

Strathy Undergraduate Working Papers
on
Canadian English

Volume 2, 2001

Strathy Language Unit
Queen's University
Kingston, Ontario

Edited by E. Gold and J. McAlpine



Queen's
UNIVERSITY



**STRATHY UNDERGRADUATE WORKING PAPERS
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CANADIAN ENGLISH**

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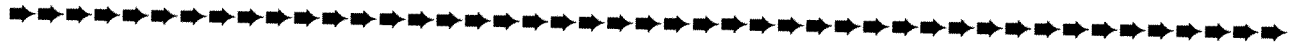
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Preface to Volume 2

We are pleased to present the second volume in this series of undergraduate linguistics papers on Canadian English. Volume 2 presents the work of the LING 202 class, taught by Dr. Elaine Gold, at Queen's University in the fall of 2000. LING 202 is a second year half-course that investigates regional and social dialects in Canada and Standard Canadian English. Because the course has no prerequisites, some students have no previous training in linguistics, while others are concentrating in the field. The class of 2000 included two European exchange students, who viewed Canadian English from an international perspective and with the different insights of the non-native speaker. All the students were required to do a research project, and the fruits of their labours are in the papers that follow. These papers range over topics such as African English in Nova Scotia, Yiddish terms in urban Canadian English, an inter-tribal trading language in pre-Confederation British Columbia, the language policies of the CBC, and a well-known Canadian diphthongal shibboleth that affects how we say words such as *ice* and *out*. Enjoy the collection.

We would like to thank Linda Garrison, Administrator of the Strathy Language Unit, for designing this book.

E. Gold
J. McAlpine



Copies of this publication are available at a cost of \$9.00 if shipped, or \$5.00, if picked up at the office. Volume 1 is also available at the same price.

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MARITIME ENGLISH IS FUNNER – BUT ONTARIO ENGLISH IS MORE FUN!

Laura Hawkes

Perhaps *funner* (or *more fun*) is not the first expression which tends to come to mind when thinking about the English language in general. However, people do tend to quickly prick up their ears and pay attention when they hear about something a little closer to home: *their* dialect, *their* own way of saying things, *their* cultivated peculiarities of the English language. In response to a 20-question survey, Maritimers (i.e., residents of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island), along with Ontarians, put forth their opinions on just how fun (or just how much fun) *their* English is.

The survey (see Appendix A for a complete list of the questions) was e-mailed to a list of people gathered through personal contacts in the Maritimes and Ontario. Subjects were encouraged to send the survey on to anyone who they felt would enjoy taking part in the study. In total, 76 usable surveys were collected. In order for the survey to be usable, subjects had to have English as their mother tongue and have lived in the area in question (either the Maritimes or Ontario) since at least the age of six. If a respondent met the above criteria, but was currently living in a geographical area other than his/her home region for the purposes of attending university, that person's survey was counted with those of their home region. The majority of the respondents stated that they were currently university students, and all were within the 18-30 age group. Of the 76 respondents, 37 were Maritimers (9 male, 28 female) and 39 were Ontarians (13 male, 26 female).

To turn now to the questions, for twelve of the twenty questions, the responses from the Maritimes and Ontario varied more than 20% with responses to two questions differing in excess of 50%. For the remaining eight questions there was little variation, and, therefore, they will not be discussed in this paper. The results for these eight questions can be found in Appendix B. (Please note that all numbers given in charts in this paper represent the *percentage* of respondents who made that choice.)

A quick analysis of the 12 questions displaying significant Ontario-Maritime variation showed that gender did not prove to be an important factor except in two cases. Males had a slightly higher instance of "Me and Robert" (question 17) reportings than

did females, and this held true over both geographical regions. This choice, in addition to being considered ungrammatical by the majority of the population, is more self-centered as the speaker is putting himself or herself first. The second question which indicated some male/female variation was about the slang term for not attending class (question 12). Males were 31% less likely to choose the (girlish) term *skipped*, and instead made use of more forceful words such as *cut* and *ditched*. The full set of data for these two questions can be found in Appendix C.

Moving back to the Maritime-Ontario comparison, three main tools were used to analyze the results: a British dictionary, *The New Oxford Dictionary of English*, an American dictionary, *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*, and a Canadian dictionary, *The Canadian Oxford Dictionary*. All were used to examine word origins, pronunciations, and grammatical acceptability.

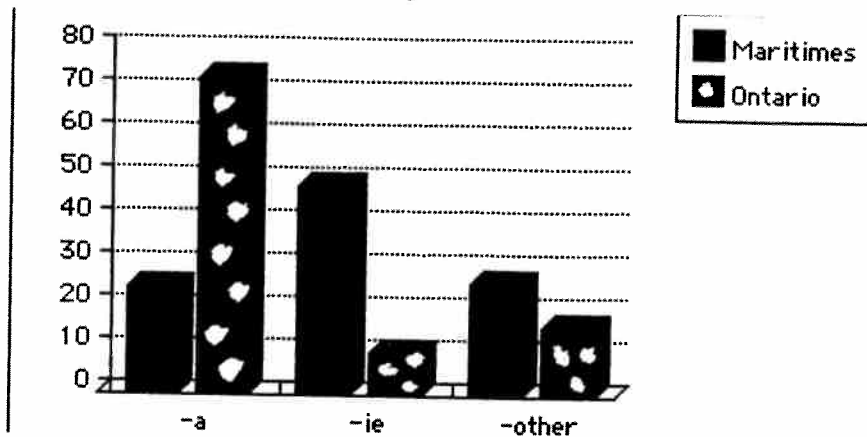
The very first question of the survey produced a plethora of answers about what children call their grandparents (listed in full in Appendix D). The results did show a clear Maritime-Ontario distinction.

Table 1: Common Names for Grandparents

	Maritimes	Ontario
Grandma	5	33
Grandpa	7	28
Grammie	13	0
Grampie	20	3

The above table shows the top two Ontario and top two Maritime answers. It should be noted that spelling was not considered in these results, and so both *Grammie/Grammy*, *Grampie/Grampy*, and *Grandma/Gamma* were counted as the same answer because they are pronounced the same (and children would therefore not consider them to be two different names). Looking at the geographic range of these words, both *Grandma* and *Grandpa* were found in the British, American and Canadian dictionaries, *Grampie* in only the British dictionary; *Grammie* was not listed at all. The fact that *Grammie* was not listed in any of the dictionaries and did not appear in any of the Ontario responses suggests that it could be a uniquely Maritime word. The frequent occurrence of *Grampie* in the Maritime dialect suggests a British influence. There is another trend which can be observed from this data. Ontarians seemed to prefer *-a* endings, while Maritimers preferred *-ie* endings. This is shown in Graph 1 below, where all 37 different answers are analyzed, with the category *other* representing any name which does not end in *-a* or *-ie* (such as *Gram*).

GRAPH 1: Showing Regional Preferences for -a or -ie



A parallel between names for grandparents and given names can be drawn. With given names, the original and more formal forms often end in *-a* (Angela, Sandra, Deborah) while the shorter, less formal nicknames often end in *-ie* (Angie, Sandy, Debbie). If the results of question 1 are interpreted similarly, they suggest that Maritimers are much more casual in speaking and referring to their grandparents than are Ontarians.

The second question, about footwear, also presented a very significant degree of variance between the Maritimes and Ontario. Not only were different answers given in the two regions but there were also a greater number of answers given by Ontarians.

Table 2: Common Names for Rubber-Soled Exercise Shoes

	Maritimes	Ontario
Sneakers	97	15
Running Shoes	3	59
Runners	0	22

The clear preference by Maritimers is *sneakers*, which is given a very broad definition in all three dictionaries. It is also the only term given for such a shoe in the American dictionary. *Runners*, chosen by 22 per cent of Ontarians, but no Maritimers, appears only in the Canadian dictionary. The fact that Ontarians produced a wider range of terms may suggest that they are more concerned with being specific or precise (even if the exact definition of each word is not clear to all respondents). In comparison, Maritimers are quite content to just use a name for something, not feeling the need to be exceedingly precise.

Exactness was again an issue in questions 5 and 6. While Maritimers and Ontarians tended to agree on what to call the piece of *cloth* with which we wipe our mouths after

meals, they differed on what to call a *thin piece of paper* which serves the same purpose.

Table 3: A thin piece of paper for wiping the mouth

	Maritimes	Ontario
Napkin	84	56
Serviette	8	23

The two most frequent answers to the question regarding that *thin piece of paper* are listed in Table 3 above, and it is clear that many more Maritimers than Ontarians call the item a *napkin*. What is most interesting about this is that almost the same percentage of people from each of the two regions (Maritimers, 87%; Ontarians, 79%) said that the piece of cloth is called a *napkin*. The distinction between the two regions on this question, therefore, seems to be that more Ontarians insist on calling the item a *serviette* if it is made of paper. Maritimers generally like the word *napkin*, and demonstrate this by using it to almost the same degree for either object. Ontarians are once again specializing their terms.

Question 8 on the pronunciation of *necklace*, poses a question which many people have never considered. A few respondents found the alternative pronunciation quite bizarre. So it is not surprising that there was a regional distinction between the two pronunciations.

Table 4: *Necklace* rhymes with ...

	Maritimes	Ontario
brace	54	21
mess	46	79

For Maritimers it seems to be a toss up. They slightly prefer the *brace* pronunciation but are not head over heels for it. Ontarians, on the other hand, do state quite clearly that they prefer the *mess* pronunciation. The *mess* pronunciation is the only pronunciation found in any of the three dictionaries, which suggests that the *brace* pronunciation is dialectal. Perhaps Maritimers also dislike homonyms. Using the *mess* pronunciation, *necklace* can be mistaken for the term denoting someone who has no neck. Perhaps, with their traditionally less literate population, Maritimers felt a greater need to distinguish orally between these two terms.

Moving on to the most well-known pronunciation difference between the Maritimes and

Ontario, the vowel sound in the word *aunt*, the expected outcome was obtained. We will first examine the general *aunt*.

Table 5: *Aunt* rhymes with ...

	Maritimes	Ontario
taunt	86	10
can't	14	90

As indicated in Table 5, Maritimers clearly preferred the *taunt* pronunciation, while the clear favourite of Ontarians was the *can't* pronunciation. The British dictionary indicated the *taunt* pronunciation only. The American and Canadian dictionaries both gave the two pronunciations (*can't* followed by *taunt* in both cases). Again, we are seeing British influence on the Maritimes with this word. However, this pronunciation preference also contradicts the theory that Maritimers choose to be more casual than Ontarians in their speech (as was demonstrated in the grandparents question). For most people would agree that the *taunt* pronunciation sounds quite formal. So, why would Maritimers prefer it in this case? One answer can be found if we return again to the issue of homonyms. If Maritimers were to pronounce *aunt* in the same way that Ontarians do, it would sound very much like the tiny creature which scurries around on the ground collecting food. We have already seen that Maritimers do not like homonyms very much. This finding seems to support this theory and the theory receives even more support as we move on to the second type of *aunt*.

This survey actually examined *aunt* in two syntactic contexts. Question 10, discussed above, asked about the pronunciation of "my aunt". In question 11, the example sentence read exactly the same with the exception of one word: "My aunt Sharon" replaced "My aunt". This small change produced dramatic results.

Table 6: *Aunt Sharon* rhymes with ...

	Maritimes	Ontario
taunt	57	3
can't	43	97

With this specific *aunt*, the rate of people using the *can't* pronunciation skyrocketed from 14% to 43% in the Maritimes, and increased from 90% to 97% in Ontario. This is quite a difference considering it is essentially the same word! Maritimers abandoned their beloved informal speech in the pronunciation of the nameless *aunt* because there was a more serious issue to deal with: homonymy. However, when

aunt precedes a name, there is a clue right beside the word, that makes confusion between the words *aunt* and *ant* almost impossible, even if they are pronounced the same. And so, with homonymy not an issue with this type of *aunt* Maritimers are free to return to their casual, familiar way of speaking. One could also argue that using *aunt* with a name adds familiarity to the word and in turn encourages the more casual pronunciation. This second explanation also accounts for the 7% of Ontarians who also switched to the *can't* pronunciation.

Moving away from pronunciations and into the domain of expressions, there was little difference between the two regions in the terms people used to indicate they had not attended class (question 12). There was a clear distinction, however, in the terms they used to describe not attending school (question 13).

Table 7: Did not attend school

	Maritimes	Ontario
Skipped	58	55
Jigged	22	0
(Missed)	(8)	(24)

The three top answers are given in Table 7 above, with *missed* in brackets because it does not carry the same meaning as the other terms. If this survey were to be carried out again, the wording of this question should be changed to read "*purposefully* did not attend school/class" because a number of people did not interpret this question as it was intended. This point aside, we can see that the term *jigged*, which was given by 22% of Maritimers, had no representation in Ontario. *Jigged* cannot be found in any of the three dictionaries, and therefore can be considered a dialectal term unique to the Maritimes. This verb is probably derived from *jig* meaning to fish with a jig, a device which is jerked up and down as it is drawn through the water.

The remaining five questions which showed significant regional variation all have to do with grammatical correctness. In the discussion of these questions, the term *grammatical* will refer to what is grammatically correct according to *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. This does not, however, mean that utterances which are considered ungrammatical by this source cannot be considered perfectly acceptable in a particular dialect.

Maritime English is *funner* (while Ontario English is *more fun!*). Question 14 of the survey elicited these two expected variants as comparative forms for the adjective *fun*. But, in fact, a third variation was also documented.

Table 8: Flying kites is even ...

	Maritimes	Ontario
more fun	41	62
funner	49	10
better	10	28

The answer most often chosen by Maritimers was *funner*. *More fun* was most often reported by Ontarians, and *better* was reported by a few Maritimers and almost three times as many Ontarians. Although all three dictionaries listed *fun* as an adjective as well as a noun, it seems evident that it has not been completely adopted as a regular adjective since it is considered ungrammatical to say *funner*. This makes *fun*, as a monosyllabic adjective, very weird. Most monosyllabic adjectives, such as big, low, and tall, allow the *-er* construction. *Fun* has not yet progressed to this stage owing to its traditional use as a noun. And so, *more fun* is grammatical. Still, we see that a good number of Maritimers have chosen the ungrammatical variant.

The significant number of Ontarians who chose *better* seems odd at first, but perhaps they very much wanted to use a word which ended in *er*, which is our first response when comparing two things, but felt that *funner* was not grammatical. This self-censorship is reflected in the answer of one Ontarian who responded to question 14 with the following: "*funner* (but I guess that is not really a word, so I guess I would say *more fun*, but I really do like *funner* more)."

The survey's remaining questions were multiple choice, and the first one which showed a significant geographical variation was question 15.

Table 9: Boughten bread or bought bread

	Maritimes	Ontario
bought	61	95
boughten	39	5

With this question, *boughten* is the choice that can be considered less grammatical. Although it was listed as a word in all three dictionaries, it was termed dialectal and not very common. This duplicates the results of the preceding question in showing Maritimers to be much fonder than Ontarians of ungrammatical choices.

Question 17 is a classical grammatical versus ungrammatical question, and again we see the same trend. Maritimers utter the ungrammatical choice (*Me and Robert ...*) much more often than Ontarians.

Table 10: ...went to the movies

	Maritimes	Ontario
Robert and I	70	97
Me and Robert	30	3

In fact, only 3 per cent of Ontarians chose the ungrammatical construction, compared to 30% of Maritimers. Because it is well known that *me and Robert* is considered ungrammatical, it is quite probable that a number of people who might actually use this phrase in casual speech did not care to write down that they do so. False reporting on the part of the respondents might have affected any of the survey's grammatical questions, but question 17 was possibly most affected as it refers to an often debated issue.

What is not debatable, apparently, is the worth of this linguistic survey: "This survey is some awful good" was a comment recorded at the end of one of the (Maritime) surveys. This comment illustrates not only another ungrammatical Maritime construction, but also a unique Maritime expression.

Table 11: How good was it?

	Maritimes	Ontario
very good	56	100
some good	31	0
awful good	13	0

As they are used in Table 11, *some* and *awful* are ungrammatical. In standard use, these two words are adjectives. Here they are modifying the adjective *good* and are therefore adverbs. The expression *awful good* comes from the grammatical construction *awfully good*, but *awfully* has been shortened to *awful* and become ungrammatical in the process. The expression *some good* just does not seem to exist officially anywhere outside of the Canadian dictionary, which listed it as rare. And so, once again, Maritimers have chosen to be ungrammatical in their speech. This question also suggests something else. The results of each of the other grammatical vs. ungrammatical questions showed some percentage of the Ontario population who claimed use of the ungrammatical variety. With this question, 100% of Ontarians stated that they use the grammatical construction (*very good*). This indicates that the other two choices must be part of the Maritime dialect (or at least not part of the Ontario dialect).

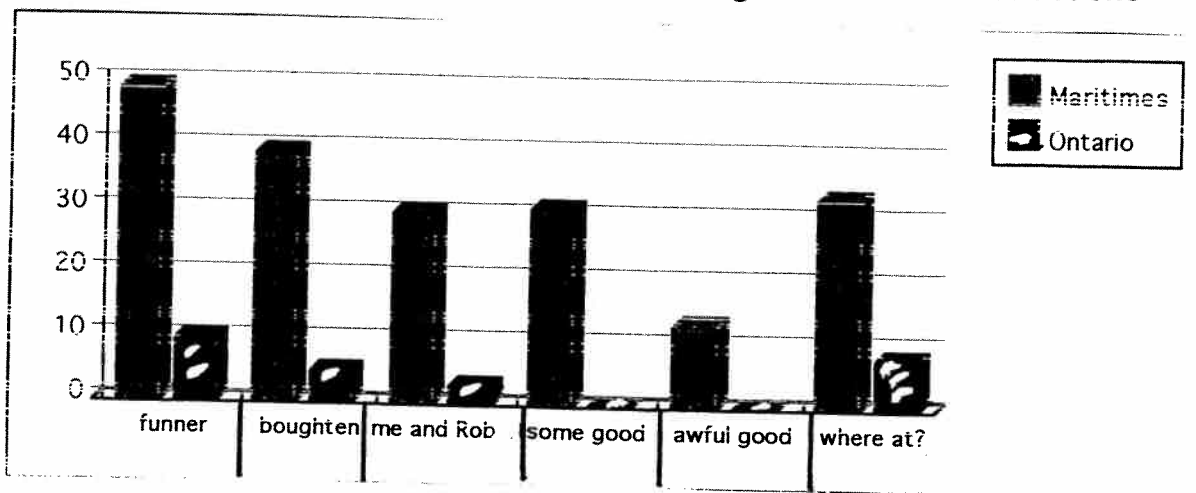
The last question which showed significant variation was question 19, comparing "Where are you?" and "Where are you at?"

Table 12: Where are you (at)?

	Maritimes	Ontario
Where are you?	67	90
Where are you at?	33	8

The ungrammatical version is the one that ends with *at*. Once again, the Maritimers have selected the ungrammatical sentence much more often. This question reinforces the trend: Maritimers choose ungrammatical constructions more often than Ontarians. Let us now examine all the grammaticality questions as a whole.

Graph 2: Showing Comparative Use of Ungrammatical Constructions



We can see that it is indeed the case that Maritimers are much more ungrammatical than Ontarians, but why is this so? Well, as we saw already with the pronunciation questions, Maritimers tend to prefer a laid-back, casual way of speaking. This accurately reflects the characteristics that natives and tourists alike comment upon when describing Maritimers. Ontarians, on average, seem much more fast-paced, business-like, and modern than Maritimers, and this is reflected in their speech. Also, Ontario has a higher literacy rate than the Maritimes; the Maritimes are only now catching up to Ontario in terms of education. This is due partly to the fact that many more jobs in Ontario than in the Maritimes rely on a good education: you are more likely to show grammatical correctness in a downtown Toronto office than on a lobster boat in the Bay of Fundy. The two areas have different lifestyles, and these lifestyles

are reflected in their speech.

The second overall trend which showed up quite clearly is that there are certain terms and expressions which are unique to the Maritimes (*jigged, grammie, some good*, and so on). This seems quite reasonable in fact because the Maritimes are physically separated from the rest of Canada by Quebec. Also, there is not much migration to the Maritimes from other parts of Canada, nor is there much immigration to the Maritimes. This is due to the fact that the Maritimes constitute a rural region that is less economically prosperous than the rest of Canada. This would usually be seen as a disadvantage for an area, but in this case, at least linguistically, it can be seen as an advantage, as it is helping Maritimers preserve their way of speaking.

Finally, although it is mainly the differences between Maritime and Ontario English which have been discussed, it should be noted that there are still many similarities between the two dialects. Even in instances where significant differences were found, the majority choice for both regions was quite often the same. An area which would be very interesting to study further would be how the two dialects are changing, and whether or not they are converging in our age of mass communications. A survey of different age groups would most certainly provide insight into this topic.

A proverb wraps it all up quite well: "You are at home where you know the language." In the Maritimes, the way of life is more laid-back, casual, friendly, and yes, rural, but it is also less educated, literate, and precise. These are all traits which are reflected in the language. Ontario is an urban region which is more formal, faster-paced, better educated, and very focused on exactness. This too is reflected in its speech. And so, it can indeed be said that if you do know the language, you will feel at home, because you will already know the lifestyle of the people.

Appendix A: Survey Questions

Words:

1. When you were a child, what did you call your grandparents?
2. What do you call the type of rubber-soled shoe which you wear while exercising?
3. What do you call your noon-time meal?
4. What do you call a metal object in which you would cook carrots on top of your stove?
5. What do you call a piece of cloth with which you would wipe your mouth after a meal?
6. What do you call a thin piece of paper with which you would wipe your mouth after a meal?
7. What do you call a second home where you would spend the summer?

Pronunciation:

8. Does *necklace* rhyme with *brace* or *mess*?
9. Does the *au* sound in *traumatized* sound like the vowel in *bought* or *cram*?
10. Read the following sentence: My aunt bought me a new toy. Does *aunt* rhyme with *taunt* or *can't*?
11. Read the following sentence: My Aunt Sharon bought me a new toy. Does *aunt* rhyme with *taunt* or *can't*?

Expressions:

Please fill in the blanks with what you would most likely say:

12. Yesterday I _____ class (meaning you did not attend).
13. Yesterday I _____ school (meaning you did not attend).
14. Baking cakes is very fun, but flying kites is even _____.
15. Which of the following are you most likely to say?
 - (a) Boughten bread does not taste as good as home-made.
 - (b) Bought bread does not taste as good as home-made.
16. Which of the following are you most likely to say?
 - (a) I have never heard of that before.
 - (b) I have never heard tell of that before.
 - (c) I have never heard that before.
17. Which of the following are you most likely to say?
 - (a) Robert and I went to the movies.
 - (b) Me and Robert went to the movies.
 - (c) Robert and me went to the movies.

18. Which of the following are you most likely to say?

- (a) That was some good!
- (b) That was awful good!
- (c) That was very good!

19. Which of the following are you most likely to say when on the phone with a friend?

- (a) Where are you?
- (b) Where are you at?
- (c) What is your location?

20. Which of the following are you most likely to say?

- (a) Where are you to?
- (b) Where are you going?
- (c) Where are you going to?

Additional questions:

What is your age group?

- a) under 18
- b) 18-30
- c) 30-55
- d) over 55

Sex: M or F

What city/town did you grow up in? (If it is a small town, please indicate what larger city it is near).

Have you lived in Maritimes/Ontario your whole life? If not, please explain briefly.

Were both your parents from Maritimes/Ontario? If not, please explain briefly.

Is English your first language?

Are you English/French bilingual?

Any other comments:

Again, thank you very much.

Laura Hawkes,
Languages and Linguistics Major,
Queen's University at Kingston.

Appendix B: Responses to the Questions Not Discussed in the Body of the Paper

		Maritimes	Ontario
3.	Lunch	85%	94%
	Dinner	10	3
	Dinner (if formal)	5	3
4.	Pot	100	85
	Steamer	0	9
	Saucepan	0	2
	Pan	0	2
	Fork	0	2
5.	Napkin	87	79
	Serviette	5	16
	Cloth napkin	5	5
	Towel	3	0
7.	Cottage	78	92
	Cabin	11	0
	Summer home	5	3
	Camp	3	5
	The Shore	3	0
9.	bought	86	97
	cram	14	3
12.	Skipped	69	78
	Missed	6	10
	Jigged	13	0
	Ditched	0	2
	Cut	6	2
	Didn't go to	6	6
	Wasn't in	0	2
16.	Heard of that	42	57
	Heard tell of that	16	3
	Heard that	42	40
20.	Where to	6	0
	Where going	83	100
	Where going to	11	0

Bilingual

Yes	46	33
No	54	67

Appendix C: The Gender Factor

Maritimes	Male	Female
------------------	-------------	---------------

Robert and I	55	75
Me and Robert	45	25

Ontario	Male	Female
----------------	-------------	---------------

Robert and I	92	100
Me and Robert	8	0

Maritimes	Male	Female
------------------	-------------	---------------

Skipped	66	70
Missed	11	4
Jigged	11	16

Ontario	Male	Female
----------------	-------------	---------------

Skipped	57	88
Missed	21	4
Ditched	7	0
Jigged	0	0

Appendix D: Grandparents' Names

	Maritimes	Ontario
Grandma	5	33
Grandpa	7	28
Granny	0	4
Poppa	2	4
Nana	7	3
Nanny	14	3
Papa	1	2
Baba	0	2
Dido	0	2
Gram	1	1
Gramps	0	1
(1st name)	2	1
Gramsbear	0	1
Grannibird	0	1
Grandmother	0	1
Oma	3	1
Opa	3	1
Granddad	4	1
Farfar	0	1
Farmar	0	1
Marmar	1	1
Morfar	1	1
Avo	1	1
Gunky	1	0
Gramp	1	0
Grammie	13	0
Mum+last name	1	0
Nan	2	0
Pa	3	0
Bampy	1	0
Bompy	1	0
Poppy	1	0
Mémère	1	0
Pépère	1	0
Pappy	1	0

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AFRICAN AMERICAN VERNACULAR ENGLISH AND AFRICAN NOVA SCOTIAN ENGLISH A COMPARISON OF PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

Lara Danon

1. Introduction

In my paper, I propose to examine the phonological and grammatical features of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) in North America while taking into account the historical aspects of the language. AAVE has received much scrutiny over the last 25 years, as linguists have attempted to explain how and why this vernacular differs from other varieties of English. Of particular interest to students of African American English is the vernacular spoken in Nova Scotia (ANSE). For historical reasons, the Nova Scotia variant has maintained many of the features of the original Creole spoken by ex-slaves. This variant thus differs from the "Standard" African American English spoken more widely in North America. This paper will examine a few key characteristics of the ANSE in comparison to AAVE.

2. History

During the early years of American settlement, a distinctive form of English was emerging in the islands of the West Indies and the southern part of the American mainland, spoken by the incoming black population. This was a consequence of the importation of African slaves to work on the sugar plantations, a practice started by the Spanish as early as 1517. From the early 17th century, ships from Europe traveled to the West African coast where goods were exchanged for slaves. The first 20 African slaves arrived in Virginia in 1619. By the time of the American Revolution (1776) their numbers had grown to half a million, and there were over four million by the time slavery was abolished, at the end of the US Civil War (1865).

The policy of the slave-traders was to bring people of different language backgrounds together in the ships, to make it difficult for groups to plot rebellion. The result was the growth of several pidgin forms of communication, and in particular a pidgin between the slaves and the sailors, many of whom spoke English. In the Americas, this pidgin English continued to serve as a major means of communication both between the black population and the new landowners and among the blacks themselves. When children were born to the uprooted slaves, the pidgin gradually began to be used as a mother tongue, producing the first black creole speech in the Americas.

Creole English rapidly came to be used on the plantations of the American South, and in many of the coastal towns and offshore islands. Creolized forms of French, Spanish and Portuguese were also emerging in and around the Caribbean, and these interacted with both creolized and standard varieties of English.

The Caribbean Islands thus came to develop a diverse range of English dialects, reflecting the islands' individual political and cultural histories. West Indian speech is not confined to the Caribbean Islands. Large West Indian communities eventually established themselves in the USA, Britain and Canada. The above provides some context for the AAVE spoken in Nova Scotian communities.

During and after the period of slavery, thousands of slaves left the US and immigrated to Canada. Most of the immigration came in 3 major waves: black Loyalist immigration into the Maritimes after the American Revolutionary War (between 1783 and 1785), refugee slave immigration after the War of 1812, and fugitive slave immigration between 1815 and 1861. The destination of most fugitive slaves was Ontario. Nevertheless, in the late eighteenth century, it was Nova Scotia that contained the largest free black settlements anywhere in the world outside Africa. These Nova Scotia settlements were quite rural and remote and segregated from whites.

Even though the African Canadian communities have shrunk in recent years, there remain some communities in Nova Scotia which are almost entirely populated by the descendants of the first two waves of black immigration. Among them are Guysborough and North Preston. Guysborough was one of the first places settled by loyalist blacks, while the settlers of North Preston can be traced back to Maryland, Virginia, Louisiana and Georgia. Today N. Preston is the largest black community in Nova Scotia, with a population of 1,218 (Statistics Canada 1983) that is almost entirely old-line.

In N. Preston and Guysborough, the black communities were subject to segregationist land granting policy, which resulted in their settlements being in remote, fringe areas. This physical separation, coupled with social barriers constructed around class, education, and ethnicity, explains why American Nova Scotia English (ANSE) has persisted as a variant of AAVE until now.

3. AAVE vs. Standard American English

The following is an analysis of the differences between the speech of many black and white speakers of English in North America. The speech patterns of individuals are unique, but the features discussed here commonly distinguish speakers of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and speakers of Standard English.

3.1 Loss of /r/

Many blacks do not have non-prevocalic /r/ in words such as *cart* or *car*. This feature can be traced back to British dialects and is also a feature found in the speech of many North American whites. Many lower class blacks, however, also demonstrate the loss of intervocalic /r/ in words like *Carol*, or *Paris*, (*Ca'ol*, *Pa'is*) so that words like *Paris* and *pass* may be homophones.

Some black speakers also show loss of /r/ after initial consonants in certain cases, for example, *from* = *fom*, *protect* = *p'otect*. This last case of /r/ loss appears to be unique to AAVE.

3.2 Interdental Fricatives

Many black speakers do not have the interdental fricative theta, /θ/, as in *thing* or eth /ð/ as in *that*. In initial position these fricatives may be merged with /t/ and /d/ respectively, so in speech *this* is pronounced *dis* and *that*, *dat*. This feature is also found in the speech of white North Americans, but not nearly as frequently. It also appears to be a feature of Caribbean Creoles. When in other positions, /θ/ and /ð/ may be merged with /f/ and /v/ resulting in pronunciations such as [bɛvə] for *brother*.

3.3 Consonant Deletion

Most English speakers simplify final consonant clusters in words like *lost*, *west*, and *cold* when another consonant follows: *los' time*, *wes' coast*, *col' day*. When a vowel follows, simplification does not occur: *lost elephant*, *west end*.

In AAVE, however, simplification can occur in all environments so that pronunciations like *los' elephant* and *wes' end* may occur. This means that in AAVE plurals of nouns ending with a consonant cluster /-st/, /-sp/ or /-sk/ undergo a reduction. For example, the plural of *desks* would be *desses*, the plural of *test*, *tesses*. This is also a feature of Caribbean Creoles, as well as common in the speech of whites in some parts of the South. However, for white speakers, the simplification does not occur where the cluster is followed by a suffix beginning with a vowel, thus, in words such as *tester*, *testing*. Some African American children, particularly in the South, have forms such as *tesser*, *tessing*. In this case, it is assumed that for some AAVE speakers, there is no final consonant cluster such as /-st/, and that the form of this word is *tess*.

3.4 /s/ in 3rd Person Singular Present

Many black speakers do not have /-s/ in the 3rd person singular present tense form so

that forms such as *he go, it come, she like* are common. This feature also occurs in the speech of many (Southern) white Americans.

3.5 Absence of the Copula Be

One of the most important grammatical characteristics of AAVE is the absence of the verb *to be* in the present tense. This characteristic is crucial and shared with speakers of Russian, Hungarian, Thai and other Creoles. In AAVE the following sentences are grammatical: *She real nice; they out there; he not Canadian*. The copula *be* does occur at the end of a sentence: *I know what it is*. Thus, there is debate about whether copula deletion is a grammatical or phonological phenomenon. Is the copula "not there" in AAVE, or is it "there" but not pronounced? AAVE, as demonstrated above, can lack the non-prevocalic /r/. So then, is the deletion of the *be* form *are* simply an example of this phonological rule: *they're* becomes *they* just as *car* becomes *ca'*?

AAVE speakers delete the copula only in those contexts where Standard English contracts it--where *is* becomes *'s* or *are* becomes *'re*. Perhaps, then, copula deletion is a phonological innovation of AAVE that takes the process of deletion one step further than Standard English.

- 1) *He is - he's - he.*
- 2) *They are - they're - they.*

3.6 Invariant Be

Another important grammatical feature of AAVE is the invariant *be*: the use of the infinitive form *be* as a finite verb form.

- 3) *He usually be around.*
- 4) *Sometime she be fighting.*
- 5) *She be nice and happy.*
- 6) *They sometimes be incomplete.*

As some of the adverbs above suggest, invariant *be* is used in AAVE only to indicate habitual aspect--it can only refer to some event that is repeated and is not continuous.

AAVE	Standard English
7) <i>He busy right now.</i>	7b) <i>He's busy right now.</i>
8) <i>*He be busy right now.</i>	
9) <i>Sometimes he be busy.</i>	9b) <i>Sometimes he's busy.</i>
9) <i>*Sometimes he busy.</i>	

* indicates lack of grammaticality (in the dialect)

In Standard English, the verb form is the same in both cases, whereas the verb forms are distinct in AAVE. The first sentence (7) does not refer to some repeated non-continuous action so the copula is deleted. The second one (9), does refer to repeated, non-continuous action, so the invariant *be* form is used. In AAVE construction, sentences such as the one in (8) are not grammatical. The aspectual system of AAVE differs from that of Standard English. While both have a common present perfect form, *I have talked*, and past perfect form, *I had talked*, AAVE also has two further aspectual forms:

1) a complete aspect--indicating that the action is completed
I done talked.

2) the remote aspect--indicating an event that occurred in the remote past
I been talked.

4. Analyses

ANSE, being isolated from AAVE, has not participated in the ongoing linguistic change characterizing contemporary AAVE. As mentioned before, this is in part due to the relative linguistic isolation these communities have enjoyed. Unfortunately, ANSE has not received as much attention as AAVE. P. Dillard in 1971 characterized ANSE as similar to AAVE. This assertion can only be supported by an analysis of data. Below I will list some phonological and grammatical features of ANSE, as discussed by Poplack and Tagliamonte (1993), and will attempt to compare this to the data in the previous section. There are three strong similarities in these two varieties of African English.

4.1 The Copula

1. *SheØ always singing at home.*

As in AAVE, in ANSE, the copula is deleted where it would be contracted in Standard English.

4.2 Variable Past-Time Expression

There is a great deal of variability in the morphological realization of past temporal reference in ANSE. Evidence from North Preston:

2. *When I lookØ in like that, and I lookØ in that door...*
3. *I never run from nuthin' else no more.*

Here is some evidence of suffix deletion from weak verbs and non-marking in strong verbs (Poplack and Tagliamonte, 1993).

In comparison, zero marking in past temporal reference is quite rare in AAVE.

4.3 Verbal -s Marking

My third comparison concerns verbal -s marking, including the presence or absence of -s in the 3rd person singular. Below are some ANSE sentences:

4. *She knowØ how my husband used to treat me.*
5. *That crow sits on the wire an' hollers an' everything.*
6. *After I eat that I go to sleep.*
7. *When they speaks to me, say "hello", I just lets it go, go on about my business.*

As described earlier, the -s in the 3rd person singular present is usually deleted in AAVE. Poplack and Tagliamonte suggest that in ANSE verbal -s marking is not a random phenomenon as the sentences above might suggest at first glance, but rather that present tense marking -s tends to be present much of the time in the 3rd person singular and in the 3rd person plural. Studies have shown that two factors contribute to the absence of -s from 3rd person verbs: verbal aspect and underlying phonetic form. In ANSE, but not AAVE, when the phonetic form of -s is complex, /əz/, it is deleted less often. After comparing the ANSE with other slave creoles, linguists propose that the linguistic variation in Nova Scotia preserves a feature that was more widespread in the mid to latter part of the nineteenth century (Poplack and Tagliamonte 1993).

5. Conclusion

African American English has received much scrutiny over the past 25 years, as linguists have attempted to explain differences between this vernacular and other dialects of English. Features of American black English are explained either in terms of the creoles spoken by enslaved Africans, or in terms of the English dialects to which slaves were exposed. Whichever source accounts for AAVE's distinctiveness one thing is certain. One cannot study AAVE without first examining the history of the language--the manner in which the language evolved over the last 200 years.

The immigration of the ex-slaves to Nova Scotia led to the settlement of the largest free black communities anywhere in the world outside of Africa. The language spoken now in these remote settlements, which were virtually ignored by the community and government, has retained many of the features of the original language of American slaves. Therefore, ANSE can be a rich source of further historical, comparative study for those who wish to trace the general development of AAVE.

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ISOLATION OR INTEGRATION HOW DOES THE FRENCH MAJORITY INFLUENCE THE SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH IN QUEBEC?

Jolien Otten

Introduction

When I first came to Canada as an exchange student from Europe last August, I only knew two people in this country. Both of them were from Montreal, one, a French-speaking Canadian and the other an English-speaking Canadian. One of them has an English name and the other a French name, but both of them have lived in Montreal all their lives. It immediately struck me how the language difference also indicated a clear cultural difference. Anglophones and francophones live in different areas and don't interact as much as I thought.

There are about half a million anglophones in Quebec and 80% of them live in Montreal. Quebec French has undoubtedly been influenced a lot by English because the Quebecois are surrounded by English-speaking areas. Within Quebec, however, it is the half million anglophones who form a minority, and I thought it would be interesting to see how Quebec French has influenced their use of English. Is the language and culture of Quebec anglophones in danger? There are more and more restrictions on speaking English in Quebec, and a lot of French words are being borrowed by the English. What do anglophones want? Do they want to belong to the French community, or do they want to keep separate from the French?

In my opinion, the anglophones in Quebec are somewhere in between isolating themselves from the French and integrating into the French-speaking society. Usually we hear only of the French being afraid of English influence and desperately wanting to preserve their culture. They may not be as passionate about it as the French, but although Quebec anglophones allow a certain degree of French influence, they too certainly want to preserve their own language and culture. I will try to illustrate this point further and will examine the language situation in Quebec and the borrowings from French that are used in Quebec English at the moment.

The prestige of the French language

In Quebec the vast majority speaks French and not English. And "it has been long accepted that languages borrow from a language of higher socio-economic and political status" (Russell 1999: 23). So, it's logical that the anglophones in Quebec

borrow from French. French is simply everywhere they look, and the English are a minority group in this French-speaking society; therefore they are more susceptible to borrowing words from French (Russell 1999: 23).

To be taken seriously in the community they live and work in, it is necessary for some people to know and use words from French. A lot of Quebec anglophones know how to speak French because they work in French-speaking areas, and, therefore, have had to learn the language. Of course it is likely that people who know two languages very well will mix them up and use words from one language in the other. This does not mean, however, that they do not want to preserve their own language and culture, and that these are not important in shaping their identity.

If you look at the situation from another angle, the English language has actually stayed remarkably the same in Quebec over the years, and has survived almost without a scratch, despite all the pressure from the Quebec government. When you look at the words that were borrowed from French over the years, you see that most of these words are in the fields of journalism and tourism and especially politics (Russell 1999: 18). These seem to be the fields that are the most conducive to borrowing because the two cultures do not significantly differ in these areas. A word in French may sometimes be more accurate in describing something than an English word, and so people use the French word knowing most people will understand it in Quebec.

The majority of the tourists visiting Quebec are English-speaking, but still, most of the tourist terms are in French. Words like *auberge de jeunesse*, *terrasse* and *gîte* (Russell, 1999: 20) are used without translation in Quebec English. For both English and French speakers of Quebec it is advantageous not to have double terms for these words because that would only make things confusing for tourists. The image of the province would become one of separate cultures, and not one province with one identity. Whatever language inhabitants of Quebec speak, they all choose to live in Quebec and are to some extent proud of their province. This creates a bond, and Quebecers show this by presenting themselves in one language to tourists--the language with the highest prestige.

A lot of English newspapers in Quebec use French terms. Usually they denote political, educational or social institutions, idiomatic expressions, or linguistic issues, for example Hydro-Quebec, Collège d'enseignement générale et professionnel (CEGEP) and Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM) (McArthur 1989: 7). It would be of no use to translate these words into English, because they are proper names that stand for unique organizations; that is why they are inserted straight into Quebec English.

The same principle applies to politics. A lot of names of organizations and political parties are usually not translated into English. Furthermore, government of the

province is conducted in French. Names such as Parti Québécois, Bloc Québécois and Office de la langue française (OLF) occur all the time in political debate and discussion. It is almost impossible for speakers of English living in Quebec not to go along with this use of French because a lot of words just cannot be translated in a way that people would understand.

The accessibility of English

"The English language is readily accessible in Quebec. In most areas there are plenty of English-speaking people to talk to, and most visitors to the province speak English" (Scowen 1991: 66). Almost all the media are in French and in English. There are English books, magazines, papers, cinemas and TV channels. Some of these come from other anglophone areas outside the province, but some are also made in Quebec. It is not directly necessary for the speakers of English to have the ability to speak French. A considerable portion of them, about 46 per cent (Scowen 1991: 66) say that they do not even know how to speak it.

So, even the governmental restrictions on speaking English do not prevent people from actually speaking it. Although children can only go to an English school if one of their parents was born in Quebec and received an English education there, still the government can never control the way people speak at home or among friends, especially not with English as easily accessible as it is at this moment.

"Since the mid-nineteenth century, Quebec was peopled by 'English Canadians' and 'French Canadians.' Prior to that it was peopled by 'Canadians', who were French-speaking, and the English, Scots, Irish and Americans--in so far as European settlement was concerned" (Caldwell 1998: 274). Until recently almost all the anglophones were of British descent and their culture and traditions were very much based on Great Britain's. When more people from the United States, and other parts of the world immigrated to Quebec this started to change, and nowadays this identification with Britain is strong only for a minority group within English speakers in Quebec. In a cultural sense, it is difficult to say what it is that makes the speakers of English into a community. They are certainly not a homogeneous group.

It has been said that "among the half a million English in Quebec there are at least four major ethnic cultural traditions: English, Scottish, American and Jewish; and three major religions, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish" (Caldwell 1994: 169). All these different communities have their own traditions and their own type of language use. Most of them borrow words from the language of the society they originate from. For example, there is a variety of English in Quebec that is used by a lot of Jewish anglophones called "Yinglish"; it is a mix of Yiddish and English. They might say *far emmes* for "true", or *untershte shure* for "bottom line".

What these groups have in common is that they are cultural and linguistic minorities in Quebec. Even though all of these groups experience a significant influence from French they do not want to belong to the francophone part of the population. Thus, sometimes loan words are anglicized when they are borrowed by speakers of English, that is, pronounced in an English way. English speakers are proud of their language and want to pronounce everything in an English way because they don't identify with the French-speaking majority. Who would have thought that words like *carry-all*, *chowder*, *mush*, *siwash*, *snye* and *shanty* originate from the French words *cariole*, *chaudière*, *marche*, *sauvage*, *chenail* and *chantier*?

The right to speak English

Except for the language it is difficult to find anything that unifies the anglophones in Quebec. They have all made the choice not to belong to the French majority. "English Quebecers see language not as a cause, but as a personal choice, a natural right, and believe they should be allowed to exercise that right in Quebec" (Scowen 1991: 64). They would never be willing to accept that Quebec is French only. They are not willing to integrate that much into French society and are happy with the way the situation is now. They feel that it is their right to have their own English community. After all, Canada is a bilingual country. They do not need the French language for things other than, maybe, for work or necessary and occasional interaction with the francophones. They do not feel a connection to the French language in the way that francophones feel it.

English speakers have established their own community, but what is the role of this relatively small community within Quebec? What is their responsibility towards society? "Much has been said about the English community's obligation to the larger Quebec society. But, to the extent that these obligations exist, they fall equally heavily on all Quebecers, including the French. The English have no additional burden to bear" (Scowen 1991: 64).

Too many people see the English as outsiders in Quebec, just because they choose not to speak the language of the majority. However, the contributions that the English have made to Quebec society should not be overlooked. Taking into consideration the fact that they are such a small group, they certainly have played a big role during the past few years. "The list of distinguished English Quebecers in every field of activity, past and present, is inexhaustible" (Scowen 1991: 63). For example, look at McGill University, *The Gazette*, Montreal General Hospital and The Museum of Fine Arts. These are all really successful English institutions. It almost seems like the English are trying to prove themselves, because they are often overlooked by the French. Nevertheless the English population in Quebec is in decline. More and more people are moving out of the province, for several reasons. With Quebec surrounded by English-speaking areas it is, of course, not as big a step for anglophones to move

out of the province as it is for francophones. English speakers are not linguistically attached to the province because they have not fully integrated into the French community. This migration seems inevitable to some extent, but there are also always going to be Quebec anglophones who do not feel the need to move around and are as attached to their province as a lot of the French inhabitants are.

Linguistic interaction is inevitable and works both ways

For a community fighting to preserve its own language, the Quebec anglophones have been really flexible. While the French seem quite anglophobic sometimes and don't want any English loan words entering their language, the flow of French into English has never been a problem. The English have never been that passionate about language interference, and they have let French influence their language because they know it is inescapable.

The majority of the Quebec francophones are convinced that their language is in danger. They feel the pressure from the rest of Canada and from the United States. They are surrounded by powerful English-speaking areas, and feel threatened by that. The way in which they react is somewhat similar to the Western European attitude towards Americans. A lot of Europeans are afraid that the United States will be taking over the world in a few years, and that they will lose their language and culture if that happens. The francophones in Quebec have a similar attitude. Nevertheless, they have maintained a solid community within all these English-speaking areas. All their institutions operate in French, education is mainly in French, and many famous politicians in the federal government of Canada are native speakers of French.

The French are anxiously trying to *protect* their language from any English influence. They "urge their fellow francophones to 'éviter l'anglicisme de...' to 'corriger nos anglicismes,' and ultimately not to 'commettre un anglicisme'" (McArthur 1989: 1). All of this presents a very negative image of the English language.

In reality, language interaction is inevitable, especially in a bilingual country like Canada. Belgium is similar in having two official languages, Dutch and French and the variety of Dutch spoken in Vlaanderen has been greatly influenced by French, and, in some parts, can almost be classified as a creole of Dutch and French. In Canada, the rejection of English by speakers of French should not be overstated, for there are a lot of American and anglo-Canadian influences that the French do give into. For example, in 1985, "among francophones between eighteen and thirty years of age, almost two-thirds regularly purchased English-language records and cassettes, and 45 percent of the television watched by Montreal francophones was on English language channels" (Levine 1990: 226). That was 15 years ago, and it seems likely that these numbers have only increased since then. A considerable percentage of the French speaking people, especially in the Montreal area, know how to speak English

and actually use it regularly, at work, or in conversation with anglophone friends.

Bilingualism does not necessarily have to be associated with a loss of language and culture. "Although each individual's right to a personal language policy should be respected, many have come to the conclusion that, if one chooses to live and work in Quebec, one should take advantage of the exceptional opportunities that exist to become bilingual" (Scowen 1991: 109). There is no reason that French and English cannot be preserved. Both languages are well-established. Neither one of them is going to disappear in the near future. Bilingualism should be seen as an enrichment to the culture and not as a threat. The French and the English of Quebec each have their own language community, but on top of that they share a province with a bilingual atmosphere that distinguishes it from the rest of Canada. At this moment, the level of bilingualism is higher among anglophones than among francophones in Quebec (1996 Census of Canada). The French should realize that being bilingual offers some important advantages in things like everyday communication and finding jobs. If the French learn English as a second language it does not mean that the English are taking over the province.

Conclusion

Language issues are always difficult, because language is very much related to cultural identity. On one hand, French is really important to Quebec anglophones, because it is the language of the majority and is now the language in the province with the most official recognition. On the other hand, it is really important for anglophones to preserve their own language, because it is their right to speak it and they have contributed so much with it to the Quebec society over the years. They have not let the government prevent them from speaking their own language. They have established a community of their own in which English is easily accessible and French is not directly needed. Nevertheless, it will give them a tremendous economic advantage to speak both English and French, because there is a strong need for bilingual people in a lot of fields and so far that demand is being met by francophones who also speak English. Quebec francophones sometimes overlook the English and are afraid that the English will do damage to their language and culture. The English are not that extreme and their community is still very much separated from the French community. The influence of English on Quebec French and French on Quebec English should not be regarded as a negative development. More language interaction will hopefully stimulate more people to become bilingual, and then francophones and anglophones can benefit from working together and learning from each other's cultures.

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BAGEL AND LOX FOR LUNCH? THE PRESENCE OF YIDDISH IN CANADIAN ENGLISH

Vanessa Eibenschutz

One of the general characteristics of Canadian English is its openness to words borrowed from the many minority communities throughout Canada. The increasing flow of immigrants into Canada has continually enriched the dominant English language. As will be shown in the following study, Yiddish has been a key contributor to Canadian English, and the English of Canada will help ensure the survival of the Yiddish language.

The Yiddish Language and Jewish Culture

The Yiddish language is a thousand-year old German dialect written in Hebraic script. Before World War II this dialect was the mother tongue of nearly all Jews of Europe. According to Jack Thiessen, studying Yiddish reveals the culture and history of the Jewish people (Thiessen 1973: 26). Jewish idioms reflect Jewish history. The common, everyday expressions used in the Yiddish language are often based on important stories of the past. These stories are focused on Jewish people and their trials, tribulations, persecution, and ultimately their progress as a society. An example is the expression *even if he should be burned and fried*, which refers to the period of the Inquisition. This expression reveals the determination of the Jewish people to be strong. *To carry straw to Egypt* is another example of an idiom that reflects Jewish history and character. Years of persecution, exile and suffering often led to feelings by the Jews that any actions undertaken by them were futile and useless. Thus *to carry straw to Egypt* is somewhat like the English expression *to carry coal to Newcastle*, an expression of futility. The Yiddish phrase makes an allusion to the biblical days when Jews were forced to transport straw to Egypt and make bricks for the Pharaoh. But Yiddish is not only important as a passive reflection of Jewish history and society. It has also been an active participant in molding the Jewish culture. The Yiddish language is the vehicle by which preachers, for example, teach the traditional, highly moral precepts of Jewish religion. Without this common language, it is possible that religious knowledge might have been lost to the community and become the preserve of scholars and intellectuals. Clearly, Yiddish has played an important role in the everyday life of Jewish people around the world; therefore, it is understandable that there is a desire to maintain that language within the Jewish community.

History of Yiddish in Canada

As mentioned above, the Yiddish language originated one thousand years ago as an offshoot of the predominant German dialect of southwestern Germany. The transience of the Jews led to a considerable mixture of influences on Yiddish, and, over time, the Yiddish language became independent and opulent. The development and solidification of their language led many Jews to believe that, after the years of continuous migration, they had found a permanent language and also in Europe, a permanent home. Sadly, the advent of World War II led to the eviction and eradication of millions of Jewish people. Along with the loss of their homes, the decline of their status, the extermination of their numbers, and their expulsion from a society they had seen as their own, came another blow--the disappearance of their language. (Steinmetz 1986: 11). Ironically, the persecutors of the Jews were those with whom they shared the closest linguistic ties, namely the Germans and Austrians. It was this horrible persecution in World War II that led to a major Jewish immigration into Canada and the major influx of Yiddish words into Canadian English. Yiddish, however, had had a presence in Canada long before the outbreak of World War II.

The Jewish people first appear in Canadian history in the early eighteenth century in the French settlements in Canada. The earliest Jewish settlers made their homes in Nova Scotia in the late 1750s, and later in various Quebec towns. By the late 1800s the Jewish people had firmly established themselves in Canadian society. But, although their place in society had been secured, some problems still arose for those of Jewish religion and culture. In 1867, for example, Ezekiel Hart, the son of prominent Jewish settler Aaron Hart, was elected to the legislature of Lower Canada. Because Canadian Law required that an oath be taken on "the true faith of a Christian," he was unable to accept his seat. One of the first steps that Canada took to promote equality and understanding amongst its people was on June 5, 1872, when an act of legislature was passed which granted Jews the same civil and political rights allowed to all other Canadian subjects (Thiessen 1973: 21).

In the period from 1882-1914, Canada accepted many Jews who were fleeing European persecutions, particularly from tsarist Russia. These refugees settled mostly in Western Canada, particularly in farming settlements that they established in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. From that point on there has been a steady influx of Jewish immigrants into Canada. According to Census of Canada statistics dating from 1965, some 275,000 Jews were reported to be living in Canada, comprising 1.4% of the total population. (Thiessen 1973: 20). By 1996, that number had grown to over 350,000 (Census of Canada). Over 90% of Jewish-Canadians live in major, metropolitan cities; the other 10% reside in smaller, rural communities throughout all of Canada's provinces and territories. Almost four-fifths of Canadian Jews live in Ontario and Quebec; of the rest, more than half reside in Manitoba.

Jack Thiessen's Survey of Yiddish in Canada

Professor Jack Thiessen of the University of Manitoba, the author of *Yiddish in Canada*, conducted a survey in 1970 to collect data on the survival of the Yiddish language in Canada. In the winter of 1969-1970, Thiessen purchased space in the leading Jewish newspapers in Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg, and his entire questionnaire was published together with a request that it be filled out and returned to the author. One thousand two hundred and eighty four responses were returned from a wide range of respondents. Answers came mainly from individuals in metropolitan cities, but every province was represented as well as the former Northwest Territories.

Thiessen's goal was to ascertain what happens in Canada when a minority language of a closely-knit ethnic entity, such as the Jewish-Canadian community, is in contact with the majority language. The conclusion that Thiessen came to is that the Yiddish language is "doomed," and will ultimately disappear entirely, overpowered by Canadian English. Thiessen proposes five explanations for the ultimate eradication of the Yiddish language in Canada (Thiessen 1973: 38-40). First, he suggests, North American dialects of Yiddish are considered corrupt or bastardized forms of the original standard, which lowers the esteem in which they are held. Second, urbanization tends to produce social conformity, which threatens the retention of minority languages. Third, secularization means that the exclusive use of Yiddish is no longer the norm on weekends or holidays as in the past. Fourth, the loss of social gathering places like markets which were a place for haggling, peddling and conversation, meant the loss of an important outlet for the use of Yiddish. Finally, because there is no more a European linguistic heartland for the dialect, the entire language has lost its roots.

Thiessen also argues that newcomers to Canada are encouraged to adopt English and discard their Yiddish language. He suggests that the fear of being dubbed "greenhorns" in Canada caused Yiddish speakers to allow English words to supplant the deeply rooted Yiddish words in their vocabulary. As well, because the majority of immigrants fled to Canada under persecution, they were giving up their old homes for the freedom of a new country. Many of these Jews tried to put their past behind them, which included their language as well as any European traditions involving the Yiddish language. With respect to social status, Thiessen argues that "better" neighborhoods were identifiable as having distanced themselves from the Yiddish language. Thus, Thiessen's overall argument is that Canada is an assimilative environment. Because of this, the Yiddish language is fading away and will ultimately be overpowered completely by the majority language of Canada: English.

Hypothesis

Thiessen suggests a number of interesting arguments in support of his assertion that the Yiddish language is disappearing. It is true that Yiddish has lost ground in a country where the majority language is English and there are fewer opportunities to use it. However, although Thiessen's survey results suggest that Yiddish is disappearing entirely, one can look at the situation in Canada from an entirely different perspective. The arguments about the disappearance of the Yiddish language are similar to those surrounding the issue of the disappearance of the French language in Quebec and Canada. Intrigued by the language situation in Quebec, Professor Tom McArthur conducted a language survey in that province in 1981. McArthur's survey results show that gallicisms are readily adopted into Canadian English. In other words, French in Quebec is having a profound impact on the English spoken there (McArthur 1989). This may be indicative of the future of Yiddish in Canadian English. Rather than being lost forever, Yiddish is being incorporated into Canadian English, where it will always remain as a reminder of the Yiddish language, of Jewish culture and heritage, and of the Jewish community's importance in Canadian society.

Methodology

Because Yiddish, like any language, has such a variety of terms, it was necessary to keep a narrow focus when studying the presence of Yiddish in Canadian English. This study focuses on food terminology. Jewish cookery is an area of the Yiddish language that has provided a wide variety of unusual and recognizable terms to Canadian English. At almost every *deli* on a given street corner you can buy a *bagel* or a *kaiser* roll. If you want something really special, you can get some cream cheese with *lox*, and maybe a *kosher* pickle, to top them off. This wouldn't be complete without *seltzer* water to wash it all down. These are just a few examples of the wealth of words that Yiddish has contributed to the enrichment of Canadian English.

I conducted a survey of newspaper sources in Canada in order to test the hypothesis that Yiddish is not disappearing, but is becoming a part of Canadian English. By consulting a popular dictionary of Yiddish-English words and phrases, I was able to extract a set of 20 search terms which pertained to Jewish cookery. These terms were: *bagel*, *bialy*, *blintz*, *borscht*, *challah*, *deli*, *hamantash*, *kishka*, *knaydl*, *knish*, *kosher*, *lox*, *Mom and Pop Store*, *nosh*, *Nova*, *pletsl*, *schmaltz*, *seltzer water*, *shpritz*, and *tsimmes*. Using a computer source called "Canadian News Disc," I surveyed a number of Canadian newspaper publications covering a span of two years, 1994-1995. The ultimate goal of this survey was to test the frequency of each of the above terms, the argument being that, should a majority of these words appear in Canadian newspapers, it could be concluded that Yiddish vocabulary has become a part of Canadian English.

In order to provide another test of my hypothesis, I also carried out an informal oral survey among twenty individuals, ten females and ten males. The twenty terms listed above were read aloud one by one to the respondent, who either claimed recognition or ignorance of each term. If a word was recognized, the respondent was asked to use that word in a sentence. The sense implied by the respondent was compared to a definition of the term taken from the Yiddish dictionary that had originally been consulted, in order to verify that the individual had indeed understood the term correctly.

Results

Figure 1 depicts the results of the survey of Canadian newspapers. *Bagel*, *deli*, *kosher* and *schmaltz* show the highest frequency. For *bagel* and *deli*, there were over 100 hits on the computer or occurrences in Canadian newspaper articles. For *kosher* it was 75 and for *schmaltz* 47. *Blintz*, *borscht*, *challah*, *kishka*, *knish*, *lox*, *Mom and Pop store*, *nosh*, and *seltzer water* appeared at varying frequencies below 40 hits. Of the remaining terms, *bialy*, *hamantash*, *knaydl*, *Nova*, *pletzl*, *shpritz* and *tsimmes* did not appear at all throughout the survey.

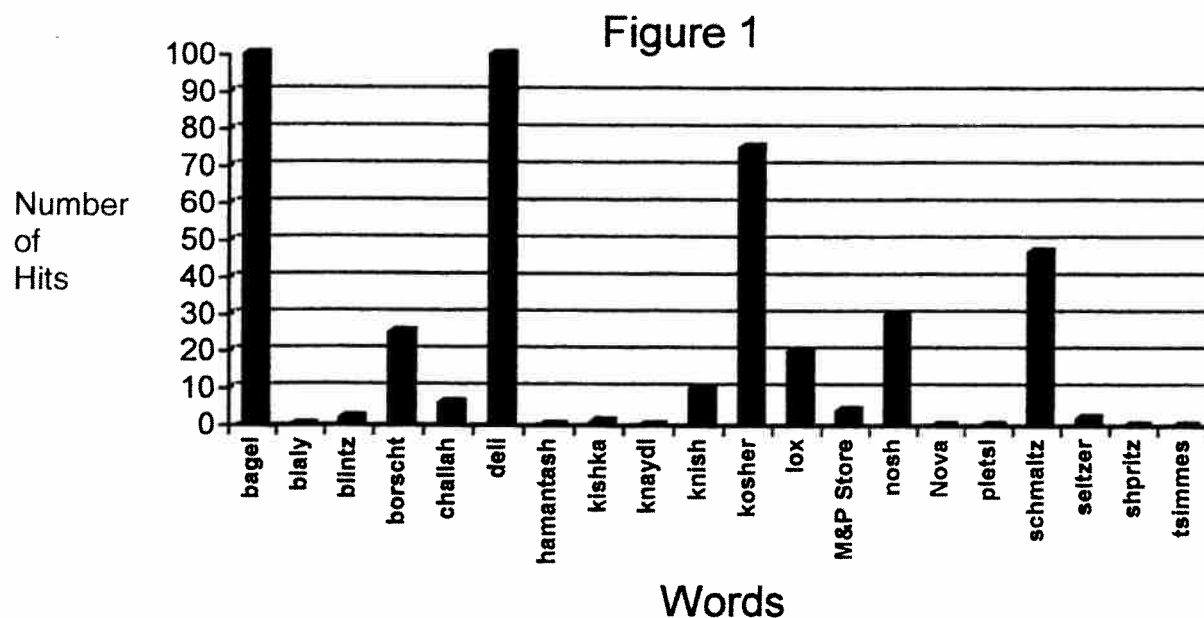
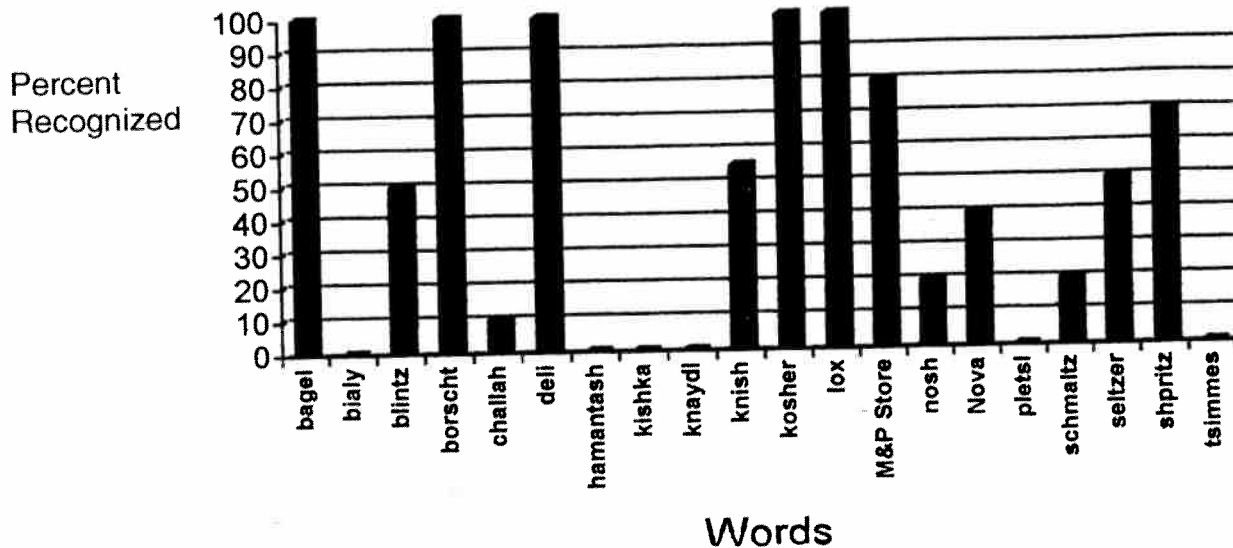


Figure 2 depicts the results of the informal oral survey. The results are fairly consistent with those achieved from the newspaper survey with *bagel*, *deli*, and *kosher* each receiving one hundred percent recognition. But, there is also an indication of an

increased recognition of the terms *blintz*, *borscht*, *knish*, *lox*, *Mom and Pop Store*, *Nova*, *seltzer water* and *shpritz*.

Figure 2



Conclusion

The analysis of the data reveals a number of significant findings. The presence of a majority of the Yiddish terms selected in the survey of Canadian newspapers indicates that Yiddish vocabulary is indeed prevalent in Canadian English. The geographic location of each newspaper's publication did not effect the results. There was an even distribution across the country of the use of these terms. A possible explanation for the higher frequency of *bagel*, *deli* and *kosher* in newspapers is that these three terms are seen often in large grocery stores, whereas *borscht*, *knish* and *lox* are perhaps more prevalent in specialty shops where less of the population is exposed to them.

There are a number of hypotheses that can explain the absence of the seven terms that did not appear in the newspaper survey. *Hamantash* and *knaydl* are both Jewish delicacies made to celebrate religious holidays, such as the Feast of Purim or Passover Seder. Because of their religious association, these foods are not commonly made or seen by the general Canadian public, only by those with a Jewish background. The absence of *pletzl* and *shpritz* can be accounted for differently. It is likely that they have not been as readily adopted into Canadian English because of the existence of phonetically similar words with similar meaning. *Pletzl* sounds like *pretzel*, and they are both bakery items, and *shpritz* is close in sound and meaning to *spritzer*. *Bialy*, *Nova* and *tsimmes* offer a greater mystery. *Nova* is an abbreviation for Nova Scotian salmon, a delicacy that is prized by Jews. Why it does not appear in

Canadian publications is inexplicable. *Tsimmes* (a vegetable or fruit dish) has not been adopted into Canadian English possibly because of its highly unusual consonant combination of *ts* which may be difficult to accommodate due to the lack of any words beginning with this same sequence in English. It is likely only a matter of time for *bialy* to enter Canadian English. The popularity of bagels, a culinary brother to the *bialy*, as well as the popularity of *bialies* in New York, are both indications that *bialy* should become more widely used and recognized with time in Canada.

The informal oral survey provides an interesting comparison to the survey of newspaper publications because it reflects the usage of Yiddish terms five years later than the newspaper articles were published. The results of the informal survey, which show a marked increase in the recognition of those terms which were relatively unknown in the newspaper survey of 1994-1995, suggest that Yiddish words are becoming *more* prominent in Canadian English over time. Terms such as *blintz*, *knish*, *lox* and even *seltzer* water are becoming more popular, possibly because these types of food are becoming common in restaurant or grocery store settings. *Nova* is recognized and does not seem to be related solely to geography, since one respondent commented on having worked in a delicatessen in Ottawa, Ontario that sold *nova*. The remaining words that were not found in the newspaper survey, however, also were not recognized in the informal survey. It is possible that time will alter those statistics as more and more of Canada's population becomes exposed to the diversity of cultures, including that of the Jewish community, that make Canada a unique nation.

Thus, to answer the question of whether the Yiddish language is destined to be forever erased from Canada, no, Canadian English will not push Yiddish out of existence. Instead, the Yiddish language is, and will continue to become, an integral part of what makes Canadian English, and indeed Canada, renowned and unusual: the acceptance and inclusion of exceptional characteristics from each singular community within the nation.

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THE ANCIENT CHINOOK JARGON OF BRITISH COLUMBIA A TRADING LANGUAGE

Christine Gresham

A grotesque Jargon called Chinook is the lingua-franca of the whites and Indians of the Northwest.

--Theodore Winthrop, 1853

In the 1996 Canadian census, 799,010 people declared Aboriginal status. That's roughly 2.8% of the entire Canadian population; of these citizens, 23% claimed an Aboriginal language as their mother tongue (www.statcan.ca). Canada has about fifty-three different Aboriginal languages, and the majority of them are found in British Columbia. This Western province is home to such language families as Tlingit, Tsimshian, Wakashan, Salish, Kutenai and Algonquian. Each family can have multiple dialects and even the dialects themselves can be divided into higher and lower classes. Sharing a dialect can foster a sense of group identity and uniqueness, but the existence of so many languages also causes communication barriers. The great diversity in the First Nation languages of the West Coast created the need for one common language. Currently a single language of this nature does not exist; however, as this paper will show, this has not always been the case. In a bygone era, the Chinook Jargon flourished--a multi-cultural trade language comprehended by all participating cultures.

As well as facilitating travel and trade, Chinook Jargon contributed to a distinct regional dialect in British Columbia that still exists today. "Cut off from the rest of Canada by high mountains, British Columbia has developed many language features of its own" (McConnell 1979: 226). British Columbians have coined several thousand words, many belonging to occupations such as fishing, lumbering, and mining. Some of these terms derive from the ancient trading jargon.

The origin of the language dates back to the fur trade of the nineteenth century. There is some question as to whether a trading language already existed among Aboriginal peoples before the arrival of Europeans, but certainly a trade jargon quickly developed once English- and French-speaking traders, and later prospectors, made contact with the Nootka and Chinook tribes. Chinook Jargon grew into a language comprehensive enough to be widely used among international traders and native tribes from South Oregon to Southeast Alaska and from the shores of the Pacific east to the Rocky Mountains (Thomas 1970: 14). It became an indispensable part of British Columbia's culture.

The first recorded usage and mention of the Chinook Jargon was by a man named John Rodgers Jewitt. During the years 1803-1805, Jewitt was held captive and made the personal slave of Nootka Chief Maquinna, on the West Coast of Vancouver Island; he kept a journal of his experience. In this journal he uses approximately eighty words of Nootkan vocabulary, ten of which became part of the Chinook Jargon as it has been documented (Shaw 1909: vii). In his journal Jewitt wrote:

[Chinook Jargon] is a language confined wholly I believe, to our Northwestern possessions west of the Rocky Mountains. It originated in the roving, trading spirit of the tribes, and has been added to and increased since the introduction of the Whites among them. (Shaw 1909: xi)

The next recorded use of Chinook Jargon is by Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, who were stationed on the north side of the Columbia River, in present day Washington State, in the fall of 1805. They made a written record of their encounter with Chinook Chief Concomly, who spoke to them in Chinook Jargon. By mid-1820s, the Hudson Bay Trading Company had established itself in British Columbia and it is around this time that the Jargon became widely known. The Hudson Bay men were known as *Kin chotsch-men* or King George Men in the Jargon. George Shaw published the first handbook of Chinook Jargon in 1909. At that time, the language consisted of roughly two hundred and fifty words. Eighteen were of Nootka origin, forty-one were from English, thirty-four from French, one hundred eleven from Chinook (the Aboriginal language) eight from onomatopoeic creation and thirty-eight of doubtful derivation but most likely from Chinook or Nootka (Shaw 1909: x). It may not be easy to understand how a language comprised of so few words could have been used so widely as the sole medium of communication but it was the ingenuity of its users that made it a powerful communicative tool.

It is interesting to note that the structure of the language varied according to the initial culture of the speaker. The order of words, or grammatical structure, was determined by the speaker's mother tongue. If an anglophone was speaking the Jargon, s/he would place the words in an order similar to English. French and Aboriginal speakers used the word order of their respective tongues. However it was often the case that Aboriginals became more familiar with English than the English with various Aboriginal languages. Consequently an Aboriginal speaker conversing with an English person, might structure the phrases according to English grammar to aid communication (Thomas 1970: 33).

There was no distinct authority for the language, and so, in different localities, structure, spelling and pronunciation would vary. Pronunciation also varied with the first language of the speaker. New words entered Chinook Jargon from various languages, and each language family had to make specific compensations in pronunciation in order to adopt these foreign words. For anglophones and francophones, the numerous hard gutturals of the Aboriginal tongues either

disappeared entirely or were softened to *h* and *k* sounds. In the mouths of Chinook speakers, the English and French sounds corresponding to the letters *d*, *f*, *g*, *r*, *v*, and *z* became *t*, *p*, *k*, *l*, *w* and *s* respectively (Thomas 1970: 34). Thus the English word rudder became *ludduh*. For Aboriginal speakers, the English *j* sound was changed to *ch* and the French nasal sounds were also modified (Thomas 1970: 34). Some Jargon adaptations of French words bore little resemblance to the original. For example, the French word for mother, *la mère* lost the *r* sound as the Aboriginal speakers could not pronounce it and therefore became *lamai*.

Generally, words were written as they sounded. Of course, there were variations amongst different regions and speakers. The word *warm* had many variations, *waum*, *wam*, *wahm*, and *wawm*, as did the word *paper*, *papah*, *paper*, *paypa*, *papeh*, *peypah*, *pepa* and *peppah* (Thomas 1970: 34). Individuals used their own phonetic judgement in the spelling of the words.

The limited vocabulary of Chinook Jargon called for imagination on the part of the speaker. Tools such as metaphor and compounding were useful. For example, a seal in Chinook Jargon was a *siwash cosho*, literally, "an Indian pig", and a moose was a *hyas mowitch*, translated "a big deer" (McConnell 1979: 230).

Another intriguing structural characteristic of the language was its unchanging forms for mood, tense and plurality (though sometimes an *s* was added to indicate plural). The idea of time was conveyed not by verb tenses but by simply adding an adverb of time. Past, present and future were usually indicated by using *ahnkuttie*, *alta* or *alki*.

Nika kumtax ahnkuttie. I understood; I understood some time ago.

Nika kumtax alta. I understand now.

Nika kumtax alki. I will understand; I will understand after a while.

(see Thomas 1970: 54)

Duration of time could be indicated by prolonging the sound of a word, much as it is in English. If an English speaker wants to suggest a long time, to accentuate the feeling of length, he/she could say, "A l-o-o-o-o-o-o-o-ng time." Similarly, in Chinook Jargon, *laly* (time) could be pronounced la-a-a-a-ly to indicate a long time. A number of days, weeks, months or years could also be used to indicate time: *Tahtlum sun ahnkuttie* literally means "Ten suns past" (Thomas 1970: 54).

The comparative degree of adjectives was indicated by *elip*. *Kloshe* means *good* in Chinook Jargon and *elip kloshe* means *better*. Adding *Kopa konaway* (meaning the total, whole) to an adjective formed the superlative. Therefore *elip kloshe kopa konaway* means best of all. To decrease a positive remark, the term *kimtah* (meaning last) was added. *Kimtah kloshe* translated to *not so good or worse* (Thomas 1970: 55).

There were eleven different numbers in Chinook Jargon, and every number beyond these was a compound form.

- | | |
|------------|----------------|
| 1. Ikt | 7. Sinamokst |
| 2. Mokst | 8. Stotekin |
| 3. Klone | 9. Kwaist |
| 4. Lakit | 10. Tahtlum |
| 5. Kwinnum | 100. Tukamonuk |
| 6. Taghum | |

For instance, the number eleven was ten and one, *tahtlum pe ikt*. Twenty-five was two tens and five, *mokst tahtlum pe kwinnum* (Thomas 1970: 55).

The language flourished through the nineteenth century even though 80 per cent of the Aboriginal Chinook population was wiped out by Scarlet Fever in 1829 (Grady 1998: 55). The Chinook Jargon reached its climax in popularity and usefulness in the 1870s, when an estimated 100,000 people, Aboriginal, whites, Chinese and mixed race spoke the language. The mixed jargon dominated the trade operation on the Coast for many years and was the official diplomatic language of Aboriginal people in the region. In 1863, the Smithsonian Institute published the *Dictionary of Chinook Jargon* by George Gibbs, with a collection of nearly five hundred words (Shaw 1909: xi). Miners going to the Fraser River gold rush in the 1850s and 1860s were often found carrying guidebooks which included dictionaries of the Jargon. The Chinese who immigrated into British Columbia, who came as cooks, launderers, railroad workers and miners, often preferred speaking the Jargon to English, and missionaries translated sermons, hymns and prayers into Chinook to reach everyone in their mission area. Pauline Johnson, a native of Ontario and a Mohawk, found she could converse with Chief Joe Capilano and other British Columbia chiefs when they met at Buckingham Palace in 1906, because she had learned the Chinook Jargon (McConnell 1979: 228). However, with the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1885 and the subsequent influx of immigrants from the east, the Chinook Jargon fell into disuse.

Not only is the Chinook Jargon a rich and intriguing aspect of Canadian history, but it is also the medium of the first records of contact between whites and Aboriginals. Although contact between the two cultures had occurred before this time, it wasn't until the publication of the journals of Lewis and Clarke and Jewitt that the Aboriginals and their customs and distinctive characteristics were given recognition.

Chinook Jargon has left some traces. A few of its terms, for example, *potlatch* and *muckamuck*, are preserved in modern Canadian *Kinchant wawa* (English). A handful of words such as *saltchuck* (sea,) *skookum* (good), *tillicum* (people), and *tyee* (chief), are regionalisms rarely understood outside the province of British Columbia or Seattle (see Appendix). Chinook Jargon is also kept alive in B.C. place names, such

as Tye Lake, Cultus Lake and Skookumchuck. However, the word *Chinook* itself is now more widely known in reference to the warm, southerly wind, which can quickly melt the winter snow east of the Rockies.

The ancient Chinook Jargon or Trading Language arose from the commercial and communicative needs of different peoples (Shaw 1909: xi). The success of trade depended upon a common language understood by all. The Jargon was unique in Canada as an intertribal lingua franca and it has contributed distinctive colloquialisms to the English of Contemporary British Columbia.

Appendix: Occurrences of Chinook Jargon Terms in the Vancouver Sun

Fish 'N' Game Tips
Fishermen
have choice--
rivers or
saltchuck

The Vancouver Sun, February 5,
1976

The Vancouver Sun

The Vancouver Sun--Final
News Saturday December 30, 1995 B1

One test of British Columbia's maturity must be the way in which we deal with the unresolved grievances of the aboriginal peoples who occupied this place for 10,000 years before all others arrived. Too often we frame this discussion in material terms, reducing it to a squabble over how to divide the pie. In reality, it is no more a material argument than a potlatch is about how much stuff you can acquire. This dispute is over moral, legal and spiritual obligations.

The Vancouver Sun

The Vancouver Sun--Final
News Thursday January 19, 1995 B2

PARRYDIDDLES...Given land claims and all, the Jan. 26-27 First Nations Tourism & Resort Development conference at the Waterfront Centre seems like a skookum idea...If Luxembourg can be named European Capital of Culture, as a flyer from consul and lawyer Klaus Priebe notes, maybe B.C. could Kayo Euro...

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INDIAN PLACE NAMES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

Jasmin Koehler

Introduction to Aboriginal People in Canada

The Aboriginal peoples of Canada are divided into six major culture groups: Arctic, Subarctic, Eastern Woodlands, Plains, Plateau and Northwest Coast. The Indians in British Columbia belong to the Northwest Coast group.

Territory and Environment of Aboriginal Peoples of British Columbia

The environment in which the Aboriginal peoples of British Columbia live is very diverse. There are not only long beaches but also deep fjords and pine forests. The climate of British Columbia is moderate. The average temperature in January is above 0° C and in July below 18° C. Before the European settlers came, there was plenty of food in this region. The Aboriginal people lived from fish, deer, bears, elk, mountain goats, seals and Pacific salmon.

Languages and Groups

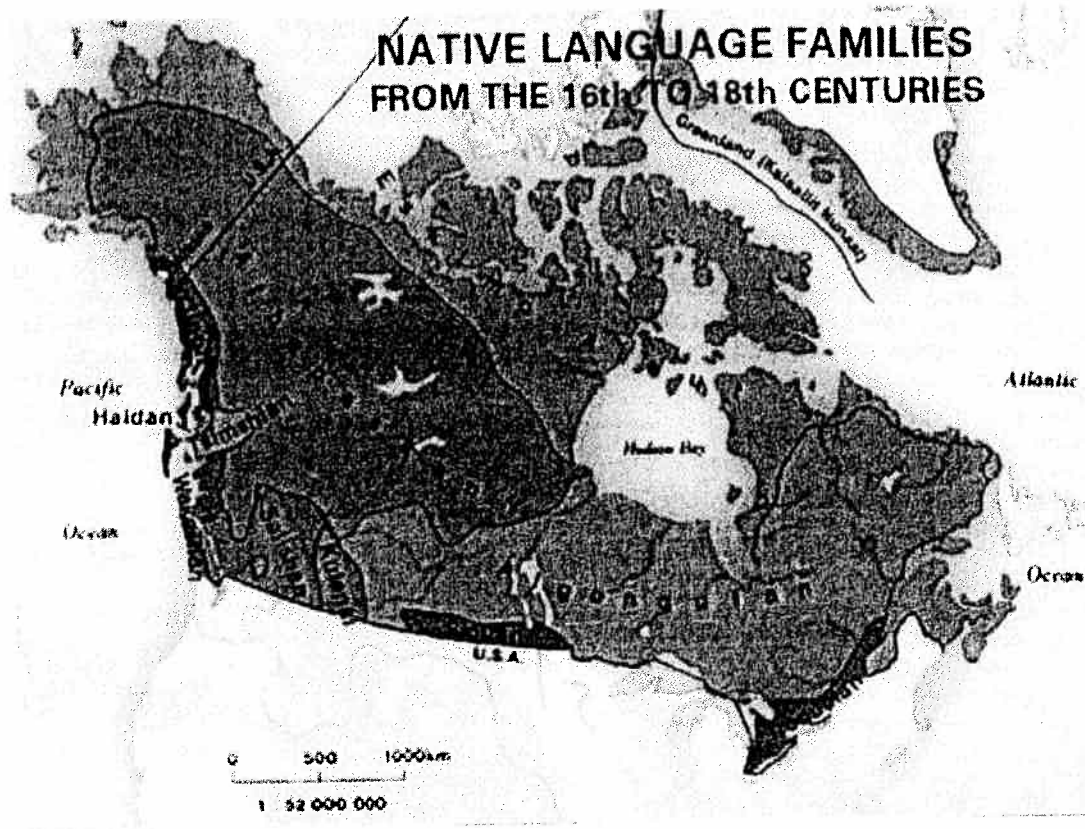
In British Columbia, there is a great diversity of Aboriginal languages, about 30 languages. In northwest BC and southwest Yukon Territory, the main language is Tlingit (see Figure 1). The Haida language, which is spoken on the Queen Charlotte Islands, is not related to Tlingit. Apart from these two, there are also the Tsimshian, Wakashan, Salishan and Kutenai families.

Post-Contact History and the Impact on Language

The earliest settlement of the Northwest Coast area occurred more than 6000 years ago (*Canadian Encyclopedia*). Europeans arrived in the eighteenth century. Spanish and English traders dealt in sea-otter pelts. By 1850, the Hudson's Bay Company had established control of trade. That was also the time when the Native people first came in contact with firearms and iron tools. In 1857, gold was found in the Fraser River. During the gold rush, Indians came to the mining towns in order to trade goods. From 1876 to 1912, Indian reserves were established. Although the Indian reserves weren't always what Indians requested, they still offered some protection

from the increasing number of new immigrants.

Figure 1: Native Language Families



(source: The Canadian Encyclopedia)

In the second half of the nineteenth century, diseases like smallpox, influenza and measles drastically reduced the Indian population. Thousands of Aboriginal people, each steeped in the language, myths, legends and culture of their tribe, died suddenly. Thus, these people were not able to pass along their cultural treasures to their children and grandchildren.

In the late nineteenth century, the policy of the Canadian government was to try to eradicate Aboriginal culture and language. The government denied the rights and interests of the Native population and oppressed them. This policy began in earnest after 1876 when the first federal Indian Act was passed. In 1918, Indian Affairs Superintendent Duncan Campbell Scott led a crusade against Aboriginal people, prohibiting their ceremonies, dances and the important potlatch. The potlatch was a highly regulated and important event of the Aboriginal nations of the Northwest Coast. Goods like blankets, food, fish and canoes were bestowed or destroyed. The potlatch

also included spiritual dances, telling stories, passing on knowledge about culture and distributing gifts. The Europeans, however, saw this ceremony merely as an occasion for drunkenness and paganism. According to Judge Alfred Scow, a Kwicksutaineuk called to the bar in British Columbia in 1962, prohibiting the potlatch "prevented the passing down of values, of oral histories. . . all of which were in the Aboriginal language" (*Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* 1996). It was not until 1951 that these amendments were finally dropped from the Indian Act.

With all its prohibitions and assaults, the government was trying to *civilize* the Aboriginal peoples. Missionaries tried to impose the Catholic and Protestant religions on them. In the 1920s and the 1930s, compulsory attendance at school was added to the Indian Act. In residential schools run by missionaries, Indian children weren't allowed to speak their native languages at all. If they did, they were strapped, beaten or had to do physical labour. When the children who suffered these abuses became parents, they raised their own children speaking English, because they didn't want them to go through the same humiliations they had endured. In the 1960s, the residential school era ended. The Federal Government was now trying to *integrate* the Aboriginal people instead of *assimilating* them. In each era, government policy has put Aboriginal languages at risk.

Modernization has also played a role in Aboriginal languages being superseded by English. Native people didn't have any terms in their language for farm machinery and new technologies and so they often adopted the English terms. Nowadays, English is the dominant language in many Aboriginal communities. Hardly any books, newspapers or TV programs are in Aboriginal languages. So young and even middle-aged Indians often don't speak their heritage language anymore. This has created a painful communication gap between them and their elders.

In 1990 and 1991, the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) surveyed Aboriginal language conditions on reserves in Canada and published the results in *Towards Linguistic Justice for First Nations* (1990) and *Towards Rebirth of First Nations Languages* (1992). Here are some results from the 171 participating (of a total of about 600) First Nations communities with a focus on British Columbia.

- The language of 21 First Nations is *flourishing* (over 80% of all age groups are fluent in the First Nations language, and many are able to read and write the language). No First Nations in this category were from British Columbia.
- In 31 First Nations communities the language is *enduring* (over 60% of almost all age groups are fluent in the language). Two First Nations in this category were from British Columbia.
- The language was *declining* in 48 First Nations (at least 50% of the adult population and a lesser percentage of young people are speakers of their language). Ten First

Nations in this category were from British Columbia.

- In 52 First Nations, the AFN survey described the language as *endangered* (less than 50% of the adult population speak the language and there are few if any young speakers, or, although over 80% of the older population speak the language, there are no speakers under 45 years old). Twenty First Nations in this category were from British Columbia.

- The language situation of 19 First Nations was described as *critical* (there are fewer than 10 speakers, or there are no known speakers living in the community). Five First Nations in this category were from British Columbia.

When looking at these results, we realize how endangered Aboriginal languages are. Therefore they need to be preserved. One step we can all take toward valuing, if not exactly maintaining, Aboriginal languages is to appreciate and learn about Indian place names.

Indian Place Names in British Columbia

When looking at a map of British Columbia, one sees at first glance that a very large number of place names have been derived from Indian words, e.g., Bella Coola, Chilliwack, Kamloops, and Siwash Rock. It is not easy to discern the origins of all these names because British Columbia has 28 different Aboriginal languages and even more dialects. Long before the first white men came to Canada, numerous Indian tribes had lived in B.C. for many centuries. Most of the names they gave to mountains, lakes, rivers and other sites described these places in terms of food resources or natural features. Other names were related to events in Indian legends. With the white man's arrival, many of the place names were changed. One reason was that the Indian words were so different from English that English speakers found them hard to pronounce. Sometimes settlers made up crude approximations to the names they heard Aboriginal people using. Also Europeans often misunderstood exact meaning of Indian words taken over. For instance, *atlin* or *muncho* both mean "big lake". So in calling those bodies of water Atlin Lake or Muncho Lake, Europeans were saying "big lake lake". The meaning of some names is now lost. For example, *Kitwanga* means "the people of the rabbits" or "the people of the rapids". Both translations circulate and Aboriginal people cannot clarify the matter, in this and similar cases, either because they don't speak the language anymore or because they aren't able to recognize the white man's transliterations.

Below is a selection of some Aboriginal place names in B.C.

AHNUHATI RIVER

This river flows into the Knight Inlet. The name is derived from a Kwakwaka'wakw Indian word that means "where the humpback salmon go up".

ALEZA LAKE

This place is named after an elderly Indian woman who lived in the area.

ANYOX CREEK

I found two different interpretations for this river name. One is that the name is a Nisgha word meaning "place of hiding"; the other is that it is a Tsimpsean word meaning "hidden water".

ASSINIBOINE, MOUNT

This mountain is named after the Assiniboine Indians who used to hunt in the Rockies. The name simply means "stone", because this tribe cooked using hot stones.

ATNARKO RIVER

This river flows into the Bella Coola River and the name derives from a Chilcotin word meaning "river of strangers" (these strangers are the Indians from the Coast).

BAEZAECO RIVER

Baezaeco is a Carrier word that means "basalt river". The name refers to the black basalt from this area. The Indians used this volcanic rock to make arrowheads.

BEECE CREEK

Beece is a Chilcotin word for "obsidian". This hard volcanic rock was also used to make arrowheads.

CHEAKAMUS RIVER

This name derives from the Squamish Indian word for "salmon weir place". I also found another translation meaning "those who fish with cedar rope nets".

CHEAM PEAK

This mountain near Chilliwack took its name from the Halkomelem word meaning "(place to) always get strawberries".

CHILLIWACK

This is the name of a local Indian tribe. The tribal name derives from a Halkomelem word meaning "quieter water on the head" or "travel by way of a backwater of slough". Early spellings of this name include Chillwayhook, Chil-whey-uk, or Silawack.

CHUCKWALLA RIVER

This is an Oowekyala word that means "short river".

CLAYOQOUT SOUND

This place is named after the Clayoqout Indians who name means "strange house" or "those who lived in a different place." White people first called Clayoqout Sound by the name Port Cox, after John Henry Cox who was a merchant in Canton.

CLO-OOSE

This name has its origin in a Nitinat word that means "campsite beach" or "camping place". Halibut fishermen used to rest there.

COMOX

Comox is derived from a Kwakwaka'wakw word meaning "place of plenty". This term refers to the abundance of game and berries in this place.

ENDAKO RIVER

This name is derived from a Carrier word. It means "ancient monster river".

ENTIAKO LAKE

Entiako is a Carrier name that means "lake with a brown-coloured creek".

ESQUIMALT

This Straits Salish word was originally *Is-whoy-malth* and it means "place of gradually shoaling water". This refers to the tidal mudflats in the harbour.

GINLULAK CREEK

Ginlulak is a Nishga word meaning "place of corpses". The name refers to the large number of bones that were found in this creek.

HAHAS LAKE

This name is derived from a Kootenay word meaning "skunk".

HAKAI PASSAGE

This name comes from the Heiltsuk Indian word meaning "wide passage". The place is well known for fishing.

HOBITON LAKE

The name is derived from a Nitinat word meaning "sound of snoring". It refers to the sound of the stream that flows into Nitinat Lake.

HOIK ISLAND

Hoik is the Nootka name for "willow grouse". This island is also known as Deadman's Island.

ISHKHEENICKH RIVER

Ishkheenickh is a word from the Nishga Indian language meaning "water out from among the pine trees."

ISOLILLOCK PEAK

This name comes from the Halkomelem language and means "double head". It refers to the split peaks.

KAIEN ISLAND

The town of Prince Rupert is situated on this island that derived its name from a Tsimshian word meaning "foam." Tidal changes and heavy rain can produce large quantities of foam, which can even extend to the southern end of the island.

KAMLOOPS

Kamloops is situated on the confluence of the North and South Thompson River. The Shuswap Indians called the place *Kahm-o-loops*, which means "the meeting of water".

KIKWILLI CREEK

Kikwilli is Chinook slang for "underneath" or "below". All through British Columbia, one can find kikwilli holes in the ground. They are shallow depressions where Indians used to have their semi-subterranean winter dwellings.

KILBELLA RIVER

Kilbella is an Oowekyala word that means "long river".

KINSKUCH RIVER

Kinskuch is derived from Nishga and means "place of transporting things in stages"--a portage.

KLOIYA BAY

This is a Tsimshian word and it means "place where people hide their valuables". The Tsimpseans usually first hid their belongings before they proceeded to the fishing grounds.

LACH GOO ALAMS

This is another name for Port Simpson. Lach Goo Alams is a Tsimshian Indian phrase meaning "place of the wild rose with small hips".

LANEZI LAKE

Lanezi is "ten" in the Carrier language. This lake is ten miles long.

MATSQUI

This Halkomelem word means "easy portage" or "easy travelling". It refers to the portage from the Fraser to the Nooksack Rivers that was apparently easy for the Indians.

MESACHIE LAKE

This lake takes its name from the Chinook Jargon word meaning "evil" or "bad". According to a Cowachin Indian legend, an old man lived in the lake and anyone who

passed by would be drowned in the lake's dark.

METSANTON LAKE

This Sekani name refers to the good fishing at this lake, because it means "full belly".

MITLENATCH ISLAND

The name is from Island Comox and means "calm at the end". It refers to shelter from the wind.

MUSKWA RIVER

This Cree Indian word means "black bear".

NADINA RIVER

Nadina is Carrier and means "a log thrown across a creek to serve as a bridge".

NIMPKISH RIVER

This is a Kwakwaka name for a huge halibut-like monster that was believed to draw canoes down into the water.

NULKI HILLS

This Carrier name means "big grey hills".

NUMUKAMIS BAY

This name, taken from the Nootka language, means "something private, personally owned".

OKANAGAN LAKE

More than 47 different spellings of this name have been found, starting with *Otchenaukane* in 1805 and *Ookanawgan* in 1811. One likely explanation of the name is that the word *kana* means "the place of" and that "gan" means "water" or "lake". Another possibility is that Okanagan comes from the word *au-wuk-ane*, which means "men with short hair".

PILLCHUCK CREEK

The name derives from the Chinook Jargon and it means "red water", because the water of this creek has indeed a reddish colour.

PUNCHAW LAKE

Punchaw is Carrier and it means "big lake".

QUISITIS POINT

This Nootka word means "other end of beach".

SHEGUNIA RIVER

Shegunia is a Nishga word that means "water from the place of spring salmon".

SKIHIST MOUNTAIN

This Thompson name means "split rock". This mountain was an important place to young Indians, who went there in search of guardian spirit power.

SKOOKUMCHUCK

This word of Chinook Jargon means "turbulent water" or "rapid torrent" (*skookum*, "strong"; *chuck*, "water").

SKUMALPASP H ISLAND

The name is derived from the Halkomelem word meaning "many big-leaf maples".

TAKAKKAW FALLS

Takakkaw is Cree and means "it is magnificent". These falls are 380 m high, the third largest falls in Canada.

TEDIDEECH LAKE

This Tahltan Indian word means "[where the] bear reaches down into the water with his paws."

TSUSIAT RIVER

The Nitinat Indian word means "water pouring down" [waterfall]. This describes how the river falls over a ledge and flows right into the ocean.

UCLUELET

The name for this area comes from the Nootka language meaning and means "good feeding place; where animals get fat".

UZTLIUS CREEK

This Thompson word means "water that boils" and it describes the turbulent water.

WAPUTIK MOUNTAIN

Waputik means "white goat" in Cree.

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THE DISAPPEARING RURAL VARIANT A STUDY OF A DYING PIECE OF CANADIAN ENGLISH

Matthew Feaver

Many non-Canadians believe that English speaking Canadians all have the same accent and pronounce words in the same way. This, however, is not true. Canada has many small and some large variations in both the pronunciation of words and the way in which words are used. The variations in English found throughout Canada are interesting in that they are most visible in rural settings rather than in large urban ones. This is caused by a combination of factors unique to each area, but all the variations are affected by the location and local heritage, and all endure because of the relative isolation of small towns and villages. Location is important to language in that it influences what jobs the residents have. Thus, towns close to the ocean have a lexicon that includes more fishing words, whereas in agricultural areas, it is the farm that influences the language. Rural variations should not be ignored by those studying standard Canadian English. It is rural English that forms the international stereotype of Canadian speech. However, this part of our national identity is quickly disappearing. As urban centres grow at a rapid pace the small towns that surrounded them are being swallowed up and amalgamated. This is causing the loss of some interesting features of Canadian English. This trend is occurring across the country as large cities devour small towns. The existence of rural variants is often overlooked in surveys of Canadian English (CE), which tend to focus on large urban areas.

In general, rural Canadian English uses much more expressive sayings to describe things than standard urban Canadian English. Often allusions are made to what might be thought of as unrelated objects. This has certainly been my experience in the small agricultural town outside of Toronto, where I grew up. Many local sayings use farm animals and their parts to describe a situation. One saying that really demonstrates this tendency is "useless as an udder on a bull". The listener understands immediately the metaphor and the uselessness of the thing in question. It is colourful sayings like this that are quickly dying in the rapid expanse of urban boundaries. These sayings are a small but integral part of the small town or rural variant of CE. Another interesting aspect of rural speech is variations in pronunciation.

This is really evident if you compare Maritime and Prairie English speakers. In my experience, there is a real contrast in the pronunciation of *been* and *there*. First looking at *been*, Prairie speakers pronounce it almost as if it were a compound of the two words *be* and *in*. The second vowel is emphasized and the first is somewhat

smothered but still audible. In the Maritimes, the /i/ sound of *be* is gone completely and the word is pronounced like the word *bin*. The word *there* is another good demonstrator of the Prairie-Maritime differences. In the Prairies, *there* retains its initial *th* sound but it rhymes with *car* rather than *care*. Maritimers have a different way again of pronouncing *there*. Maritimers drop the *th* sound and replace it with /d/. Unlike Prairie English speakers, they don't have a special pronunciation for *-ere*; the word *there* ends up being pronounced very similarly to the word *dare*. This is really only true in the rural areas, as the urban dwellers mostly use the pronunciation of the word that is considered standard.

Another aspect of language in rural settings is the use of what is considered improper English. This is due, I believe, to the more relaxed atmosphere in which most conversations take place. It is quite common to hear expressions such as "There ain't nothing here." The final difference I've noticed between rural and urban English in Canada is in the use of brand names to describe things. Rural people are much less likely to do this than urbanites. Rural speakers are more likely to use a descriptive name for the object than a popular brand name. Take, for example, the word *snowmobile*. Most urban people would call it a *Skidoo* where as most rural people will call it either a *snowmobile* or a *snowmachine*. Similarly, many older rural people still speak of *coal oil*, while most urban dwellers would call the same substance *kerosene* (originally, a brand name). Overall, the observation I would make is that rural areas have a much greater variety in the terms and expressions used than urban centres.

The variety in rural speech patterns is caused by many factors. One main factor is the common ancestry within an area (Dodds de Wolf 1992: 143). This is evident in Mennonite areas of the Prairies and Celtic areas of the Atlantic provinces. Common ancestry leads to variants in the pronunciation and meanings of words, and even in the syntax. For example, in Newfoundland, "How many times am I after telling you?" means, "How many times have I told you already?" The distinctive grammatical feature is part of Irish English and derives from Irish Gaelic. It reflects the Celtic ancestry of many immigrants to Newfoundland (Story, Kirwin and Widdowson 1990). Similarly, the language of a region can contain references to "home". This is shown in the Newfoundland saying, "May his whiskers grow green when he eats a crubeen." *Crubeen* is pickled pig's hock, a delicacy that reminds one of Ireland (Casselman 1999: 47). Many sayings like this exist throughout Canada. Each saying depends on the ancestry of the area and how close the ties remained to the old country over the generations. There are references to scores of different cultures around the world buried in the rural variants of Canada. These sayings really show the multicultural heart of Canada and it should be our goal to make sure that these do not disappear as a result of urban expansion.

Another large factor influencing the terms and sayings used in rural areas is the type of jobs that are done in the area. Jobs in the rural areas of the Maritimes are very much tied to the fisheries, and fishing-related expressions are introduced into the

lexicon of everyday speech in those areas. There are many examples of this in rural Maritime speech patterns. One such example is a description of how difficult something is to get into: "Easy as opening an oyster with a bus ticket" (Casselmann 1999: 38). Rural farmers in other areas of the country also use terms that are significant to them from their working life. This has certainly been my experience in Port Perry, where the use of farming and animal metaphors is commonplace. Apparently this way of describing things is common throughout rural Canada, as is illustrated by this saying from Alberta: "Smiling like a mule eating thistle" (Casselmann 1999: 50). Such sayings and special terms really define the character of an area, and are very important in the building of a local identity. Unfortunately, much local colour is purged from the language when cities encroach on what used to be rural areas and bring in urban standard language and mono-culture.

Urban populations in Canada show very little variance in the way in which they speak. The standard in Halifax is the same as that in Toronto or Vancouver with some small differences adopted from the rural areas surrounding the cities. The one exception to this rule is the small linguistically insulated ethnic pockets contained within the cities. But generally speaking, a large city acts as a melting pot, causing many peculiarities in speech patterns to be absorbed and lost. Any old saying or pronunciation brought into the urban environment is quickly replaced and forgotten. Rural dwellers who move to the city lose the rural usage that they grew up with and the result is a decline in the diversity of Canadian English.

Urban centres are also causing a mono-grammatical form of English to be adopted. The use of what is considered improper English is limited in the cities because more conversations there tend to be conducted on a formal basis. All in all, there are very few differences from one city to the next in the speech patterns of residents. On the one hand, this allows for easy communication between businesses operating in different cities as they do not have to try to decipher grammatical oddities from other regions. On the other hand, this sameness limits Canadian English and weakens our sense of national distinctiveness.

To conclude, the development of urban areas is quickly tightening the noose on the rural variants throughout Canada. As cities grow, small towns die and along with them go their variations on the English language of Canada. The massive development of cities such as Toronto is taking away wide tracts of farmland and changing small communities based around farming into large nondescript suburbs. Urban sprawl is not the sole factor contributing to the decline of rural variants. Reduced isolation of rural speakers is also a large contributing factor. As urban baby boomers get older, they want to move out of the city and into quieter areas. This results in them buying summer homes and hobby farms in former farming areas. The influx of former urban dwellers to the country side is causing urban usage to be introduced. Rural people hesitate to use the old sayings and pronunciations in the retail areas of town as they do not want to confuse or offend people who may never

have heard such expressions before. Through lack of use, the old sayings and pronunciations fade away. Just as migration has brought urbanites into the rural setting, new technologies have opened the world to some rural youth, who before had little contact with the world outside their town. The introduction of the Internet, for example, to rural areas allows people access to outside views and language. The technological gadget, however, that has drastically affected the speech of rural people is the television mini-dish. CBC used to be the only channel many people could tune into in rural areas; now with satellite reception, they get programming from large cities all over Canada and the United States, and certainly, they are affected by the usage they hear on these stations. The exposure of rural youth to new ideas and information has basically spelled the end of the family farm and rural traditions. More and more young rural people leave their homes to pursue higher education. They go to bigger urban areas where they are influenced by the different way of speaking. Rural speech is going the way of rural music. Country music has now become barely distinguishable from rock, which used to be the distinctive voice of the urban population. This blending of urban and rural is not necessarily a bad thing; however, linguists and historians must act quickly if they wish to record and document the English variants that currently exist in the small towns and villages of Canada. Soon they will disappear.

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CANADIAN ENGLISH AND THE CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION A NATIONAL VOICE ON THE AIRWAVES

Nancy White

...much less ought written language comply with the corruption of oral utterance.

--Samuel Johnson 1864

The "corruption of oral utterance" may not always find a place within the standard written language of a given time or place. Spoken language is more reflective of regional pronunciations and phrases. In Canada, unique linguistic expressions are found from coast to coast within rural and urban communities. As a national radio broadcasting corporation, the CBC is confronted with the prodigious task of representing spoken English language in a manner which seems both linguistically acceptable and natural to urban and rural Canadians right across the nation.

CBC radio carefully monitors the linguistic integrity of its national broadcasts, but it also recognizes the regional variations within Canada. The language of CBC radio thus, aims to reflect a national sensibility as well as regional linguistic preferences within the country.

Let's look at some factors that influenced Canada's linguistic standards. Because of Canada's harsh climate, most of the population is concentrated along the American border. United Empire Loyalists who crossed that border in the 1780s and 1790s had a pronounced effect on the language which was spoken in Canada. In the 1800s, many American immigrants were teachers in Canadian schools and as a result, children learned American spellings and usages. The British in Canada deplored the Americanisation of the English language and sought to preserve their more "proper" pronunciations and spellings. Today Canadians are aware of both the American and the British influences on their language, but we realize that neither a British nor an American standard will do for a Canadian standard. Canada's nationhood is founded upon an acceptance of the French population in the country, and the English spoken in Canada is also marked by the languages of Canada's First Nations. Canadian English today has inherited features, not only of American and British English, but also of Aboriginal languages and French.

Dictionaries provide an easy, accessible and stable reference for spelling standards. In contrast to the relative stability of spelling, word meanings and usages change within one person's lifetime. In order to present Canadians with a language which is

relevant to them, the CBC must be aware of the fluctuations which are occurring in Canadian English. Thus, the organization produces the *CBC Language Guide*, a computerized corpus of current changes in Canadian English. The *Language Guide* functions as a living dictionary and is constantly being adapted to best represent Canadian English. The radio broadcasts of the CBC are reflective of a standard in oral language which is in constant fluctuation. Below, some of the current recommendations of the *CBC Language Guide* are presented alongside the results of a short, informal survey I conducted (see Appendix A) on these same points of usage. Canadian English and British English refer to the last letter of the alphabet as *zed*, whereas *zee* is standard in the United States. The CBC recommends *zed*, and uses this form in national radio broadcasts. However, the American children's show *Sesame Street* has instilled its popular alphabet song into the minds of Canadian children. The two children I surveyed immediately responded *zee* when asked for the last letter of the alphabet. When I asked if they recognized *zed* as part of their language, both responded "Yes, /zi/!". Adults, over eighteen, all distinguished between *zed* and *zee* and recognized *zed* as the Canadian pronunciation. (For full results, see Appendix C.)

Russ Germaine, from the CBC National Language Bureau, commented that the pronunciation of the word *produce*, meaning the fruit and vegetable section of the supermarket, varies within Canada. In western Canada *produce* is pronounced with an /o:/ as in *road*, whereas in Ontario it is more commonly pronounced with an /ɒ/, as in *father*. Although this observation needs to be corroborated with more data, it suggests that the language of western Canada is more "American". Results gathered in Ontario suggest /ɒ/ is the majority pronunciation (see Appendix C).

In her introduction to the *Guide to Canadian English Usage*, Margery Fee describes the ardour that surrounds the debate about correct language usage. "Spelling flame' is a new term for an old phenomenon: outraged arguments about correct language usage. ... One reason for the strong emotions that swirl around language use, even in the age of spell-checkers, is that people feel their identity is reflected in their language" (Fee 1997: v). Although Fee is referring to the "torrent of acrimonious messages" which appears in Internet discussion groups when a spelling or grammar error is criticized, her reasoning applies to language in general. As a national radio-broadcasting corporation, the CBC and its National Language Bureau regularly hear outraged arguments and questions about correct language usage. As Canadians across the country listen to national news broadcasts on the radio, they are identifying themselves nationally with the language of the broadcaster. Expressions and pronunciations that offend a listener's sense of Canadian English lower the perceived quality of CBC broadcasts.

Recent controversies at the National Language Bureau in Toronto include the pronunciation of the name of Canada's Prime Minister, the pronunciation of aboriginal community place names and the pronunciation of the English prefixes *semi* and *quasi*

(is the final vowel sound /i/ as in *see*, or /ay/ as in *hi*?). Another recent distinction recognized is the /ay/ or /i/ pronunciation in the words fragile, ductile and tactile. As a nation with two national languages, the CBC requires its national broadcasters to be proficient in both French and English. When CBC broadcasters were reading the news following the last election, the Prime Minister's name, Jean Chrétien, was pronounced with /n/ at the end. In French, the final letter *n* in the name Chrétien is not pronounced. Pronouncing it adds a feminine marker to the name (See Appendix B). The complaints to the National Language Bureau were not from offended francophones, but from anglophone Canadians who had a degree of proficiency in French and deemed the mispronunciation offensive to the French language.

Place names in Canada can be traced to Aboriginal, French, and English roots. How these names are actually pronounced today depends on the language which is spoken within the community or region. The Innu community Sheshatshu (a contraction of Tshishe-shatshu) in Labrador recently dominated national news broadcasts and presented broadcasters with a challenging pronunciation. In places seldom reported on in the news that are home to a community speaking a language other than English, the current policy of the National Language Bureau is to pronounce the name as it is said by the inhabitants themselves. This policy is particularly relevant in Canada, where there are numerous French and Aboriginal communities whose identities are unquestionably Canadian. The Aboriginal name *Sheshatshu* can be found in records of the French in the 17th century. Variations in French and English spelling and pronunciation have occurred since then. *Tshishe-shatshu* is thought to be a derivative of *Ki-she-saa-kiou*, the Innu name for a river on the North Shore of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence. The Innu locative case further changes the pronunciation from *Tshishe-shashu* to *Tshishe-shashit*. In accordance with their policy, the CBC recognized the different pronunciations of *Sheshatshu* and sought out the advice of the Labrador Innu before instructing its broadcasters (see Appendix G).

As Aboriginal communities within Canada gain political awareness, Aboriginal place names and their pronunciation become more important to the CBC. The recent change of the name for the *M'kmaq* is reflective of this. Although *Mic Macs* is still commonly used among English speaking Canadians in reference to this First Nation, the CBC uses *M'kmaq*, which is pronounced the same way but without a plural *s* (for the Aboriginal word is already plural). Thus the CBC abides by the language preference of the people referred to. This type of change is externally motivated, and the CBC encourages feedback from communities about the pronunciation of their group and place names.

French place names in Canada are another source of conflict. Often there are both French and English Canadians who are settled in communities with French names. English Canadians have developed an anglicised pronunciation of many French place names. *Montréal, Rue Ste-Catherine, Quebec City* are most often said without French pronunciation, even by English Canadians who are fluent in French. However, there

are few complaints from Canadians about these particular anglicised pronunciations and they seem to have achieved an accepted status as the English variant of a commonly used French place name.

The National Language Bureau makes recommendations about the language that is aired on national radio broadcasts. National radio broadcasters are expected to demonstrate a sufficient competency in English and French, and there is an internal computerized language guide available to these reporters, which reflects the current preferred pronunciation of the National Language Bureau. Local and regional CBC radio broadcasters on the other hand, are free to use the language best suited to their area of broadcast. For example, a Montreal broadcaster is free to use the French pronunciation of *Rue Ste-Catherine* in his local news broadcast. The division of local and national news broadcasts enables the CBC to represent Canadians locally and nationally. The variations within Canadian English which exist across Canada, for example in Newfoundland, Montreal, Calgary, and the West Coast are represented in the local news broadcasts. While the educated, urban variety of Canadian English is remarkably homogeneous across the country, dialect variation is notable in more isolated rural areas. It would be impossible for the CBC to enjoy the status of a national radio broadcasting corporation without a representation of local issues and local language. A native of rural Saskatchewan would not consider a reporter in the national newsroom in Toronto representative of his/her community. National and local radio broadcasts provide a sense of community to a relatively small population dispersed across a continent.

Does the CBC provide a linguistic standard for Canada? *Standard* is a loaded word in linguistic discussions today, and it is important to recognize that here *standard* refers to the linguistic preferences of the majority of Canadians. Certainly listeners from across the country keep the CBC aware of Canadian preferences. However, what linguist R.J. Gregg calls the "generally shared base" of standard Canadian English is by no means static. *Standard* in this sense describes a moving target. The National Language Bureau at the CBC recognizes changes happening across the country which continually affect Canadian English. The emergence of new communities in Canada, and the changing status of these communities affect Standard Canadian English. The accepted pronunciation of Sheshatshu is as reflective of this changing standard in Canadian English as is the acceptable English pronunciation of the Prime Minister of Canada's name. Sometimes the CBC is in the vanguard in Canadian English. Should the CBC merely reflect how most Canadians say things or should it take the lead and grace the airwaves with a language which is inoffensive to all Canadians? To a certain extent, the CBC sees accustoming Canadians to changes in the language as part of its role. Eventually Canadians will value words from diverse communities as a part of their own language.

The reluctance of the CBC language bureau to publish the internal database of preferred pronunciations is not surprising given the difficulties which surround the notion of a standard language, as well as the fluctuating nature of preferred language. The database is computerized; as such it is a living corpus reflective of the changing nature of language in Canada. The publishing of this corpus would freeze it at one moment in time. The publication would not reflect the moving target of preferences in Canadian English, but a prescriptive and unchanging language. The traditional prescriptive approach to language does not reflect language as spoken in Canada but rather the schooled preferences of one vocal group of speakers. The CBC functions as a cultural and news medium for Canadians, and Canadians expect to hear on the airwaves programming that speaks their language and echoes their identity.

The CBC and the National Language Bureau are reluctant to acknowledge their role in the promotion of a *standard* Canadian English. Achieving a clear and concise definition of a standard in language is a prodigious task, and one which triggers provocative questions about the role of a standard in language. As a national radio broadcasting corporation, the CBC is inextricably linked with a sense of Canadian national identity. National and regional radio broadcasts report about daily news and culture within Canada. The language of these broadcasts is standard Canadian English because it reflects the regional and national usage of Canadians. Canadian English is a dialect rich with variation. Canadians in Newfoundland, Toronto, Saskatoon, Thunder Bay and Vancouver are able to identify themselves as Canadians when they are listening to CBC radio broadcasts.

**Appendix A:
Twelve people were surveyed in November 2000 in Ontario
Oral Questionnaire**

1. What is the name of Canada's Prime Minister?
2. The fruit and vegetable section of the supermarket is also called the P _____ Section.
3. The last letter of the alphabet is _____
4. Sing this line of the Alphabet song:
W, X, Y and Z, now I know my ABC's next time won't you sing with me.
5. What is the name of the busy street in Montreal which has the name Catherine in it?
6. The unit of measurement of distance travelled in a car in Canada is what?
7. What is the term used to describe somebody who fishes?
8. How do you pronounce the name of this Innu community in Labrador:
Sheshatshu?
9. What is the name of Quebec's separatist party?
10. Read the following lists of words. Try to say them as naturally as possible:
fragile, tactile, ductile
semi-conscious, semi-formal
quasi-friend, quasi-lunch

**Appendix B:
French Names in Canadian English**

	Jean Chrétien
French pronunciation (CBC recommendation)	(9) 75%
Final or pronounced	(3) 25%

**Appendix C:
American Pronunciations in Canadian English**

	Produce
Canadian English	/ɒ/ (8) 66.6%
American English	/o:/ (4) 33.3%

	Last Letter	In Alphabet Song
Zed (CBC)	(10) 83.3%	(5) 41.6%
(American English)	(2) 16%	(7) 58.3%

**Appendix D:
Kilometre Stressed like Centimetre or Thermometer?**

	Kilometre
Stress Pattern like thermometer	(11) 91.6%
Stress Pattern like Centimetre (CBC)	(1) 8.3%

**Appendix E:
The Name for Someone Who Catches Fish**

	Fisher or Fisherman?
Fisher (CBC)	(10) 83.3%
Fisherman	(2) 16%

Appendix F:

	/ay/ (American)	/i/
Semi-formal	0	(12) 100%
Semi-conscious	0	(12) 100%
Quasi-friend	(8) 66.6%	(4) 33.3%
Quasi-lunch	(7) 58.3%	(5) 41.6%
	/el/ (American)	/ayl/
Tactile	0	(12) 100%
Fragile	(11) 91.6%	(1) 8.3%
Ductile	(11) 91.6%	(1) 8.3%

**Appendix G:
Can Canadians Pronounce Sheshatshu?**

Yes	(1) 8.3%
No	(11) 91.6%

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**TO BE A FISHER OR NOT TO BE A FISHER
THAT IS THE QUESTION AT THE CBC
A STUDY OF THE CONSTANT AND CHANGING LINGUISTIC STANDARDS
AT THE CBC**

Laura Garetson

Chesterfield or couch? Zed or zee? Sneaked or snuck? Napkin or serviette? Runners or sneakers? Aunt or awnt? Shedule or skedule? Fireman or firefighter? Fisherman or fisher? Throughout Canada today, language is changing at a rapid rate. More and more people are changing the pronunciation of familiar words, changing the meaning of words, exchanging "biased" words for neutral words, and changing "sexist" words to gender inclusive words. One organization having a difficult time keeping up and dealing with this constant linguistic change is the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, or CBC. The CBC is in fact caught in the middle of this constant change, due to the fact that many people, native English speakers as well as non-native English speakers, look to the CBC for guidance on many of these lexical, grammatical and pronunciation variants. "Many Canadians . . . turn to the CBC as a definitive source of English. . . . These citizens and immigrants use the CBC as a guide for spoken English" (Germain 2000: 1). The CBC is making a valiant attempt to keep up with and make sense of linguistic changes in Canada and to rationally ascertain where it, as an organization, stands on them. While the CBC does not prescribe what Canadian English should be, it does at the same time set standards and guidelines for the language used in its various programs and publications, etc. The CBC aims to keep up with changing Canadian linguistic standards while still maintaining a level of quality in broadcasting that Canadians can rely on and be satisfied with.

The history of public broadcasting in Canada began around the year 1920 with the Montreal Marconi station XWA (Harris 1976: 1). Broadcasting however, quickly expanded all over Canada, and "by 1929 more than 75 Canadian stations, French and English, had been licensed" (Harris 1976: 1). Broadcasting soon became very diverse throughout Canada and disagreements ensued between private companies and Parliament over broadcasting standards. On May 26, 1932 Parliament passed The Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act, authorizing the establishment of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC) (Harris 1976:4). The goal of the CRBC was to unify radio broadcasting standards in Canada. A second goal of the CRBC was to offer, "ambitious and largely Canadian programming in two languages" (Harris 1976: 5).

Following the guidelines set out by the CRBC, CBC (radio) was established in 1936 and quickly set a very high broadcasting standard for Canada. From the first year of broadcasting, the CBC included both English and French language programming, including symphony concerts, plays, children's programs, sports, and daily news reports (Harris 1976: 5). Throughout the CBC's early years, the number of stations it operated and the number of people it reached expanded and the variety in its programming increased as well. All the while, it was still focused on developing services "for both main language groups, English and French" (Harris 1976: 7). In fact, one of the CBC's base policies was to "improve French-English relations" (Harris 1976: 7). Over the years, the CBC expanded its mandate to include French and English television programming. CBC television successfully aimed to reach about 90% of English-speaking Canadians and to improve "Quebec coverage and to serve more of the French-speaking minorities outside that province" (Harris 1976: 11). Throughout all the phases of its development, one goal of the CBC has remained unchanged: to give special attention to the quality of broadcast language, on both the English and French networks (Harris 1976: 10).

Revisions to the [Canadian] Broadcasting Act, passed in 1991, direct the CBC to "safeguard, enrich and strengthen the cultural, political social and economic fabric of Canada," to "reflect Canada and its regions to national and regional audiences, while serving the special needs of those regions," and to "reflect the multicultural and multiracial nature of Canada" (CBC 1993: 11-16).

The CBC considers English and French programming to be equally important and recognizes that the programming needs in each language may not be the same. Although English and French are the only languages directly mentioned in the Broadcasting Act, they are not the only languages the act is concerned with. The Broadcasting Act is also concerned with multicultural issues and ethnic, racial and gender differences as well.

Although the CBC has definite policies, guidelines and objectives in broadcasting, there have been many times when what has been said or done on air has been called into question by people outside the CBC. One such example occurred in October of 1999 when CBC journalists used the term *fishers* to avoid the sexist noun *fishermen* during a story about the fishing industry in Newfoundland. This simple variation on an age-old word spurred debate internally at the CBC, as well as throughout Canada. Some people were angry at the CBC for using a word that members of that group themselves refused to use; others were happy that the CBC had attempted to fix the "overuse of an ugly word" (Shewchuk 2000: 2). Whatever the views that arose from the on-air use of the word, the CBC journalists who employed it were simply following the policies outlined in the in-house style guide entitled *CBC Journalistic Standards and Practices*. Under the heading "Guidelines on Language", the guide states that anonymous writers should:

a) Use *generic terms* for both men and women. b) Put men and women *on an equal footing* when referring to them socially and professionally. c) Describe a woman *in her own right*, and not according to her relationship to the other sex. d) Use *parallel language* to refer to men and women. e) Avoid *patronizing* terms. f) Use terms that *do not exclude* either sex. g) Use plural forms or neutral words to *avoid assumptions* about a person's sex. (CBC 1993: 159-160)

The CBC Linguistic Services have also included in the policy manual a list of twenty-five terms as "examples of replacements for words that may reflect a sexual bias" (CBC 1993: 160). Examples of a few words included in the list are *anchor* instead of *anchorman*; *artisan* instead of *craftsman*; *honourable agreement* instead of *gentleman's agreement*; *server* instead of *waitress* and *workforce* instead of *manpower* (CBC 1993: 160-161). The policy does state though that "individuals be addressed or designated according to their wishes. Accordingly, if a woman prefers to be known not as the *chairperson* of the board, but as the *chairman*, her preference should prevail" (CBC 1993: 160). While *fisherman* is not included in this list, it does not mean that the CBC endorses the term by any means. The examples listed are "intended to show editorial staff how to avoid 'sexual bias' in stories, and do not constitute an exhaustive list" (Shewchuk 2000: 8). The CBC has clearly set out guidelines for its employees that proscribe language that may be considered sexist or offensive.

The CBC has a fairly clear set of standard linguistic guidelines aiming at providing journalists and editors with assistance over unclear gender issues. However, there are many linguistic shifts happening right now that are not covered in the policy manual. Such changing standards are evident in word choice, pronunciation and enunciation of the CBC announcers. Although the CBC does not have a mandate on each of these specific issues, it does recognize that:

Canadians expect us to subscribe to popular language, not to talk down to them or talk over their heads, to be real. On the other, they expect us to aim for the highest linguistic common factor, not the lowest common denominator (Germain 2000: 2).

There are two main types of language heard on the CBC, the first being extemporaneous, or unrehearsed conversation, the other being formally written, edited speech used in a newscast or documentary (Germain 2000: 2-3). While formal edited speech is most often "problem free", unrehearsed conversation heard, for example, during a phone-in show or a debate cannot be expected to be flawless. The CBC realizes that to try to enforce this perfection would be "impossible" (Germain 2000: 3). However, the CBC does expect its broadcasters to have a "better than average command of English" and does expect that, when listening to scripted and edited language, "our listeners should hear speech that conforms to the best possible usage" (Germain 2000: 3). In other words, the CBC makes it a goal to try and maintain and use the highest standard of English possible.

Many listeners and viewers of the CBC provide it with feedback in regards to what they expect to hear coming out of the mouths of its broadcasters. While the CBC receives many letters, faxes and e-mails with regard to language, many of the comments regarding language use are similar. One thing Canadians often seem to want from the CBC is that the language its broadcasters use be unbiased. The CBC tries its best to comply with this seemingly simple request; however, compliance is often far more difficult than it might at first seem. Many terms used in the English language today can be considered biased in some way or another. For example, *The Holy City* may seem like an everyday expression; however, a city that is holy for one religion may not be for another, and thus this usage may offend some listeners. Also, the use of the term *unborn child* may show bias towards some religious beliefs, where a less-biased word such as *fetus* does not (Germain 2000: 3). Even an expression such as *baby seals* can be hazardous for the CBC to use, due to the fact that it is an "inflammatory description"; "zoologists refer to young seals as *sea pups*" (Germain 2000: 3). The CBC tries to catch words that may offend even a single viewer; however that can often be a very challenging task.

While many viewers are insistent that the language of the CBC be unbiased, another sizeable group of correspondents asks that CBC broadcasters properly enunciate words. Many people have challenged the enunciation of CBC broadcasters; however, as many studies of Canadian English point out, there is not a single standard pronunciation--much less one acceptable enunciation--of many words used commonly in Canada today. Nevertheless, some examples of challenged enunciations have been *hundert* instead of *hundred*, *pitchure* instead of *picture*, *Febuary* instead of *Febroary*, and *eck cetera* instead of *et cetera* (Germain 2000: 4). There are also many examples of CBC viewers and listeners disagreeing over the pronunciations of words: *shedule* or *skedule*, *eether* or *eyether*, *staytus* or *stahtus*, *dayta* or *dahta* and *ant* or *awnt* (Germain 2000: 4). However, pronunciation of these words varies throughout Canada and depends on which part of the country the person who uses them lives in or grew up in. The longest-running battle at the CBC is over the pronunciation of the word *kilometre*. In 1970 when Canada adopted the metric system of measurement, Metric Commission Canada (MCC) was established. As part of their mandate, the pronunciations of the various units of measurement were established. The general rule was the following: units of measurement have primary stress on the first syllable: (e.g., *KILL-oh-mee-ter*), while instruments of measurement have primary stress on the second syllable: (e.g., *ther-MAW-meh-ter*) (Germain 2000: 4). Many Canadians ignore this rule for the single word *kilometre*, choosing instead to pronounce it *kih-LAW-meh-ter*. Using the rule established by the MCC, this pronunciation makes a kilometer an instrument of measurement, like a speedometer, rather than a unit of measurement. However, this discrepancy has become a part of Canadian speech, and with this in mind some editors at the CBC have argued for this popular pronunciation. However, these editors did not prevail. Official CBC policy "strongly advises its broadcasters to embrace the pronunciation used by educated Canadians--that is, those who have been trained in science and technology" (Germain

2000: 4). Thus, the CBC advises its broadcasters to use the *KILL-oh-mee-ter* pronunciation of the word due to the fact that it is the more grammatically correct form. Here is a case where what may be the most grammatically correct pronunciation is certainly not the one that most Canadians are familiar with. This leaves the CBC in the position of either using proper pronunciation and being possibly accused of "linguistic elitism" or changing its policy to use only popular language, even when that could be considered grammatically incorrect. On this issue, the CBC responds by saying that "we have an obligation to try to speak as we would wish our children to be taught to speak" (Germain 2000: 5). Therefore, the CBC's position is that, where they can, they will try to remain as true to proper pronunciations as possible.

Other common complaints that the CBC receives have mainly to do with the use of words whose meaning is changing, such as *presently* and *decimate*, or with the increasingly frequent use of American pronunciations and words, for example, *offense* pronounced *OH-fense* and *half-staff* instead of *half-mast* (Germain 2000: 5). Once not so long ago during a CBC newscast, an announcer pronounced the drug, *A-Z-T*, used to combat AIDS, *A-Zee-T*, and the calls came in "fast and furious", for "Canadians don't say *Zee*, they say *Zed*; make no mistake, we are not American!" (Germain 2000: 2). Obviously, the staff of the CBC are constantly forced to make difficult judgement calls about appropriate Canadian usage. While they can't please all listeners and viewers, they do aim for internal consistency:

Radio has a Broadcast Language Advisor who helps make sure that network radio newscasts reflect the standards set out in the CBC's Handbook of Journalistic Standards and the Radio Style Guide. There is an internal Language Bulletin Board on the main computer, which is frequently updated and available to CBC journalists in radio and television news departments across the country. Television also has its own style guide. . . . We . . . try to maintain a level of quality that Canadians can be proud of (Germain 2000: 6).

The CBC makes it a goal to keep up with changing standards in Canadian English. It sets out many guidelines for its journalists and broadcasters to follow, and it tries to maintain a high linguistic standard. The CBC is aware of the problems associated with the rapid change of English in Canada and is doing its best to stay up to date. Other than what it is currently doing, it seems difficult to think of anything else, or any other way it could be handling the challenge of maintaining linguistic standards.

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A SURVEY IN SEARCH OF STANDARD CANADIAN ENGLISH

Chris Gleave

Canada, as far as nations go, is fairly young. It is still fighting to create its own identity distinct from its British "motherland" and American "big brother" to the south. Throughout the last 130 years Canadians have developed their own laws, culture and conventions to distinguish themselves from other nations and identify themselves as Canadian. There is at least one area, however, where Canadians have failed to separate themselves from other countries, or even agree on a national standard. This facet of Canadian life is language. There is a large variety in the English used in Canada. In fact, many would argue there is no standard at all, that Canadian English is a fluctuating hybrid of British and American English. In 1992, Jack Chambers, a professor of linguistics at the University of Toronto conducted a survey of the use of English in the Golden Horseshoe (Ontario's Toronto-Hamilton-Niagara region). I have used Chambers' survey to examine usage in various parts of the country. My aims are several. First, I search for the Canadian norm. I am curious to know whether both pronunciation and word choice are similar across the country. Second, I want to see how Canadian English has changed over the decades. I am interested in knowing if language has moved forward in the manner suggested in the conclusion of Chambers' study almost a decade ago. Finally, I intend to discover whether dictionaries that describe themselves as Canadian do indeed reflect the Canadian usage of the language.

I do not intend to contradict or even compete with Chambers' conclusions in 1992. While his survey involved over 1000 participants in the Golden Horseshoe area, my findings reflect responses from only 54 participants. Of those participants, 41 grew up in Ontario, 6 grew up in a province west of Ontario (4 of these were from the city of Winnipeg), and the last 7 were raised east of Ontario (including 5 from Montreal). The ages of participants range from under twenty years to over eighty. In all, there were 5 respondents over the age of seventy, 11 between the ages of fifty and sixty-nine, 11 between the ages of thirty and forty-nine, and 27 under thirty years old. Thus, though I am attempting to study English spoken across the country, there is a large emphasis on Ontarians under thirty. It is for this reason I feel I can compare my findings with some measure of authority to the future projections of the Chambers study.

I shall begin by examining word choice. Specifically, I will look at 8 questions from Chambers' survey. They include the name of the upholstered piece of furniture that 3

or 4 people sit on in the living room, the small cloth you use for washing your face, the garment worn over pajamas, the evening meal, carbonated non-alcoholic drinks, the letter Z, the past tense of *to sneak* and *to dive*, and the name of a prank where one grabs another's underpants at the back and hoists him/her up.

Upholstered furniture

Respondents were asked to name the upholstered piece of furniture that 3 or 4 people sit on in the living room. Respondents supplied three answers: *chesterfield*, *couch* and *sofa*. As expected, *chesterfield* was most popular amongst those over seventy years of age, but it fell drastically in popularity to less than 20% usage by respondents under thirty. *Couch* has become increasingly common, most common overall. This trend is consistent with Chambers' survey. However, in each range I found *couch* to be less common than Chambers did and what was quite surprising was the differences across the country. Though *couch* was the most common response from Ontarian participants, Westerners claim to use it less frequently than either *chesterfield* or *sofa*.

Facecloth/Washcloth

This question asks for the name of the small cloth used for washing your face. Two answers were common: *facecloth* and *washcloth*. I found no trend, though *facecloth* is very popular among those aged fifty to sixty-nine. *Washcloth* is quite popular in the West, and *facecloth* becomes more common moving east across the country. All in all there seems to be a slight preference for *facecloth* (56%) which is consistent with Chambers' findings (58%).

What do you call the garment you wear over pajamas?

This question led to more responses than I anticipated: *housecoat*, *robe/bathrobe*, and *dressing gown*. Though *housecoat* remains most common, *bathrobe* is increasing in popularity and I expect it to be more popular in the future. *Housecoat* remains most common overall, even though it is becoming significantly less prevalent in the further east sections of the country.

Carbonated non-alcoholic drinks

This is another topic which produced a wider variety of responses than I had anticipated. I expected *pop* and *soda* and was surprised by *soda pop*, *soft drink*, and *Coke/cola*. I found it interesting that in the Western provinces it is common to use

cola (or Coke) generically to refer to any carbonated drink. I was also surprised to see every Eastern participant give *soft drink* as their response. *Pop*, however, is the most common response in each age group and accounts for 78% of respondents under the age of thirty. This is comparable to Chambers' data that 86% of Canadians prefer *pop*. Again, I was surprised by the popularity of *soft drink*, though it seems to taper off in younger generations.

Z

Zed is still the standard name for the last letter of the alphabet (83% claim to use it). Notably, almost one-third of Easterners prefer *zee*. It was the thirty to forty-nine year olds who were the least likely to say *zed*, and still almost three-quarters of them did. My *zed* percentage is only slightly higher than Chambers'. In Chambers' study, 77% of Canadians said *zed* and not *zee*.

Wedgie

In Chambers' survey, there were 41 different names produced for the prank where someone's underpants are grabbed at the back and hoisted up. I came across only two--*wedgie* and *pantsing*. The age division for this was quite interesting. Most over-fifties had never heard of this prank, while most respondents under fifty called it a *wedgie*. I do have a theory for the split in age, and for the loss of so many of the various names for this prank reported to Chambers. First, as I had only 54 respondents and over a third had never heard of this joke, I surely could not get 41 different responses, but, still it is surprising that with such a range of responses found in the Golden Horseshoe, I only had two. I suggest *wedgie* has become so popular since Chambers' survey because of two popular television shows which had not been on the air long in 1992 when Chambers conducted his research. These shows are *The Simpsons* and *Seinfeld*. On *The Simpsons*, Nelson--a bully--administers *wedgies* to the other children on the playground and refers to them by that name. This would account for the popularity of this term among the younger age group. *Seinfeld*, similarly, makes reference to "the atomic *wedgie*", which may account for why *wedgie* is the common term amongst the thirty to forty-nine year olds. The word choice on popular American TV shows has influenced the word choice in Canada.

Sneak and Dive

Many participants felt the need to tell me that both *sneak* and *dive* are irregular verbs, that you cannot simply put *-ed* on the end to form the past tense. The older generations, however, did not agree. For them, the regular forms *sneaked* and *dived* were the top choices. *Sneaked* and *dived* have been replaced with *snuck* and *dove* in

the speech of most young people. Overall, *sneaked* is more common than *dived*, but neither is particularly prevalent in speech today. Eastern provinces have the highest rate of both *sneaked* and *dived* (43% and 29% respectively). I can only assume this is because Maritime English is still more British than English in other parts of Canada, and both *sneaked* and *dived* are standard in British English. Generally, I found a person's choice of words correlated better with age than region.

Though there are some words which are much more popular in one area of Canada than in others, word choice is fairly standard across the nation, except in reference to carbonated drinks. Age appears to be the more influential variable. My next task is to examine whether age has the same effect on the pronunciation of words. While examining the common trends amongst the respondents, I will not only continue to refer to Chambers' survey but to two dictionaries of Canadian English. They are the *Gage Canadian Dictionary* and the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary* (hereafter referred to as the Gage and the Oxford). I am interested in knowing whether these dictionaries of Canadian English reflect the way English is in fact used in Canada.

Radiator

Respondents were given two options for the pronunciation of the first syllable. *Rad* was to either rhyme with *glad* or *glade*. Oxford and Gage list *glade* as the first pronunciation. *Glade* was decidedly more common, though its popularity did fluctuate between age groups. Nearly half of respondents in the over-seventy and thirty-to-forty-nine groups chose *glad*, and *glad* was also a strong contender in the West.

Vase

I was impressed and amused recently while watching the Disney version of *Hercules*. One character quipped "They'll put his face on every vase" (*vase* to rhyme with *face*) and a second character corrected "... on every vase" (*vase* to rhyme with *cause*). This surprised me, as *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* lists the *face* pronunciation as most common in the U.S. The Mickey Mouse English lesson does not seem to be having a strong effect on Canadian English either. In Canada, it is becoming less popular for *vase* to rhyme with *cause*, because a third pronunciation, rhyming with *days*, is gaining ground. *Cause* is currently the most popular rhyme with 51% of respondents, while 34% say *vase* rhymes with *days*. My result is consistent with Chambers' conclusions. He found 45% of Canadians said *vase* and *cause* rhyme, whereas 36% chose *days*.

Garage

Does the last *a* in *garage* sound like the *a* in *badge* or the *o* in *lodge*? The majority of my respondents say the *o* in *lodge*, and both Gage and Oxford agree. The exceptions are respondents in the East and those between the ages of fifty and sixty-nine. The *lodge* variant after dipping in popularity has become more common again.

Aloof, Roof, and Hoof

Gage lists both *roof* and *hoof* as rhymes of *aloof*. Oxford lists *roof* as a rhyme of *aloof*, but gives *hoof* a different vowel. Canadians are as decided as these dictionaries. In general, all age groups and all regions agree *roof* and *aloof* rhyme. Whether or not *hoof* and *aloof* rhyme is inconsistent in all age groups and across the regions. Most interesting, however, is the oldest age group. In this group, none of the participants list *hoof* and *roof* as homophones. That is, if *roof* rhymed with *aloof*, than *hoof* did not, and vice versa.

Leisure and Lever

Respondents were given two options for the pronunciation of *leisure* and *lever*. *Leisure* could either rhyme with *measure* or *seizure*, and *lever* could either rhyme with *clever* or *cleaver*. I expected the younger crowd would favour the long *e* sound while the older groups would prefer the short *e* variant. However, participants in general, chose the long *e* sound in both cases. There was little disparity amongst age groups. In fact, having *leisure* and *lever* rhyme with *measure* and *clever* has become slightly more common. The rate of *seizure* and *cleaver* rhymes has dropped about 8% from the oldest group to the youngest. Still the vast majority, almost four out of five participants still use the long *e* sound for *leisure* and *lever*.

Y-dropping

Four words on the survey--*avenue*, *news*, *student* and *coupon*--can be pronounced with a *y* sound in them. Thus, they would be pronounced *aven-you*, *nyooze*, *styudent* and *cyou-pon*. Chambers found this pattern to be common in the older respondents and less frequent in the responses from younger participants. I found the reverse to be true. Though the majority of respondents have the *y* sound in *avenue*--including 100% of those over seventy--the use of the *y* sound peaked in one of the two middle age groups for the words *news*, *student* and *coupon*. None of my respondents over seventy had the *y* sound in any word except *avenue*. Nationally, there does appear to be some uniformity, as the *y* sound is quite common in *avenue* in every region, while it is quite low (around 20-25%) for each of the other three words. This fact is reflected

in Oxford as *avenue* has the *y* sound while the others do not. Gage, however, lists *news* and *student* with the less common *y*-inclusive pronunciation first.

Either

This was one of the most contested words. Does the first syllable rhyme with *bee* or *pie*? The preference switched in each age group, though overall *bee* was the more frequent rhyme. Ontarians preferred the *bee* sound, while Easterners favoured the *pie* sound. Oxford lists *pie* as the Canadian pronunciation, while Gage puts *bee* first. I suggest Easterners more often choose *pie* because it resembles the British pronunciation.

Which/Whine

The difference between *which* and *witch* and between *whine* and *wine* becomes less obvious in each generation. Though over 20% of the under thirty group claim to differentiate between *which* and *witch*, that is a significant drop from the 60% of those over seventy who maintain a difference. This erosion of the distinction is consistent with Chambers' conclusions, though fewer overall of Chambers' respondents distinguish *whine* from *wine*. Ontario has the highest rate of speakers who do not separate the two sounds.

Guarantee

There were three possible vowels offered for the first syllable of *guarantee*: *cat*, *care*, and *car*. *Car* was significantly more popular in the oldest group, but the other age groups much preferred *care*, with the rate rising to 93% among those under thirty years old. Gage does not offer *car* and lists *care* second. Its first pronunciation uses the vowel in *cat*. I found no more than 25% of participants in any age or regional category who felt *cat* was an accurate match. Oxford does not list *car* as a possible rhyme for the initial syllable of *guarantee* but does show *care* to be the usual Canadian option.

To summarize my results, altogether I found both age and location to be important variables regarding how someone will pronounce a word. As a general rule, if the variant of the pronunciation revolved around a consonant--as in *whine*, *which*, *asphalt*, and *schedule*--age was more of a factor than region. In contrast, if the deviation involved vowels--as in *vase*, *either*, *leisure* or *garage*--region was the most important variable.

As suggested by Chambers, age is a relevant factor in one's language, not only in the way in which one says the words, but in which words are spoken in the first place. Rarely is there a national standard that does not betray part of the population. The English spoken in Eastern Canada is very different to that of the West. Similarly, the dialect of younger Canadians is unlike the English used by older members of society. As Canadians continue to search for an identity separate from the British and American, their language also continues to fluctuate between those influences. I find few terms which have a unanimous Canadian preference, and thus few pronunciations standard across the country.

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CANADIAN ENGLISH ON THE WORLD WIDE WEB

Kelly McFadden

Introduction

The October 2000 issue of *Fortune* magazine is dedicated entirely to broadband technologies. The fact that one of the premier business magazines in North America would devote over 300 pages of text to a single aspect of Internet technology is evidence of the importance and growth of the net. The Internet is a network of networks which allows diverse users from around the globe to link their computers together, and the World Wide Web is "the primary navigational, information management and information distribution system which permits users to easily travel the Internet" (Whitten 1998: 723). Internet users are able to access files created both domestically and internationally. That the world is home to a multitude of written languages adds complexity to the creation of Internet web-sites: the target audience must easily understand the language that is chosen for the site. If the Internet is growing as a communications medium it is important to examine not only the content of individual web-sites but also the language that is used to create that content. Thus, the global nature of the Internet and the World Wide Web has created a new area of linguistic interest--language on the net. One research possibility is using the World Wide Web to observe the continued evolution and currency of Canadian English.

Purpose

There are two types of web-sites that are relevant to this study of Canadian English: web-sites created by Canadians and web-sites targeted to Canadians. The broad purpose of this paper is to ascertain the extent of the Canadian English presence on the World Wide Web. The massive amount of content on the World Wide Web, coupled with time constraints, necessitates a more narrow focus. Therefore, this paper will attempt to determine if there is a Canadian English presence on the web-sites of Canadian companies and Canadian subsidiaries of multi-national corporations.

Methodology

Each web-site reviewed in this study was examined at length. The review process involved scrolling through each area on the web-site in a visual search of the text. The content of each site was evaluated on three bases. The bases were as follows:

treatment of words which required a choice between the *our* or *or* spelling, such as *colour/color*; treatment of words which required a choice between the *re* or *er* spelling, such as *centre/center*; and inclusion of recognized Canadianisms. Appendix A contains a list of words in this last category. It should be noted that the use of French in an otherwise English sentence was also considered equivalent to including a Canadianism for the purposes of this study.

In order to be included in this study, a particular web-site had to contain at least one word from one of the three categories described above. Words from each site were collected and recorded in Appendix B. This appendix is a chart, which describes each web-site in terms of its web-address, business type and location, as well as listing the results from the site for each of the three tests. In addition, the same format was used to examine the parent company web-site of any company identified as the subsidiary of a multi-national corporation. Essentially, this methodology is designed to examine how Canadian companies present themselves to the rest of the world and how multi-national corporations present themselves to a Canadian audience.

Web-Site Selection

Ten different business web-sites were selected for this study. Each site was classified by business type (multi-national subsidiary or Canadian company) and location. To be classified as a multi-national subsidiary the headquarters of the parent company had to be located outside of Canada. Companies with multi-national production and sales facilities whose headquarters are located in Canada were considered Canadian owned. It was my intention to select a broad base of companies in a variety of industries, divided roughly equally between multi-national and Canadian owned. It was also my goal to showcase the web-sites from businesses located in different geographical areas of Canada. Web-sites were selected through my personal knowledge of Canadian business. Ten businesses were chosen as follows: among the multi-national subsidiaries, 3M Canada, Dupont Canada, Pfizer Canada, GM Canada; and among the Canadian owned, Palliser Furniture, Roots, Bombardier, Pacific Western Brewing Company, Iceberg Vodka, Tim Horton's.

Distribution

The breakdown of companies by business type is 40% multi-national and 60% Canadian owned. This meets the criterion of a roughly equal distribution between the two business types. Sixty per cent of all businesses reviewed were located in Ontario. Newfoundland, Quebec, Manitoba and British Columbia were each represented in the study by a single company. Although the vast majority of the sites reviewed belonged to Ontario businesses, the goal of representation for the geographical diversity of Canada was met.

Site Specific Results

3M Canada

A multi-national subsidiary of 3M International, this Ontario based company is focused on the manufacturing of a variety of products. For example, 3M is the producer of Scotch-Brite® pads and Post-It Notes®. The 3M Canada web-site contained clear examples of Canadian English content. The *our* spelling was dominant, although there was one instance in which the *or* spelling was used. The *re* spelling also dominated and the Canadianisms *eavestrough* and *catalogue* were used. A comparison with the parent company clearly shows that the 3M Canada site is distinct. The *or* and *er* spellings were always used, there was no usage of *eavestrough* and the preferred spelling was *catalog*.

Palliser Furniture

Palliser is a Canadian owned company with headquarters in Manitoba. They specialize in high quality leather and wood furniture. Palliser has multiple sales and manufacturing facilities in Canada, the United States and Mexico. There was no evidence of Canadian English content on the Palliser web-site. Only the *or* spelling was used and there were no words under the *re/er* category. As well, the American term *sofa* was used to refer to the piece of furniture that Canadians would be more likely to call a *couch* or *chesterfield*.

Dupont Canada

This subsidiary of Dupont International is focused on the development of a variety of chemical products. Located in Ontario, Dupont Canada showed clear Canadian English content that separates it from the web-site of its parent company. While Dupont Canada chose the *our* and *re* spellings, Dupont International consistently chose *or* and *er*. There was no evidence of any Canadianisms.

Roots

A Canadian owned clothing manufacturer, Roots is located in Ontario. The choice of the *our* and *re* spellings and the fact that the American version of this web-site is exactly the same as the Canadian, reveals clear Canadian English content. Again, there was no evidence of any Canadianisms.

Bombardier

This Canadian owned snowmobile manufacturer is located in Quebec. Bombardier showed mixed results in two of the three categories. Both *our* and *or* and *re* and *er* spellings were used interchangeably. Meanwhile, French terms were dispersed

through English text, thereby showing a positive result for Canadianisms.

Pacific Western Brewing Company

Located in British Columbia, PWB is a Canadian owned brewing company which sells private label and special organic lagers to distributors in Canada, the United States and Japan. This site showed no words that fell into the *re/er* or Canadianism categories. However, all words which fell into the *our/or* category showed the *our* spelling.

Iceberg Vodka

This Canadian owned company is located in Newfoundland where it creates alcoholic products using water that has been melted from icebergs. There was no clear Canadian English content on this site. No Canadianisms were used and the *or* and *er* spellings were used consistently.

Tim Horton's

This Ontario company is Canadian owned but is a partial subsidiary of Wendy's. The popular restaurant chain provides donuts, coffee, pastries and sandwiches across Canada. This site showed mixed Canadian English content. No Canadianisms or *re/er* words were found and the *our/or* words were mixed between the two possible spellings.

Pfizer Canada

Pfizer is a multi-national pharmaceutical company which recently merged with another large multi-national, Warner Lambert. Pfizer Canada is located in Ontario and shows clear Canadian English content. The *our* and *re* spellings were clearly preferred on the Canadian web-site, while the Pfizer International web-site used the *or* and *er* spellings. No Canadianisms were observed.

General Motors Canada

GM Canada, located in Ontario, is a subsidiary of the multi-national automobile manufacturer. Canadian English content was clear on this site which used the *our* and *re* spellings and which mixed French words and phrases with English text. This contrasted with the web-site for GM headquarters in the United States where the *or* and *er* spellings were always used.

Breakdown of Results

A comparison of the two business types reviewed in this study clearly shows that the Canadian subsidiaries of multi-national corporations had a higher level of Canadian English usage than Canadian owned companies. Canadian English content clearly existed in the sites of 100% of multi-national corporations reviewed, compared to **33%** of Canadian owned companies.

Among Canadian owned companies reviewed, 1/3 of the web-sites showed clear Canadian English content, 1/3 showed a mix of content and 1/3 showed no clear Canadian English content.

Analysis of Results

In this section of the report I will attempt to theorize as to the reasons for my results. Upon reflection, it seems somewhat logical to me that the multi-national subsidiaries would show the highest level of Canadian English content. These corporations have a higher budget than the smaller, Canadian owned companies and they have a much broader focus. They are able to create and promote a variety of web-sites for a large number of countries. Since they can afford to have a separate web-site for Canada, it makes sense that they would attempt to target that web-site to the Canadian consumer. Therefore, it is logical that a multi-national corporation would make a Canadian site distinct from its American parent by using Canadian spellings and terms, just as they would create a French or German site for use in France or Germany.

However, business trends of the future could result in a lower level of Canadian English content on these multi-national web-sites. As companies continue to pursue global expansion they will be forced to confront rising costs. In order to reduce the costs of operating in multiple countries, businesses may seek to reduce the duplication of services. This will result in a reorganization along product lines. Rather than have each manufacturing site produce everything that the company sells, each location will receive a global product mandate to produce a particular product for distribution to the rest of the world. This trend has already been observed in multi-nationals such as 3M and Asea Brown Boveri. If this trend continues it may be reflected on the web-sites of these corporations. If the web-sites are converted to product web-sites, it is possible that some effort may be made to standardize them, in which case the Canadian English content could be lost.

The breakdown of results for the Canadian owned companies is logical when considered from a business perspective. The companies that showed clear Canadian English content were Roots and Pacific Western Brewing Company. Both companies have positioned themselves as strongly Canadian to their target markets. Roots

creates clothing with Canadian designs and PWB promotes the purity of the Canadian water that it uses to brew its products. Therefore, it is logical that these companies would present themselves as Canadian in the choice of language used on their Internet sites.

The two companies with mixed Canadian English content were Bombardier and Tim Horton's. Again, an examination of these two businesses sheds light on the confusion evident on their web-sites. Although Canadian owned, both companies have some multi-national features. Bombardier is the headquarters of an organization that exists in multiple countries and Tim Horton's is a partial subsidiary of Wendy's. The fact that neither company is completely Canadian or a completely separate multi-national subsidiary could have contributed to the fact that there is no consistent spelling choice on either web-site. This could change over time. If Bombardier expands enough to create separate web-sites for its subsidiaries, the Canadian site may reflect more Canadian English content. The same is true for Tim Horton's. Tim Horton's is currently expanding into the United States. If this expansion is successful enough to warrant a separate web-site for American consumers, the original Canadian site may begin to reflect more Canadian English content.

Palliser Furniture and Iceberg Vodka were the two companies that showed no clear Canadian English presence on their web-sites. I believe that this could be due to the location and business practices of Palliser and the current business goals of Iceberg Vodka. Judith Nylvek's survey, "Is Canadian English in Saskatchewan Becoming More American?" concluded that Canadian English in the Prairie provinces (specifically Saskatchewan) was indeed becoming more American. Palliser Furniture is headquartered in Manitoba. This could indicate that Palliser is not making a choice between Canadian and American English but may be simply following the trend of Canadian English in the Prairie provinces. It should also be noted that Palliser does a significant portion of its business beyond Canada. Therefore, the lack of Canadian English content could in part be due to a desire to have the web-site for the company reflect the language of the majority of its customers. The latter hypothesis is also relevant to Iceberg Vodka. This company is currently actively seeking distribution partners around the world, particularly in the United States. The choice of American spellings and lack of Canadianisms may be due to an effort on Iceberg's part to make potential partners feel comfortable while perusing the company's web-site.

Qualifying Assumption

My analysis of the results of this study depends upon the assumption that the language used to create the text on each web-site was chosen deliberately. The idea that certain spellings or Canadianisms might be the individual choice of the person typing the text or might simply reflect that person's unconscious usage was ignored. The expansion of the study to include this idea is discussed below.

Expansion of Survey

I recognize that time and space constraints have limited both the scope and value of my results. Therefore I would like to include the following ideas which I think would be of use to anyone interested in the further study of this topic. First, a business web-site is naturally formal. Due to the fact that many Canadianisms are slang or informal terms, very few were encountered during this study. Therefore, an examination of less formal web-sites may yield richer results.

Second, due to time constraints only ten companies were reviewed for this study. Obviously, expansion to include a much higher number of web-sites would increase the accuracy of any results. The accuracy and value of the results could be further improved by including more web-sites from businesses located outside of Ontario. A researcher with sufficient time could also benefit through the examination of a specific set of web-sites over an extended period of time to monitor changes in Canadian English usage.

Finally, an interested researcher could also improve the results by contacting each business to determine whether or not the usage of particular spellings and Canadianisms was the personal choice of the web-page designer or a deliberate company policy.

Conclusions

Despite its limited scope, this study does hold some linguistic value. It has revealed that there is a definite Canadian English presence on the World Wide Web. The results of this project would indicate that there is a higher level of Canadian English content on web-sites targeted to Canadian viewers than there is on web-sites created by Canadians. The continued growth of the World Wide Web and the Internet will allow Canadians to communicate with other users around the world. In future the Internet will provide linguists with two distinct opportunities. Linguists will be able to observe the evolution of Canadian English by documenting its use on various web-sites. As well, they will be able to observe the impact that contact with cultures and languages around the globe has on Canadian English. Therefore, the primary conclusion of this study is that the Internet and the World Wide Web represent both a tool and a communications medium that should not be ignored in the study of Canadian English.

Figure 1

Breakdown: Web-Sites Reviewed by Company Type

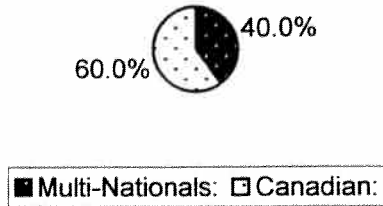


Figure 2

Breakdown: Web-Sites Reviewed by Province

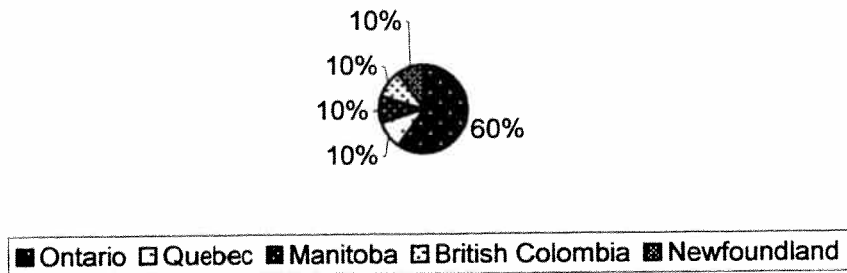


Figure 3

% Clear Canadian Content by Company Type

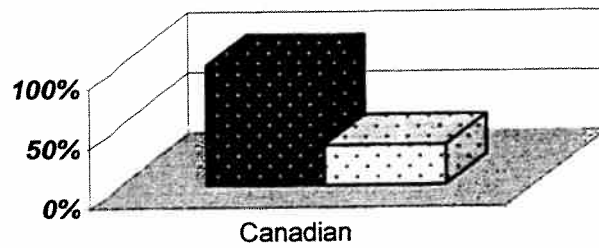
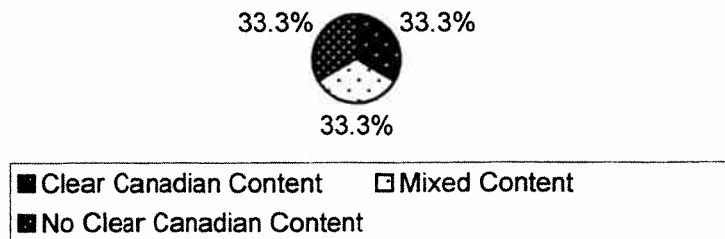


Figure 4

Canadian English Content in Canadian Companies



Appendix A: Recognized Canadianisms

acclamation (an uncontested election)
allophone
baby bonus
chesterfield
dépanneur
durum (a type of wheat)
eavestrough
eh?
EI (employment insurance)
First Nations
grade (in school, for example Grade 3)
loonie
marks (school)
Mountie
pogey
riding (electoral district or community)
serviette
tuque

Appendix B Web Results

ORGANIZATION	WEB ADDRESS	TYPE	LOCATION	OUR/OR	RE/ER	CANADIANISMS /NOTES
3M Canada	International.3m.com/intl/CA/english/	subsidiary	Ontario	labor, flavour colour, honour	centre fibre	eavestroughs catalogue
3M US	www.3m.com/US	multi-national HQ	US	color, labor	center fiber	catalog
Palliser Furniture	www.palliser.com	multi-national HQ	Manitoba	color		sofa
Dupont Canada	www.dupont.ca	subsidiary	Ontario	honour	centre fibre	
Dupont	www.dupont.com	multi-national HQ	US	odor, color	fiber centre	
Roots Cdn. Store	www.roots.ca/com	Cdn. Co. (has US stores)	Ontario	neighbour colour	centre	US site same as Cdn.
Bombardier	www.bombardier.ca/com	multi-national HQ	Quebec	labour, color	centre center	confédération des syndicats nationaux
Pacific Western Brewing Co.	www.pwbrewing.com	Canadian	British Columbia	flavour coloured		
Tim Horton's	www.timhortons.com	Canadian but subsidiary of Wendy's	Ontario	neighborhood flavoured		
Pfizer Canada	www.Pfizer.ca	subsidiary	Ontario	odour, flavor	centre	
Pfizer	www.Pfizer.com	multi-national HQ	US	color, flavor	center	
General Motors Canada	www.gm.canada.com	subsidiary	Ontario	colour	centre	Festival International de Jazz de Montreal Pleins feux General Motors
General Motors	www.gm.com	multi-national HQ	US	color	center	

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3M United States: *www.3m.com/US*

Bombardier: *www.bombardier.ca* or *www.bombardier.com*

DuPont Canada: *www.dupont.ca*

DuPont United States: *www.dupont.com*

General Motors Canada: *www.gmcanada.com*

Iceberg Vodka: *www.icebergvodka.net*

Pacific Western Brewing Company: *www.pwbrewing.com*

Palliser Furniture: *www.palliser.com*

Pfizer Canada: *www.Pfizer.com*

Pfizer United States: *www.Pfizer.com*

Roots: *www.roots.ca* or *www.roots.com*

Tim Horton's: *www.timhortons.com*

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CANADIAN ENGLISH IN CANADIAN FICTION

Margarete J. Neunhoeffler

Introduction

If one reads Canadian literature as a non-native Canadian English (CE) speaker, one may stumble over expressions which seem quite unfamiliar or at least unfamiliar in the context in which they are used. If one has some experience, however, of the linguistic aspects of CE these same expressions seem commonplace. This paper will first look into three examples of Canadianisms and try to ascertain the contexts in which they are used. Then it will show that the use of CE in Canadian fiction mirrors the ongoing changes in CE very well.

The first Canadianism to be examined is the word for a piece of living room furniture, which seats two or more people. In which contexts is the old expression *chesterfield* still used and in which contexts do authors prefer the modern equivalents *couch* and *sofa*? And, with respect to *couch* and *sofa*, are these two modern successors both used in exactly the same way or not? Next the differentiation and usage of the two expressions for an evening meal, *dinner* and *supper*, will be discussed. The third Canadianism that will be the subject of analysis is the Canadian *eh*. Unlike *chesterfield*, *eh* retains its place in contemporary speech and is used in different contexts and with different meanings; these uses can be analysed in Canadian fiction.

Chesterfield - Couch - Sofa

If we believe Jack Chambers, then *chesterfield* is one of the "most telling Canadianisms" (Chambers 1998: 270). Scargill, in addition, says, "The Canadian preference for *chesterfield* clearly sets Canadian English off from the American and British varieties" (1974: 106). What gives this word so much power and how do modern authors use this power? To understand the importance of *chesterfield* a look into its history is necessary. "The term originated in England as a specific name for a large, horsehair-stuffed, leather-covered sofa usually with arms as high as its back" (Chambers 1995: 1). This specific item of furniture was not invented before the late 19th century. It does therefore not occur in nineteenth century literature: in Sara J. Duncan's *The Imperialist*, Duncan refers to a similar piece of furniture several times, always calling it a *sofa* (Duncan 1990: 60). Margaret Atwood, in her historical novel *Alias Grace*, calls it a *settee* (Atwood 1996: 21). Margaret Atwood, of course, did not

really write in the nineteenth century, but she did research work for *Alias Grace* to find out about the life and language of the time she was writing about. *Chesterfield* was obviously not used in the nineteenth century.

Looking at the fiction available on the computer in the *Strathy Language Unit* (SLU) it is obvious that *chesterfield* is no longer the most common word for this piece of furniture in Canadian usage. Since the time when *chesterfield* "was the term used by virtually all social groups in all English-speaking regions of the country" (Chambers 1995), some linguistic change has obviously taken place. It occurs in only six fiction files in the Computer Corpus of Canadian English at the SLU, while *couch* appears in 16 and *sofa* in as many as 19. In addition, in every piece of literature in which *chesterfield* appears, one of the other two words appears as well. *Chesterfield* is not the only word in use in Canada to name this piece of furniture anymore. Yet this was certainly the case only a few decades ago, as one can see when looking at surveys conducted by Avis in the 1950s and Scargill in the 1970s (Scargill 1974).

In *Eye of the Father*, by David Williams, *chesterfield* appears once and so does *sofa*. In the case of *chesterfield*, a middle-aged woman is speaking to an old woman. Later on, this kind of furniture is called a *sofa*. It seems likely that the younger woman is trying to close the generation gap by using *chesterfield* when addressing the older woman, especially since the younger woman wants to speak persuasively to the older woman. In Margaret Atwood's *Life before Man*, *chesterfield* is used several times, but only when she is referring to one particular piece of furniture, the "slippery rose-colored chesterfield" (105). This *chesterfield* is situated in the parlour of her Auntie Muriel, and this parlour "is truly a parlour and not a living room" (105). But it is not only that her aunt, and her aunt's parlour, are so old-fashioned that *chesterfield* is the only suitable word for her furniture. In another part of the book, she refers to other couches in the aunt's house as *sofas*. Atwood uses the word apparently with its original meaning as it was used in England at the time the chesterfield was invented.

In Max Braithwaite's *The Night We Stole the Mountie's Car*, the word *couch* is mentioned twice, while *chesterfield* is only mentioned once, in connection with a wardroom. The furniture in this wardroom had been "scrounged from here and there" (193), so that it can be concluded that these furnishings were perhaps more old-fashioned than the furniture alluded to elsewhere in the book. Similarly, the "old chesterfield" in *The Words of My Roaring* by Robert Kroetsch belongs to an old doctor. It is situated in his old living room, where the main character who is a younger man, used to visit him from his early childhood on. When referring to the younger man's possessions, Kroetsch calls the same item a *couch*. Again, as in the previous examples, it is obvious, that this piece of furniture is called *chesterfield* either in connection with old people or in reference to old pieces of furniture.

These patterns of use seem to mirror the usage of everyday CE. As J.K. Chambers discovered with his *Golden Horseshoe* (Toronto-Hamilton-Niagara area) survey (1992)

young people seem to use *chesterfield* rarely nowadays, while it seems to remain an important part of the vocabulary of older Canadians. Thus, for the reader of literature, the usage of *chesterfield* awakens a very distinct setting before the inner eye. These settings are always connected with age and old-fashionedness. In conclusion, it can be said that although the use of *chesterfield* has been almost completely lost from everyday speech, writers still use it to express a special atmosphere. Perhaps, fiction will one day be the only medium in which *chesterfields* can survive.

The distinction between *sofa* and *couch* is a little harder to ascertain. In some pieces of fiction, the authors don't seem to make any distinction. For example in a short story in *Canadian Fiction Magazine*, the author uses *couch* and *sofa* for the same piece of furniture. Other authors seem to draw a line between the two in regard to their level of stylishness. In Howard Engel's *Murder sees the Light*, he mentions a "horsehair sofa" (13) and "over-stuffed sofas and chairs" (23). Later on, he writes, "Inside, the main room looked like a Victorian sitting room with antimacassars on the arms and the backs of the chairs and the couch" (66). He also refers to "an ample place" that had been "left for Maggie on the couch by the card table" (77). In this writer's understanding, *sofas* are perhaps fancier, while *couches* seem to be less fancy and more common. For some other writers, *sofa* is used only in compounds referring to function, i.e. *sofa chair* or *sofa-bed*. Overall, it can be said that some authors use only *couch* or only *sofa* and that those who use both words mostly draw a distinction on the basis of style and/or function. *Couch* seems to be the more general and more common term.

Dinner - Supper

The next pair of synonyms--if indeed they are synonyms--is *dinner* and *supper*. The *Guide to Canadian English Usage* distinguishes between four meals: breakfast, dinner, supper and lunch (Fee and McAlpine 1997). These four meals date back to the time before urbanization took place. On farms, people used to have an early breakfast, then dinner as the main meal at noon, an early supper and a lunch (meaning a cold snack) later on in the evening. With urbanization and all its consequences, for example, long-working hours away from the home, people changed their eating habits. It became common to take the main meal after work in the evening. The number of meals was reduced to three instead of four. The consequence was that there was a surplus of names for the meals. For most parts of Canada it can be said that *lunch* became the expression used for the snack people tended to have at noon (often at work). The two words that collided were *dinner* and *supper*. According to the *Guide to Canadian English Usage*, some Canadians now distinguish between a *dinner*, a "hot, substantial meal" and a *supper*, a "quicker, cold meal". Is this still true? And how do writers use these words?

In Robert Kroetsch's *Badlands*, he repeatedly uses *dinner* for the midday meal and

supper for the meal in the evening. He seems to have a very fixed understanding of the two words. In a short story in the *Canadian Fiction Magazine*, the author uses *supper* twice and *dinner* once. *Dinner* he uses only in a comparison, not even connected to a real meal--"like a gourmet dinner" (37). In another short story, *dinner* is used three times, while *supper* occurs only once; here, *dinner* seems to be the common expression for the regular evening meal, while *supper* is used in connection to a meal at a summer cottage: "We'd eat the blueberries with sugar and milk after supper sitting on the porch" (135). In a third short story, a café is an important setting. There, characters meet for a snack (*supper*) after work. *Supper*, in consequence occurs quite frequently in this story and *dinner* only once. Here, *dinner* is a homemade meal, prepared by one of the characters and for sure more fancy than the suppers taken in the café. In *The Night We Stole the Mountie's Car*, two evening meals are mentioned and these give good examples for the distinction drawn by the author: "After we'd had a hurried supper" (99) stands in contrast to "Each evening as soon as dinner was over. . ." (112). Again, *supper* is less formal. Here, however, *dinner* seems to be the usual term. In Constance Beresford-Howe's *Night Studies*, the usage can be traced back to the common distinctions as well. She uses *dinner* twice: once a character uses it in a short conversation about Proust's literature: "When M. de Norpois came to dinner. . ." (32). The second time, it is used in reference to a home-made, warm, elaborate *dinner*: "And sorry, if you went to a lot of trouble with dinner" (63). *Supper* occurs more often and seems to be what you regularly do at the same time in the evening, which is why she calls this time *suppertime* and not *dinnertime*. The distinction however, does not seem to be so in another piece of fiction, *Murder Sees the Light*. In this novel, *dinner* can consist of "half-burned, half-unthawed french fries" (5) or it could be "[mother's] Friday night dinners" (234). On the other hand, *supper* could either be a "cookout supper wrapped in bread plastic" (108) or mentioned in mentioned in the same breath as *dinner*: "Fish for supper is a problem that goes with being alive. Poor Aeneas was beyond problems of breakfast, lunch, dinner" (65). Howard Engel, the author, it seems, does not have a stringent distinction between the two words; for him, they seem to be almost synonyms.

Nonetheless, it should be admitted that the explanation given in the *Guide to Canadian English Usage* seems to be true for the general usage in fiction. Most authors go along with the "guidance" of the *Guide to Canadian English Usage*, meaning that they call it *dinner*, when it is more formal, warm and substantial, and *supper*, when it is more casual, cold and snack-like. Yet, if we compare this data to the results of a recent, informal survey done by a university class, a new trend seems to be emerging. About 200 Canadians were asked what they call their evening meal and the results showed that more and more (especially young) Canadians use *dinner* only. This would mean that the *Guide to Canadian English Usage* and the authors of fiction (if writing about the present) will need to change their usage in the future. Still those survey respondents who did draw a line between the meanings of the two words, drew the line suggested by the *Guide to Canadian English Usage* and

observed in fiction.

Eh?

The last Canadianism to be discussed in this paper is the interrogative particle *eh*. Although Walter S. Avis did not regard it a Canadianism at all (Avis 1972), it is so common in Canadian speech (and also in Canadian literature, as we will see), and so well known as a Canadianism all over the world, that it shall be discussed as such. The *Guide to Canadian English Usage* says that although it is not unique to CE, Canadians seem to use it more widely and more often than other English-speakers do. The likelihood that *eh* is a Canadianism is increased by the fact that it can be used in either of Canada's official languages. A short story in *Canadian Fiction Magazine* provides us with a francophone use example of *eh*: "[The waitress] greeted him with the same 'Comment ca va, aujourd'hui? Il fait froid, eh?'" (108). *Eh* is definitely an indicator of informality in speech that has existed for quite a long time and has many different shades of meaning (Johnson 1976). The point of the next paragraph shall be to delineate the language situations in which *eh* is used in Canadian fiction and to distinguish different kinds of *eh*.

In *Night Studies* several kinds of *eh* can be found. Most of them, however, belong to the most common category of *eh*--the "opinion *eh*". With this *eh*, the speaker asks the listener for a reaction to a stated opinion. An example from Beresford-Howe's book is, "Great idea, eh?" (68). Another kind of *eh* used in her writings is the *eh* that turns a promise into an offer. After a woman bumped into another person's car, a man who saw the accident says to her, "I never saw this happen, eh?" (63). Without the *eh*, he would have promised not to tell anybody. With the *eh*, he offers the same, but waits for her to accept. Another example of a similar usage can be found in *Badlands*: "Go find her, eh?" (254). Here the *eh* gives the addressee the chance to refuse an order, and he does so without any consequences. Most *eh*'s seem to be expressions that clearly look for assurance from the addressee. This makes *eh* very useful for writers, when they want to express a character's lack of self-confidence. *Eh* is often used by characters in a weaker position towards characters in a higher position; this relative position might reflect socio-economic status, but not necessarily so. Sometimes a novelist will use it in a setting in which a character with a higher position wants to make small talk and "lower" him- or herself to the level of the addressee. This is the case in the conversation between the investigator and a witness in *Murder Sees the Light*. Using *eh*, the investigator tries to make the witness more comfortable with the conversation in the hope that it will be easier to get information from him.

Another use of *eh*, which often (though not always), has a slightly different appearance (*eh*, instead of *eh?*) is the "are you with me so far *eh*". In a short story, published in *Queen's Quarterly* in 1998, the following example appears. One character is telling a story to somebody else and says, "He broke his leg, eh? And

he's back on the tractor the next day" (141). With this *eh* the speaker ensures the listener is still following his or her story.

Eh, it can be argued, helps authors of fiction to express the position of their characters in the social environment and to show how they are interconnected. It also expresses informality and gives a sense of everyday life, which is essential to contemporary literature. It is not an aspect of the literature of earlier periods. This is why *eh* does not occur, or seldom occurs, in older literature.

Conclusion

It seems that of the Canadianisms discussed only *chesterfield* is rarely used in literature. When *chesterfield* is used, it is an expression elicited by the advanced age of either the addressee or the piece of furniture itself. Although Canadians still regard it as a true Canadianism, they hardly use it in their everyday speech. It remains part of their passive vocabulary and might be activated in special circumstances. And this rule is mirrored in the contemporary author's use of it. The same can be said for the set of words, *dinner* and *supper*, examined second. Most authors make a distinction between *dinner* and *supper*, *dinner* being more formal than *supper*. This however, seems to mirror an almost "historical" usage. Finally, the frequency of *eh* usage in Canadian fiction mirrors the pride Canadians feel towards their country. Many Canadians are aware that it is an obvious and well-known Canadianism.

Our most self-exploratory, and therefore most revealing and individual, art might be music . . . for music is the language of feeling. But I hope it will be literature, and there are evidences in our poetry and some of our novels that this may be so. Those who have not seen the evidence have not been looking hard enough.

This quotation from Robertson Davies expresses very well the attitude of Canadians towards their language. As literature is very important to a people's identity, authors are very well aware of their task to represent Canada and choose their language accordingly. This means, that from studying language usage in fiction, a lot can be learned about the attitude of Canadians towards their language. By using these Canadianisms in their works, the authors of fiction cited above have established their settings as truly Canadian.

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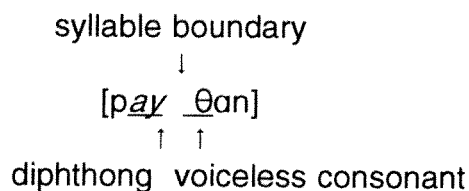
DETERMINING THE EFFECT OF A SYLLABLE BOUNDARY ON CANADIAN RAISING

Ben Gottesman

1. Introduction

This paper presents the results of a survey that was undertaken in November 2000. The idea for the survey came from my own realization that I wasn't sure how I pronounced the word *python*. That is, I wasn't sure whether I exhibited Canadian Raising in my pronunciation of the diphthong (vowel-glide sequence) in the first syllable of the word. Canadian Raising (hereafter CR) is the name of a process exhibited by some English-speakers (primarily Canadians) in which the pronunciation of certain diphthongs is higher before voiceless consonants (such as *s*, *t*, or *ch*) than before word boundaries or voiced consonants (such as *z*, *d*, or *j*). The *height* of a vowel sound refers to the position of the tongue during pronunciation of the sound. There are two diphthongs specifically that are affected by CR: the one in *rice*, *rise*, *right*, *ride*, etc., which is phonetically transcribed [ay]; and the one in *lout*, *loud*, *couch*, *gouge*, etc., which is transcribed [aw].

Figure 1: Phonetic transcription of *python* showing syllable boundary syllable boundary



Python contains the first of these diphthongs followed by a voiceless consonant, so according to the rule elaborated in 1973 by linguist J.K. Chambers, the diphthong in *python* should be subject to CR. Yet I was confident that this was not consistently so—that, in fact, either the raised or unraised variety of the diphthong could be used in *python* in Canadian English. To prove this, I decided to survey Canadians on their pronunciation of this word and others that might show the same effect. I supposed that the effect was due to the syllable boundary (see Figure 1) between the diphthong and the adjacent voiceless consonant. I came up with a list of words that had this configuration and asked Canadians to pronounce them.

2. The Survey

2.1 Finding Subjects. The subjects were all found in Kingston, Ontario. About half were recruited by going door-to-door in random neighborhoods. The other half were found on the campus of Queen's University, either by going door-to-door among the offices of random departments, or by asking my own friends and acquaintances. I was hoping to get a subject group that was diverse both in terms of age and geographically within Canada. The subjects found in town were meant to bring age diversity to the study, while those at Queen's were to lend it geographic diversity.

Figure 2: Demographics of the subject group

	Male			
	18-27	28-47	48-67	68+
Alberta		1		
BC	1			
Manitoba				
New Brunswick				
Newfoundland				
Northwest Terr.				
Nova Scotia	1			
Ontario	3	2	6	2
Prince Edward I.				
Quebec	1		1	
Saskatchewan				
Yukon Terr.				

2.2 Eligibility. Anyone was eligible who met the following three criteria:

- 18 years or older
- lived only in Canada between the ages of 18 and 67
- first language English

2.3 Method. A personal interview was conducted with each of the subjects. The interview, which was recorded, consisted of the subject reading a series of words from cue cards. I made notes on their pronunciation during the interview, and listened to the recording afterwards to confirm my initial impressions and to fill in what I had missed or been unsure of. The cue cards were shuffled between interviews in case the order in which the words were read influenced pronunciation. I also had each subject fill out a questionnaire on age, gender, and geographic origins.

2.4 The Subject Group

Figure 2 (pages 102-104) shows the breakdown of the subjects by age, gender, and the province in which they lived from age 8 to 18. In cases where subjects lived in more than one province during this period, they are counted in the province in which they spent the greatest part of this period, if they noted this on the questionnaire. Otherwise, they are grouped with whichever province they listed first.

Female

	18-27	28-47	48-67	68+
Alberta	1			
BC			1	
Manitoba				
New Brunswick				
Newfoundland				
Northwest Terr.				
Nova Scotia				
Ontario	10	11	4	1
Prince Edward I.	1			
Quebec				1
Saskatchewan		1		
Yukon Terr.				

Age Group	18-27	28-47	48-67	68+
Totals	18	15	12	4

All Respondents	Male	Female
47	18	31

Province	AB	BC	MB	NB	NF	NT	NS	ON	PE	QC	SK	YT
Totals	2	2					1	39	1	3	1	

2.5 The Words. The subjects were asked to read a total of 40 words. Of these, 5 were dummies that were included only to prevent the subjects from becoming too accustomed to pronouncing the same sounds over and over. Six formed the control sample. All the control words were monosyllabic. Three had [ay] or [aw] followed by a voiceless consonant, which should trigger CR for all Canadian speakers; three had [ay] or [aw] followed by a voiced consonant, and these words should not be affected by the CR rule. The other 29 words fit the mold described in the introduction ([ay] or [aw] followed by a syllable boundary, followed by a voiceless consonant). These were the words actually being studied. Of these, 19 contained [ay] and 10 contained [aw]. Here is a list of the words in the study, other than the dummies:

Study words: [ay] bicycle, bifocals, decipher, dichotomy, heighten, icing, licence, maestro, psychic, psychology, python, stipend, triceps, trifle, typhoid, typhoon, typist, typographical, Viking

[aw] doughty, gaucho, Groucho, houting, kowtow, mouthy, paucity, spousal, Stauffer, Van Houtten

Control words: life, bite, couch (CR). Alive, bide, gouge (no CR).

3. The Results

3.1 Relevance. Finding words containing [aw] that fit the mold required of this survey was difficult. As you can see from the list above, several quite obscure words were used, and most subjects were understandably unsure of how to pronounce them. In addition, a few of the words have standard pronunciations that do not contain either of

the diphthongs (e.g. *paucity* [pɑ sɪ ti] as opposed to [paw sɪ ti]). As a result, many irrelevant responses were given. A response was considered irrelevant if it did not contain /ay/ or /aw/.

Of the 1,421 total responses (29 words pronounced by 49 subjects) there were 1,242 relevant responses. This is an average of 25.3 per subject, or 42.8 per word. *Stauffer* and *paucity* had by far the fewest relevant responses, with 4 and 9, respectively. As such, these two words are excluded from the table in section 3.2. The relevant responses were divided into two categories, raised and unraised, based on how the diphthong was pronounced.

3.2 Classifying the Words by Results. I have divided the study words into seven classes reflecting the percentage of relevant responses with a raised diphthong. The fact that the middle class is empty (despite being the broadest one) illustrates that a clear standard emerged for the pronunciation of the diphthong in each word. That is, for the four words in the left half of the table, the standard is to not raise the diphthong; for the other 23, the standard is to raise it.

Figure 3: Word classes by % raised

Class 0 0-3%	Class 1 3-10%	Class 2 10-35%	Class 3 35-65%	Class 4 65-90%	Class 5 90-97%	Class 6 97-100%
{none}	triceps 6.3	dichotomy 31.6	{none}	typhoon 65.3	trifle 95.7	decipher 100
		kowtow 15.6		spousal 66.7	bicycle 93.9	Groucho 100
		bifocals 12.5		python 73.5	gaucho 92.70	heighten 100
				psychology 81.2	doughty 91.20	icing 100
				typhoid 81.6		psychic 100
				maestro 84.1		stipend 100
				Van Houtten 88.9		typist 100
						licence 98.0
						mouthy 98.0
						Viking 98.0
						typographical 97.9
						houting 97.7

3.3 Reasons Behind the Results. All of the 27 words in the above table were chosen for the study because they fit the same mold. Despite this, they show vastly different

results. Inspection of the words in the various classes yields some insight into the reasons for these differences. Two factors that play a role are affixation and stress.

Affixation in two ways affected the results. Three of the four words in the left half of the table--*triceps*, *bifocals*, and *dichotomy*--have a prefix. In each case, the diphthong is contained in the prefix, but the voiceless consonant is not. We can conclude that Canadians typically do not raise a diphthong at the end of a prefix, even when that prefix is attached to a word that begins with a voiceless consonant. An exception to this generalization is *bicycle*, which had the diphthong raised by almost all subjects. This is not surprising, since *bicycle* is treated not as a prefix and a root, but as a single unit. This lexical analysis is supported by the fact that the *-cycle* ending is not pronounced like the word *cycle*.

Six words used in the study, *icing*, *typist*, *typographical*, *heighten*, *mouthy*, and *spousal* have a suffix attached to a monosyllabic root. Two other words--*Groucho* and *houting*--do not actually have this property but sound like they do. The *root* of each of the following eight words--*ice*, *type*, *height*, *mouth*, *spouse*, *grouch*, and **hout* (not a real word)--are subject to CR. Given that all of these words are in the right half of the table, we can make the generalization that words subject to CR typically continue to be so even after the addition of a suffix. In fact, these eight words are not just in the right half, they are all in Class 6 with one exception, *spousal*, which is very far from Class 6. The anomolous *spousal* will be discussed in more detail below.

The second factor affecting the role of CR is stress. That effect is obvious if we look at three pairs of words with the same initial syllable but different stress patterns. In the following table, the stressed syllable in each word is italicized.

Figure 4: Effect of stress on raising

Word	% raised	Word	% raised
<i>ty phoon</i>	65%	<i>ty phoid</i>	82%
<i>psy chology</i>	81%	<i>psy chic</i>	100%
<i>typo graphical</i>	98%	<i>ty pist</i>	100%

The table shows that these words are more likely to be subject to CR if the diphthong occurs in the stressed syllable. Actually, I believe that the key important factor is whether stress is on the syllable immediately *following* the diphthong, with raising being less likely when that is so. In that case, *typographical* would move to the right side of the table along with *typist*, since neither word has stress on the syllable following the diphthong.

Several of the results in Figure 4 are not accounted for by affixation or stress. Why, for instance, does *maestro* show significant variation while *licence* does not? They have the same number of syllables, the same stress, the same diphthong, the same voiceless consonant, and neither contains an affix. Perhaps the fact that *licence* is used much more commonly in everyday conversation has led to its pronunciation becoming more standardized than that of *maestro*. This could also explain why *Van Houtten* and *typhoid* showed variation. On the other hand, *stipend* is a fairly uncommon word but showed no variation.

I suspect that *kowtow* was unraised by most people because the symmetry in the two syllables gives people the urge to pronounce them as rhymes. The diphthong in the second syllable cannot be raised, so in order to rhyme the syllables we must not raise the first diphthong either.

Clearly, I have not completely solved the mystery of why words belong to the classes that they do.

4. *Results by Age and Gender.* I have broken down the results by age and gender. I did not break them down geographically because no province or region other than Ontario was significantly represented in the subject group.

4.1 *Gender.* The gender differences were quite striking in their consistency, especially considering how small the subject group was. Of the 27 words that had a significant number of relevant responses, the men raised at least as often as or more often than the women on 26; the lone exception was *gaucho*. Figure 5 shows results by gender for classes of words and for seven individual words. Note the similarity between the slopes of the lines.

4.2 *Age.* Each of the four age groups was fairly well represented, except the oldest, which had only four members. The results are not as consistent by age as by gender, but one trend is clear: younger people are more likely to raise the diphthongs in these words than older people (see Figure 6).

Figure 5: % Raising by Gender–Word Classes

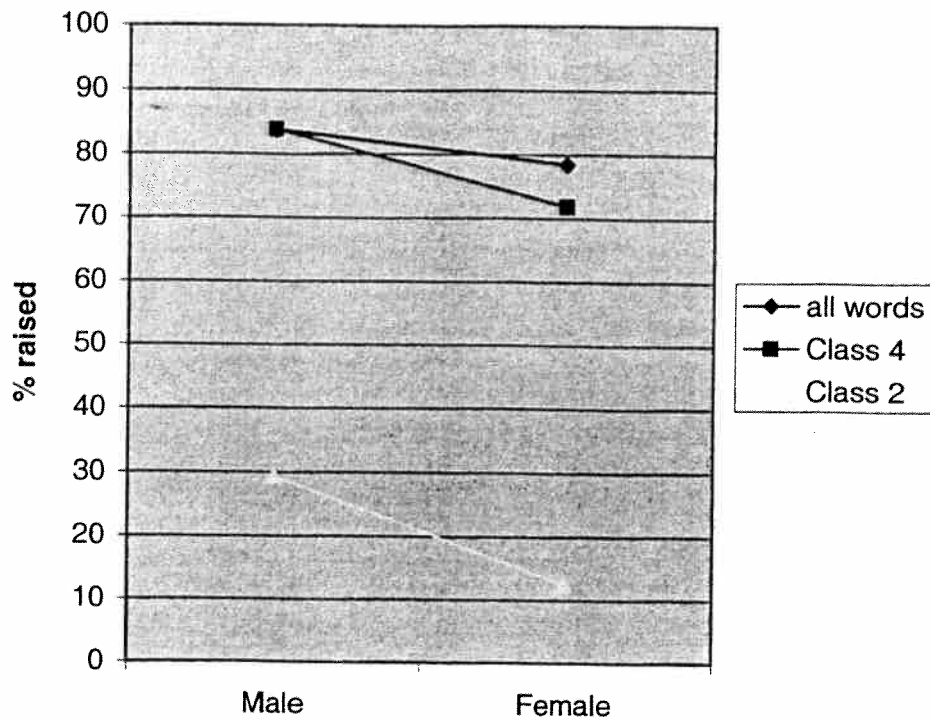


Figure 5: % Raising by Gender–Individual Words

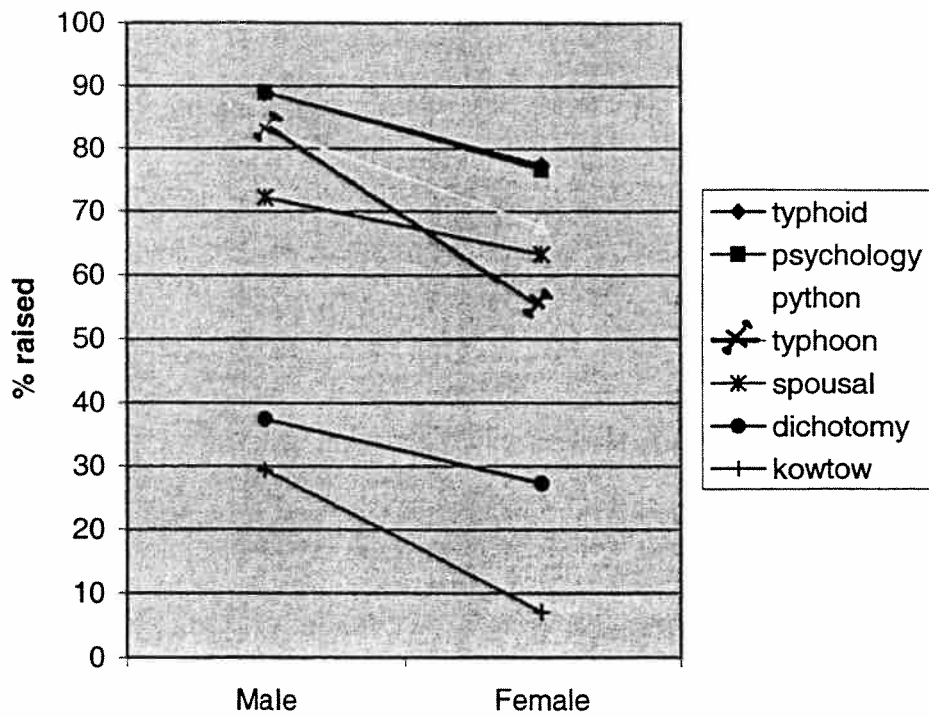


Figure 6: % Raising by Age Group—Word Classes

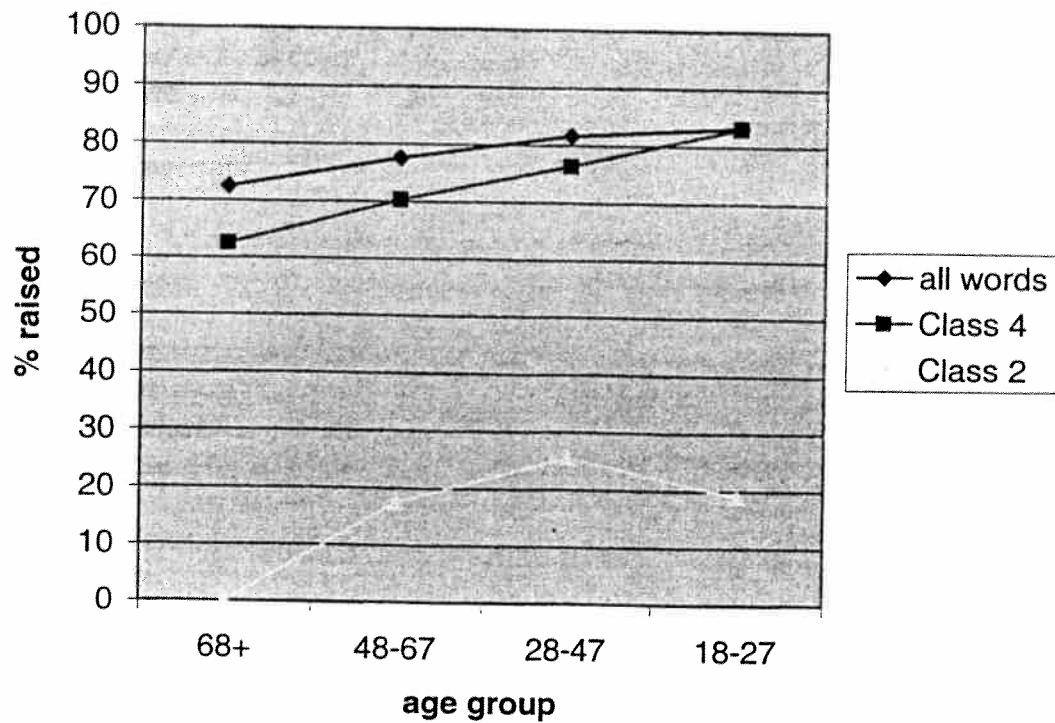
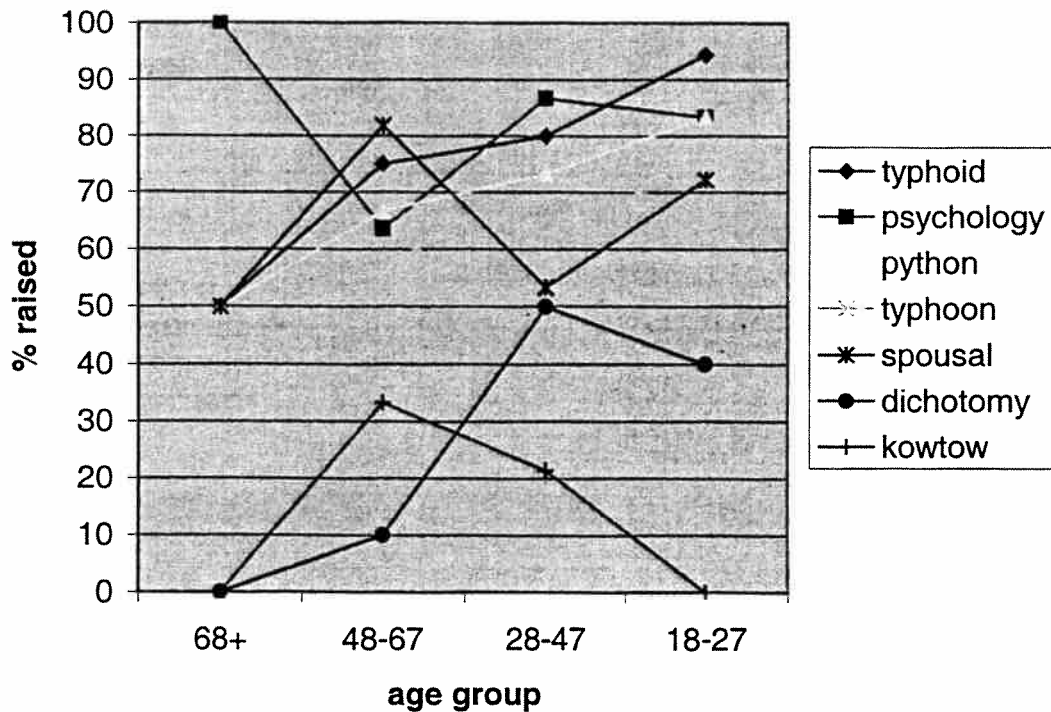


Figure 6: % Raising by Age Group—Individual Words



4.3 Extreme Cases. It is interesting to note the characteristics of the two subjects with the most extreme results. In age and gender, they reflected the overall results. The subject who raised the highest percentage of his relevant responses (24 of 25) was a male in the youngest age group from Quebec. The subject who raised the least (14 of 24 relevant responses) was a female in the oldest age group, also from Quebec. There were only three subjects from Quebec in total.

4.4 Spousal. In section 3.2 we looked at eight words that share a common pattern--a monosyllable root followed by a suffix. We said that this property was responsible for these words typically having the diphthong raised in Canadian English. Indeed, each of these words was raised by at least 98% of the subjects--with the exception of *spousal*, which was raised by only 67%. Why is *spousal* so different?

There is more going on with *spousal* than just raising or not raising of the diphthong. One well-known feature of Canadian English is intervocalic voicing of the sound [t], for example, *butter* is pronounced *budder*. We find the same thing happening to the second [s] of *spousal* for some speakers. The following table breaks down the relevant responses for *spousal* by pronunciation of both the diphthong and the second [s].

Figure 7: Breakdown of responses for *spousal* by pronunciation of the diphthong and the second [s]

	voiced /z/	voiceless /s/
raised	15	17
unraised	16	0

Since the environment for CR is a diphthong followed by a voiceless consonant, I could have called the 31 voiced -s responses irrelevant. Had I done so, *spousal* would have had 100% raising, which would have brought it in line with the other seven words that share its morphology. I didn't report the results that way because about half of the voiced responses still had raising, so clearly the voicing *did not necessarily* remove the environment for CR. It is known that intervocalic voicing of [t] does not cause raising to be lost, and this was confirmed by my results for *doughty* and *houting*. Clearly with [s], for some speakers, voicing of the [s] does happen in conjunction with the loss of raising, while for others voicing of the consonant and raising occur. Raising was uniform among subjects who did not voice the [s]. *Spousal* is an interesting specimen for this interaction between intervocalic voicing and CR.

5. *Opportunities for Further Study.* In this section, I discuss issues that came to my attention during this study that were not resolved by the survey.

5.1 *Formality.* While conducting the interviews, I got the impression that subjects who were putting more effort into their enunciation may have been slightly less likely to raise their diphthongs than those who were speaking more casually. Perhaps this means that Canadians unconsciously consider raising to be informal or improper. This could be tested by studying pronunciation in situations of varying formality.

5.2 *Stress.* This survey's results show convincingly that stress is a factor in raising. Raising is more likely when stress is on the syllable containing the diphthong than when it is on the syllable following the diphthong. However, it is not clear what happens when stress is on neither of these syllables. This could be tested using groups of three similar words, such as *psychic-psychology-psychological*, where stress is on a different syllable in each.

5.3 *Control Sample.* In this study, I included monosyllabic words with a voiceless consonant following a diphthong (part of the control sample), monosyllabic words with a voiced consonant following a diphthong (also part of the control sample), and polysyllabic words with a voiceless consonant following a syllable boundary following a diphthong (the words being studied); however, I did not include any polysyllabic words with a voiced consonant following a syllable boundary following a diphthong, though such words also could have been considered part of the control sample. Given the results for *spousal*, these words might in fact have yielded varied results. It would have been interesting, for instance, to see whether any Canadian raises the diphthong in *spider* or *tiger*.

5.4 *Variation in an Individual's Speech.* As I said in the introduction, this survey came about because I wasn't sure how I pronounced *python*. Actually, I believe that I interchange the raised and unraised diphthongs freely in the word. However, by asking each subject to read each word only once, I did not allow myself to determine whether this free variation exists in the speech of my subjects.

6. *Conclusion*

There is indeed a class of words that participate in CR for only some Canadian speakers. Membership in this class has to do with having a syllable boundary between the diphthong and the voiceless consonant that creates the potential environment for CR; however, not all words with this syllable boundary are members

of the class. Though I cannot pinpoint exactly what determines membership, I have discussed some factors, such as affixation, that seem to be involved.

We can make the generalization that males are more likely than females to raise the diphthongs in these words. We can also say, according to the *apparent time* hypothesis and based on the results by age group, that the participation of these words in CR appears to be increasing with time.

Appendix

Canadian Pronunciation Survey: General Questionnaire

Respondent # _____

Gender: male
 female

Age: 18-27
 28-37
 38-47
 48-57
 58-67
 68-77
 78 or over

Where were you born? (What town, city, district?) (Name the province, etc., if useful.) _____

Where did you live from age 8 to 18? _____

Where do you live now? _____

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