

Grammatical convergence or microvariation? Subject doubling in English in a French dominant town

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Abstract. In French, subject doubling is “quite common” (e.g. Nadasdi 1995, Auger 1998, Thibault 1983, Zahler 2014) but in English it is rare (Southard & Muller 1998). Yet when anglophones speak French, they use subject doubling with French patterns (Nagy et al. 2003). In this paper, we analyze subject doubling in English in a bilingual French-English town. Using a large corpus and statistical modelling, we show that there is no difference between language groups, and neither sex, education nor job type are significant. The nature of the subject is the major predictor of doubling and there is a significant decrease among middle-aged speakers, suggesting mid-life social pressures on vernacular norms. Although subject doubling is low frequency, it is not stable across generations in the different language origin groups. While subject doubling may be a feature of vernacular dialects more generally, involving marking focus or topic marking as reported in other languages, in Kapuskasing when anglophones use it, they are accommodating to French patterns.

Keywords. subject doubling; convergence; Canadian English; North America; language change; language contact; Canadian French

1. Subject Doubling: a salient dialect feature. The small town of Kapuskasing, Ontario has a distinctly French flavor in the variety of English spoken by community members. Perhaps the most salient of these is SUBJECT DOUBLING, a type of left-dislocation that has also been described as a pronominal appositive, where the subject of the clause appears twice. In many cases, a full NP subject comes first, as in (1); however, the noun in 1st position can also be an object pronoun, as in (2).

(1) My parents, they separated.

(2) Me, I really like apples.

This type of subject doubling is a well-known and salient feature of Canadian French, as in (3), where it is described as “quite common”, and attested in many studies (Nadasdi 1995, Auger 1998, Thibault 1983, Zahler 2014). Nagy et al. (2003) discovered that anglophones in Montreal speaking French use it with French patterns.

(3) Ma copine, elle venait me voir des fois.
'My friend, she used to come to see me sometimes.'

In contrast to French, subject doubling is considered rare in English. However, it is reported in vernacular speech in the Southern US (Southard & Muller 1998, Wolfram & Christian 1976).

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Examples (4)–(6) are all from Mark Twain’s *Huckleberry Finn* (quoted in Southard & Muller 1998).

(4) The door, it slammed to.

(5) The widow, she cried over me.

(6) Jim, he grumbled a little.

The issue of importance to this study is that in Kapuskasing, both francophones and anglophones used subject doubling regularly when they were speaking English *or* French.



Figure 2. Map of Ontario and Quebec, showing Kapuskasing, Toronto and Montreal (Adapted from: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ontario_Locator_Map.svg)

Thus, the Kapuskasing data exhibits a canonical feature of (Canadian) French, but it is salient among community members when they are speaking English, as in (7) and (8), from anglophone women, aged 24 and 84 years old.

(7) Alice Cooper, he plays Sudbury all the time. (*ktill, anglophone, female, b. 1992, age 24*)

(8) And this lady waiting in the car, she says, “Yes, yes, that’s a grandma. That’s not a stranger.” (*olaforge, anglophone, female, b. 1932, age 84*)

What is the linguistic source of this subject doubling in the English of Kapuskasing? Do francophones and anglophones use subject doubling the same way when they speak English? Are the anglophones assimilating to French patterns, or are they using a lesser-known vernacular English pattern that has not yet been studied thoroughly in North American dialects? What, overall, explains subject doubling in English in this community?

2. The data. The data come from the Ontario Dialects Project, a long-term project on Ontario English with the overarching aim of documenting Ontario dialects (Tagliamonte 2003-2006; 2007-2010; 2010-2013; 2013-2018). Data collection started in Toronto in 2002 and as of 2018, the archive comprises conversational interviews from 19 communities (see the map in Figure 1) stretching from Toronto in the south to 850 kilometers northwards into the near-north of Ontario. The data in the archive come from over 900 speakers born from 1879 to the early 2000s, ranging

in age from 9-100. The communities under investigation range from urban to rural, with a wide variety of population sizes and distances from Toronto, the main urban center of Ontario. They also contrast by economic base and nature of the social networks of the community. This permits investigation and insight into language variation across social and geographic space.¹

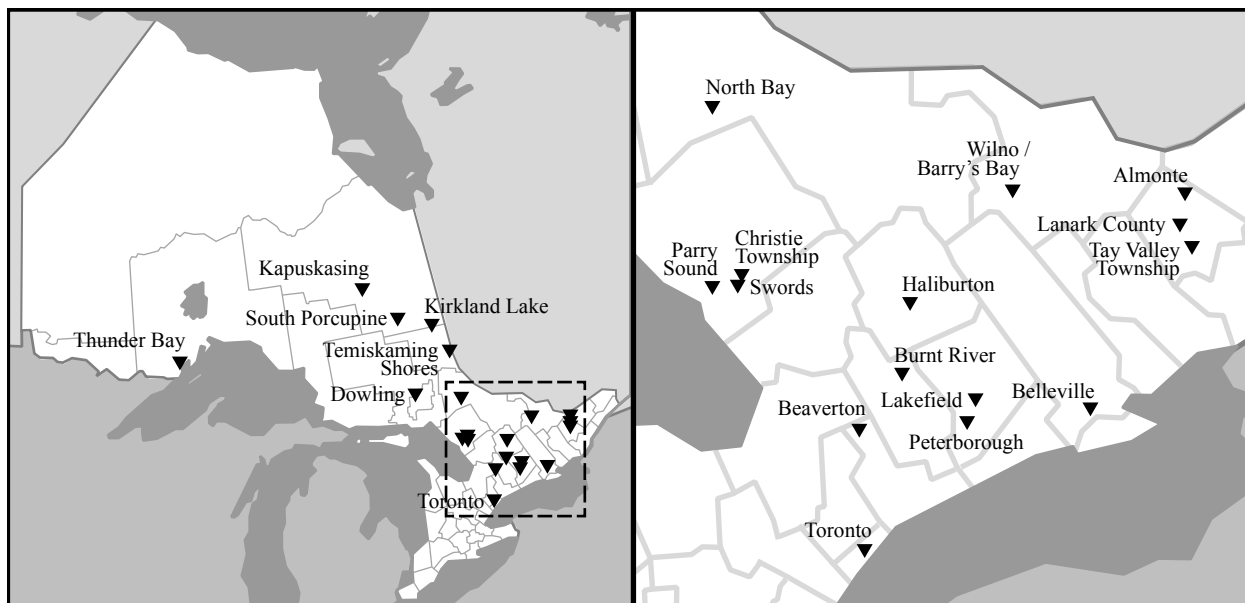


Figure 1. Map of Ontario, with Ontario Dialects Project communities (Adapted from: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ontario_Locator_Map.svg)

In 2016, the small town of Kapuskasing, or “Kap”, as the locals call it, was added to the Ontario Dialects Project. This community is located approximately 500 miles (850 km) from Toronto, a 9-hour drive north and westwards, making it relatively isolated from mainstream Ontario. Indeed, the nearest shopping mall is two hours away. It was founded in the 1920s with a current population of approximately 8,292 (Statistics Canada, 2016 Census of Population). The main industry is pulp and paper. Kimberly-Clark Corporation, makers of Kleenex, and the *New York Times*, needed a steady supply of paper products. Therefore they teamed up to form the Spruce Falls Power and Paper Company, built a mill, dammed the Mattagami River, put in a power plant and a railroad, and leased the cutting rights to 4300 sq. miles of boreal forest in the surrounding area. These companies also built the town of Kapuskasing. Today, the pulp and paper mill is still in operation, and remains a source of community pride, particularly since it was sold to employees and Tembec in the early 1990s, when Kimberly-Clarke and the *New York Times* pulled out. The (now) Tembec-Spruce Falls mill and the Mattagami River dominate the community landscape and the economic situation (Dunlap 2017; Town of Kapuskasing 2010).

A particularly germane characteristic of Kapuskasing is its distinctness from other communities in Ontario. French is the one of Canada’s official languages, but it is by far the minority language in the province of Ontario as a whole, at only 4%. However, Kapuskasing is a majority francophone speaking town, with over 65% primary-francophone speakers, and over 70% of residents reporting knowledge of both English and French. (Statistics Canada, 2016 Census of Population). Anglophones and francophones have been living together in long-term contact in Kapuskasing since the early 1900s. Moreover, the high and increasing rate of reported bilingualism as compared to the rest of Ontario (and Canada) offers a unique opportunity for

¹ <http://ontariodialects.chass.utoronto.ca/> Accessed 2-19-18.

studying the possible effects of language contact in a direction rarely considered in the Canadian context — French influence on English.

Another characteristic of relevance is the nature of Kapuskasing as a community and its close-knit social networks and positive community character. It was built as a model of community planning, with a unique layout of streets radiating outwards from the town center, promoting social engagement. The surrounding area is rich in natural resources, hunting and fishing. There is a strong religious tradition and many community activities. The people who live in Kapuskasing, such as the individual in (9), espouse the overall community ethos.

(9) I love growing up here though. The community was small. All my neighbors are really close. It was nice for that. We live right down the street. So school was close. The parks were always close. Yup. Um, no, I liked growing up here. My family is very outdoors. We go moose hunting. We go fishing, partridge hunting, so the environment works for us. We're constantly outdoors. (*jkelly, anglophone, female, b. 1997, age 19*)

A significant trend we captured in our interviews was that the language norms of the community have changed dramatically over the 20th century. As implied by the speaker in (10), English was once the dominant language. However, the youngest generation in the community, such as the speaker in (11), are mostly bilingual and lead highly bilingual lives.

(10) Most of the French people I know, we can talk English to them. (*bjuhola, anglophone, male, b. 1928, age 88*)

(11) I've been in the English schools my whole life. I went to Saint Pat's before here, but I was in French Immersion, so ... it was a lot of French and English, so. ... I've been around French a lot. (*brockwell, anglophone, male, b. 1998, age 18*)

3. Methodology. Given this background, we endeavoured to conduct an accountable analysis of a characteristic linguistic feature of the community, in this case subject doubling. Fieldwork in the community had produced a unique parallel corpus of both anglophones and francophones which enabled us to construct a sociolinguistically stratified sample, balanced by mother tongue (anglophones and francophones), sex (men and women) and age (young up to 29, mid 30-59, older 60+). In total, we extracted data from N=46 speakers using Nagy et al. (2003) as a model, circumscribing the variable context to include all clauses with a strong 3rd person subject, pronoun or noun phrase (Nagy et al. 2003: 82). Following variationist sociolinguistic methods, we approached subject doubling using the principle of accountability (Labov 1982: 30), "all occurrences of a given variant are noted, and where it has been possible to define the variable as a closed set of variants, all non-occurrences of the variant in the relevant circumstances". We extracted all first and third person subjects, whether there was a doubled subject or not. Doubled subjects outside of first and third person contexts were rare, as in (12) from an anglophone.

(12) Yourself, you're born and raised in Toronto? (*pirwin, anglophone, male, b. 1982, age 33*)

Doubled first person pronouns occurred in francophone speakers, as in (13), as well as anglophones, as in (14). Therefore we extracted both first person and third person subjects to assess their usage patterns.

(13) My brother went overseas and me, I come home. (*rdeschernes, francophone, male, b. 1925, age 91*)

(14) Uh myself, I was running the main stage where all the A-Class competitors were going. So, me, I had about fifteen people I was managing to clean up, prepare... (*pirwin, anglophone, male, b. 1982, age 33*)

This method of extraction from a balanced sampled of twelve speakers (six anglophones and six francophones) revealed that subject doubling was extremely sparse in all contexts except for NP subjects. Third person pronoun subjects, as in (15) and (16) were rarely doubled, even less so than the highly salient first person subjects, as in (17) and (18):

(15) And him, he's a tailor. (*hrubanich, anglophone, male, b. 1998, age 18*)

(16) This, it's a lot of math. (*pirwin, anglophone, male, b. 1982, age 33*)

(17) Myself, I've learned to understand French. (*dtrent, anglophone, female, b. 1962, age 54*)

(18) We looked at each other, and somebody, we said, "Mais peut- tre je dirais, 'Je travail au kiosque.'" (*arousseleau, francophone, male, b. 1982, age 33*)

Table 1 gives the overall distribution of subject doubling for these twelve speakers, by type of subject. Overall, the rate of subject doubling was very low, about 2%.

	% doubled	N	Total N
noun phrase	8.8%	179	2033
indefinite pronoun (some/any/every/no + body/one)	1.2%	2	168
other pronoun (both, one)	0%	0	44
demonstrative pronoun (this, that, these, those)	0.6%	1	161
1p. sg. 'I'	1.1%	47	4358
1p. pl. 'we'	0%	0	863
3p. sg. 'he/she'	0.5%	8	1775
3p. sg. 'it'	0%	0	1049
3p. pl. 'they'	0%	0	621
Total N	2.2%	237	11072

Table 1. Distribution of subject doubling by type of subject, N=12 individuals

In the same sample of twelve individuals there was an overall frequency of 8.8% doubling for NP subjects only. Therefore we narrowed our variable context to only NP subjects and extracted these from an additional 34 individuals. Table 2 shows the overall distribution of subject doubling in NP subjects for all 46 speakers.

	% doubled	N	Total N
noun phrase subjects	10.1%	693	6828

Table 2. Distribution of subject doubling, NP subjects only, N=46 individuals

Table 2 shows an overall rate of 10.1% subject doubling for NP subjects. Notice that doubled NP subjects range across different types: proper names (19, see also (7) above), humans (20), collectives of humans (21) activities (22-23), organizations (24), places (25) and things (26). We return to subject animacy below.

(19) Marcel, he couldn't talk a word French but he was a French. (*rdeschesnes, francophone, male, b. 1925, age 91*)

(20) The girls, some of them went to school. Some of them got married at sixteen, seventeen. (*mmudri, francophone, female, b.1936, age 80*)

(21) Of course, this is why so many French people, they lost their language. (*mouvrard, francophone, male, b. 1938, age 78*)

- (22) Also my grade eight trip, that was fun. (*jkelly, anglophone, female, b. 1997, age 19*)
- (23) Interviewer: Where's the stag? KT: The stag, it is at K. C. hall. (*ktill, anglophone, female, b. 1992, age 24*)
- (24) Like, Rexall, I think it's an independent pharmacy but Walmart, it's with the Walmart, and Loblaws, it's an independent. Shoppers, it's like a pharmacy but it's like a store as well, you know, it's--? (*flamarche, francophone, male, b. 1998, age 18*)²
- (25) The Roman Colosseum, that was amazing. (*atrepanier, francophone, female, b.1998, age 18*)
- (26) ...uh the onions- the onions, they last us about two- two, three months, but then we have to buy some. (*flamarche, francophone, male, b. 1998, age 18*)

There is also a type of subject doubling where the subject is moved to the right periphery of the sentence. This, as in (27)–(30), was very rare in our data (N=10); however, since it was found with both anglophones and francophones, it was included for analysis.

- (27) She said, “Uh, he’s on--, he’s resting.” Well I said, “Tell him to un-rest because I’m walk- I walked from Hornepayne to here, me.” And I said ah- ah from the camp to here, now I got seven miles I walked. (*rdeschesnes, francophone, male, b. 1925, age 91*)
- (28) Spruce Fall had a camp there, them, they had two camp and I went and hauled there with my four. (*rdeschesnes, francophone, male, b. 1925, age 91*)
- (29) He was a good cook. He was a sea scout, my father. (*jtetley, anglophone, male, b. 1943, age 73*)
- (30) Well, he built the home with his- the help of his father when they lived out in the country when they were first married, my mother and dad. (*vbuckingham, anglophone, female, b. 1934, age 81*)

4. Analysis. We coded each token for social and linguistic predictors: year of birth, sex, education, occupation and mother tongue, and features of the subject: grammatical person, animacy, and concrete/abstractness. We then conducted distributional analysis and statistical modeling, including conditional inference trees and mixed effects models using R (Team 2007), to determine significant conditioning factors for subject doubling.

Figures 3-6 shows near equal frequency of subject doubling between anglophones and francophones (Figure 3), a small difference between men and women (Figure 4), a little more for education (Figure 5), and white collar works exhibit a relatively low frequency (Figure 6).

² This construction could be a calque from French; however, because the subject was doubled, such examples have been included.

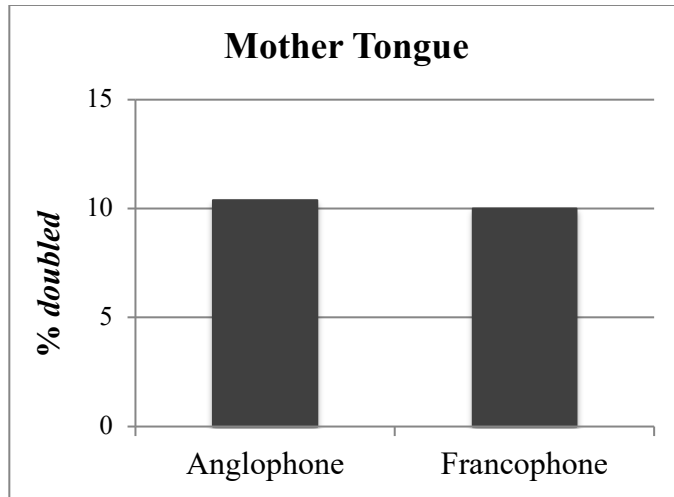


Figure 3. Distribution of subject doubling by mother tongue

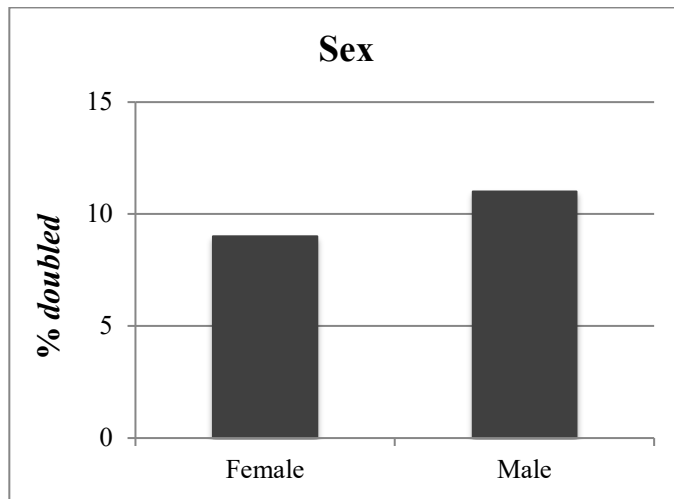


Figure 4. Distribution of subject doubling by speaker sex

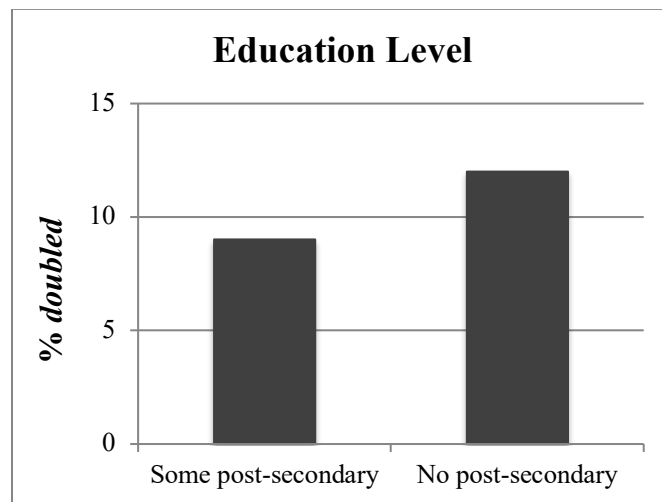


Figure 5. Distribution of subject doubling by speaker level of education

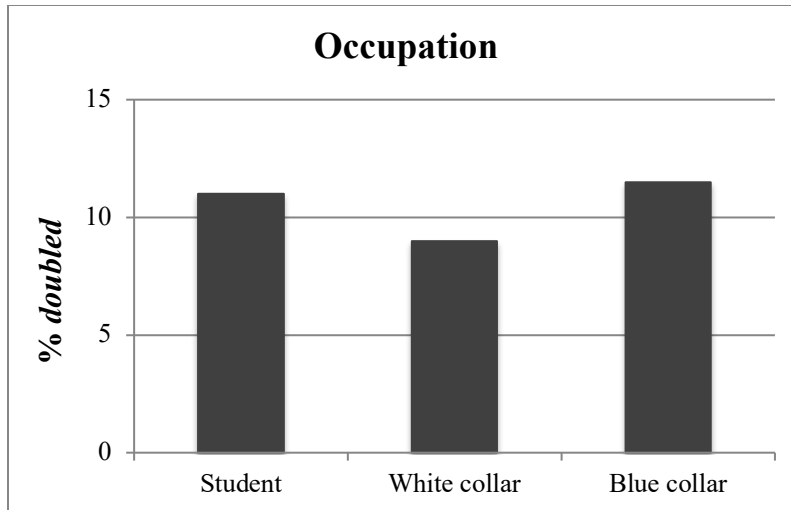


Figure 6. Distribution of subject doubling by speaker occupation

Figure 7 illustrates the effect of animacy. Proper names, on the left side of the chart, exhibit the most subject doubling while places and things, on the right side, have it the least. Notably, anglophones (the lighter bars) and francophones (the darker bars) are patterning in tandem — exactly what we would expect from the overall distribution in Figure 3.

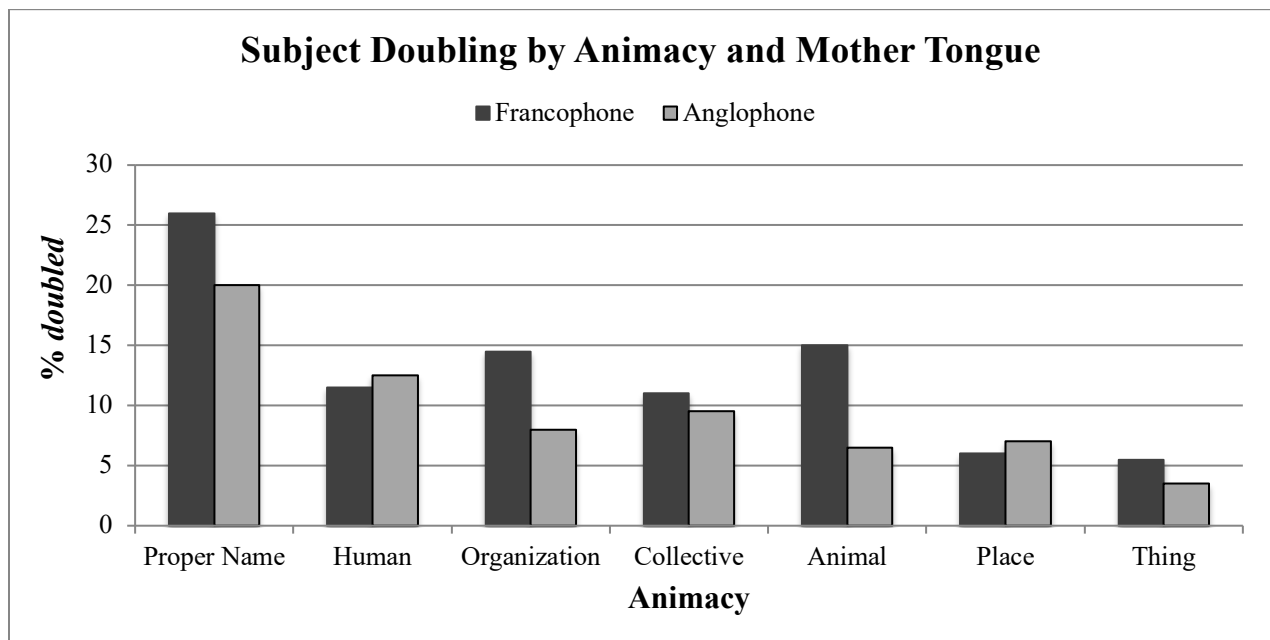


Figure 7. Cross-tabulation of subject animacy by mother tongue

The similarities between anglophones and francophones with regards to animacy are demonstrated in (31), from a francophone and in (32), from an anglophone.

(31) Our household is French. My husband and I, we decided that it was French, so my kids were brought up in French... (*lgadbois, anglophone, female, b. 1961, age 55*)

(32) Anyways, it's pretty fun, like, me and my grandpa, we have like a really close relationship. (*sgagnon, francophone, male, b. 1999, age 17*)

Figure 8 shows the proportion of subject doubling by date of birth. Both anglophones and francophones show a decrease in usage among middle-aged speakers, those born 1950-59. This distributional pattern suggests that mid-life social pressures may depress this highly salient and vernacular feature. Interestingly, among individuals born in the 60's and 70's, francophones are distinguished from anglophones by a much higher proportion of subject doubling.

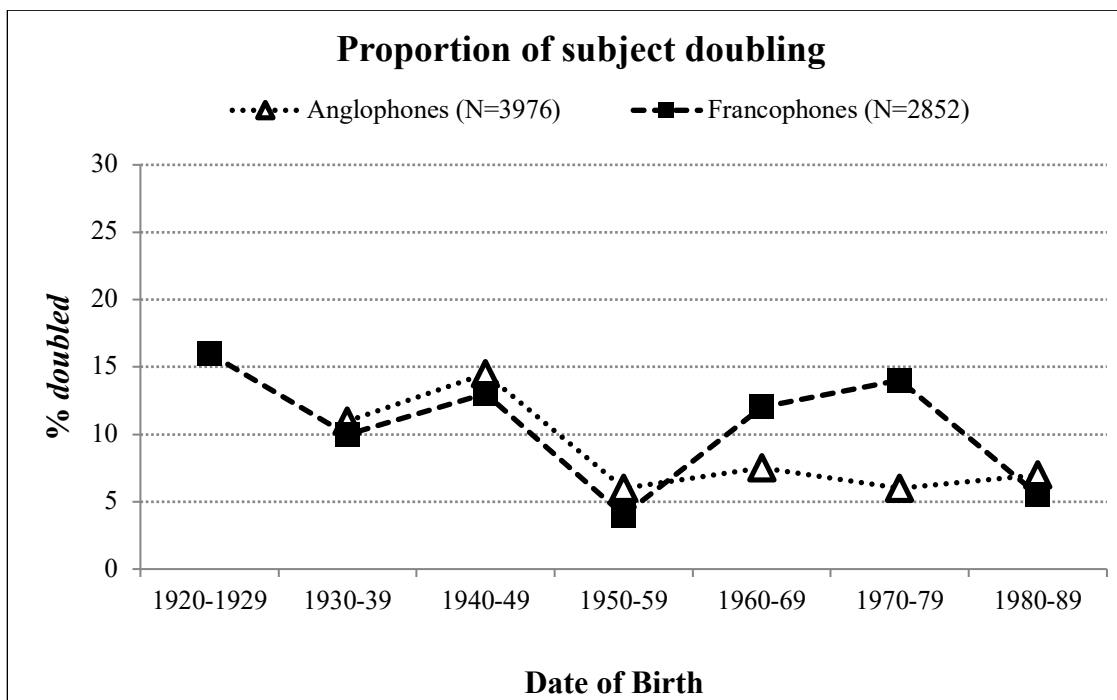


Figure 8. Cross-tabulation of subject animacy by mother tongue

Figure 9 zeros in on the effect of animacy but now distinguishing speaker age and language background.

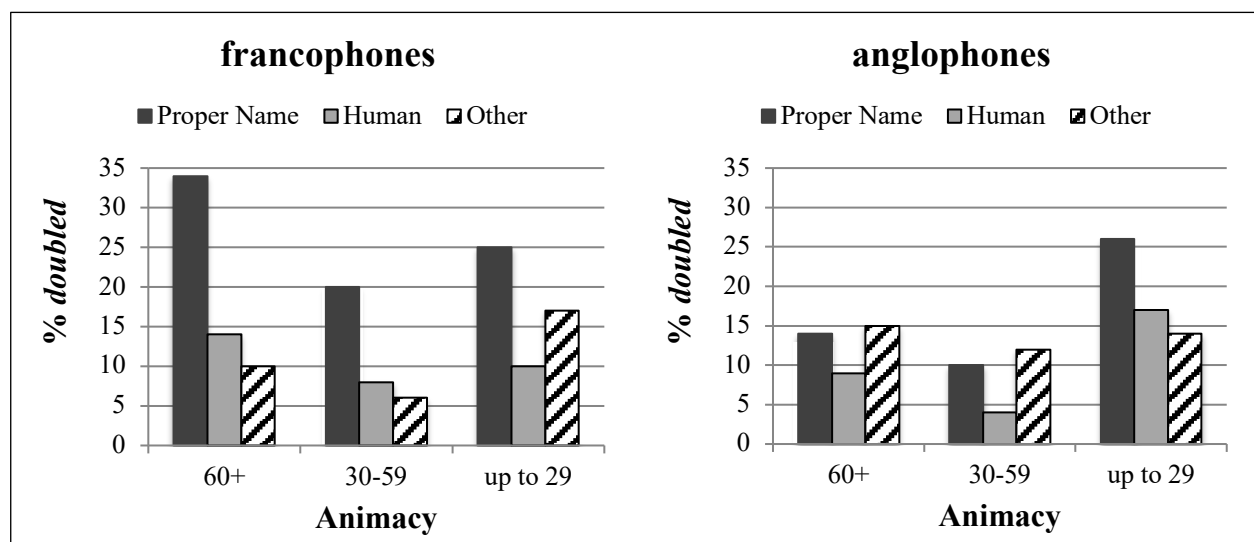


Figure 9. Cross-tabulation of subject animacy by age and mother tongue

In Figure 9, francophones are on the left side and anglophones on the right. The distribution of subject doubling is shown by age, binned into three age groups, those over 60 on the left of each

chart, the 30-59 year-olds in the middle of each, and the youngest generation on the right of each. Proper names are the black bars, other human subjects are the grey bars, and all non-human subjects are the striped bars.

There are striking differences in patterning for the older anglophones versus the older francophones in the two age cohorts, (30-59 and 60+) on the left of each chart. The pattern is coherent within the same mother tongue cohort, but francophones and anglophones are not patterning in the same way. In contrast, among the younger generation (up to 29), the anglophones are using more subject doubling for human subjects (the darkest bar), aligning with the younger francophones. The other subject types show heightened use among the young anglophones compared to the older anglophones.

In sum, we have so far established that there are both social and linguistic factors determining the use of subject doubling in Kapuskasing. Moreover, there is a V-shaped curve by date of birth, suggesting age-grading in the middle-aged speakers of both groups, francophones and anglophones. Further, there is a shift in linguistic patterning from oldest to younger speakers. We now turn to statistical modelling in order to assess the significance of these patterns when all factors are considered simultaneously.

5. Statistical modelling. We begin with the view from a conditional inference tree (Tagliamonte 2012b: 152-156; Tagliamonte & Baayen 2012) in Figure 10. This visualization of social and linguistic factors shows the use of subject doubling in the light grey areas of the bars.

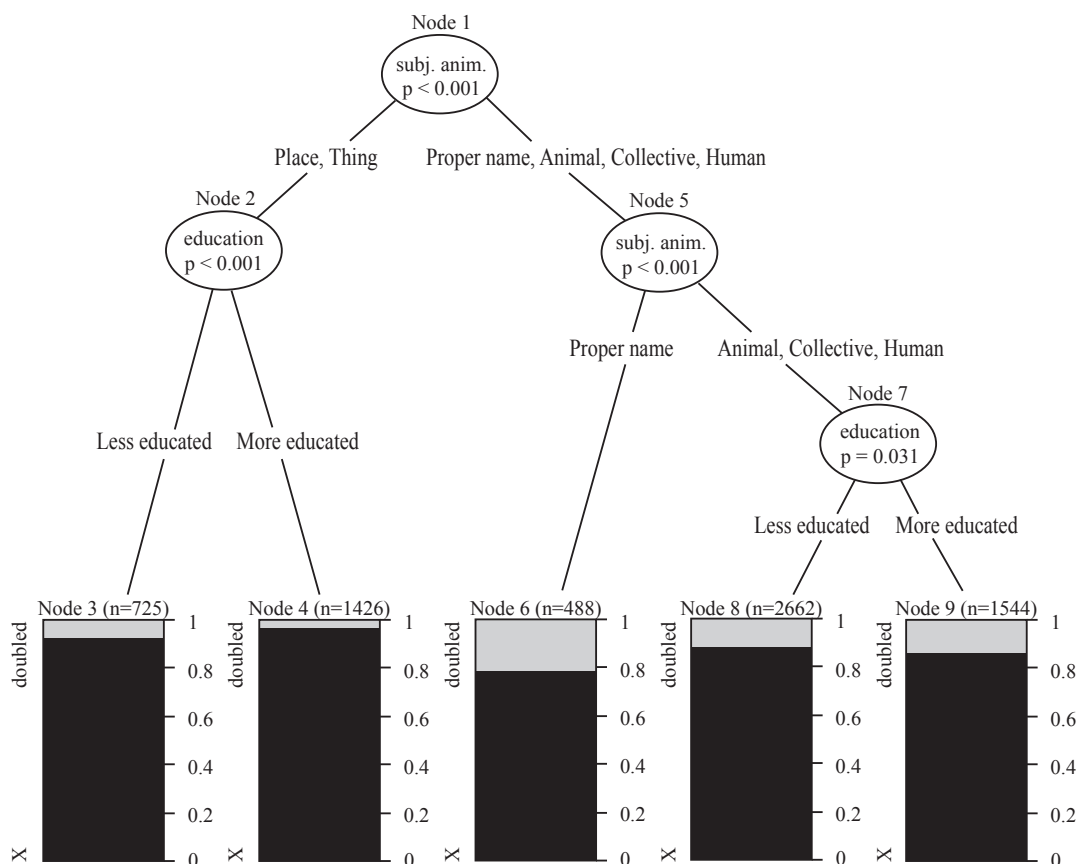


Figure 10. Conditional inference tree of linguistic and social factors

The dominant effect is linguistic, the main split at the top (node 1). This indicates that there is a significant difference in the amount of doubled subjects depending on whether the subject is

animate (proper names, animals, collections of humans or humans) or not (places, things). Subjects that are proper names are doubled the most (nodes 5 & 6), and places and things are doubled significantly less (node 1, left side). There is a secondary effect of education (node 2, node 7), where speakers with more formal education use less doubling (node 4, node 9), consistent with the overall distributions — less educated speakers use subject doubling more (node 3, node 8), consistent with the fact that it is a vernacular feature.

Next, we subject the data to a linear mixed effects model (Bates et al. 2015; Tagliamonte 2012b: 144-152) in R (Team 2007) to validate the results presented in the distributional analyses and conditional inference tree. Table 3 and Table 4 show models that include the main predictors of sex, age, mother tongue, education, occupation, subject animacy, and subject concreteness, with individual as a random effect. The stars indicate whether the factors (variables) are significant and to what degree, as per the significance codes listed at the bottom of the table.

Random effects:						
Groups	Name	Variance	Std.Dev.			
Individual	(Intercept)	0.2204	0.4694			
Number of observations: 6827 , groups: INDIVIDUALS: 46						
Fixed effects:						
(Intercept)	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr. (> z)		
	1.60364	0.49775	3.222	0.00127	**	
AGE GROUP						Ns/Cell
Age 17-29						1829
Age 30-59	0.94093	0.36691	2.564	0.01033	*	2661
Age 60+	0.33957	0.38849	0.874	0.38208		2355
SUBJECT ANIMACY						
Human						3424
Human groups	0.32150	0.11781	2.729	0.00635	**	2303
Non-human	0.96939	0.12277	7.896	2.89e-15	***	1108
SUBJECT CONCRETE-ABSTRACT						
Abstract						1157
Concrete	-0.20649	0.15879	-1.300	0.19346		5674
MOTHER TONGUE						
Anglophone						3981
Francophone	-0.01883	0.17326	-0.109	0.91346		2864
SEX						
Female						3757
Male	-0.32525	0.17643	-1.844	0.06525	.	3088
EDUCATION						
No post-2ndary						2488
Some post-2ndary	0.09200	0.27733	0.332	0.74009		4357
OCCUPATION						
Blue Collar						1386
White Collar	0.06804	0.26679	0.255	0.79869		4058
Student	0.57771	0.46925	1.231	0.21827		1401

Significance codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1						

Table 3. Mixed-effects logistic regression for the use of subject doubling

This analysis is based on 46 individuals and nearly 7000 tokens and includes a random effect of individual. The results of the model confirm that education, job type or mother tongue are significant, and there is only a minor effect of sex. There are no significant differences between anglophones and francophones overall. The major predictor of subject doubling in both

language groups is subject animacy consistent with the conditional inference tree. Proper names and humans are significantly different from groups of humans and non-human subjects. Other than that, only age is significant. The drop in the use of subject doubling with the middle-age speakers is significant. Recall from Figure 9, however, that there appeared to be some changes going on among the youngest generation of speakers in this community.

To assess this statistically, Table 4 presents the same model, but now includes an interaction term for subject animacy and mother tongue. Once again age group and subject animacy are the most significant predictors; however, now it is apparent that their interaction is also significant.

Random effects:						
Groups	Name	Variance	Std.Dev.			
Individual	(Intercept)	0.2707	0.5203			
Number of observations: 6827 , groups: INDIVIDUALS: 46						
Fixed effects:						
	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr. (> z)		
(Intercept)	1.8609	0.2394	7.773	7.65e-15	***	
AGE GROUP						
Age 17-29						Ns/Cell 1829
Age 30-59	0.6065	0.2248	2.699	0.00696	**	2661
Age 60+	-0.1005	0.2189	-0.459	0.64602		2355
SUBJECT ANIMACY						
Human						3424
Human groups	0.5466	0.1671	3.271	0.00107	**	2303
Non-human	1.2049	0.1602	7.521	5.43e-14	***	1108
SUBJECT CONCRETE-ABSTRACT						
Abstract						1157
Concrete	-0.1978	0.1591	-1.244	0.21353		5674
MOTHER TONGUE						
Anglophone						3981
Francophone	0.1994	0.1943	1.026	0.30491		2864
INTERACTION TERM						
Non-human/Franco	-0.5492	0.2182	-2.517	0.01183	*	
Human/Franco	-0.4907	0.2321	-2.114	0.03450	*	

Significance codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1						

Table 4. Mixed-effects logistic regression for the use of subject doubling with interaction term

This result indicates that the use of subject doubling among the youngest generation of anglophones, who use subject doubling most with proper names [proper name > all other subjects], is a significant change. Importantly, this development is towards French norms, which suggests that the anglophones are aligning with francophone patterns. Examples (33) and (34) illustrate this, with a young female francophone doubling with a proper place name, and a young male anglophone doubling a proper personal name.

(33) Capri, that was beautiful. (*atrepanier, francophone, female, b.1998, age 18*)

(34) Wes, he has like- he calls them 'shit shows'. (*hrubanich, anglophone, male, b. 1998, age 18*)

Taken together, these results align with previous studies of French in demonstrating that subject doubling is a linguistically conditioned feature of informal usage with minor social conditioning. However, in Kapuskasing subject doubling is characteristic of English, and there is no overall difference in the frequency of subject doubling between anglophones and francophones when speaking English. Moreover, both language groups show a significant decrease in usage among

middle-aged speakers, suggesting that this vernacular feature is similarly responsive to mid-life social pressures across groups. Both trends lead to the hypothesis that subject doubling is a general vernacular phenomenon. Yet there is a significant reorganization in the nature of the linguistic patterns of subject doubling from one generation to the next.

6. Discussion and Conclusions.

We now return to the question of explanation. What is the origin of subject doubling in the English of Kapuskasing? We cannot definitively conclude that it comes from French. First, subject doubling is a low frequency and socially patterned vernacular feature across generations in the community, regardless of language background. Second, it is found in other Ontario communities where there is no possible influence from French. For example, subject doubling is present in Parry Sound/Christie Township, an area shown on the right side of the map in Figure 1. In this community, with real-time data going back to the late 1800s, subject doubling tends to occur with proper names and human subjects, as in (35)–(39), just as with the older anglophones in Kapuskasing.

(35) Grandpa- Grandpa Cloyd, he died in nineteen twenty-nine, I think. (*maldaire, female, b. late 1800s or early 1900s, Swords, Ontario*)

(36) And one girl, she was a boxer. (*wlondon, male, b. 1895, Swords, Ontario*)

(37) And our youngest one, he will volunteer more ‘cause he has my- you-know, he likes being around people and talking to people. (*jmckinnon, male, b. 1956, age 62, Parry Sound, Ontario*)

(38) ...so um, my dad ah, he brought me with- to [name] in Magnetawan, and that North Star Hotel. (*eheath, female, b. 1918, age 91, Parry Sound, Ontario*)

(39) ...and then my dad, he was over the blacksmith shop too at the Peters’ Mill. (*eolds, female, b. 1899, age 92, Parry Sound, Ontario*)

This evidence could mean that subject doubling functions to mark focus or topic in interaction, a common feature cross-linguistically. However, the analysis exposes a critical restructuring of the linguistic patterns of subject doubling that exposes increasing alignment across language groups.

Subject doubling requires further comparative study with respect to frequency and linguistic patterns in other communities. This information will provide key evidence for how to more fully explain the patterns in Kapuskasing, and this phenomenon more generally. In addition, examination of other vernacular features of Kapuskasing English that have a French ‘flavor’ need to be conducted such as the use of the copula, as in (40), existential *it* constructions, as in (41), and discourse-pragmatic *there* in (42):

(40) In my whole school, like we’re two fifty in the school, thirty musician I’d say. (*flamarche, francophone, male, b. 1998, age 18*)

(41) It was always a snow-storm on the TV. (*ajackman, anglophone, male, b. 1937, age 79*)

(42) We lost a lot of jobs there. (*brockwell, anglophone, male, b. 1998, age 18*)

For now, we suggest that the vernacular style of this bilingual community includes a feature — subject doubling — that exhibits increasing alignment in the linguistic behaviour of English heritage speaker to patterns of French heritage speakers. The preliminary conclusion is that French is influencing the use of English in Kapuskasing.

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