grewed (pret.), p. 15; sweat (pret.), p.22; wore (ppl.), p. 28; and (he) don't, p.27.

ception of ain't for have not, are represented to some extent in New England records, but are found with equal or greater frequency outside the North.

Table VI
(Part One)

Verb Forms of Lunenburg County
in Comparison with Those of Southwest Nova Scotia

x = form listed at left

- = standard form

	20 21	22	23	23a	23b	23d	23e	23f	25	25a	25b	25c	25d
blowed (pret.)	-	-	-		-				-	<u>x</u>	-	<u>x</u>	-
drove (ppl.)	-		-			x		x	-	-	-		
ain't (haven't)	-	x	x	x					-	<u>x</u>		x	
(he)don't	-	x	x	x					-	<u>x</u>		x	x
I been (have ~)	<u>x</u>	x	x	x					x	-		x	
you we } was they }	-	x	-	x						-			
I ain't	-	x	x	x					-	-			
ain't I?	-	x	x	x									
bit(ppl.)	-	-	-	<u>x</u>	x	x		x	-	-	-	x	
rid(ppl.)	-		<u>x</u>	-		x			-	-	x	-	
rode(ppl.)	-		-	-					x	-	-	x	<u>x</u>
et(pret.)	-	-	-	x	-					-	-	x	
et(ppl.)	-	-	-	x				-	-	-		<u>x</u>	
drank (ppl.)	-	x	x	-	x	x		x	x	<u>x</u>		x	
set(sat) (pret.)	-	x	-	x					-	-			
growed (pret.)	-		-						-	-			
growed (ppl.)	-	x	-	x					-	-		-	

- = standard form

	20 21	22	23	23a	23b	23d	23e	23f	25	25a	25b	25c	25d
wore(ppl.)	-	-	-	x		<u>x</u>			-	-			
sweat (pret.)	-	x	-	x	-			x	-	<u>x</u>	<u>x</u>	x	
drowneded (ppl.)	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
lay(impf.)	-	x	x	x	<u>x</u>	-		x	-	-	-	-	-
laid (pret.)	-	x	x	x						-			
caught (pret.)	-		x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
wrote (ppl.)	-		-	x		-	-	-	-	-	<u>x</u>	-	-
learned (pret.)	-	-	-	x	x	x		-	-	-	-	-	
begin (pret.)	-	x	-		x					-			
run(impf.)	-	x	-	x									
come (pret.)	-	x	-	x									
seen (pret.)	-		-							-			-
tore (ppl.)	-	x	-	x						-			-
done	-	x	-	x						-			

[illegible]

Table VI
(Part Two)

x = form listed at left

- = standard form

	27	28	29	30	31	32	³³ ₃₄	35	37	39	41	47	62
I been (have ~)		x		-	<u>x</u>	<u>x</u>	x	x	x	x	x	x	-
you we { was they }	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
I ain't	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	x
ain't I?		x				x	x	x		x	x	x	x
bit(ppl.)			x			x	<u>x</u>	x	-	x	x	x	x
rid(ppl.)		x		-				x	x				-
rode(ppl.) x				-		x	<u>x</u>			x	x	x	-
et(pret.)		x		-		x	<u>x</u>	x	-	-	x	x	-
et(ppl.)		-		x	x	x	x	x		-	x	x	x
drank (ppl.)		x		-		<u>x</u>	-	<u>x</u>		<u>x</u>	-	<u>x</u>	-
set(sat) (pret.)			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	x
grewed (pret.)						x	x	x		-	x	x	x
grewed (ppl.)		-	x		x	<u>x</u>	<u>x</u>	x		-	x	x	x
wore (ppl.)	x	-	x	-	x	-	<u>x</u>	x	-				
sweat (pret.)		-		-	x	x	<u>x</u>	x	x	x	x	x	x
drowneded (ppl.)		-		<u>x</u>	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	x	-
lay(Inf.)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	x
laid (pret.)		x		x		x	x	x		x		x	x
caught (pret.)				-	x	-	<u>x</u>	x	-	-	-		-
wrote (ppl.)		-		-	-	-		-	-	-	x	x	-

Table VI
(Part Two)

	x = form listed at left - = standard form												
	27	28	29	30	31	32	³³ 34	35	37	39	41	47	62
learned (pret.)		-		-	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	x	x
begin (pret.)		-						x		-			-
run (pret.)	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	x	x
come (pret.)		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	x
seen (pret.)		-		<u>x</u>		<u>x</u>			<u>x</u>			<u>x</u>	
tore (ppl.)		-	x	-	x	-	<u>x</u>		-	x	x	-	x
done (pret.)		x		x	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	x	x

The relative strength of standard responses is expressed below by a fraction for each informant. The numerator represents the number of standard responses, the denominator the total number of responses actually elicited for the maximum list of 31 verb forms:

20	-- 30/31	25(2)	-- 9/11	31	-- 2/22
21	-- 30/30	25a(1)	-- 14/16	32	-- 8/31
22	-- 7/31	25a(2)	-- 30/30	33	-- 2/29
23	-- 22/31	25b	-- 11/13	34	-- 11/30
23a	-- 7/31	25c	-- 11/18	35	-- 4/29
23b	-- 7/13	25d	-- 7/12	37	-- 16/30
23d	-- 6/12	27	-- 0/10	39	-- 16/30
23e	-- 4/7	28	-- 12/28	41	-- 4/30
23f	-- 6/12	29	-- 1/15	47	-- 3/30
25(1)	-- 12/20	30	-- 13/25	62	-- 10/30

The wide variation in the size and content of the samples involved makes close comparison of the field records impos-

ible. However, if those informants who gave standard forms in less than $1/3$ of their responses are compared with those who gave standard forms in more than $2/3$ of their responses, some interesting distributions can be seen. (See Fig. 36 on the following page.) These distributions are not regional. Although all the informants for whom a predominance of standard forms was recorded were found in Dartmouth-Halifax or in communities of the South Shore, the distribution proves to be largely social on closer examination. Four of the informants are residents of the chief towns and cities of the area. Only 39 Stewiacke and 23d Bridgewater are omitted, but they are included in the remaining middle group with approximately equal representation of standard and non-standard verb forms. Women, as a group notoriously cautious informants, form the majority of this group (21, 25a(1), 25a(2), 25(2)). Two of these (21, 25a(1)) were school teachers at one time, and the influence of this profession is perhaps felt indirectly in the responses of 25b whose wife is a former schoolteacher. Only one (21) has been tentatively classified as "cultured" by virtue of education (Normal School) and professional interest, but others, like 25a(2), an extensive reader, and 23, a self-educated expert on the local culture, have certainly raised themselves above the cultural level suggested by a simple statistical account of their education. It may be noted, in passing, that the other cultured informant, 25(1), at Milton does not reveal the high proportion of standard verb responses that his neighbor, 25(2), does, thus reinforcing the initial impression (See Chapter I) that his speech is not as distinguishable from that of less cultivated informants as we might expect.

A scattering of other variants besides verbs is offered in the records:

Undeclared plurals -- bushel, foot, pound;

anywheres for anywhere

ways for way in "a little way";

them for those in "those are the boys";

that for who in "he's the man who owns the orchard".

The evidence of the undeclared plurals is very scant and mixed. Only the item bushel is widely available in the records, although examples for pound are numerous, but lacking in the area of intensive investigation. Within that area foot was consistently sought, but not in southwest Nova Scotia generally. There is thus no sound basis for generalization about undeclared plurals in southwest Nova Scotia. This is made the more clear by the fact that where both are available in the records, foot is much more limited in its geographical distribution than bushel, the only comparable item. (See Fig. 37 and 38 on pages 98 and 99.) This suggests that the use of declined versus undeclared plurals varies markedly from word to word, a notion supported by the variation between pound and bushel in 28 and 39.

Table VII

Non-Verbal Forms of Southwest Nova Scotia

	20	22	23	23a	23b	23d	23e	23f	25	25a	25b	25c	25d
	21												
way	x									x			
ways		x	x	x							x	x	x
anywhere	x		x						x	x	x	x	
anywheres		x		x	x				x	x			x
those	x									x			
them		x	x	x									
who	x									x			
that	x	x	x						x				
bushels	x									x			
bushel		x	x	x	x	x	x		x			x	x

Table VII

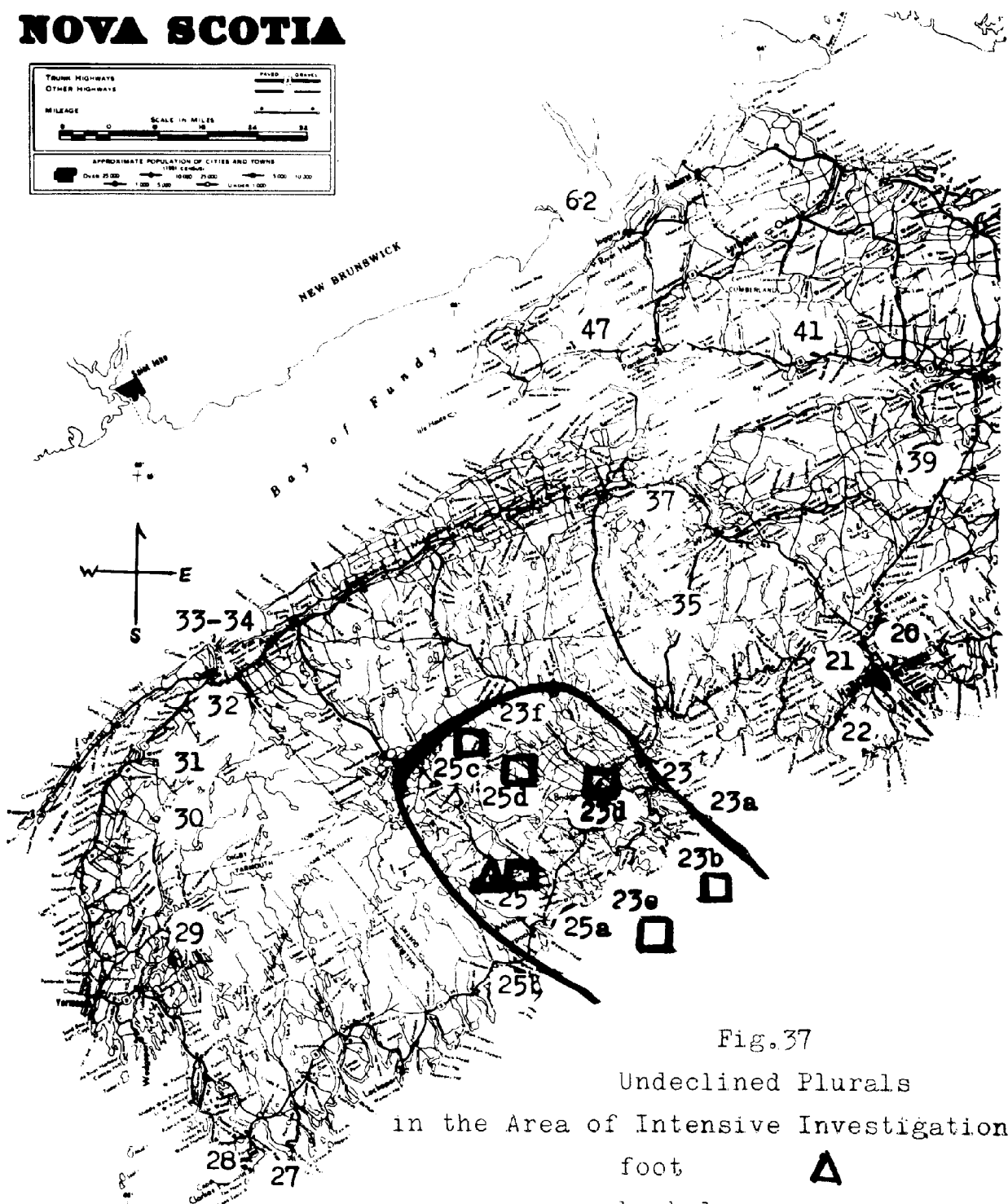
	20 21	22	23	23a	23b	23d	23e	23f	25	25a	25b	25c	25d
pounds	x									x			
pound		x	x	x									
feet					x	x	x	x		x		x	x
foot									x				

(Part Two)

	27	28	29	30	31	32	33 34	35	37	39	41	47	62
way										x			
ways	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
anywhere		x				x	x		x	x			
anywheres							x	x			x	x	x
those		x							x				x
them	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	
who													
that							x		x		x	x	
bushels													
bushel		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
pounds		x							x				
pound				x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x

The best available comparison is between two extremes among those informants who responded with two or more of the plurals under consideration, those who responded consistently with declined plurals and those who responded consistently with undeclined forms. The mapping (Fig. 38, p. 99) of these extremes is, of course, highly tentative and, one suspects, might be severely restricted were foot responses available

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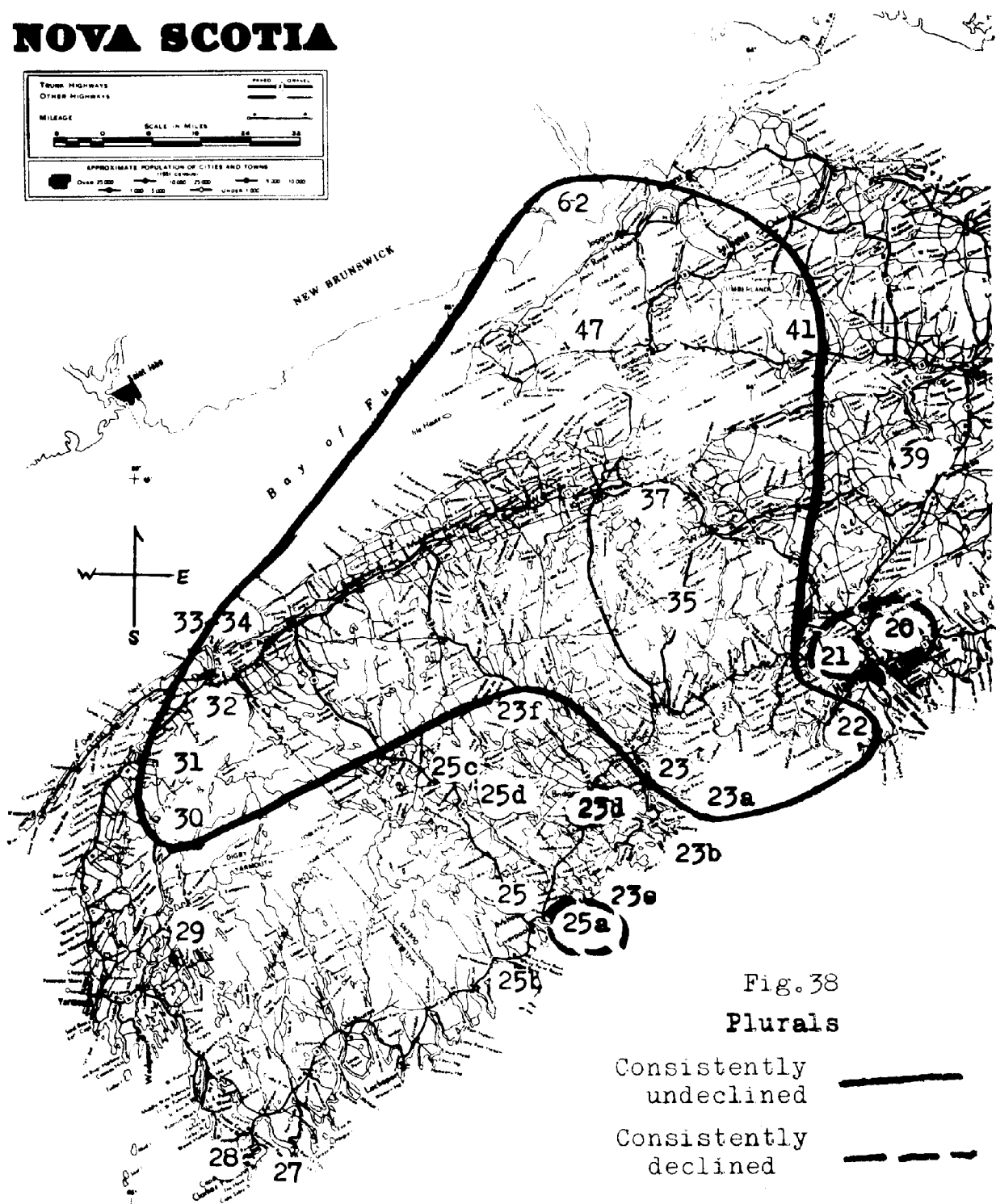
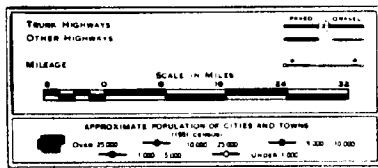


Fig. 38
Plurals
Consistently undeclined ———
Consistently declined - - - -

for the whole area. It will be noted that in general this map corresponds with Fig.36 illustrating verb forms, the consistently declined plurals being found among the informants whose verb forms are predominantly standard and those with consistently undeclined forms corresponding in general with those whose verb forms are predominantly non-standard.

Comparable resemblances can be seen in the map of forms used in the adverbial expressions anywhere and a little way (Fig. 39 on the following page). Forms with -s (anywheres, ways) are found consistently in the records of some of the informants with predominantly non-standard verb forms and undeclined plurals, while the forms without -s are found consistently only in the group yielding predominantly standard verb forms and declined plurals, with the exception of the informant at 39 Stewiacke who could not be assigned to either group in the preparation of the previous maps. Omissions of one item or the other or mixed usage on the part of some informants leaves a large group excluded from either classification.

The mapping of the distribution of those versus them yields a similar result (Fig.40, p.102), but this time 39 appears in the larger group corresponding to that yielding a predominance of non-standard verb forms, consistently undeclined plurals, and -s forms, while 28 Shag Harbor, and 62 Rockport, not previously assigned to either group are here included with the representatives of the group yielding a predominance of standard verb forms, declined plurals, and adverbial forms without -s.

Who and that as relatives are represented in only 11 responses for the whole of southwest Nova Scotia, and only two of these show who used in preference to that. These are 20 Dartmouth and 25a(2) Port Medway. The that informants are

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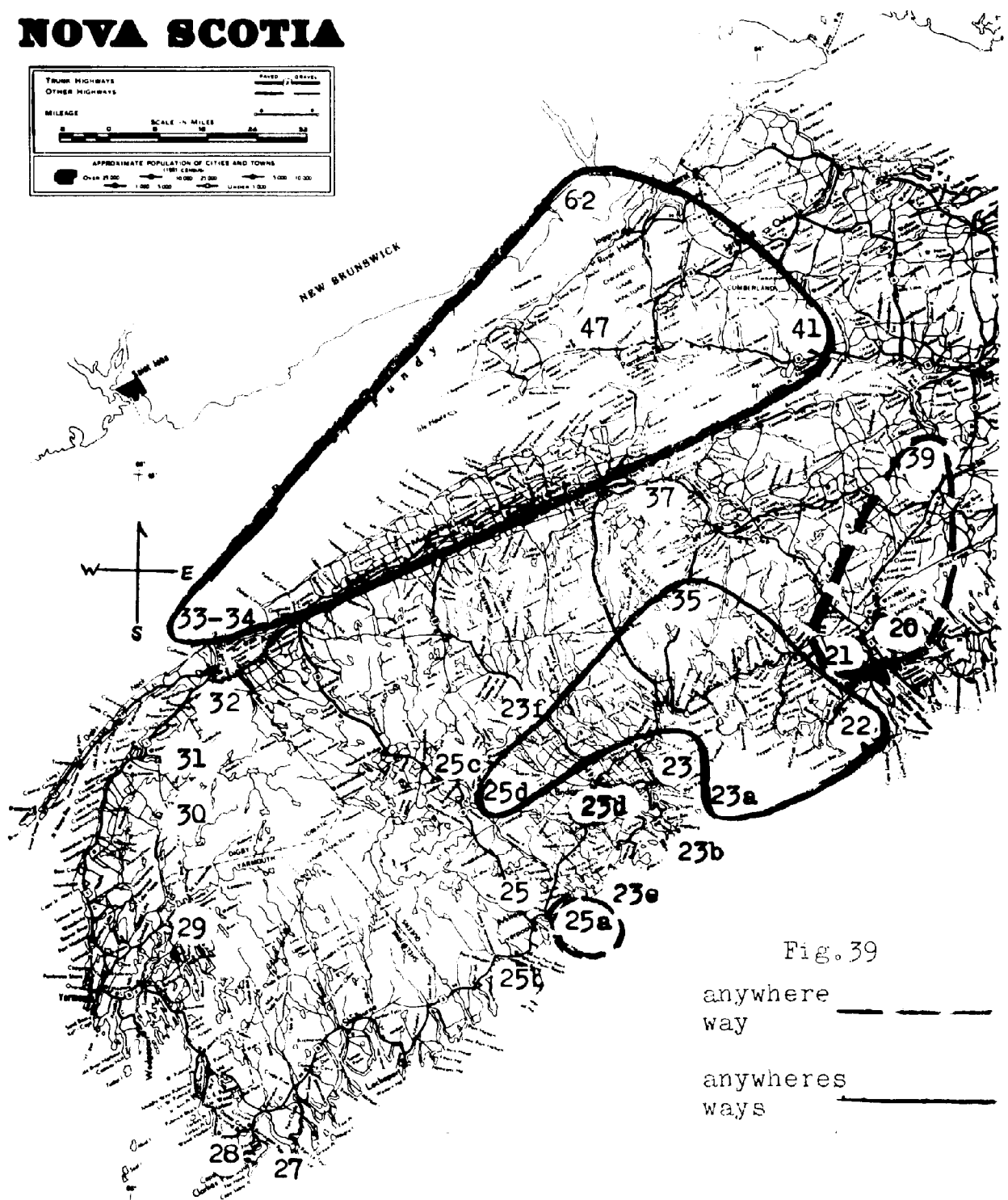
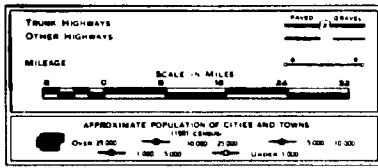


Fig. 39

anywhere _____
way

anywheres _____
ways

NOVA SCOTIA

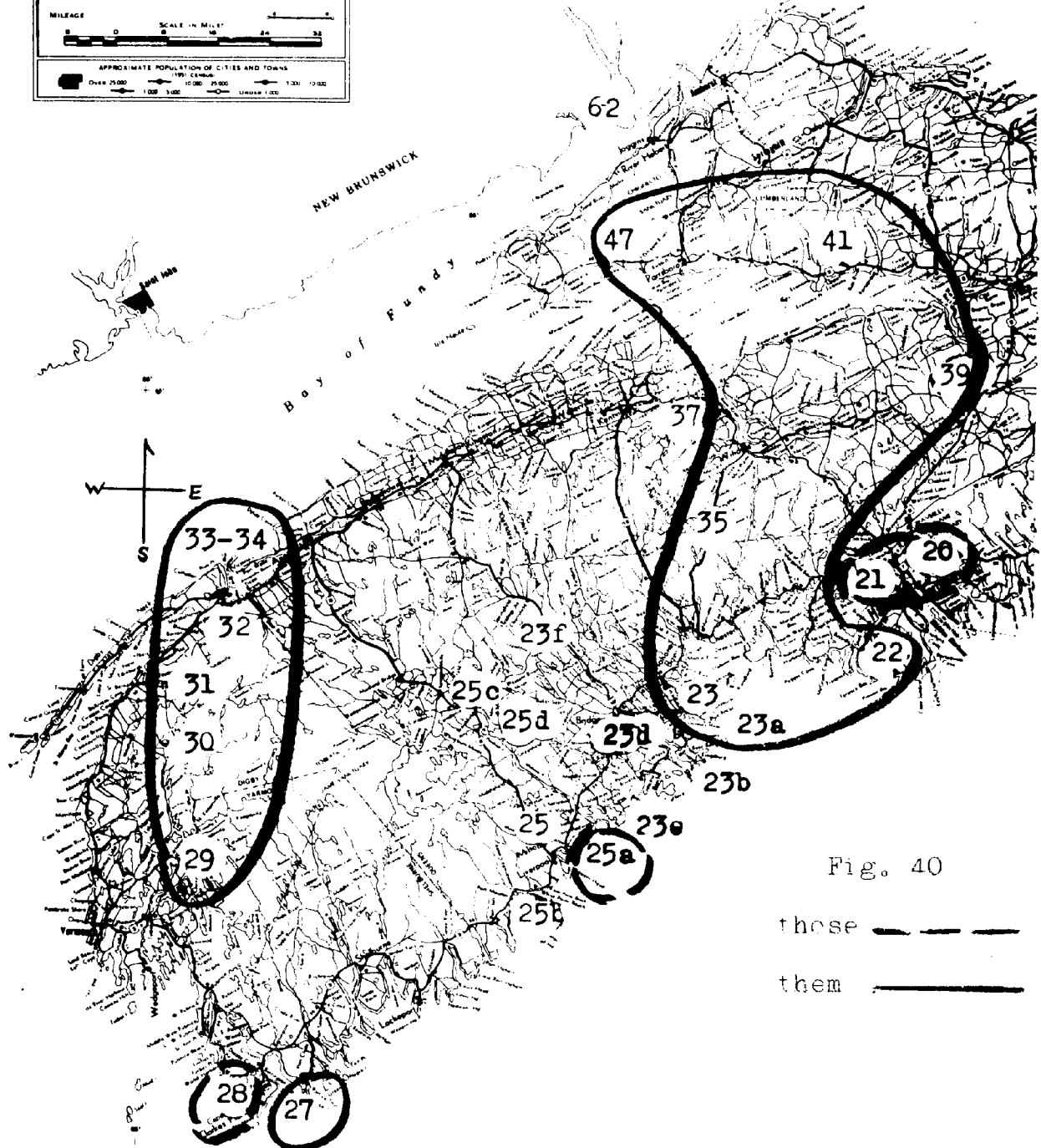
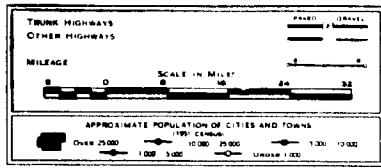


Fig. 40

those ———

them ———

21 Halifax, 22 Sambro, 23 Lunenburg, 25(2) Milton, 33-34 Victoria Beach, 37 Forest Hills, 41 Bass River, 47 Diligent River, and 62 Rockport.

In general the non-verbal morphological samples reinforce the impression given by the verbs. Their evidence is sparse and incomplete, but they are an aid in testing the grouping of informants resulting from the study of verb forms. The non-verbal samples indicate only one revision of the previous classification by showing that non-standard features predominate in the speech of 23 Lunenburg whose verb forms had been recorded as predominantly standard. This puts 23 in the very large group for which no decision can be made because of mixed or insufficient evidence.

The net result is a small group of six informants whose usage in these matters is predominantly "standard":

20 Dartmouth, 21 Halifax, 25a(1) and 25a(2) Port Medway, 25(2) Milton, 25b Port Mouton;

and a large group whose usage is demonstrably "non-standard", on the whole widely spread throughout the rest of the territory:

22 Sambro, 23a Blue Rocks, 27 Baccaro, 29 Kemptville, 31 Danvers, 32 North Range, 33-34 Victoria Beach, 35 South Waterville, 41 Bass River, 47 Diligent River.

Each of these groups affords a distinct core in which indications of the verb samples are completely reinforced by the non-verbal. For the "standard" group these are 20, 21, and 25a(2); for the "non-standard", 22, 23a, 33-34, 35, 41, 47.

Conclusions

In all this it becomes apparent that in its pattern of standard versus non-standard morphological forms southwest Nova Scotia is not noticeably different from areas examined in the eastern United States. Standard forms predominate among the more or less cultivated informants, usually found

resident in the larger centers of population. There is no real evidence of a geographical distribution of these features aside from the apparent concentration on the South Shore, discussed above in connection with verb forms, which is merely coincidental with the location of the relatively cultured informants. The absence of such towns as Truro, Windsor, Yarmouth and Wolfville from this survey is a drawback at this point.

There is no evidence of distinctive Lunenburg County forms or usages except for the single occurrence of get awake at 23b Five Houses, noted above.

CHAPTER V

Syntax

As noted in Chapter I, Lunenburg County has had a reputation for distinctive sentence patterns, but these are now scarce to the point of extinction. The notorious "backward" sentence does not occur in the phonetic transcriptions of responses, conversational notes, or electrical recordings made in the field, and other reputedly characteristic structures and expressions seem on the point of disappearance, if we judge by the field materials here under consideration. This probably does not represent as rapid a decline as comparison with Emeneau's and Miss Creighton's published results would suggest. To a considerable extent their reports are based on recollection, in Emeneau's case his own, and in Miss Creighton's that of her informants in a folklore survey. In the latter case we have Miss Creighton's assurance that the expressions were used by her informants and regarded as natural and normal¹, but they were not elicited by the same methods as those of the linguistic fieldworkers in the area and are therefore treated here with caution. Emeneau's comments in some instances are suggestive of change, especially those on the with construction in Will you go with?, and the use of off with wash, clean, etc., both of which he indicates were going out of use in 1935, while the adverb once, as in Come here once, tended to be used only jocularly².

The worksheets used in southwest Nova Scotia do not provide a great deal of syntactic material, and there is room for different interpretations in classifying what there is. For instance, should we regard the examples quoted from Emeneau as syntactic or merely distinctive **lexical** items or "expressions" characterized by one more or one less word than

1 -- Private correspondence.

2 -- Emeneau, "The Dialect of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia", p.145

might be found elsewhere? Here I have chosen to mention them in connection with structures, emphasizing the internal grammatical relationship, although I discussed all for all gone in Chapter II as though it were a simple lexical item because its distribution paralleled that of purely lexical items under discussion there. Similarly, although not included in the main material under discussion, get awake is mentioned in connection with verb forms (as learn as substituted for teach is included among morphological variants because its distribution parallels that of some of the morphological material).

Syntactic items of possible German origin sought in the area of intensive field work are:

go to sleep (get asleep),
wake up (get awake),
want to get off (want off)¹.

The first two items are available from the condensed worksheets only. The other is included in both the CWS and the SWS. Four other items which might produce geographically distinctive syntactic responses were used in the SWS only:

Two miles is) the farthest (he could go;
He's the man) who owns the orchard;
He's a boy) whose father (is very rich;
She) didn't use to (be afraid.

Responses of German origin are represented only by the get awake response previously mentioned as occurring at 23b Five Houses. Get asleep is not recorded nor is I want off, but only such responses as I want to get off or Please let me off.

There is no sign of all the farther. Although there is

1 -- Classified on the basis of the common assumption that this locution has a German source in American English. cf. A.H. Marckwardt, "Want with Ellipsis of Verbs of Motion", American Speech, vol. 23, Feb., 1948, pp. 3--9, in which a supposition of native English origin is advanced and documented.

a certain amount of competition among farthest, furthest, and as far as, none of them is peculiar to Lunenburg County. As far as is confined to Lunenburg and Queens, occurring three times, at 23d Bridgewater, 23e Voglers Cove, and 25c South Brookfield.

He's the man who owns the orchard was sought only at 23 Lunenburg, 23a Blue Rocks, 25 Milton, 25a Port Medway, 25b Port Mouton, 25c South Brookfield, and 25d Molega Road in the area of intensive investigation. The relatives who, that, and as were elicited in this expression both inside and outside the area of intensive investigation. The response He's the man that he owns the orchard was obtained only at 25c. Nothing peculiar to the area of German settlement was recorded.

He's a boy whose father is very rich was sought over a similar area, but was much more sparsely recorded. The responses whose, that his, and that the were recorded without apparent geographical significance.

Didn't use to is the form recorded at 23a, the only point in the intensive area yielding a response. This parallels responses outside the area except for 20 and 21 Dartmouth-Halifax, which yield usen't to.

To supplement this meager material the following characteristic structures should be quoted. From Emeneau¹ in addition to get awake and get asleep discussed above, which Emeneau lists as "very frequent", we have:

What for a thing is that? (cf. Was für ein . . .)

Clean your feet off.

Miss Creighton records²:

That I don't know. (Use of the demonstrative initially.)

Up attic

Make the fire out. (Put the fire out.)

In the woods it grows.

1 -- Emeneau, "The Dialect of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia", p.146.

2 -- Creighton, Folklore of Lunenburg County, pp. 106--108.

It makes wet down. (It's raining.)

I've got it forgot.

Come over once.

It went down already.

Not all of these look convincingly "Dutch". Such items as the use of the what for a . . . construction and the make constructions do not raise questions, but others like Clean your feet off and In the woods it grows may seem more like emphatic forms or rhetorical variants than distinctive dialect features. Their inclusion by Emeneau and Miss Creighton is probably justified by an impression of greater frequency in Lunenburg County than elsewhere. Certainly Clean your feet off was common in Halifax in my own childhood and is no doubt quite familiar over a wide area, as was up attic. One use of make noted by Emeneau, make(cure)fish draws the comment from him that it is probably prevalent in other fishing communities, especially in Newfoundland. This is supported by informal observation throughout the Maritime coastal communities, but the term is limited to the drying of fish and is not used in connection with smoking or pickling.

Conclusions

In this largely fruitless search for characteristic Lunenburg syntax we have another example of the fading of features originating in the German background of the county. Most of what at one time must have been a highly distinctive syntax is gone; a few clearly characteristic items remain, and more may well be retained which cannot be pointed out with assurance since they parallel permissible variants in other dialects, and their regional distinctiveness could only be determined by a study of frequency and a close examination of the context¹.

1 -- The spontaneous use of it gives (there are) by the informant's wife at 23b Five Houses, is a hint of the type of material not revealed here because the worksheet did not anticipate it.

CHAPTER VI

Phonological Peculiarities of Lunenburg Speech

Phonologically, particularly with respect to consonants, the speech of Lunenburg County preserves traces of several distinctive traits. In order of their usual perception by English speakers from outside the county the consonant characteristics are:

- (1) a tendency to substitute [ʋ], a labiodental frictionless continuant, where elsewhere in the province and in most North American English dialects [w], [hw], or [v] are used;
- (2) the use of alveolar stops instead of alveolar fricatives;
- (3) the frequent use of a velar or velarized [R] type of phone instead of retroflex [r];
- (4) a tendency to unvoice stops and the affricate [dʒ].

These appear to represent the partial preservation of German characteristics and afford parallels with the phonology of Pennsylvania German as described by Carroll Reed.

[ʋ] for [w], [hw], and [v]

In the articulation of several Lunenburg County informants [ʋ], a labiodental frictionless continuant, is recorded corresponding with [w] elsewhere. This articulation has been recorded conservatively. Reliance is placed largely on gross acoustic impression. Visually an articulation approaching [ʋ] in lip position can be detected without the accompaniment of a sound strikingly different from that of [w]. Such purely visual observations are not differentiated from [w] in my recording and, judging by his conservatism in the matter of

1 -- Carroll Edward Reed, The Pennsylvania German Dialect Spoken in the Counties of Lehigh and Berks: Phonology and Morphology, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1949, (Reprinted from the Modern Language Quarterly, vol. 8, no. 3 and vol. 9, nos. 3 and 4.)

[R] as described in his field notes, I presume Alexander's procedure was similar.

Although the usual use of [V] is as a substitute for [w] in this dialect, there are some examples of its use for [hw], and traces of its use occasionally for [v] as well in the speech of the informant at 23a Blue Rocks, who says both [vɛst] and [vɛskɪt] (vest and weskit) as well as [vɔmɪt] (vomit). In this he is joined by the informant at 23f New Germany whose single use of [V] is in vest where it alternates freely with [v]. The /v/ of twelve is recorded as [V] in the speech of 23 Lunenburg. The informant at 23a also substitutes [v] for [w] in wasp.

It is notable that [w] for [v] is not attested, although this substitution is a "fact" of the linguistic folklore of the county (see Chapter I); however, [V] can be found as a substitute for both [w] and [v], a habit no doubt tending toward the impression of a double substitution of [w] for [v] and [v] for [w]. Table VIII below accounts for the occurrence of the four sounds in Lunenburg County in responses widely elicited throughout southwest Nova Scotia.

Table VIII

	[V] in Lunenburg County					
	x = [V]		- = [w]			
	o = [v]		~ = [hw]			
	23	23a	23b	23d	23e	23f
one	-	x	-	-	-	-
<u>twelve</u>	x	x	-	-	-	-
once	x	x	-	-	-	-
twice	x	-		-		-
Wednesday	x			-		

Table VIII
(Continued)

	23	23a	23b	23d	23e	23f
wall	-	-	x	-	-	-
wash	-	x	-	x	-	-
weskit	x	x			-	-
quilt	-	-	x			-
swamp	x	x		-		
wool	-	x	-	-	-	-
wishbone	-	x		x	-	-
wasp	-	o	x	-	-	-
wife	-	-	x	-	-	-
queer	x	-	-			-
wake/woke	x	x	x	-		-
sweat(ed)	x	x	x	x	-	-
swam	x	-	x	-	-	-
white	-	-	-	-		~
whiffletree	x	x	x	-	-	-
wheelbarrow	x	-	x	-	-	-
whetstone	x	-	x	-	-	-
wharf	-		<u>x</u>	-	-	
whoa	-	-	-	-		-
anywhere	x	-		-		
whiskers			-			~
vase	o		o	o	o	o
vest	o	x	x	o	o	xo
valley			x	o	o	
vomit	o	x				
twelve	x		o	o	o	o

The first eighteen lines deal with occurrences of [w] with [V] and [v] as substitutes. The next eight lines add responses in which a pre-aspirated [hw] might be expected for

historical reasons. Examples of [hw] in southwest Nova Scotia are relatively scarce. In the 24 records representing the part of the region outside Lunenburg County only 41 notations of [hw] appear for these eight items, in comparison with a potential of 192. These notations are found in the records of ten of the informants. (See Fig.41 on the following page.) In other words, more than half of the informants show no evidence of the phone. Four notations from three Queens County informants and six in the record of the Halifax informant are the closest occurrences of this sound to Lunenburg County, where the only occurrences appear to be two in the speech of the informant at 23f New Germany. Evidence points to the phoneme /w/ as coming into Lunenburg County speech from a dialect not possessing a separate pre-aspirated phoneme. This is supported not only by the virtual absence of [hw] in the dialect, but also by the absence of [hv] and [hv].

Five lines illustrating the occasional substitution of [ʋ] for [v] complete the table.

It is not unexpected after the evidence of Lunenburg vocabulary presented in Chapter III that the incidence of [ʋ] should be highest at 23 Lunenburg, 23a Blue Rocks, and 23b Five Houses. What is surprising is that 23d Bridgewater is grouped with the contrasting group of the other communities of the county which yield complete records. Only three instances of [ʋ] are recorded at 23d Bridgewater, none are recorded for 23e Voglers Cove, and 23f New Germany shows [ʋ] just once, in free alternation with [v]. The first three, including two established members of "Old Lunenburg", show a total of 41 occurrences of [ʋ] in the same sample, one of which is in free alternation with [w].

Although there are only two examples recorded of [ʋ] clearly in free alternation with some other phone, its use varies freely within the speech of any one informant, as is

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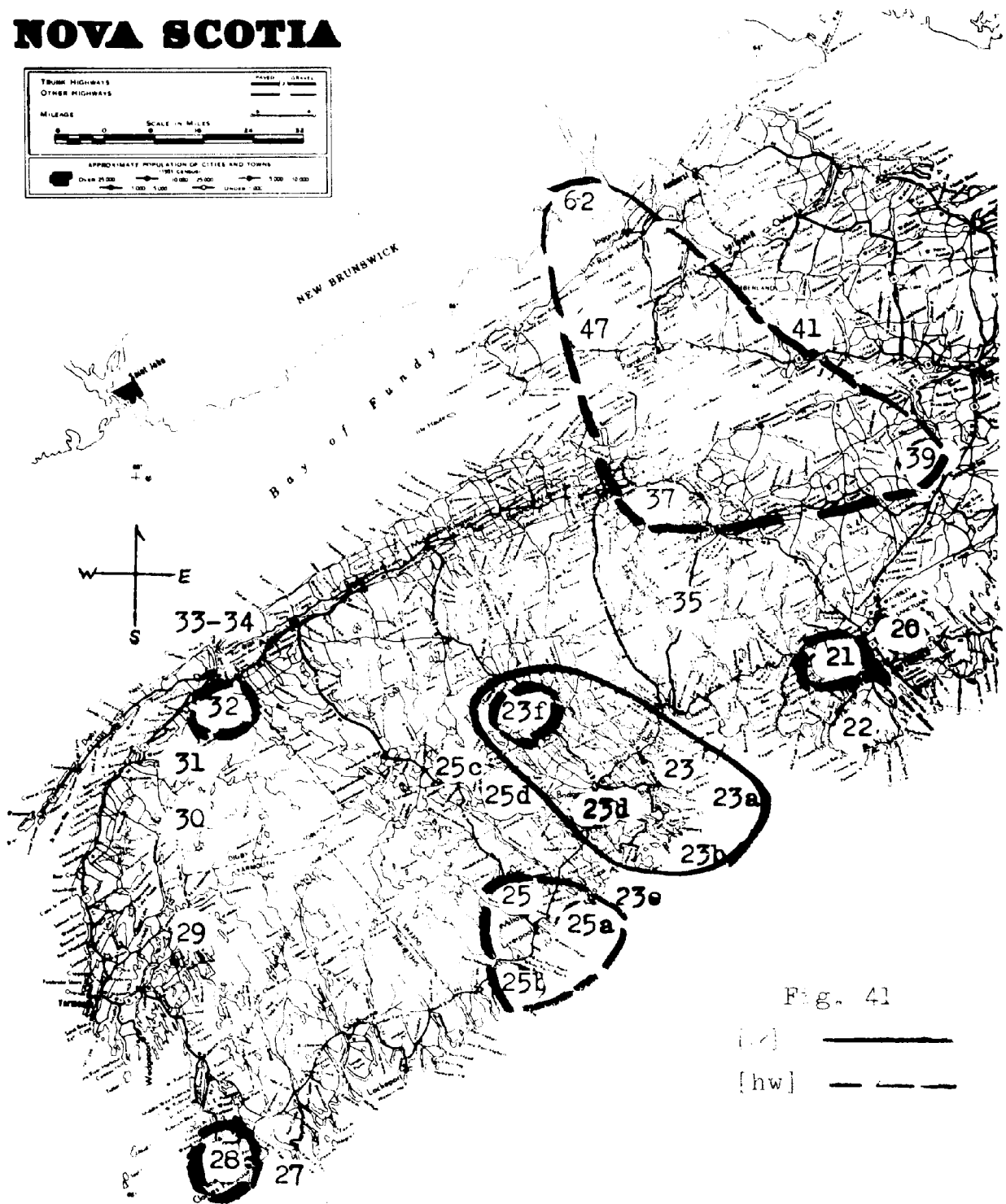
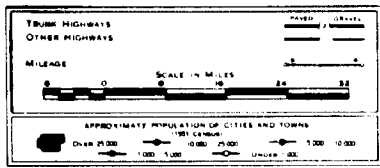


Fig. 41

[] _____

[hw] - - - - -

indicated by the lack of completely consistent substitution on the part of even the most frequent users of the sound and the failure of these three to agree on more than three items in the whole table. There is thus no phoneme /v/ in this dialect. In Lunenburg County, and there exclusively in "Old Lunenburg" if we assign 23a Blue Rocks to that group on the basis of this feature, [v] is a free variant of [w] and serves occasionally as a free variant of [v].

The appearance of [v] as a free variant of both [v] and [w] supports in part the reports of linguistic folklore that /v/ and /w/ merge in Lunenburg County, but there is only one clear example of [v] for [w] (wasp.23a) and none for substitution in the opposite direction. Thus /v/ and /w/ appear as distinct phonemes possessing a free alternant [v] in common. The single appearance of [v] for [w] is suggestive, but it is not sufficient to establish an earlier state in which /v/ and /w/ really did merge.

[d,t] for [θ, tʃ]

Lunenburg County is distinguished also by a use of alveolar stops in many places where speakers outside the county use alveolar fricatives. Ten items in Table IX below suggest the general picture:

Table IX

Alveolar Stops and Alveolar Fricatives

	x = stop					- = fricative				
	Voiceless					Voiced				
	23	23a	23b	23d	23e	23	23a	23b	23d	23e
three	-	x	-	-	-	the	-	-	<u>x</u>	-
thirty	-	x	-	-	-	them	x	-		
Thursday	-	x	-	-	-	this	x	x		
thunder	x	x	x			neither	x	x	-	

Table IX
(Continued)
(Voiceless Articulation Only)

	23	23a	23b	23d	23e		23	23a	23b	23d	23e
thrashed	-	x	x	x	-	thick	-	x	x	x	<u>x</u>
moth	-	x				Martha	x	<u>x</u>	-	-	-
Matthew	-	x	-			mouth	-	x	x	x	-

Because it yields no stops in this sample the record of 23f is dropped from the list of communities in this chart. The record of 23e Voglers Cove might well have been dropped from consideration except for the single notation of [t] in thick in free alternation with a fricative, as another notation indicates.

Only the voiceless items were obtained with consistency. Four items demonstrating the articulation of voiced phones, including the customarily unstressed the, are added to Table IX as a partial indication of their tendency toward stops. Once again the bulk of the occurrences fall within "Old Lunenburg". First rank goes to 23a Blue Rocks in number of occurrences of stops, with 23, 23b, and 23d about equal.

/r/

Emeneau notes a distinctive treatment of /r/ before consonants and finally in Lunenburg town which "provides a shibboleth for the dialect"¹. He notes that "the dialect of Lunenburg town and of some, though not all, of the surrounding country loses the sound". A far more striking "shibboleth" in the articulation of /r/ where it is not lost is the presence of an [R] type. Very distinct traces of "velar" or "uvular" [R] remain, not only among the older generation who served as informants in this study but also among the next generation.

1 -- Emeneau, "The Dialect of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia", p. 143.

The loss of /r/ is a fact in Lunenburg County, but comparison of the Lunenburg communities with others in southwest Nova Scotia yields no clearly distinguishing tendency which sets either town or county off from the rest of the region. A sample of 37 items in Table X below illustrates the situation in Lunenburg County.

Table X
Pre-consonantal and Final /r/

o = /r/-loss

r = retroflex

R = velarized

(Symbol to right of dot = weak articulation
Symbol to left of dot = strong articulation)

	23	23a	23b	23d	23e	23f
four	.R	c	o	o	r.	o
thirteen	o	.R	o	o	o	o
fourteen	r.	o	o	o	o	o
thirty	c	.R	o	o	.r	r.
forty	o	o	o	o	o	o
first	.r	o	o	.r	r.	r.
Thursday	.r	.R	o	o	o	o
morning	o	o	o	o	o	
year	.R	. ^r R	r.	r. ^o	r.	r. ^o
storm	o	o		o	o	c
parlor	o	R.	o	o	c	o
door	r.	.r	o		r.	
barn	. ^o r	o	o		o	o
yard	o	o		o	o	.r
wire	.r		o	o		o
barbed	o			o	r.	o
cork	o		o	o		o
horse	o	c	o	. ^o r	o	
cartridge	r.	R.	R.			.r

Table X
(Continued)

	23	23a	23b	23d	23e	23f
purse	o	.r	.R	o	r.	o
marsh	o	o	o	o	.r	o
boar	.R	.R	o	o	r.	o
cleared	o		o		r.	r.
corn	o	r.	o	o	r. ^o	o
garden	o			o	o	o
core	.R	.R	o	o	r.	o
worm	o	o	o		o	o
hornet	o	o	o	o	.r	o
guardian	o	o	o			o
orphan	o	o	o	o	.r	o
Martha	o	o	o	o	r.	o
beard	o	o	.R	o	r.	o
careless	o	o	r.	o		o
hoarse	o	o	.r	o	r.	o
nurse	o	.r	o	o	.r	o
sermon	.r	o	o	o	o	
scarce	o	o	o	o		o

Examination of this sample list for the whole of southwest Nova Scotia yields the following figures for /r/-loss, ranked in order of greatest degree of loss. All of the informants reveal /r/-loss to some extent. None of the items suffers /r/-loss everywhere. The bracketed figures represent the number of responses missing from each record. Where results indicate competing responses with /r/, /r/-loss is counted as 1/2

Table XIa
Ranking of Informants by /r/-loss

Rank	Informant	/r/-loss	Rank	Informant	/r/-loss
1	21	34 1/2 (1)	5	23d	29 1/2 (6)
2	39	32 1/2 (1)		30	(5)
			7	31	28 (5)
3	20	30 (1)			
	28				

Table XIa
(Continued)

Rank	Informant	/r/-loss		Rank	Informant	/r/-loss	
8	23f 25c	27 1/2	(4) (2)	20	22 34	19 1/2	(2) (1)
10	23b	27	(4)	22	25a(1)	18 1/2	(2)
11	25a(2)	26 1/2	(0)	23	37 41	18	(1)
12	25b	26	(7)	25	35	16	(1)
13	23	25 1/2	(0)	26	62	15 1/2	(1)
14	27	23	(9)	27	25d	14	(4)
15	32 47	22	(4) (0)	28	23e	13	(6)
17	25(1)	21	(2)	29	29	12	(9)
18	23a 33	20	(5) (3)				

Thus, among 29 records yielding substantial samples of items which demonstrate /r/-loss, we find Lunenburg County records (those starting with 23) ranking 5, 8, 10, 13, 18, and 28. If the figures are adjusted to represent the maximum possible /r/-loss by counting each omission as loss, we get the following ranking:

Table XIb /r/-loss (adjusted)

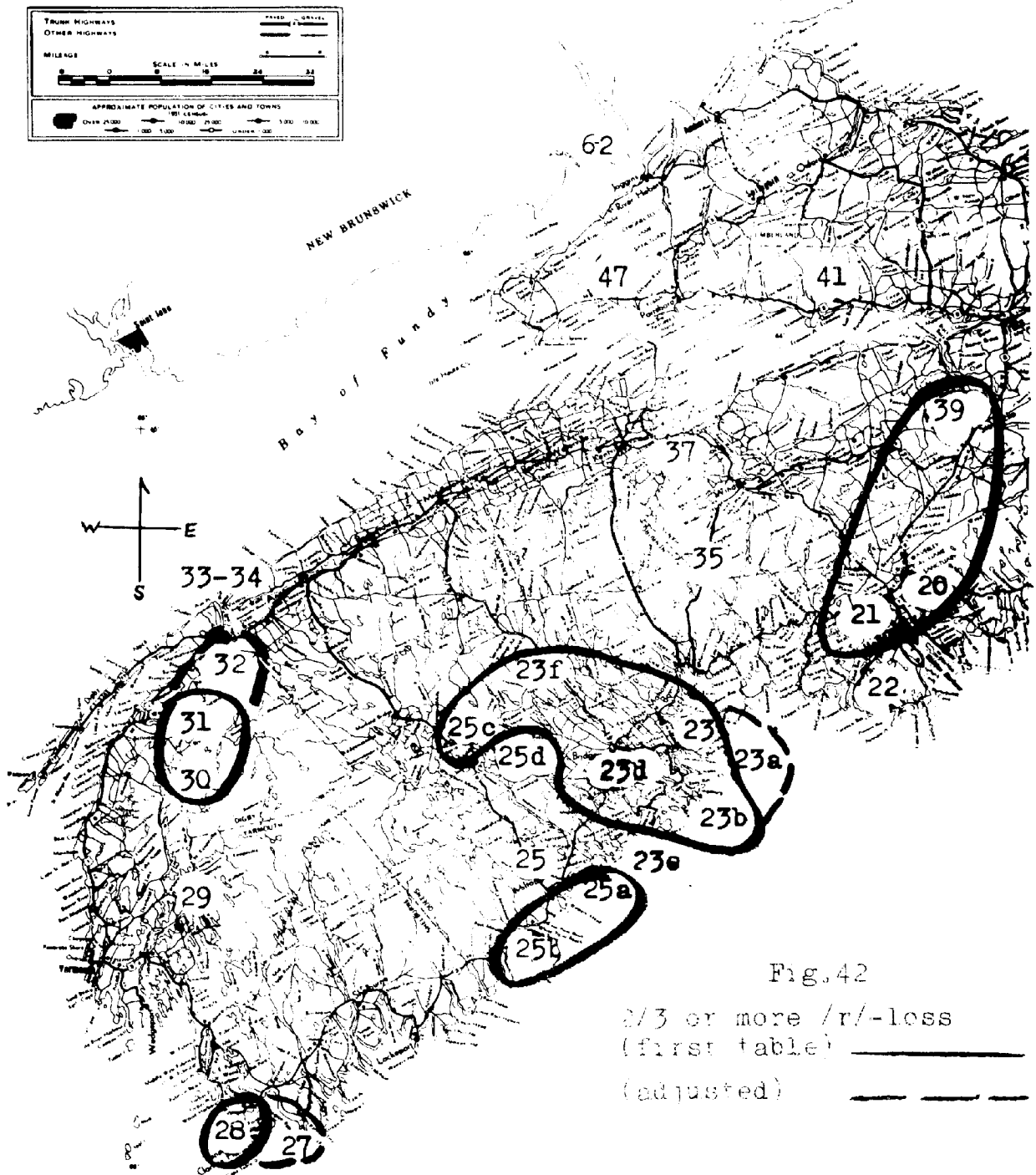
1	21 23d	35 1/2	16	23a	25
3	28	35	17	25 33	23
4	30	34 1/2	19	47	22
5	39	33 1/2	20	22	21 1/2
6	31 25b	33	21	29	21
8	27	32	22	34 25a(1)	20 1/2
9	23f	31 1/2		37	
10	20 23b	31	24	23e 41	19
12	25c	29 1/2	27	25d	18
13	25a(2)	26 1/2	28	35	17
14	32	26	29	62	16 1/2
15	23	25 1/2			

With this adjustment Lunenburg County informants rank 1, 9, 10, 15, 16, and 24. The relative position of Lunenburg County informants is raised but the spread is still just as great. In both lists the majority of Lunenburg informants lose their /r/'s in two thirds or more of the examples sought. A geographical examination of the maximum number of communities whose representatives show more than two thirds /r/-loss demonstrates a varying tendency to lose /r/ finally and before consonants across the area. All but one Lunenburg County informant is included within the isogloss of extreme /r/-loss, but the surrounding informants show comparatively stronger tendencies to retain /r/ in these situations, thus helping to explain Emeneau's impression of a contrast between Lunenburg town and its environs and the rest of Nova Scotia. It is notable, however, that /r/-loss is found throughout the whole of southwest Nova Scotia, the minimum number of examples registered for any informant (29 Kemptville) in the application of the test list is 12, or about one third of the total sample. (See Fig. 42 on the following page.)

[R]

A more striking characteristic of Lunenburg County speech is a tendency toward velar friction as a substitute for the retroflex articulation of /r/ used in the rest of southwest Nova Scotia. This is manifested either as strong or weak velar friction or as a velarization of the preceding vowel (velar color) corresponding to the "constriction" or "r-color" sometimes noted along with retroflex types of /r/. Alexander notes in the record of 23a Blue Rocks that he wrote [R] only when he was quite certain of it. He records nothing corresponding to my own slight velar friction and velar color (noted by a raised [R] following the

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vowel or by a small [R] directly below the vowel, respectively) and thus direct comparisons between figures for [R] in his records and mine are made only on the basis of strong velarization.

Velar [R] is apparent even in the responses just used to demonstrate the varying proportions of /r/-loss. The Lunenburg County informants show the following numbers of [r] and [R] types in those responses where /r/-loss was not noted:

	23	23a	23b	23d	23e	23f
Weak retroflexion	5	3	1	1	6	1
Strong retroflexion	3	1	1	1	11	5
Weak velarization	3	5 1/2	2	0	0	0
Strong velarization	0	2	2	0	0	0

There is a strong suggestion here, but nothing that can serve as proof, that the /r/ which has been lost in Lunenburg County may be an historical [R] type, which had a tendency to disappear from the English speech of Lunenburgers as it no doubt did in their German¹.

Initially and before vowels [R] is more widely represented in the county; 23d Bridgewater shows a small but reassuring number of examples, and 23e Voglers Cove one response revealing a rather weakly articulated [R] in drove. Only 23f New Germany shows no examples of [R]. The partial record of 23c Getson's Cove shows no examples of [R] as far as it goes. Details are given in Table XII on the following page.

1 -- cf. Reed, Pennsylvania German, p. 28.

Table XII
Articulation of /r/ Plus Vowel
in Lunenburg County

R = [R] r = [r]

Symbol to left of dot = strong

Symbol to right of dot = weak

	23	23a	23b	23d	23e		23	23a	23b	23d	23e
rose	r	R.		r		bedspread		R.	R.	.R	r
clearing	r	R.	.R			brook	r	R.	.R	r	r
froze	r	R.	.R	r	r	creek	r		R.	.R	
room	r	R.	R.	r	r	ridden	r	R.		r	
broom	R.	r	R.	.R		bristles	r	r	.R		r
drove	r	R.		r	.R	brustles					
roof	r	R.	R.		r	trough(t)	r	r	R.R	r	r
rinses	r	r	R.	R.		furrows	r	r	R.	r	r
barrel	r	r	.R	r	r	grease					
whiffletree	r	R.	R.	r	r	greasy	R.	R.	R.	.R	r
drag	r	R.	R.	r	r	crop	r	r	.R		
barrow	r	R.	r	r	r	bread	r	R.	R.	r	
grindstone	r	R.	R.	.R	r	drank	r	R.	R.	r	r
bracelet	r	R.	R.	r	r	oranges	r	r	.R		r
frog	r	R.	R.	r	r	radishes	r	R.	R.	r	r
cherry	r	R.		r	r	Mary	r	R.	r	r	r
straw-	r	R.	R.	r		married	r	r	.R	r	r
berries	r	R.	R.	r		rather	r	r	R.	r	
rasp-	r	R.	R.	r		borrow	r	r	R.	r	r
parents	r	R.	.R	r	r	drowned	R.	r	R.	r	r
grand ~	r	R.	R.	r	r	written	r	r	r	.R	r

The probable situation represented by the Lunenburg County "island" of extreme /r/-loss is that of a community whose /r/ phoneme had an articulation making it peculiarly susceptible to loss in the environments discussed so that /r/-loss is more extreme there than it is even in the communities of Yankee origin in Queens County.

With the loss of the velar [R] in the face of a competing retroflex [r] Lunenburg /r/-loss has tended to become indistinguishable from that of the surrounding area. Indeed, there is reason to suspect that 23f New Germany, in view of a tendency to share other features with Queens County and its present day lack of [R] responses, may show the reflex of an earlier development of monolingualism in the northern than in the southern part of the county. New Germany ranks with 25c South Brookfield in the raw listing and differs by only two points in the adjusted table (XIb).

As the figures on page 120 hint and Table XII indicates, [R] is most prevalent in just those communities which have shown the greatest conservatism so far in this study. Here 23a and 23b appear as the heart of "Old Lunenburg". The velar [R] is strongly represented in both of these communities, but the number of occurrences in the adjacent communities falls off abruptly until 23f shows no trace of this feature, nor do any communities beyond the borders of the county.

Unvoicing

A feature of Lunenburg speech not noted by Emeneau is a tendency toward unvoicing of the stops /b,d,g/. These phonemes are frequently represented in records made in the county by either the symbol for a completely voiceless stop, [p,t,k] or by the symbol for a voiced stop modified to indicate unvoicing, meaning possibly either partial unvoicing or lenis voiceless articulation. One additional, possibly related, feature is the unvoicing of the affricate more usually represented phonetically as [dʒ]. This also is represented by symbols for a voiceless affricate, [tʃ], and with modification to indicate unvoicing. The geographical distribution of

the unvoiced counterparts of [dʒ] is somewhat wider than that of the unvoiced stops.

Unvoiced Stops

Although the evidence varies in quantity and type for each of the three affected stops it seems justifiable to describe unvoicing generally as occurring initially, medially, and finally. There are examples such as book for initial unvoicing, bed for final, and both compounds, bedroom, and simplexes, ridden, to demonstrate unvoicing in medial position. It is notable also that unvoicing is completely free as evidenced both by variant responses from the same informant, with both fully voiced and more or less unvoiced stops, such as bucket, bread (/d/), pig, and gums, and by the notable absence of unvoicing in several well-represented items, i.e. initially in bed and bread (in comparison with unvoicing in butcher and brook), in February, bag, baker's, and God (/g, ʒ/). Occurrences are tabulated in detail below:

Table XIII

Unvoicing of Stops in Southwest Nova Scotia

o = voiced

x = voiceless or unvoiced

	20	22	23	23a	23b	23d	23e	23f	25a (2)	32	39
/b/											
brush	o	o	o	x					o	o	o
bracelet	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
brook	o	o	o	x	o		o		o	o	o
butcher	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
bucket	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
/d/											
hundred	o	o	o	x	x	o	o	o	o	o	o

Table XIII
(Continued)

	20	22	23	23a	23b	23d	23e	23f	25a (2)	32	39
/d/											
<u>hundred</u>	x	x	x	x	x ¹	x	x	o	x	o	x
bedroom	o	o	x	x	o	o	o	o	o		o
bed	o	o	o	x					o	o	o
drove	o	o	x	x		o	o	o	o	o	o
drag		o	x	x	x	o	o	o		o	o
ridden	o	o	o	x					o		
bread	o	o	x ³	x ³	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
drank	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o		o
forehead ²	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
beard	o	o	x ³	x ³					o	o	o
<u>drowned</u>	o	o	o	o	x	x	o	o	o	o	o
/g/											
pig--	o	o	x ³	x ³					x	o	o
--drag		o	x	x	x	x	o	o		x	o
grindstone	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
grease						x ³					
greasy	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
grand--	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o
gums	o	o	o	o	x ³	o	o	o	o	o	o
graveyard			o	x					o	o	o

Once again the center of this phenomenon is "Old Lunenburg" with 23a Blue Rocks yielding 18 unvoiced stops in a total sample of 24. The actual number of responses showing unvoicing is 19, but two have voiced repetitions and are thus

¹ -- Metathesized type ['hʌndz^Rt].

² -- Always in unstressed syllable.

³ -- Unstressed in disyllabic pronunciation, ['biɜd].

counted only as one half each. The next highest amount of unvoicing is a total of 8 1/2 for the informant at 23 Lunenburg, and the next is 6 1/2 for 23b Five Houses.

How recessive this feature has become may best be gauged by taking into account the fact that the 24 items used in this list are the maximum number showing unvoicing of stops somewhere in Lunenburg County, and within this highly specialized and "loaded" list only 23a Blue Rocks shows any degree of consistency. Both 23 and 23b yield only a minority of unvoiced stops in this sampling. The only other considerable representation is 23d Bridgewater with 4.

A scattering of unvoiced notations is found outside of Lunenburg County, chiefly in the unstressed final syllable of hundred, where 20, 22, 25a(2), and 39 figure. The presence of a following voiceless consonant in the compound pigpen may account for the isolated unvoicing of /g/ in the record of 25a(2), but unvoicing in stonedrag in the record of 32 seems uninfluenced by environment.

Unvoicing of [dʒ]

Parallelling the tendency toward the unvoicing of stops in Lunenburg County is the unvoicing of the affricate more usually noted as [dʒ]. This phenomenon, however, has a much wider representation throughout southwest Nova Scotia, although under some circumstances it is confined rather closely to Lunenburg County. Unvoicing of [dʒ] is largely confined to Lunenburg County in the following circumstances:

Initially -- January, jelly, judge, joint, General;

Medially before voiced sounds -- education, oranges.

Unvoicing embraces points at some distance from Lunenburg County in the following circumstances:

Finally -- cartridge, sausage, judge, college;

Medially before voiceless sounds -- vegetables.

Table XIV
Unvoicing of [dʒ] in Southwest Nova Scotia

o = voiced

x = voiceless or unvoiced

	20	23	23b	23e	25a(2)	28	31	33	35	39	47	
	22	23a	23d	23f	25b	29	32	34	37	41	62	
January	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
cartridge	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	o
sausage	o	o	x	o	o	x	x	o	o	o	o	o
vegetables	o	x	x	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o
jelly	o	x	o	x	o	x		o	o	o	o	o
oranges	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o
General	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
<u>judge</u>	o	x	x	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
<u>judge</u>	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	o	o	o
joint	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
education	o	o	o	x		o	o	o	o	o	o	o
college	x	o	x	x	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	x

There thus appears to be a typical Lunenburg type of unvoicing as noted initially and medially before voiced sounds and a second type which is prevalent in Lunenburg County but occurs outside with fair frequency, but less consistency, in final position and medially before voiceless sounds. This second group is paralleled in the stops by the final /d/ of hundred and by the single occurrence of unvoicing in pigpen outside the county. The second group represents the more general effect of specific environments upon the affricate and seems quite independent of the Lunenburg tendency toward unvoicing, although these environmental factors no doubt reinforce the tendency within the County.

On two occasions, in judge and jelly, 23 Sambro groups with Lunenburg County, affording the only suggestion in all

the data on consonant peculiarities of possible diffusion from within Lunenburg County.

Lunenburg English and Pennsylvania German

In the consonant peculiarities just reviewed we can see vestiges of a system somewhat like that described by Carroll Reed for Pennsylvania German, but characteristic distributions as he describes them have broken down and the peculiarities described here are now in free variation with the articulation types used in the neighboring counties. The field workers in Nova Scotia did not make the fortis/lenis distinctions implied in Reed's descriptions, but it is doubtful, in view of the amount of free variation apparent, if this distinction would have had any significance if it had been made.

Reed's description of the articulation of apparently related Pennsylvania German phonemes may be summarized as follows¹:

- 1) Pennsylvania German has no alveolar fricatives [θ] and [ð] but only the stop [d] in all positions and a rare [t] in initial position in loanwords. PaG. [d] is a weak voiceless stop, [t] strong and voiceless.
- 2) PaG. /r/ varies with its surroundings: trilled initially, weak post-velar fricative finally and before consonants. Before consonants it is very unstable-- "it may be weak or completely lost, depending upon the word . . . and the habits of the individual speaker."
- 3) The stops in general, like the [t] and [d] referred to above, occur in pairs (/p, b/, /t, d/, /k, g/) of which the first is strongly articulated, the second weakly. All are voiceless. These, along with the affricate /dʒ/ (noted by Reed as [ʒ]), "a weak, voiceless assimilated stop" which represents English /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ in borrowed words, present parallels to conditions

1 -- Reed, Pennsylvania German, pp. 28--32.

presumably underlying unvoicing in Lunenburg County.

These three descriptions may be taken as approximately parallel to situations which must have existed in Lunenburg German ("the Old Dutch language"). There is one notable exception in Reed's description in that his /w/ is described as a voiced bilabial fricative, while the Lunenburg [v] is a labiodental frictionless continuant.

The consonant peculiarities of Lunenburg English are clearly evidences of the last vestiges of bilingualism. They represent transferred features of speech of the earlier purely German community, now no longer phonemic but varying freely with articulations characteristic of English speakers in the surrounding counties. Their strongest representation is in the fishing villages in the extreme south of the county, with some representation in the neighboring larger towns.

Vowels

Upon the basis of phonetic similarity and a system of partial contrasts it is possible to establish the following system of stressed vowels for southwest Nova Scotia generally:

/i/		/u/
/ɪ/		
/e/	/ʌ/	/ʊ/
/ɛ/		/o/
/æ/		/ɔ/
	/a/	

The term phoneme is used here tentatively, more as a convenience than as a rigorously established fact.

Differences in Phoneme Incidence

While all southwest Nova Scotia seems to share one set of phonemes, the incidence of these phonemes in the vocabulary varies from place to place. Lunenburg County records show differences between the incidence of some phonemes in the vocabulary and their distribution in some records outside the county.

/a/ in Lunenburg County

The use of the low front to low central /a/ (usually with a central articulation) in Lunenburg County in words showing /ɔ/ elsewhere is the most outstanding vowel peculiarity of Lunenburg County. The following instances are noted:

- wash -- 23a Blue Rocks, 23d Bridgewater;
oranges
crop -- 23 Lunenburg, 23a, 23b Five Houses;
swallow -- 23e Voglers Cove;
college
opera -- 23 ;
foggy
God -- 23f New Germany.

A triple variation which includes /æ/ as well as /a/ and /ɔ/ is involved in two items, wasp, in which both /a/ and /æ/ are peculiar to Lunenburg County, and haunted in which /a/ is peculiar to the county but /æ/, while occurring in the county, is also represented outside:

- wasp -- /a/ 23f,
 /æ/ 23, 23a;
haunted -- /a/ 23e, 23f,
 /æ/ 23, 23a, 23f, 25a(2) Port Medway, 25d
 Molega Road, 31 Danvers, 33-34 Victoria
 Beach, 35 South Waterville, 41 Bass River,
 47 Diligent River, 62 Rockport.

The map on the following page (Fig.43) shows the maximum extent of /a/ in variation with /ɔ/. Because of varying availability of some of the responses no attempt is made to indicate the center of the most consistent use of this phoneme in the words indicated. Available /ɔ/ recordings in this variation in Lunenburg County are:

- wash -- 23a (where it apparently alternates freely with /a/), 23, 23b, 23c, 23e;
oranges -- 23a, 23b, 23e, 23f;
crop -- 23f;
swallow -- 23, 23a, 23b, 23d, 23f;
college -- 23a, 23e, 23f;

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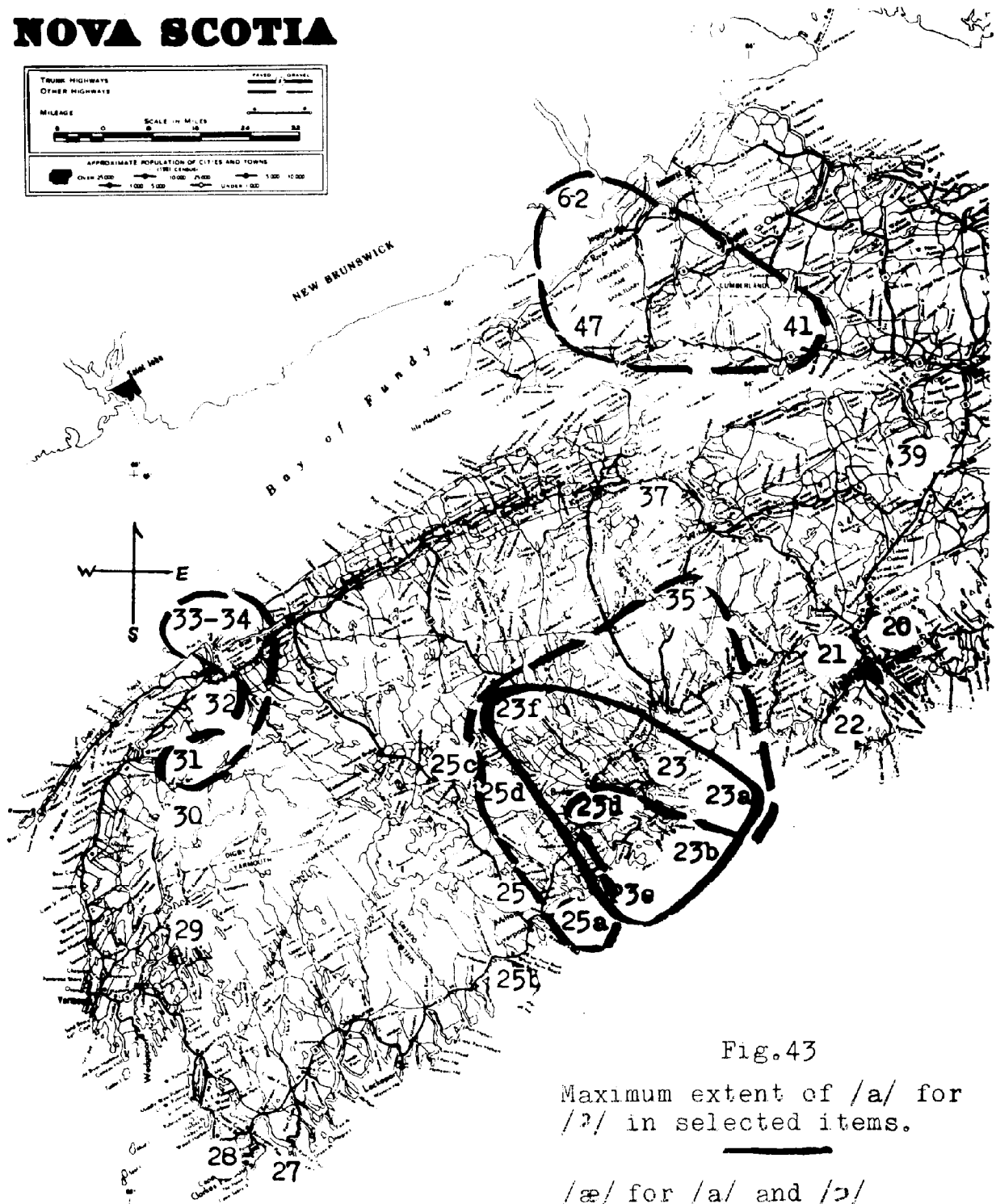
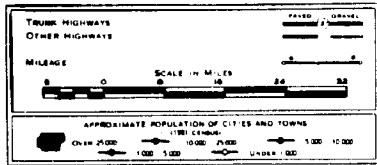


Fig.43

Maximum extent of /a/ for
/ɜ/ in selected items.

/æ/ for /a/ and /ɜ/

foggy -- 23a;

God -- 23, 23a, 23b, 23d, 23e;

wasp -- 23a (alternates with /æ/), 23b, 23d, 23e;

haunted -- 23 (alternates with /æ/), 23b, 23f (alternates with /æ/ and /a/).

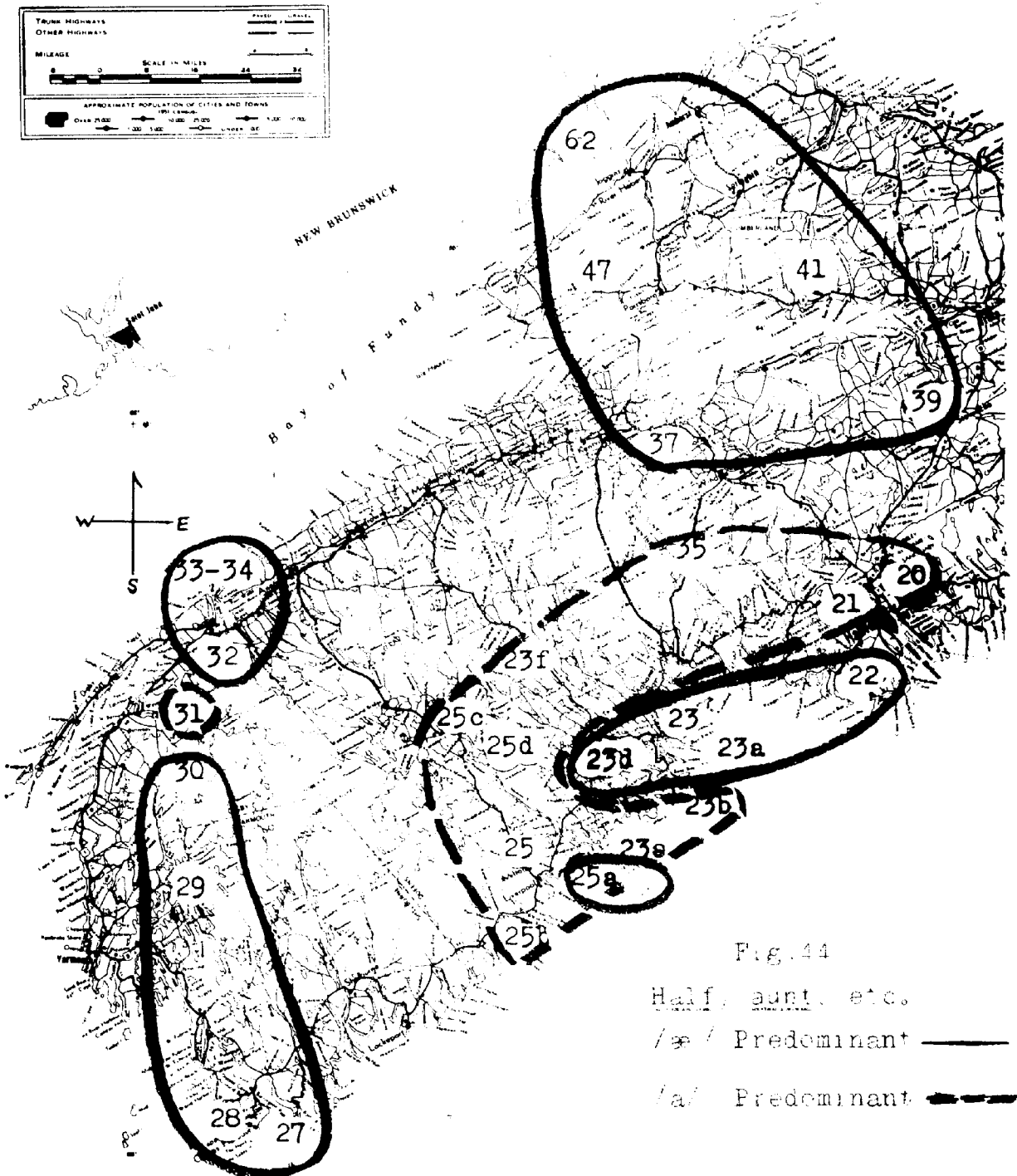
Thus this peculiarity of Lunenburg speech is far from uniform and is subject to considerable variation in different utterances by the same speaker.

The use of /a/ for /ɜ/, although fluctuating, is the most completely representative phonemic peculiarity of the county. The use of /æ/ as an additional variant, while shared with other sub-regions of southwest Nova Scotia, is restricted on the South Shore to Lunenburg County (where it is less general than /a/) and adjacent communities, 25d Molega Road, 25a(2) Port Medway, and 35 South Waterville. (See Fig. 43, p. 133)

/æ/ in Lunenburg County

Other variant phonemes are found within the county which are also found elsewhere in southwest Nova Scotia. The largest set of variants is represented by the list: half, past, glass, can't, aunt, palm, calm, pasture, shafts, which is represented in some records by /æ/ and in others by /a/. Only six records show the same phoneme consistently. For /æ/ these are: 22 Sambro, 32 North Range, and 39 Stewiacke. For /a/: 21 Halifax, 25(1) Milton, and 25a(1) Port Medway. Here again as the map on the following page shows (Fig. 44), Lunenburg County communities are isolated from others where informants share the feature prevalent in Lunenburg County, as in Fig. 43 outlining the incidence of /æ/ as compared with that of /ɜ/. This map suggests that possibly each of these phonemes in these words has been diffused from more than one focus. The absence of records for the Annapolis Valley makes it difficult to get a complete view of this portion of the province, but /a/ seems to be a Queens County folk characteristic and a prestige feature in the metropolitan Dartmouth-Halifax area. Which is

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responsible for the inclusion of 35 South Waterville within this isogloss we cannot say on the basis of the evidence at hand. The Lunenburg situation is not, as at first it might seem, a case of central innovation spreading into a surrounding more conservative area. All indications point rather to at least slight recessiveness of /æ/ in Lunenburg County. The predominance of 22 Sambro, a small, culturally inconsequential fishing village, grouped with Lunenburg in some previous descriptions, suggests that it is a sturdy relic repository for this feature. Recessiveness is also implied in the splitting of "Old Lunenburg" by this isogloss. We have here a clear encroachment of Queens County "Yankee" influence from the southwest upon an area once more extensively given over to /æ/ in these words. At that time 22 Sambro or other fishing communities between it and Lunenburg may have served as the centers for the spread of this feature into Lunenburg County.

/ɛ/, /ɪ/, and /i/

Two items in the worksheets show variation between the phonemes /ɛ/ and /ɪ/, in rinse and since. Rinse with the lower vowel is very widespread, being recorded for virtually all informants in southwest Nova Scotia except those of the Halifax area, most of Queens County, and half of the informants in Lunenburg County. The areas where since was recorded with the lower vowel are completely embraced by those for /sens/, but are much more restricted. (See Fig. 45 on the following page.) Another variation, resembling this but in a reverse direction, corresponds in the main but is even more restricted, deaf with /i/ instead of /ɛ/. This last feature was the subject of considerable comment where it was not recorded, being known but not used by most of the informants to the south and west of Queens-Lunenburg. Comments indicate that in that area /dif/ is definitely older and recessive. Comment is lacking on the other two. Lunenburg County shows no

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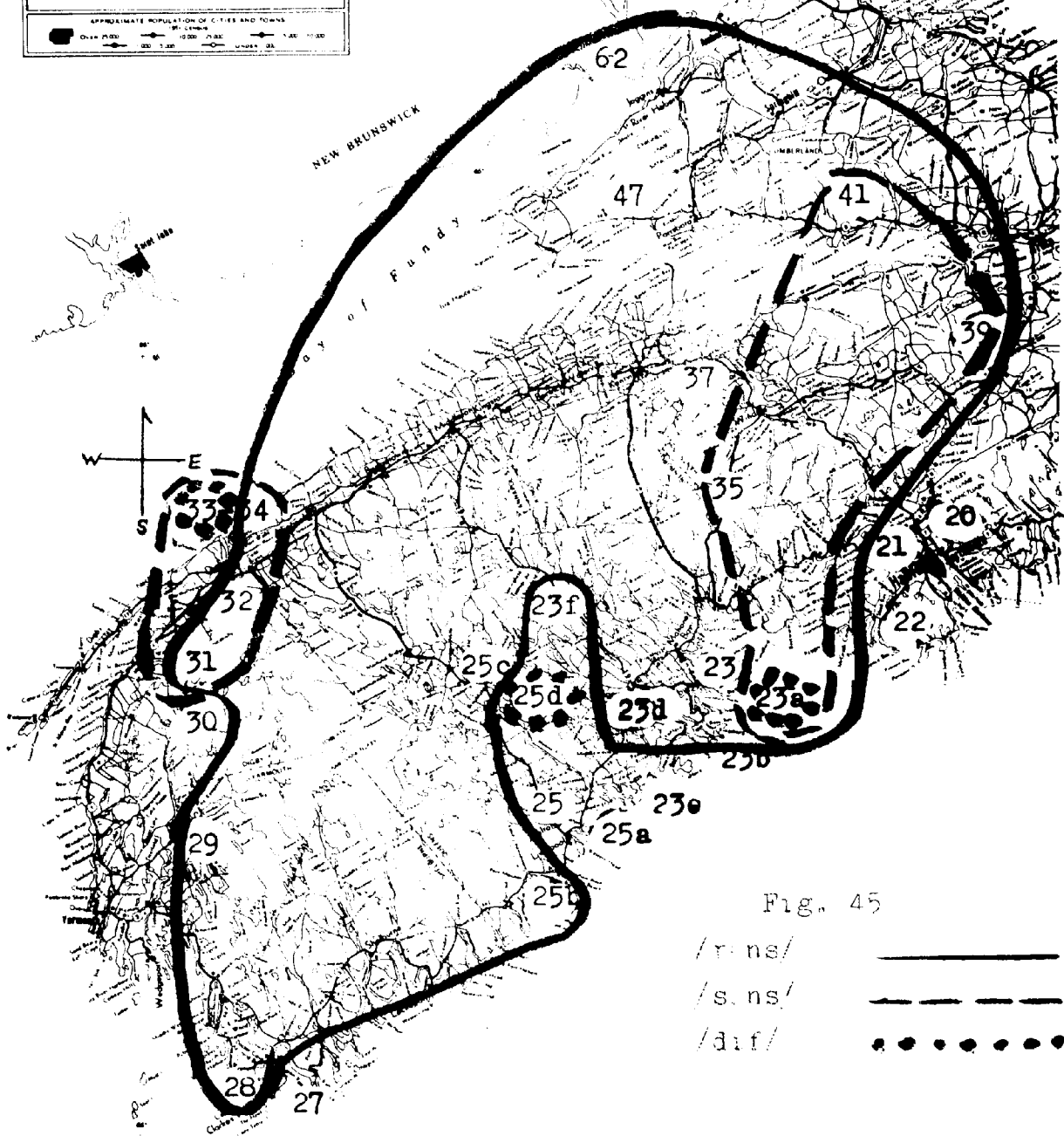
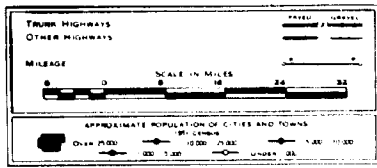
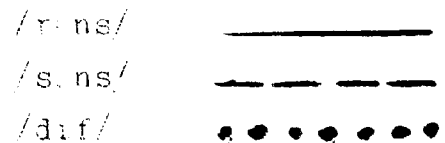


Fig. 45



distinctive treatment of any of these features, but seems to be in a transition area where older pronunciations are being replaced by new.

New England Short o

An apparent split of the phoneme /o/ in a number of records has been reserved for discussion separately. Some informants reveal an [o^ɪ] instead of [o] or [o^u] phones in some words which elsewhere illustrate the phoneme /o/. This is suggestive of the so-called "New England short d" mentioned by Kurath¹ and recently dealt with more fully by W.S. Avis in a University of Michigan Doctoral Dissertation². Although Avis groups [o] with [o^ɪ] as allophones of a phoneme /e/ (in contrast with [o^u] as representing a phoneme /o/) it seems apparent that both field workers in Nova Scotia intended a slight upglide for [o] rather than a stable monophthong, with a stronger upglide represented by [o^ɪ]. While some varieties of "New England short o" may thus be obscured in the field records, the only suitable index of its presence is the ingliding variety [o^ɪ].

In the whole area the accompanying test list produced only 59 examples of the ingliding phone in a group of records which might, mathematically, have produced 600. Of the 59 notations of an ingliding phone, 36 are provided by four records in Queens County and the remainder are scattered throughout the far southern region of Nova Scotia and in the Minas Basin area. No examples at all were recorded for twelve of the communities investigated.

While a contrast of the minimal pair rode:road can be established for two (25b Port Mouton and 25d Molega Road) of the three informants yielding ingliding phones in the latter, it is notable that the other informants reveal considerable

1 -- Kurath, Handbook, p.3.

2 -- Walter S. Avis, The Mid-Back Vowels in the English of the Eastern United States; a detailed investigation of regional and social differences in phonic characteristics and phonemic organization. Michigan Dissertation, 1955.

instability in the matter of [o³]. The informant at 25c reveals both ingliding and upgliding types for drove, stone wall, stone boat, grindstone, whetstone, and wishbone; and 25d shows [o^u] as well as [o³] for coat. The informant at 47 Diligent River replied with [o^u] for coat, but later spontaneously said [ko³t]. The second informant at 25a Port Medway did not herself provide any [o³] examples, but mentioned hearing [ket], although details of the circumstances are not recorded. Incidentally, this is the only place in all the field records of this area where the symbol [e], described by Kurath as "an extreme variety of 'New England short o'"¹, is used.

These few indications suggest that we are dealing here with an extremely recessive sound, once phonemic, but now tending to be a free variant with [o], [o^u], etc. It is apparently thought to be socially less acceptable than [o] and [o^u], but the age grouping and educational background of the informants is not such as would tend to reveal such tendencies clearly. The urban informants in Halifax and Dartmouth do not reveal any trace of this phone, but neither does the very rustic and un-selfconscious informant at Sambro nearby, nor those at Stewiacke and South Waterville, nor the fisherman at Blue Rocks (while the informants at Lunenburg and Five Houses each show an inglide in coat). The two informants at Milton are in sharp contrast. The first informant reveals no trace of the phone, while his nextdoor neighbor is a major source of examples. There is a difference in background here both in education and experience, yet the somewhat more sheltered second informant is easily rated as more cultured than many who show no examples at all. A life spent largely as house-

¹ -- Kurath, Handbook, p. 128.

keeper for a widowed mother who rounded out a full century may help to account for her apparent conservatism.

In Queens County [o²] may well be phonemic in the speech of the informants 25(2) Milton and 25b Port Mouton, but elsewhere in that county, in spite of the rode:road contrast indicated for 25d, it is tending toward free variation and might prove, in a much larger sample, to be a completely free variant. The sporadic nature of its occurrence in the rest of southwest Nova Scotia makes it seem improbable that it represents a consistent contrast even in Queens.

Table XV

Occurrence of [o²] in Field Records in

Southwest Nova Scotia

	23	23b	25(2)	25b	25c	25d	27	28	29	30	31	33	34	37	41	47
rose				x												
sofa				x												
drove						x										
stone--			x	x	x	x						x	x	x	x	
--stone			x	x	x											
--boat					x	x										
clothes			x			x										
stone			x	x	x									x	x	
coat	x	x	x	x		x								x		x
road			x	x		x										
loam						x		x								
home						x		x								
bone			x		x	x										
yolk			x													
toad					x											x
ghost									x	x						

Differences in Phoneme Pronunciation

So far in this discussion attention has been turned chiefly toward differences in the incidence of phonemes. The immediately preceding section, discussing relics of New England short o, stands somewhere between the discussion of true phonemes and the examination of the typical pronunciation of the phonemes. When we look below the phonemic level in examining the stressed vowels of southwest Nova Scotia we find little that makes any sub-area stand out in contrast with the others.

[ɑ] and [a]

It has been noted that many words in Lunenburg County have /a/ where most of the rest of southwest Nova Scotia reveals /ɔ/. Further examination reveals that some of these words and others which serve as representatives of /a/ over a wider area tend to be articulated further back in at least parts of Lunenburg County than they are elsewhere, including the /a/ of such words as show /æ/ as well both within Lunenburg County and throughout the southwest part of the province

Table XVI

Central to Moderately Back
Articulations of /a/ in Lunenburg
County with Rival Pronunciations

x = Central to Moderately Back
([ɑ], [ɑ̃])

o = Fronted ([a], [ã])

/ = /ɔ/

- = /æ/

	23	23a	23b	23c	23d	23e	23f
wash	/	/	/	/	x	/	
oranges	x	/	/		x	/	/
crop	x	x	x				/
opera	x						
college	x	/	x			/	/
foggy	x	/					

Table XVI
(Continued)

	23	23a	23b	23c	23d	23e	23f
God	/	/	/		/	/	x
half	-	-	x	x	-		-
past	-	-	o	x	-		-
can't	x						
palm	x	x			o	o	o
calm	x	-			o	o	o
pasture	-	-	-		x	x	o

The incidence of [a] types of pronunciation as compared with possible [a] types, although complicated by omissions and the probability of /æ/ in a part of the list, seems distinctly higher in "Old Lunenburg" than elsewhere in the county. The [a] to [a>] type of pronunciation is notably scarce outside of the county in these words. (A number of [a<] notations have been ignored here in order to cut down the influence of field-worker variation.) Only palm and calm from Table XVI show any substantial representation with [a], in the records of 31 Danvers, 33 Victoria Beach (but not 34), 35 South Waterville, and 37 Forest Hills. Pasture is recorded with [a] at 31 and 35. Father, not included in the list because it occurs rather widely with [a], is recorded with [a] in Lunenburg County at 23, 23a, and 23b.

Diphthongs

Four diphthongs complete the stressed vowel phoneme inventory in southwest Nova Scotia. They are: /ai/, /au/, /oi/, and /iu/.

/ai/ and /au/

The diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ present a number of difficulties, starting with the recording characteristics of the field workers. Both fieldworkers are in substantial agree-

ment wherever these diphthongs are followed by voiced sounds, but there appears to be a sharp personal isogloss where a voiceless sound follows. Thus both write the first element of the diphthongs of five and houses in the approximate range of [a] to [a̠], but I usually write the first element of the diphthongs of twice and house with an [ʌ] type of notation, while Alexander's notations seem to be in the same approximate range as those for five and houses.

Closer examination, however, reveals that before voiced sounds the first elements of Alexander's diphthongs tend to cluster closely about [a] with some notations elsewhere in the low range of articulation. The items five, nine, and wire were used as samples for examining /ai/ recordings and houses, mountain, and down were used for the /au/ recordings. These six items are the most widely and consistently available representatives of these diphthongs throughout the area.

An examination of twice, night, and wife, and house, out, and mouth in contrast with the six items mentioned above showed Alexander's notations before voiceless sounds to be much more widely spread in range and much less closely concentrated about [a].

The range for /ai/ before voiced sounds in Alexander's records is [a], [a>], [a<], and [a̠], with [a] noted in 42/55 of the sample.

The range for /au/ before voiced sounds is [a̠], [a], [a>], and [a̠], with [a] noted in 32/46 of the sample.

The range for /ai/ before voiceless sounds is [a̠], [a<], [a], [a>], [a̠], [a<] and [a̠], with [a] noted in 24/47 of the sample.

The range for /au/ before voiceless sounds is [æ̠], [æ], [æ̠], [æ], [a̠], [a̠], [a<], [a], [a>], [a<], [a̠], and [ʌ], with [a] noted for 21/54 of the sample.

If we take into consideration only Alexander's field records within the area of intensive field work and the four closest to it (20, 21, 22, 23, 23a, 25a(2), and 35) we find that the proportional strength of [a] notations is greatly lessened in voiceless environments:

/ai/ followed by a voiced sound = 15/20;
followed by a voiceless sound = 3/21;
/au/ followed by a voiced sound = 15/21;
followed by a voiceless sound = 6/18.

Thus a distinction is implied between the diphthongs of the houses-five types and those of the house-twice type, which is more apparent the closer we draw to the area of intensive field work. The correlation between my central upgliding diphthongs and Alexander's varied notations is not one between specific symbolizations, but rather one between transcriptions featuring a more or less mid central starting point and a group of transcriptions indicating a starting point in a relatively low range which are shifted to some degree from the [a] which predominates in the five-houses group.

It appears that Alexander sometimes noted a difference between diphthongs before voiced and those before voiceless sounds, but did not find a predominant specific point of concentration for the first elements of the diphthongs before voiceless sounds when they differed from those before voiced sounds.

The exact nature of the fieldworkers' intentions is difficult to retrieve from these notations. My centralized lower mid back notation, [Λ], does not approach Alexander's varying notations. It is possible that I have exaggerated the gross acoustic difference between the diphthongs in the two environments, while Alexander may have minimized it. Possibly we should both be closer to [ɤ] (higher low central), but Alexander's carefully observed shifts indicate discriminations which would be obscured by a compromise in that direc-

tion. In this study all we need to establish, essentially, is whether or not diphthongs alternate before voiced and voiceless sounds. This cannot be done merely by assuming that any diphthong noted by Alexander which has a starting point other than unshifted [a] is the equivalent of my [A] type of notation. Alternation can only be assumed where the notation for the starting point of a diphthong before a voiceless sound is clearly differentiated from any used in recording diphthongs before voiced sounds in the speech of the same informant.

As a result of such interpretation the supposed personal isogloss disappears. A survey of the field records and conversational auxiliary material reveals that alternations between the general phonic types [au] and [Au] (as interpreted) and [ai] and [Ai] both predominate over non-alternation in 22 Sambro, 23b Five Houses, 23d Bridgewater, 23e Voglers Cove, 23f New Germany, 25 Milton, 25a Port Medway, 25b Port Mouton, and 25c South Brookfield. These communities are joined by 23a Blue Rocks and 39 Stewiacke in which [ai] alternates with [Ai], and by 21 Halifax where [au] alternates with [Au]. The areas in which alternation is completely consistent for either diphthong are severely restricted. For /ai/ these are: 23f New Germany, 25 Milton, 25a Port Medway, 25b Port Mouton, and 39 Stewiacke. For /au/ they are: 23f, 25, 25a, 25b. Conversely there are communities in which alternation is completely absent in one or the other of the diphthongs. There is no alternation in /ai/ in the records of 23 Lunenburg, 29 Kemptville, 30 Southville, 32 North Range, 33-34 Victoria Beach, and 47 Diligent River. There is no alternation of /au/ in 23a Blue Rocks, 30 Southville, 31 Danvers, 32 North Range, and 47 Diligent River. (See Fig. 46 on the following page.)

This area demonstrates a great deal of variation in the

NOVA SCOTIA

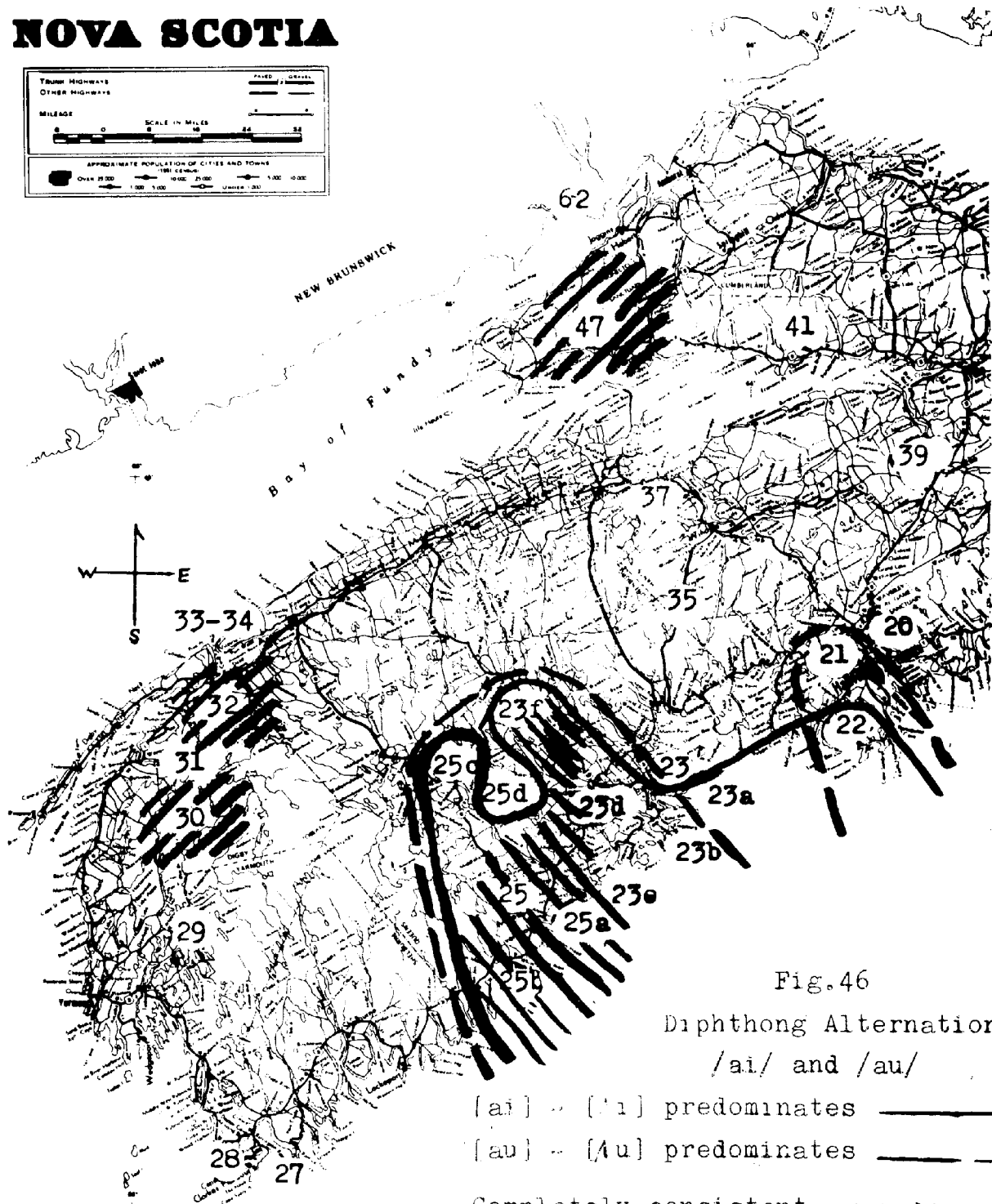
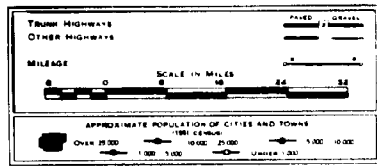


Fig.46

Diphthong Alternation

/ai/ and /au/

[ai] ~ [i] predominates _____

[au] ~ [u] predominates _____

Completely consistent



No alternation

incidence of an alternation which is widely assumed to be generally typical of Canadian English¹. The alternation is consistently carried out for both diphthongs in only four communities and it is consistently absent from the speech sounds recorded in three. One or the other or both alternations predominate from Halifax down the whole South Shore and in Stewiacke inland to the north of Halifax. The rest of southwest Nova Scotia shows traces of this alternation.

Lunenburg County is not set apart by this feature. It is strongly represented in both alternations except by the 23 Lunenburg and 23a Blue Rocks informants. While the majority of the communities showing complete consistency in both alternations are in Queens County, the area in which both alternations seem to predominate embraces most of the Lunenburg County communities (and 22 Sambro), setting out Lunenburg-Queens as the apparent focal center of this feature.

This is an unexpected discovery. There is nothing in the cultural history of either county to prepare us for this. The existence of [ɔi] and [ɔ.] types in both voiced and voiceless environments has been noted in New England², and one might assume that these would have been picked up by the German speakers of Lunenburg County as they learned their English from their neighbors, although their German substratum presumably had only [au] and [ai]³. The evidence does not help in the search for the source of the pattern of the alternation.

1 -- Cf. Morton Bloomfield, "Canadian English and its Relation to Eighteenth Century American Speech", Journal of English and Germanic Philology, vol. 47, no.1, p.62.

Bloomfield does not claim complete consistency in this matter for all Canadians except by an implication arising accidentally out of his generalization. His Halifax informant shows ambivalence in [hɔʊs] and [hɔʊs] but gives only [waɪf].

2 -- Kurath, Handbook, p.4.

3 -- cf. Reed, Pennsylvania German, p.25.

Whether this suggests an earlier New England state of affairs underlying the noted [ɛi] and [ɛɪ] types and an occasional [ɛu]¹, or is the product of an undetermined outside influence will have to be decided on the basis of further and more extensive research.

It seems clear from this examination that, in this corner of Canada at least, the supposedly typical alternations of these diphthongs in Canadian English are not observed consistently by the majority of speakers. We are warned by this that a few samples of alternation should not be too broadly interpreted. Because a man says [m us] we cannot assume that he will say [h us].

[o] for [au] in Voiceless Environments

The impression that some Canadians tend to alternate a monophthongal [o] with [au] (instead of the [ʌ] types discussed above) is not well borne out in southwest Nova Scotia, but there are evidences of the tendency in a few speakers. Among them strictly monophthongal phones constitute 3/5 of a small available sample of alternations which tend toward [o]. The range embraces [ou], [oʰ], [ɔʰ], [oʰ], and [o]:

[ou] -- 23f [hoʊs];

[oʰ] -- 25(1) [ə'boʊt], 25b [ə'bʌʊt] (about);

[ɔʰ] -- 25c [kɔʊtʃ], 25d [hɔʊs], [ɔʰt];

[oʰ] -- 25c, 25d [oʰt];

[o] -- 23b, 23c [moθ], 25(1), 25c [ot], 23d, 23f, 25b, 25c [ə'bot], 23f [kotʃ], 25b [soθ], 25(1), 23b [ot].

Most of the [o]-type notations are in competition with one or more free variants. A test pair inserted in the condensed worksheets, goat vs. gout, failed to reveal homophony.

1 -- Kurath, Handbook, p.4. A New England [æu] and an [ɛu] also noted by Kurath show traces at 22 Sambro, 23d Bridgewater, 25c South Brookfield, 28 Shag Harbor, and 41 Bass River. This pronunciation raises a special problem which is outlined in Chapter VII.

in the speech of any informant. Records for 23b, 23d, 23e, 23f, 25(1), 25b, and 25c have [o] for goat consistently and diphthongs ranging from [aɪ] to [aʊ] for gout. Only 25a(1) approached a diphthong with [oʊ], which, however, is in contrast with [aʊ] in gout. Although out obviously sometimes contains the same vowel as oats the record of 23c reveals the remark [ʔr ɒts ʔoʊ θræʃdʌt] where the contrast is apparently consciously maintained in this context in an idiolect where there is a tendency toward homophony elsewhere. This further serves to underline the marginal nature of this [o] type of alternant for [aʊ] before voiceless sounds.

The ingliding type of [oʊ] is apparently identical with the representatives of relic /e/ which cannot be established as a phoneme in southwest Nova Scotia, and its existence emphasizes the improbability that a phoneme /e/ is a reality anywhere in the region. Two informants who reveal probable reflexes of /e/ are 25c and 25d for whom [oʊ] is recorded in out.

/oi/

The diphthong /oi/ is represented throughout southwest Nova Scotia by notations of the type [ɔɪ], [ɔi], [ɔɪ], and [ɔi] with shifts indicated occasionally. There is a scattering of other notations in words like poison, joint, joined, boil, and point whose initial element is [ʌ], [a], or [a], although no record shows complete consistency in this matter and this type of diphthong is recorded in free alternation with [ɔi] in poison for 25c South Brookfield. These scattered variant diphthongs are reminiscent of an older New England diphthong [ai]¹ and no doubt represent its reflex in Nova Scotia. As Table XVII shows, the occurrences of this variant are geo-

1 -- Kurath, Handbook, p.4.

graphically scattered:

Table XVII

[ai] Types for [ɔi] Types

	23b	23c	23d	23e	25b	25c	31	33	35
poison(ous)				x		x		x	x
joined, joint	x		x	x	x			x	
boil									x
point (conversational)		x							

Although they are represented in two records from Queens County, 5/11 of the occurrences of [ai] types are actually in Lunenburg County, parallelling the preservation of New England vocabulary relics noted in Chapter III.

/iu/

A diphthong with a rather complicated incidence is /iu/. It occurs five times in 22 occurrences of the words beautiful and music, with the sequence /ju/ noted in the other 17 cases. It competes more successfully in items like Tuesday, tube, new, student, due, dues in the speech of those informants who do not use /u/. Substitutes for /u/ in these words are /iu/, /ju/, and in Tuesday and tube a palatalization resulting in [çu] or [tʃu]. These substitutions occur in the speech of 17/30 of the informants in southwest Nova Scotia, but with complete consistency in the speech of only one, 21 Halifax. In this group, as detailed in Table XVIII on the following page, /iu/ is recorded 25 times out of a possible 119; /ju/, 17/119; palatalization, 7/119; and /u/, 58/119. There are 12 omissions. Available occurrences in beautiful and music are appended to the table.

Table XVIII /iu/ and /ju/

x = /iu/, / = /ju/, - = Palatalization, o = /u/

	20	21	22	23	23a	25	25a	25b	25c	27	28	32	33	37	41	62
						(2)	(1)	(2)								
Tuesday	-	-	-	o	o	/	-	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	o
tube	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	-	o	o	o	/	o	o	o	o
new	/	/	x	x	o	x	o	/	o	o	/	/	o	o	x	x

	20	21	22	23	23a	25 (2)	25a (1)	25b (2)	25c	27	28	32	33	37	41	62
student	/	/	o		/		x	/	o	o		o	o	x	o	o
due	o	/	x	o	o			o			o	x	o	x	o	o
dues	o	/	x	o	o		o	/	o	x		x	x	o	x	o
suit	o	/	x	x	o	o	o	/	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	x
beautiful									/		x	/	/	/	/	/
music	/	/	/	/	x		/	/			x	/	x	/	/	/

With beautiful and music 35 South Waterville is added to the list: beautiful /, music x.

This diphthong is scarcely a major feature in the phonemic pattern of southwest Nova Scotia, the majority of its occurrences being found in a small group of words whose pronunciation is strikingly divided both in southwest Nova Scotia and elsewhere. Like New England, southwest Nova Scotia reveals a rivalry between /u/ pronunciations on the one hand and the /ju/, /iu/ and [ɥu] types on the other. Except for the easternmost communities of 23 Lunenburg and 23a Blue Rocks, Lunenburg County is untouched by this rivalry.

/u/ vs. /iu/ etc.

In New England /iu/ and /ju/ have been described by Kurath as associated with western New England, with /u/ predominating in eastern New England¹. Morton Bloomfield described [ju] generally in Canada as a tendency to imitate British usage². In southwest Nova Scotia there is no doubt that to some speakers this is a prestige feature. The inclusion of all the informants whose verb forms were predominantly standard in the examination of morphological features within the group showing evidences of /ju/ or /iu/ in the words in Table XVIII indicates this, but the extent of this type of

1 -- Kurath, Handbook, p.4, and Chart 17, p.35.

2 -- Morton Bloomfield, "Canadian English", p. 63.

pronunciation is much wider. A number of clearly uneducated, unaffected folk speakers make up the remainder of the group. With them the majority of occurrences must represent long-standing features of the native speech, relics of the dialects brought to Nova Scotia from southeast New England. If this assumption is correct, further and more intensive examination of this feature in Nova Scotia might well shed light on the history and status of a feature now characteristic of western New England.

Conclusions

Lunenburg County may not be said to have a consistent and all-pervading distinctive phonological system, but the English of the county is marked by a number of peculiarities, some apparently characteristic of the county only, some characteristic of the county on the South Shore, but found elsewhere in the province, and some shared with adjacent Queens County.

Most striking in the first classification are the consonant peculiarities, paralleled among the vowels only by the use of /a/ where the rest of the province reveals /ɔ/. The articulation of /a/ in the vicinity of [æ] in Lunenburg County lies on the margin of the next category, since there is a noticeable representation of this tendency in a few items in Digby County and in Kings County, with 35 South Waterville in between Lunenburg County and Kings.

A negative feature is the virtually complete absence of "short o" in Lunenburg County, especially in those communities closest to Queens County, a strong center of this feature. This negative feature is shared in Digby County, in the region around Halifax, in Hants County inland between Halifax and Lunenburg (South Waterville) and to the north (Stewiacke).

The most marked association with Queens County is in the

alternations of the /ai/ and /au/ diphthongs in voiced and voiceless environments. Lunenburg, except at 23f New Germany, does not share the center of this feature, but seems clearly to lie in a transition zone. A minor but historically interesting feature shared with Queens, South Waterville, and Victoria Beach in Digby County, is the relic [ai] in words like poison, which contrasts with the apparent rejection of "short o". Finally, Queens and Lunenburg Counties share a very low incidence of /ju/, /iu/ types of pronunciation in words like tube, with four of the six Lunenburg Communities showing no pronunciations of this type.

The German substratum of Lunenburg English shows through chiefly in the consonant peculiarities. The vowel distinctions are less clearly Lunenburg's own unless possibly the [a] articulation of /a/ might be suggestive¹.

1 -- cf. Reed, Pennsylvania German, pp. 20 and 23, where two phonemes are offered in the low range, one short and centrally articulated, and the other long and articulated farther back.

CHAPTER VII

General Conclusions

"Lunenburg Dutch": Fact and Folklore

The search for evidence of a distinctive Lunenburg dialect of English behind the folklore based on the impressions of untrained observers has revealed not only the details of the dialect, but of linguistic folklore as well. The latter not only exaggerates some features, it neglects others which apparently lie outside everyday linguistic focus or beyond untrained perception. Thus the substitution of [v] for [v] and [w] is notorious, although somewhat distorted, as is also the tendency toward de for the, and dose and dem for those and them, while an equal or more prevalent tendency toward [R] instead of [r] and the tendency toward the unvoicing of some consonants are ignored.

The reputation of some of these consonant peculiarities supported by the exaggerated notoriety of features at other levels, serves to illustrate the inaccuracy and insensitivity of untrained perception of unusual speech. There are three tendencies chiefly notable at the phonological level. First there is a tendency to over-hear sounds which differ in articulation from the expected sounds in the observer's dialect. This can result in the impression of a "reversal" of two familiar phonemes through the failure to detect an "intermediate" articulation sharing some of the features of each of the familiar ones "reversed". This tendency is notable in lay discussions of so-called Brooklyn speech, of the tendency for Japanese to "reverse" /r/ and /l/ in English, and of the habit Canadians have of saying oot for out.

Accompanying this tendency is a second -- to ignore features which cannot in some way be equated with phonemes of the observer's dialect. Occasional mention may be found of a "queer" /r/ in Lunenburg County, and a gifted mimic may in-

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clude it in an imitation, but [R] does not have a regular place in the folklore. Related to this is a third feature of popular impressions, limited levels of perception. As far as I know, the very evident tendency to unvoice stops is not generally noted in the folklore of this dialect. This feature is apparently below the usual level of perception, possibly because voice and/or fortis-lenis distinctions are relatively unimportant phonemically elsewhere in the province.

Three tendencies are seen at all levels in this folklore. They are: distortion, generalization, and perpetuation. Distortion is implicit in the three points already discussed. At the syntactic level it becomes especially evident, as the humorous, but not fully conscious, perversion of German word order into evidence of low logical aptitude shows. Distortion shows also in the tendency toward a generalized "dialect" which has the carpenter on page 2 say "piece of ways", in which the -s form is general sub-standard usage in the province. This is also an example of generalization, which is a tendency as well in the popular treatment of real dialect peculiarities. The consonant features reviewed above are a good illustration, for they are not only very restricted in their occurrence within Lunenburg County, but they are not regular in the speech of any single informant. They may, perhaps, have been more regular, if not more widespread, at an earlier time. And this brings in the tendency toward perpetuation. Once a feature is established in the folklore it seems to be there for keeps. "Well known" features will live on even after they have become markedly recessive or even obsolete. This is demonstrated most fully for Lunenburg County in syntactic and lexical matters.

Documented Features

The vocabulary of Lunenburg English presents the sharpest and most easily perceived accurate touchstone of the dialect. As revealed by worksheet examples there remains

a legacy of terms derived from German, used still in either quasi-German form or in translation. These demonstrate a small degree of diffusion into the immediately surrounding area, although sometimes their acceptance, as in the case of all for all gone, had at least originally a jocular motivation. A limited number of items not demonstrably German in origin also center in the county and are shared (though not in all cases necessarily diffused from Lunenburg County) by informants in communities from 22 Sambro to 25b Port Mouton, and inland to 25c South Brookfield. Among those clearly not originating in Lunenburg County are such New England relics as porch (for ell) and its specialized application in cellar porch. On the whole this group represents generally conservative usage.

New England influence in Lunenburg County is most sharply illustrated by the recording in the county of nine of the 18 typical eastern New England terms used in Chapter III to demonstrate parallels between southeastern New England and southwestern Nova Scotia¹. These typical New England responses, however, are confined to the three points of Lunenburg, Bridgewater, and New Germany, and are represented in much lower numbers at each point than they are in Queens.

This composite picture of the state of vocabulary among the older generation of Lunenburg County reveals a strong representation of German influence in Lunenburg town and more especially in the villages of Blue Rocks and Five Houses. "Dutch" characteristics decrease as we move away from these southern peninsulas near Lunenburg, but traces of this typical vocabulary can be found as far away as Sambro, near Halifax; in South Waterville, Hants County; and in the southern part of Queens. These terms are no doubt recessive, but they

¹ -- Inspection of the list in Chapter III will reveal ten terms elicited in Lunenburg County. Hay heap has two possible origins in Lunenburg County and therefore is not counted as a New England feature here.

trace an unmistakable linguistic impact of Lunenburg upon the neighboring settlements, however mixed the motivation may have been for the adoption of some of these terms. (See Fig. 47 on the following page.)

A strong to overwhelming counter-movement is revealed, however, in the form of Yankee terms. In this we find somewhat of an inverse picture, although Voglers Cove, which ranked only with Milton in Queens County in number of terms of German origin, is here grouped with Blue Rocks and Five Houses as highly resistant to Yankee vocabulary. Lunenburg Town ranks relatively high, between Bridgewater and New Germany. A miscellaneous, apparently typical, but virtually unclassifiable element of the vocabulary gives a third pattern in which Bridgewater and Lunenburg rank relatively high and the rest of the communities somewhat lower.

Lexically this sampling suggests the relative richness of the vocabulary of the county at its center in the two chief towns, relative conservatism in the fishing villages in the immediate vicinity of the original settlement, both as to features of apparent German origin and isolated relics from the Yankee word stock, with a somewhat less distinctive vocabulary at the extreme southwestern corner of the county and in the extreme north, with resistance to the majority of Yankee terms running upward from the edges of the county to its center in Old Lunenburg.

Morphology and Syntax

Morphological and syntactic materials available yield little that is purely characteristic of the Lunenburg settlement area. Division according to morphological types is purely a matter of relative culture and in general, as far as the verb forms are concerned, the picture is not unlike that of the eastern United States. Non-verbal morphological data run parallel.

In syntax there is still a trace of German influence

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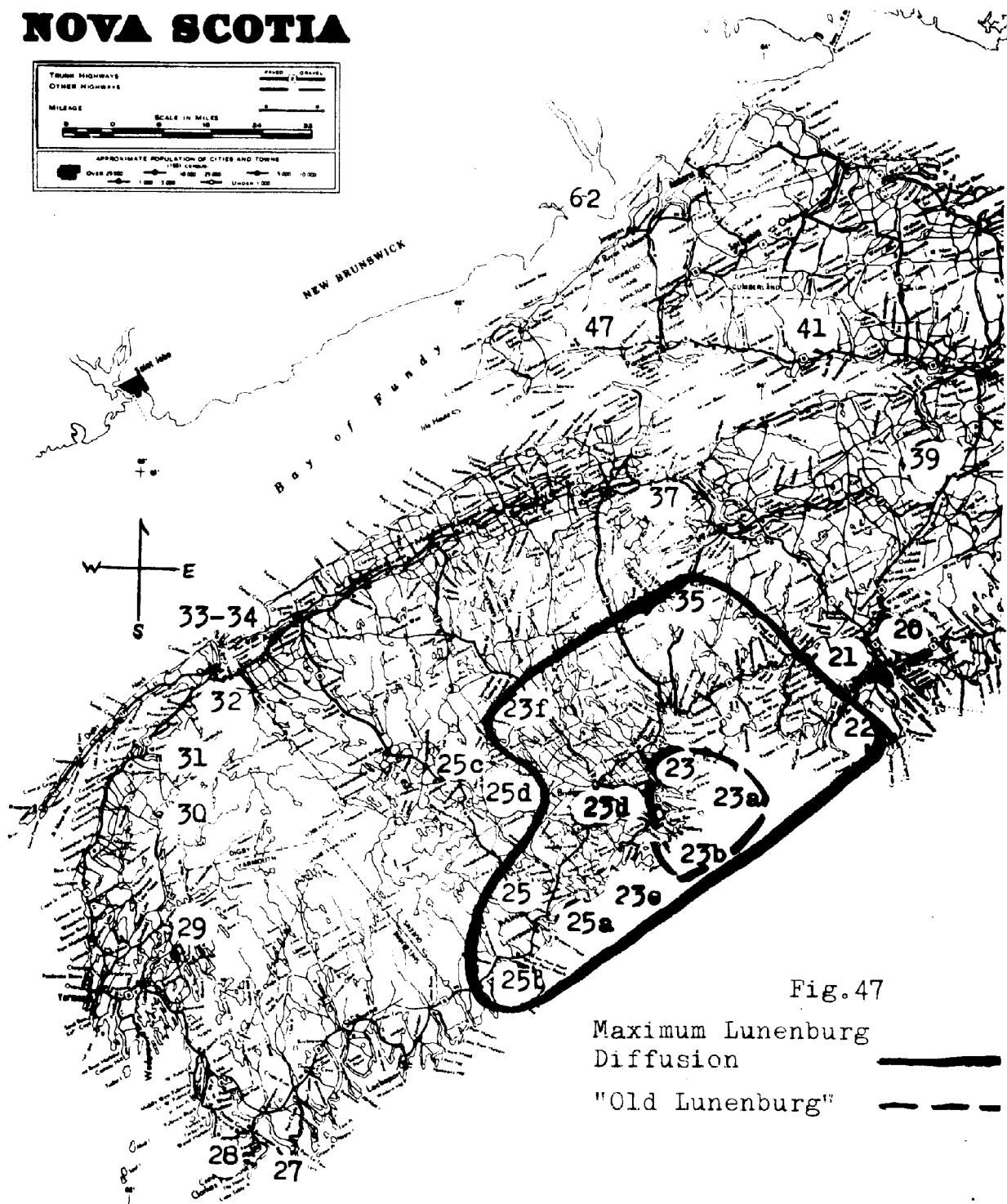
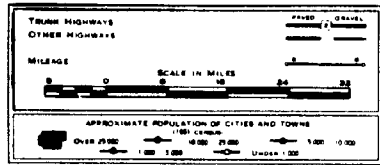


Fig.47

Maximum Lunenburg
Diffusion

"Old Lunenburg"

apparent, but a scant, and to some degree a selfconscious, trace. The evidence of both Emeneau and Miss Creighton is implicitly strongly reminiscent although given as current in good faith.

Phonology

Phonologically the evidence is much richer, and ample evidence is provided for four regionally distinctive consonant features in the speech of the older generation of Lunenburg County. Here again we have concentration in the coastal region, this time more clearly centered on 23a Blue Rocks. The weight of the incidence of these consonant features may be gauged by the following totals of actual occurrences:

23	23a	23b	23d	23e	23f
32	73	46	14	5	1

While the center of the "Dutch" region remains much as it was revealed in the lexical sample. Bridgewater appears in a more ambiguous, status and greater contrast is offered between the extremes of tabulation. New Germany scarcely seems to be in the picture at all, and the suspicion arises that the one [V] recorded may have been totally atypical of the speaker.

The vowels show less evidence of a characteristic type of pronunciation. Lunenburg seems to participate in much the same phonemic system as the rest of southwest Nova Scotia. The articulation of at least one phoneme, /a/, as noted in the previous chapter, seems to be characteristic.

On the phonological level we find some preservation of New England relics. Of special note are the substitution of [ai] for [oi] in words like poison, and two examples of New England short o. In contrast we have a high resistance to the possible New England relic of the /ju/ or /iu/ type in words like tube.

Present Day Status

"Lunenburg Dutch" as represented by the speech of the older generation of Lunenburg County today is a rapidly fading remnant of a once vigorous and colorful dialect, an amalgam

of a German substratum with Yankee English. The forces of history have tended to wear away the German element and preserve the Yankee features which are constantly reinforced by contact with the surrounding population whose cultural roots are in New England, a region with which they have never entirely lost contact.

In some ways linguistic folklore has preserved more evidence of this old dialect than fieldworkers can now retrieve on the spot, although it is clear that much has been neglected by tradition as well. Its characteristic morphology, if there ever was any, has vanished; its earlier syntax is detectable only in random traces; its vocabulary shows only in a modest collection of homely terms; and the features of its phonology, even where most strongly ingrained in habit, are free variants with more familiar Yankee types of articulation.

This study has scanned a faded picture of what the language of the young adult was at about the turn of the century. It raises many questions, most of them concerning those shadowy years between the indefinite date when German ceased to dominate the Lunenburg settlements and the end of Queen Victoria's reign. A number of further studies are clearly implied, among the first of which might well be a further survey of the same area to bring into focus the state of the language in the next two generations. Another project which ought to be undertaken without loss of time is a controlled survey, possibly by mail, to increase our knowledge of surviving vocabulary and expressions, as to quantity of typical items, their distribution, and relative frequency of occurrence throughout the area.

An aid to our understanding of the earlier stages of the language of Lunenburg County would be a competent study of the German that survives among the dwindling minority who spoke it as their mother tongue in the county. Because of the peculiar social status of the "Old Dutch Language" today

it is probably impossible, as it was once hoped, to equate it with specific German dialects.

A study of the remarkably early decline of this language would be worthwhile, too, with adequate first-hand attention to gravestones, church records, family correspondences, journals, and notations in devotional books.

This study has demonstrated the encroachment of Yankee features upon the dialect of Lunenburg County, but there are influences not fully accounted for here because they appear to have no clear source or do not make themselves apparent in the speech of the generation under discussion. One of the latter relates to the [æu] type of diphthong mentioned on p.146 as possibly of New England origin. This articulation can be found for /au/ in Nova Scotia, but, more startlingly, diphthongal pronunciations can be found for /o/ tending toward a similar articulation, as Alexander notes in a comment upon 22 Sambro. I observed this tendency in an informal conversation at Southwest Port Mouton in 1950. A fisherman, in the course of an anecdote said: [ai wɜz sɪtɪŋ ən mi bæut . . .] (I was sitting on my boat...). This feature may be wholly or largely coastal, and is deserving of special investigation.

Whether or not this is purely a coastal feature, there is a certain amount of vocabulary which points toward a special coastal group of features, such as mugup for a snack and more technical terms such as make in make fish. When Newfoundland work has made substantial progress we should know a good deal more about such features. A separate study of coastal vocabulary might well shed a great deal of light upon a special aspect of the culture of more than one region. Along the Maritimes coast there is a good deal of mixing of men from various ports on the vessels, and the influence of the fishing fleet as a special milieu should not be overlooked in cultural studies of any sort.

But taking precedence over all these special implied studies we should have a true Linguistic Atlas of Canadian

English to assist in obtaining a clear view of such "general Canadian" features as the typical(?) Canadian diphthongs which yield such a mixed picture in southwest Nova Scotia, to trace the contributions of various immigrant English dialects, and to assist scholars of English and of bilingualism working with the growing materials on United States English and Canadian French.

-/--

APPENDIX A

Informants and Communities

- 20 Dartmouth, Halifax County, settled 1750 from England, population about 10,000 at time of interview(1939); prosperous; shipping, manufacturing.
Informant born in Halifax 1846; father Halifax sailor , mother from Yarmouth; public schools to age of 13, entered commercial school at 18; still active in business at time of interview; interested, alert, possibly on guard.
- 21 Halifax, Halifax County, settled 1749, imperial naval and military station to early 1900's, population about 70,000, chief deep water port on Canadian east coast.
Informant born 1864 in Halifax of Halifax family; childhood and young womanhood spent in Dartmouth, followed by 35 years in Lawrencetown near Dartmouth, then residence in Halifax; public school to age of 16, Normal School , Truro, at 22; taught three years; husband farmer; self-educated by extensive reading, a trifle pedantic but probably a good representative of her generation and region since she has lived practically all of her life within 10 miles of Halifax and Dartmouth.
- 22 Sambro, Halifax County, typical "outport", scattered fishing village of about 500 people, isolated, poor road to Halifax.
Informant born at nearby Cootcove in 1875 of Cootcove family; lived in Cootcove until 19; public school to 16; reading restricted to newspaper; few formal social contacts, on sociable terms with neighbors and family; cooperative, with feeling for local and older usage; somewhat on guard.
- 23 Lunenburg, Lunenburg County, settled 1753, fishing and shipping port of about 2,700 at time of interview.
Informant born in Lunenburg 1882 of Lunenburg family;

public school to about 17; gardener, formerly farmer, teamster, and shipyard worker; self-educated, alert, somewhat under influence of wife's notions of correctness, though he resisted correction during the interview; active organizer of local functions; founder of private museum of local mementoes.

23a Blue Rocks, Lunenburg County, satellite fishing village about four miles from Lunenburg, about 250 people, little social life except church functions.

Informant born at Blue Rocks about 1869 of Blue Rocks family, parental grandfather supposedly of eastern European origin; school until 12; vigorous retired fisherman; a great talker who made little attempt to correct his speech.

23b Five Houses, Lunenburg County, fishing and farming village near Riverport on the La Have River. Originally named to describe a cluster of homes, the hamlet now consists of eight families.

Informant born 1881 in Rose Bay a mile or two across the peninsula of a peninsula family; retired banks fisherman and merchant sailor, alert, vigorous, with only "a couple of months" of formal schooling but with considerable curiosity and independent reading; cooperative and unaffected; a very fine type of informant; one time lodge member, sociable, with few formal social connections.

23c Getsons Cove, Lunenburg County, a fairly active ship-building community in the late 19th century, now chiefly a residential suburb of Bridgewater 17 miles away; located across the mouth of the La Have River from Riverport and Five Houses.

Informant born 1863 at Getsons Cove of native family; public school to about 15; retired sea captain. Record discontinued one third complete because of objections of daughter; not referred to consistently.

- 23d Bridgewater, Lunenburg County, market center for the county, largest town.
Informant born 1872 at Wileville, three miles away of native parents; four years of ungraded school; lifelong resident of Wileville or Bridgewater except for brief periods of woods, mill, and farm work in other parts of Lunenburg and Queens Counties in youth; active farmer, lived on own farm on edge of Bridgewater for 40 years preceding interview.
- 23e Voglers Cove, Lunenburg County, fishing community near Lunenburg-Queens County line.
Informant born 1878 at Voglers Cove of family native to the vicinity; school for six or seven years; active in fishery from age of 12. coasting trade to British West Indies in the winter, retired from fishing but active; home in Voglers Cove throughout whole life except for a year or two in Riverport; lodge and church member.
- 23f New Germany, Lunenburg County, founded in a good farming region in the northern part of the county on the La Have River in the early 1800's, a sawmill town and market center for that part of the county.
Informant born 1868 of family of earliest settlement group; seven or eight years of public school; worked as far away as Annapolis Valley for a year or two when young; farm wife, formerly active in church and Red Cross work.
- 25 Milton, Queens County, site of early mills of Liverpool, situated at "The Falls" of the Mersey River about two miles from Liverpool, founded about the same time as the larger community (1760).
(1) Informant born 1878 in Milton of one of the founding families; graduate of Acadia University; taught school for 10 years in Weyburn, Yorkton, and Moose Jaw, Sask., and six months on Vancouver Island; vigorous local man of affairs, active in local Baptist church, secretary

of school district for 34 years.

- (2) Informant born 1861 of one of the founding families; secondary education; alert, though physically frail at time of interview.

25a Port Medway, Queens County, settled in late 18th century; local names show meeting ground of German and Yankee secondary settlement; once a flourishing fishing and shipbuilding town, now a quiet backwater about 12 miles from the main road; population of about 400 consists of a few active fishermen, local tradesmen, workers in Liverpool, and retired people, including a number of returned natives from "Canada" and New England.

- (1) Informant born 1879 in Port Medway, parents from Petite Riviere, southwest Lunenburg County, family of Queens County origin; housewife, wife of president of village council.

- (2) Informant born ca. 1848 in Port Medway. Parents from Lunenburg Town. School until 19. Lived three years in Yarmouth County, 1875--78. Formerly active in church societies.

25b Port Mouton, Queens County, scattered village just off main highway about 12 miles southwest of Liverpool; settled by Tarleton's Legion, 1784, and from earlier villages; lumbering and fishing.

Informant, born 1873 at Port Mouton of Port Mouton family; school from 6 to 13 plus two winters; retired saw mill operator; alert, active as gardener and hunter; active member of Somerville Christian Church for 50 years; regular reader of popular magazines.

25c South Brookfield, Queens County, one of a number of farming villages in the "North District" which were settled from Liverpool and Milton, with a scattering of Scotch and Irish settlers later, from about 1812 on; the only good farming land in the county, the "North

District" has a strong regional consciousness developed through years of semi-isolation from the older settlements; farming balanced with logging.

Informant born 1867 in Milton but raised in North Brookfield from age of nine by an uncle; attended ungraded school to ninth grade level; vigorous elderly farm wife, active social life; husband longtime county road superintendent; lived in house where she was interviewed from age of 25.

25d Informant born 1885 at Twelve Mile (about halfway between Liverpool and the North District) of a family originally from Lunenburg County; active guide and fishwarden, formerly a miner, worked outside of county for two years in antimony mine in Hants County, lived very near present residence all the rest of his life.

27 Baccaro, Shelburne County, scattered fishing village of about 100 people, 13 miles from highway; subsistence aided by a little farming on poor land, a few sheep and cows.

Informant born 1863 East Baccaro of native parents; public school to 14; housewife, lively, somewhat influenced by children's ideas of correctness, but normally natural; limited outside experience, active in Methodist church; read newspapers and hymnbooks; went to Barrington 13 miles away occasionally; no residence elsewhere.

28 Shag Harbor, Shelburne County, small fishing village of about 100 people at extreme southern corner of Nova Scotia, one church, one store, one garage.

Informant, born 1859 at Shag Harbor of native parents, public school to 14; family early settlers from Chatham, Mass.; retired sailor and railway hand, alert, intelligent, a local historian who aims at correctness but only when on guard.

29 Kemptville, Yarmouth County, prosperous community of small farmers, hunters, guides; well-kept houses and

gardens, about 200 people.

Informant born 1863 in Kemptville of native parents; lively physically, and mentally alert; farmer; language somewhat "improved" by daughter, but natural when off guard.

- 30 Southville, Digby County, scattered settlement of 30 or 40 houses, some lumbering.

Informant born in Southville 1889 of native parents; public schools until 17; taught one year, worked two years in Yarmouth County (1905--07), spent three or four years in Boston; storekeeper, school secretary and tax collector; in general relaxed and affable, but conscious of "correctness"; conversational utterances often fail to match responses.

- 31 Danvers, Digby County, scattered hamlet. school has fewer than 30 children.

Informant born 1849 at Danvers, father from nearby Weymouth and mother's family from St. Mary Bay in the same county; farmer, "spry", unaffected, mentally alert, no formal schooling.

- 32 North Range, Digby County, scattered lumbering and farming community of 40 to 50 families about 12 miles from Digby.

Informant born 1887 on Digby Neck (St. Mary Bay) of native parents; public school until 11; farmer, lumberman, school bus driver; natural, mentally quick, speech possibly slightly corrected by children; in close contact with community.

- 33-34 Victoria Beach, Annapolis County, fishing village on Annapolis side of Digby Gut; school, church, small stores, small summer hotel.

- (33) Informant born 1854 near Victoria Beach of native parents; school until about 12; former sea cook, very much the local character, completely unaffected but more interested in yarning than in answering questions.

- (34) Informant born 1854 at Victoria Beach of native father and mother from Minasville, Hants County; public school to 16; spent short periods in Salem and Lynn, Mass., in young womanhood; housewife, cooperative, alert, sometimes self-conscious so that conversational utterances differ from responses.
- 35 South Waterville, Hants County, comfortable scattered village of about 30 houses, small farming and lumbering. Informant born 1850 of native mother and father born three miles away across Lunenburg County line of old family of Lunenburg settlers; public school to about 12; spent most of 1884 in the United States; retired farmer, alert, helpful, but speech somewhat "purified" by the next generation.
- 37 Forest Hills, Kings County, scattered farming community on the "mountain" a few miles from Wolfville; elevation of 400 feet and poor road make it fairly isolated; population about 100, one school. Informant born 1863 at Grand Pré 10 miles away of father born in England, mother born in Forest Hills where informant lived from age of six; farm wife, strong, simple character, speech somewhat corrected, possibly by college graduate grandson who helps on her farm.
- 39 Stewiacke, Colchester County, comfortable town of about 1,000; mainly agricultural, small factories, on main highway 40 miles from Halifax, 12 from Truro. Informant born 1876 in Upper Stewiacke, about 18 miles away, of native mother and father born in Brookfield, Colchester County; school until 16; lived in Great Village, Colchester County, 1885--1889; retired railway worker, active churchgoer, former lodge member; shy but cooperative, speech influenced by wife from Pictou County.
- 41 Bass River, Colchester County, comfortable farming and

lumbering community of between 7,000 and 8,000 people; chair factory and sawmill.

Informant born 1852 in Upper River, just over the Cumberland County line; father from Truro, mother from Port Greville, Cumberland County; grew up at Spencer's Island in western Cumberland, spent young womanhood in Parrsboro; racy talker, spontaneous and natural.

47 Diligent River, Cumberland County, lumber port of about 300 people, small farming, Loyalist settlement district.

Informant born 1866 at River Hébert of English father and mother born at nearby Maccan; young manhood spent on south shore of Chignecto Bay in Cumberland County; former lumberman and shipbuilder, lodge member, good talker and mimic, active, natural, and unforced in speech.

62 Rockport, Westmoreland County, New Brunswick, isolated community on peninsula about 12 miles from Sackville; some 100 scattered inhabitants; small farming and lumbering.

Informant born 1895 at Rockport of native parents; no schooling; odd jobs man; good answers to direct questions, few other resources; undecided articulation.

APPENDIX B

Representative New England Words:

Nova Scotia

	25	25a	25b	25c	25d	23	23d	23f	20 21	28	29	30
sunup		x										
sundown				x	x				x	x	x	x
clearing	x	x	x		x			x		x		
tempest	x	x		x						x	x	x
portico	x			x		x						
gutters	x		x	x		x			x	x		
leanto				x	x							
hay heap		x	x				x	x				
woodhorse		x					x	x	x	x		
umb(e)rel		x										
blare										x		
bellow		x				x						
baa	x											
neigh	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x
brooder	x			x				x	x			
broody hen				x	x					x	x	x
(Indian)												
bannock			x	x	x			x				
curd (and compounds)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
steep												
coffee	x			x			x					
rainworm										x		
earthworm	x			x								
was taken sick	x	x	x						x	x	x	x

Southeast Massachusetts

[illegible]

Essex County, Mass..
Southern New Hampshire and Southern Maine

	190	194	308	310	320	328	333	360	362	366	388
sundown	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x
clearing	x	x			x	x					
portico					x	x	x			x	x
gutters		x									
conductors	x				x						
hay heap			x	x			x				
hay bunch									x	x	x
blare	x	x	x	x			x				
neigh	x	x	x	x			x	x			
bannock		x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x
curd (and compounds)					x			x	x	x	x
steep coffee						x	x	x	x		
earthworm	x	x		x		x	x		x		

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