LINGUISTIC vs. NON-LINGUISTIC CONDITIONING OF LINGUISTIC VARIABLES

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ABSTRACT

Using as its data some results of dialect contact (Trudgill 1986) in the history of Newfoundland English, this paper attempts to test the following two hypotheses.

(1) It is naturally easier to distinguish linguistic from non-linguistic conditioning if these two types of conditioning produce opposed effects rather than similar effects.

(2) Linguistic conditioning is likely to be stronger in cases of structural variation than in cases of lexical variation, since structural systems (or subsystems) are usually more tightly organized than are lexical systems (or subsystems).

We will examine the Newfoundland fates of selected structural and lexical variants brought from one or more of Newfoundland's three main source areas ('Devonia', southeastern Ireland, and 'Dorsetia') in the Old World (Mannion 1974 and 1977; Handcock 1989). The results clearly demonstrate the crucial role of non-linguistic (social or socioeconomic) conditioning in some of the relevant contact situations (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). They also suggest that linguistic conditioning can be both powerful and complicated, sometimes involving subtle interplays of FORM and MEANING for both structural variants (Paddock 1988 and 1991) and lexical variants (Story, Kirwin and Widdowson 1982/1990).

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper assumes the familiar sociolinguistic model of language change, extended illustrations of which may be found in Labov (1972) and elsewhere. This model assumes that the main cause of language change is the mixing of linguistic variants from different historical, geographical, and social sources. Such mixing leads to situations in which definable groups of speakers use two or more variants of the 'same' structural unit – whether phonological, morphological, or syntactic.

Labov and other sociolinguists have shown that the use of a given variant is conditioned by linguistic factors (e.g., assimilation for phonological variants) and by social factors (e.g., age, sex, class and contextual style). Labov and others have shown that the choice of variants is so statistically shapely that they justify the combining of two or more variants into a single sociolinguistic unit called the LINGUISTIC VARIABLE. Particularly relevant to theories of language change is the class of linguistic variables called MARKERS. This is the name given to linguistic variables which are subject to stylistic conditioning. Such conditioning shows that speakers can systematically discriminate between variants; so that one variant may be highly favoured in formal situations, another may be typical of normal colloquial or vernacular speech, while a third variant may be so stigmatized that it appears only in emotional speech when the speaker's attention has been directed away from the monitoring of his/her own speech production.

This paper will use the sociolinguistic model of language change to explain the fates of several linguistic variants in the history of Newfoundland English. This model seems highly appropriate for several reasons. One reason is that two or more very different variants were sometimes brought to Newfoundland from the three main source areas in southwestern England and southeastern Ireland. Another reason is that the patterns of regional settlement and seasonal employment in Newfoundland and Labrador led to such thorough mixing of variants that genuine linguistic variables often resulted. For example, Colbourne's (1982) sociolinguistic study of Long Island in western Notre Dame Bay showed that the voiced *th* variable (ð) was the best marker among the eleven variables which he investigated. He also found that the voiceless *th* variable (θ) was a strong marker. Particularly striking was the high incidence of the Anglo-Irish [t]-type variant of the (θ) variable on Long Island, despite the low incidence of Irish settlement in Notre Dame Bay. This contrasts with the situation there some forty to fifty years ago, when as a boy I often heard older men (some of whose fathers were natives of 'Dorsetia') pronounce the verb *think* as [ðɪŋk], with the voicing typical of word-initial fricatives in southwestern England. They also pronounced *three* and *through* as /driy/ and /druw/, with their word-initial voiced [ð] becoming a voiced stop [d] before /r/.

Colbourne's (1982) study of the voiceless variable on Long Island therefore showed that during the forty years between 1942 and 1982, the two voiced southwestern England variants [ð] and [d] had practically disappeared in favour of two voiceless variants – the standard variant [θ] and the non-standard Anglo-Irish type [t] variant now typical of vernacular speech throughout Newfoundland because of the heavy Irish settlement on the prestigious Avalon Peninsula, which contains the major urban centre of St. John's, the provincial capital. Space and time do not permit me to document the histories of all the variants discussed in this paper. I therefore appeal to the reader to make a 'willing suspension of disbelief', based on my assurance that I have in fact carefully compiled evidence for each of them.

For several reasons, many changes in the dialects of English spoken in Newfoundland and Labrador provide us with excellent opportunities to try to distinguish the effects of linguistic conditioning from the effects of non-linguistic conditioning.

The first reason is the richness of data (linguistic, historical, geographical, and social or socioeconomic) which is available to us. Some of the linguistic data have been examined historically and, to a certain extent, geographically by the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* (hereunder the *DNE*) (Story et al. 1982). A comparison of my own recent lexical mapping of Newfoundland and Labrador (Paddock 1983 and 1984) shows that lexical losses and changes (in both forms and meanings of words) have been extensive, and in some cases surprisingly rapid, in the history of Vernacular Newfoundland English. There is also evidence available that equally significant losses and changes have occurred in morphology and syntax, and in phonetics and phonology. Some sociolinguistic evidence is now available to help us explain the direction taken by some of the above changes. For example, Clarke's (1981, 1982) work on language attitudes has revealed an important (most) urban to (most) rural continuum in attitudes that helps explain the very rapid decline of some highly stigmatized language variants in rural areas.

The dialects of English in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador have been relatively well described. Some regional variants found on the Avalon Peninsula are described in Seary, Story, and Kirwin (1968), and Dillon (1968) has identified many variants from Ireland found on the Southern Shore of that peninsula. Paddock has mapped a number of structural variants (1982) for the whole of the island of Newfoundland, and has also mapped several lexical variants (1983) for both Newfoundland and Labrador. The *DNE* (Story et al. 1982) contains extensive information about the geographical and historical distributions of

lexical variants in the province. Paddock (1966/1981) tried to correlate all three types of variants – phonological, structural, and lexical – with the social variables of age, sex, class, and ethnic origin or religion in the old Avalon Peninsula town of Carbonear. Noseworthy (1971) conducted a similar study of the old south coast community of Grand Bank. Noseworthy (1971) and Paddock (1966/1981) throw no light on the important role of stylistic conditioning, because their studies were conducted without the use of Labovian interview techniques. However, such techniques were successfully used by Reid (1981) and Colbourne (1982) in two rural Newfoundland communities, and by Clarke (1991) in its largest urban centre, the capital city of St. John's. Whalen (1978) has also described some of the linguistic and social (especially age) conditioning of the (h) variable among school children in a rural Newfoundland community.

Historical geographers such as Handcock (1989) and Mannion (1974 and 1977) distinguish three modes of migration to Newfoundland. These they call SEASONAL (virtually all men in summer only), TEMPORARY (mostly men, with some overwintering) and PERMANENT (with women and children included). 'There was a long period of seasonal and temporary movement, extending roughly for the English from the late 16th (and for the Irish the late 17th) to the early 19th century, and an almost equally long period of permanent migration or immigration with its apogee between 1780 and 1830, in the wake of the declining seasonal and temporary migrations.' (Mannion 1977: 5)

For the purposes of linguistic geography, it is convenient to distinguish three main Old World sources of permanent settlers in Newfoundland as Migration A from the Devon region of southwestern England, migration B from southeastern Ireland, and Migration C from the Dorset region of southwestern England.

We can say that Migration A, the one that started earliest, came mostly from the PENINSULAR part of southwestern England (called 'Devonia' in this paper, because its most concentrated source was [south] Devon) and that it first settled *permanently* in Newfoundland on the northern half of the Avalon PENINSULA. Migration B flowed mostly from the SOUTHeastern part of Ireland (which we might call 'Waterfordia', since its main source area was the Irish seaport of Waterford and its hinterland) and it settled mostly on the Avalon Peninsula. The period of significant Irish migration was approximately one hundred and twenty years (1715-1835), with its main peak occurring in the early nineteenth century (1800-1815). It provided nearly all of the permanent settlers on the SOUTHERN half of the Avalon Peninsula (Mannion 1974: 23); but on the northern Avalon the Irish were heavily exposed to the 'Devonian' English settlers already established there. Migration C, the migration that ended latest (approximately 1880-1890) originated from the MAINLAND part of southwestern England (called 'Dorsetia' in this paper, because its most concentrated source was the county of Dorset itself); and it settled mostly on the MAINLAND of the Island of Newfoundland. This migration peaked at successively later dates on different parts of the coast throughout the nineteenth century. Early in that century its first peak (here called C1) was reached in Fortune Bay on the south coast, and in Bonavista Bay and Notre Dame Bay on the east coast. Around the middle of the century its second peak, C2, occurred on the northern half of the west coast (traditionally called the northwest coast). Its third and last peak, C3, occurred on the western part of the south coast (traditionally called the sou'wes' coast) in the latter part of that century.

Two distinct ethnic minorities settled the southern half of the west coast in the nineteenth century. A French minority settled mostly in the region of the Port au Port Peninsula, while a Highland Scots minority settled in the Codroy Valley area to the south of the French.

Migration C from 'Dorsetia' also provided a third source of settlers to the northern half of the Avalon Peninsula, the area which ultimately became the most urbanized part of the province and containing the capital city of St. John's itself. This means that the original 'Devonian' English settlers on the northern Avalon have been joined by later southeastern Irish and 'Dorsetian' English settlers; whereas the two latter groups have remained relatively 'pure' in some other parts of the province. In particular, exclusively Irish communities may be still found on the southern Avalon while exclusively 'Dorsetian' communities may be found on parts of the NE, NW, and SW coasts of the Main Island. However, the lack of exclusively 'Devonian' communities is somewhat counteracted (sociolinguistically) by the fact that the 'Devonians' had the advantages of being the first European settlers, of being often socioeconomically superior to the latercoming Irish and 'Dorsetians', and of being in the most urbanized area of Newfoundland.

The above summary deals only with the main patterns of migration from external sources. Some areas of Newfoundland and Labrador received significant numbers of permanent settlers from internal sources. In fact, some of our maps of linguistic variants clearly show the effects of such internal migration. For example, the *turpentine / turkumtime* type of names for sap of fir trees was brought to the SE part of Newfoundland through external migration, whereas it was mostly likely brought to the northern part of the province (i.e. Labrador and the Great Northern Peninsula) by internal migration from earlier settlements in the southeastern region.

2. PHONOLOGICAL CONDITIONING

In the worst-case scenarios we have similar variants (of linguistic variables) being brought to Newfoundland and Labrador in all three main migrations (A, B and C). This is the situation with the loss of contrast between the two (historically short or lax) palatal (i.e., non-low front) vowels /ɪ/ and /ɛ/. However, even here we can sometimes partially distinguish the three migrations. For example, before the two liquids L and R the Irish tended to prefer the high vowel variant while the English tended to prefer the mid vowel variant. In addition, the 'Dorsetian' English often tensed (and lengthened) the high vowel variant before certain consonants, especially before the alveopalatal fricatives /š/ and /ž/, as in *dish* > *deesh*, *fish* > *feesh*, *decision* > *deceesion*, etc.

In the best-case scenarios, all three main migrations brought typically different variants. This is what we find with postvocalic (i.e., coda) variants of the lateral liquid L, where the Irish brought mostly a 'clear' timbre (i.e., palatalized) consonant or contoid, the 'Devonians' mostly a 'dark' timbre (i.e., velarized) consonant or contoid, and the 'Dorsetians' mostly a 'dark' timbre semivowel or vocoid. The results are that these postvocalic L variants have developed some of the smoothest geographical and social continua to be found in Newfoundland. In addition, in some communities (especially in the 3-migration mixture of the Northern Avalon) they developed into new phonological subsystems in which all three became allophones in complementary distribution, often with the dark vocoid occurring before another consonant in the same coda cluster (as in *belt*, *bolt*, etc.) and with the two contoids occurring at the ends of syllables, often with 'clear' (palatalized) contoid after palatal vowels and the 'dark' (velarized) contoid after other vowels. Until Newfoundland's Confederation with Canada in 1949 the Irish 'clear' contoid variant was common in the most prestigious Regional Standard Newfoundland English in the capital city of St. John's, as it was also in Dublin, the capital of the Republic of Ireland.

Here we see social conditioning at work in the preservation of the 'clear' Irish variant, partly because there was a heavy concentration of Irish settlers in St. John's and partly because

St. John's became the main centre of Catholic power (ecclesiastical, political, economic, etc.) in Newfoundland. Here we also see linguistic conditioning at work in the allophonic situation (described above) in which all three variants co-exist as postvocalic allophones in (more or less) complementary distribution.

In some other cases, however, linguistic conditioning did not seem to favour an Irish variant even where one might expect it to do so. For example, one might expect that the English settlers in Newfoundland would have quickly adopted the mid-back ROUNDED Anglo-Irish variant of the schwa vowel (in words like *nut, cut, fun* and *punt*) to create new symmetry or balance in their (sub-)system of short lax checked vowels. However, while doing my 1965 dialect survey of Carbonear (Paddock 1966/1981) in Conception Bay on the Northern Avalon I found that higher class speakers consciously rejected such (Irish-origin) lip rounding as either lower class or rural (Bayman), even though they themselves regularly used (Irish-origin) 'clear' (palatalized) postvocalic variants of L after palatal vowels. Perhaps we need to distinguish here between the *failure* of PARADIGMATIC conditioning (i.e., Martinet's 1955 push-chains and drag-chains) in the case of the Irish lip rounding on the vowel /ʌ/, and the *success* of SYNTAGMATIC conditioning (i.e., phonetic assimilation) in the case of the Irish 'clear' L.

In the case of the two *th* variables in Newfoundland (see Table 1 below) the facts are extremely complex; and it is therefore even more difficult to distinguish linguistic from social conditioning. Since the whole of SW England (i.e., both 'Devonia' and 'Dorsetia') tended to voice word-initial fricatives (in *full, think, sit*, etc.) the voicing distinction between /θ/ and /ð/ had been lost or became variable in that part of England. Furthermore, onset [θ] had even become variant [d] (presumably via a voiced [ð] transitional stage) especially before R, as in *dree* 'three', *dresh/drash* 'thresh', *drong/drung/drang* 'throng', etc. In addition, the 'Dorsetian' English brought labiodental *coda* variants [f] and [v] to replace [θ] and [ð] respectively.

Perhaps this extreme *th* variability of the English made them vulnerable to the much more stable Anglo-Irish stop variants, which had the linguistic advantage of consistently preserving the voicing distinction of Standard English. The persistence of the 'Dorsetian' labiodental coda variants [f] and [v] even in the northern Avalon (despite their low sociolinguistic status) may also be attributed to their preservation of the standard English voicing distinction. In a purely 'linguistic contest' between Anglo-Irish [t] and [d] type variants and 'Dorsetian' [f] and [v] variants, one might expect the latter to emerge victorious because *f/v* preserve the standard voicing distinction just as well as *t/d* and, in addition, *f/v* preserve both the manner (i.e., fricative) and the passive articulator (i.e., upper teeth) of *θ/ð*. In addition, *f/v* are much closer acoustically (and therefore perceptually) to *θ/ð* than are stop variants such as dental *t̪/d̪* or alveolar *t/d*. However, the 'Dorsetian' (coda) variants *f/v* suffered from being stigmatized as primarily rural; whereas the Anglo-Irish stop variants were associated with the urbanized northern Avalon, in particular with the numerous working class Irish of the capital city of St. John's.

3. MORPHOSYNTACTIC CONDITIONING

In a recent paper (Paddock 1991) I tried to conclude with some principles for the linguistic conditioning of morphosyntactic change involving synonymy (i.e., several forms with one meaning) on the one hand, or homophony/polysemy (i.e., one form with several meanings) on the other hand. Synonymy implies a surplus of forms. Since languages often tolerate a rather high degree of such redundancy (which after all has useful communicative and social functions) the elimination of synonymy is not as urgent as the elimination of homophony (or polysemy),

since the latter may cause more serious communication problems when they are structural rather than merely lexical.

If we accept the above principles we should conclude that the crucial conditioning must have been *social* (rather than linguistic) in the elimination of synonymy shown in Table 2. This rapid loss of the 'Dorsetian' reduced-DO auxiliary verb in Newfoundland must have been due to urgent social pressures rather than to urgent structural problems.

If we also accept the above suggestion that structural (morphosyntactic) homophony poses more serious communication problems than does lexical homophony, then we should conclude that the crucial conditioning must have been *linguistic* (rather than social) in the elimination of homophony shown for the Aspectual data in Table 2. However, social conditioning is also important here because it decides which of the two Aspectual meanings must yield to the other. I therefore postulate that the 'Dorsetian' Prospective meaning ('subject in hot *pursuit of* the deed') was the one that retreated because it was associated mostly with rural speakers. Conversely, the Anglo-Irish Retrospective meaning ('speaker considers *consequences of* the deed': compare Joos 1964) was the one that advanced because it was associated with urbanized speakers in the Northern Avalon, especially with more prestigious speakers in the capital city of St. John's. The change here must have been quite rapid since the two meanings were diametrically opposed to each other; and, paradoxically, also because the Dorsetian settlers already possessed the exact form with which to express the Anglo-Irish meaning.

4. LEXICAL CONDITIONING

The conditioning of lexical changes (see Atwood 1962) involves more 'real world' factors (such as the presence or absence of referents) than does the conditioning of structural changes.

For example, the lexical data shown in Table 3 is related to the fact that the settlers in Newfoundland generally had a *surplus* of names for most of the insects that they found in the New World, whereas they had a *deficit* of names for the conifers (and their parts such as needles, sap, etc.) that they found there (compare Mannion 1974: 31). Since the settlers depended so heavily on such conifers (for fuel, building materials, flavouring of beer, etc.) there was an urgent need to find names for the various types of conifers (and their parts).

In Table 3a we therefore see two majority English names for insects (*emmet* and *horse-stinger*) replacing two minority Irish names (*pismire* and *devil's-darning-needle*) for the same two insects. However, even here social conditioning must be as important as sheer numbers (of users) since we know that 'Devonian' *emmet* and *horse-stinger* were the first names to arrive via Migration A in what was to become the prestigious northern Avalon. Social conditioning is also evident in the fact that Francophone Newfoundlanders on the west coast of Newfoundland gave up their own non-standard French name for the dragon-fly (i.e., *la cigale*) in favour of *le darn-needle*, presumably a borrowing of the Anglo-Irish name via their Catholic priests, all of whom had Anglo-Irish language backgrounds.

In Table 3b we see that the English in Newfoundland did not change the meaning of one of their own names for (inferior type) firewood, but instead borrowed the Anglo-Irish word *starrigan* for this purpose. It is obviously easier to change the meaning (and form) of an unfamiliar word than of a familiar word, whose meaning and form are both relatively fixed in the user's mind.

5. CONCLUSIONS

If we were trying to reconstruct diachrony solely from synchronic evidence (Poplack 1990), would we be able to do so in every case for Newfoundland English? For example, my own natal area (C1 migration area) of Newfoundland now has some devoicing of word-initial fricatives as a hypercorrection of SW England voicing of such fricatives. How could we know, using synchronic evidence only, that this devoicing reflects an earlier voicing? More generally, how are we to identify linguistic changes of this type, i.e., ones in which a reversal of direction occurs because of hypercorrection or any other reason? Even more generally, how are we to distinguish linguistic conditioning from non-linguistic conditioning in our attempts to reconstruct diachronic changes solely from the evidence of synchronic variation? Unless we can find further evidence, how are we to choose between two proposed explanations of a linguistic change – one of which explanations is linguistic, the other non-linguistic? In an earlier paper (Paddock 1988: 389 / 1991: 40), I have noted an instance of such a dilemma.

Despite genuine advances in theory and in field methods, there remains much to be explained in linguistic change. Labov (1984) provides a summary of advances in field methods, beginning with his 1963 study of Martha's Vineyard. His conclusion is that we can never completely eliminate the 'experimenter effect' which he has called the 'observer's paradox'. However, he then goes on to outline the methods 'by which we can approximate a solution' to this problem by using more refined techniques to minimize the experimenter effect (Labov 1984: 30). Even greater problems confront linguists who advocate mentalistic structural explanation – such as rule changes (e.g. King 1969), abduction (Andersen 1973), or convergence of linguistic systems towards greater congruency (Samuels 1972: 64-87). There is little agreement among linguists about how we might refine such explanations. At present, the only 'constraints' on such explanations appear to be the linguist's own theoretical background and imagination. Hence, there remains a degree of inderminacy in our explanations of linguistic change that is not likely to be eliminated in the foreseeable future. However, I believe that even mentalistic structural explanations can be tested by careful case studies of 'actuation problems', as I have attempted to do in a few instances (Paddock 1988/91; 1990; forthcoming). Such actuation problems help us choose between competing explanations by forcing us to explain 'Why ... changes in a structural feature take place in a particular language at a given time, but not in other languages with the same feature, or in the same language at other times' (Weinreich et al 1968: 102). I believe that real progress is possible if we concentrate careful and critical attention on such actuation problems in linguistic change.

TABLE 1.

**PHONOLOGICAL EXAMPLES: THE TWO *TH* VARIABLES.
ANGLO-IRISH STOP VARIANTS PRESERVE VOICING DISTINCTION
LOST IN SW ENGLAND VARIANTS.**

	THREE MAIN MIGRATIONS		
	A from 'Devonia'	**B from SE Ireland**	**C from 'Dorsetia'**
VOICELESS *TH* VARIABLE (θ)	**Variants:** [θ] *think* [ð] *dhink* [d] especially before R in *dree* 'three', etc.	**Main variant: dental stop** [t̪] *t'ink* 'think'	**Onset variants:** [θ] *think* [ð] *dhink* [d] especially before R in *dree* 'three', etc. **Coda variants:** [θ] *bath* [f] *baff* 'bath'
	Above two VOICED variants retreated in favour of following VOICELESS variants: first Anglo-Irish [t̪] or its alveolarized variant [t]; more recently Standard English [θ].	This dental variant [t̪] or its alveolarized variant [t] advanced steadily until halted by Standard English [θ].	Fates of onset variants as for Column A. Coda variant [f] now being replaced by voiceless stop variants [t̪] or [t] or by Standard [θ].
VOICED *TH* VARIABLE (ð)	**Variants:** [ð] *this* [d] *dis* 'dis'	**Main variant: dental stop** [d̪] *d'is* 'this'	**Onset variants:** [ð] *this* [d] *dis* 'this' **Coda variants:** [ð] *breathe* [v] *breave* 'breathe'
	Stop variants [d̪] and [d] steadily replaced fricative variant [ð] until [ð] was reinforced recently by standardization.	This dental variant [d̪] or its alveolarized variant [d] advanced steadily until halted recently by Standard English [ð].	Fate of onset variants as for Column A Coda variant [v] now mostly replaced by voiced stop variants [d̪] or [d] or by Standard [ð].

TABLE 2.

MORPHOSYNTACTIC EXAMPLES:
ONE TENSE AND TWO 'ASPECTS'

ELIMINATION OF *SYNONYMY* FOR TENSE *FORMS*
VERSUS ELIMINATION OF *POLYSEMY* FOR ASPECT *MEANINGS*.

	A from 'Devonia'	**B from SE Ireland**	**C from 'Dorsetia'**
ELIMINATION OF SYNONYMY.			
ITERATIVE OR HABITUAL 'PRESENT' TENSE	I *works* too hard. Reinforced by Anglo-Irish on Avalon Peninsula. (Suffix *-s* used on lexical verbs woth all subjects.)	I *works* too hard. Reinforced by 'Devonian' English on Avalon Peninsula.	I *da work* too hard. Retreated rapidly on Main Island of Newfoundland for both SOCIAL reasons (greater presitge of the Avalon Peninsula) and linguistic FORM reasons (the suffixed Avalon form being much closer to the standard form).
ELIMINATION OF POLYSEMY.			
RETRO-SPECTIVE (PERFECTIVE) ASPECT: 'speaker considers *consequences of* the deed'	I*'ve a-done* it. This variant held its own, perhaps because of its close similarity to Standard English in both FORM and MEANING.	I*'m after doin'* it. Its Anglo-Irish Retro-spective (Perfective) meaning advanced to solve the problem of HOMOPHONY with the English Prospective Aspect FORM shown below in Column C.	I*'ve a-done* it. As for Column A.
			I (*'ve*) *bin done* it Retreated rapidly because of SYNONYMY (i.e., surplus of forms), DISSIMILARITY from standard form, and low SOCIAL status.
PROSPECTIVE ASPECT: 'subject in hot *pursuit of* the deed'	?— ?	? — ?	I*'m after doin'* it. Retreated rapidly (but in MEANING only, not in surface FORM) because of HO-MOPHONY with Anglo-Irish Retrospective Aspect form.

TABLE 3.

LEXICAL EXAMPLES:
INSECTS VERSUS CONIFERS

ELIMINATION OF *SYNONYMY* IN NAMES FOR *INSECTS*
VERSUS CREATION OF *ANTONYMY* IN NAMES FOR *CONIFERS*.

	A from 'Devonia.	B from SE Ireland	C from 'Dorsetia'
a.	ELIMINATION OF SYNONOMY A FORM SHARED BY BOTH ENGLISH MIGRATIONS REPLACES AN ANGLO-IRISH FORM.		
'ant'	*emmet* Gradually replaced Anglo-Irish *pismire* on Avalon Peninsula	*pismire* Gradually replaced by SW English *emmet* (perhaps aided by a taboo factor in vulgarity of *piss* element).	*emmet* Holds its own on Main Island of Newfoundland with reinforcement from the more prestigious Avalon Peninsula.
'dragon-fly'	*horse-stinger* Gradually replaced Anglo-Irish *devil's darning needle* on the Avalon Peninsula	*devil's darning needle* Either replaced or underwent semantic change (to more appropriate referent) on the Avalon Peninsula; but borrowed into Newfoundland French due to Anglo-Irish background of Catholic priests.	*horse-stinger* Holds its own on Main Island of Newfoundland with reinforcement from the more prestigious Avalon Peninsula.
b.	CREATION OF ANTONYMY (SURPLUS SYNONYM USED TO CREATE ANTONYM) ENGLISH BORROW IRISH WORD AND CHANGE ITS MEANING (AND FORM)		
'small stunted trees, dry branches, or stumps used for firewood'	*grout*	*starrigan*	*cran, crannick, cronnick, crunnick* and *scrag*
'straight evergreen saplings'	? — ?	? — ?	English borrowed Anglo-Irish *starrigan* with change of MEANING; and changes of FORM to *stalligan, staddigan, stattican*. (Folk etymology based on appearance and/or uses?)

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