

Strathy Undergraduate Working Papers
on
Canadian English

Volume 4, 2003

Strathy Language Unit
Queen's University
Kingston, Ontario

Editor: W. Guyitt
Series Editors: E. Gold and J. McAlpine





STRATHY UNDERGRADUATE WORKING PAPERS
ON
CANADIAN ENGLISH

Volume 4, 2003

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	iii
An Analysis of Ontario City and Town Names Jenny Bos and Ravi Sunder	1
From Berlin to Zuber Corners: A Look at Historical Place Names in Waterloo Region Sarah Newitt and Shayla Ott	11
The Ghetto By Any Other Name Katrina Petrik and Sarah Brazeau	22
You Were <i>What</i> Last Night? A Look at Synonyms for Intoxication Courtney Ball and Jennifer van Harten	29
A Bush Party in the T-Dot? A Study of Informal Language in Urban versus Rural Areas Sarah Roberts and Navita Sidhu	46
Bunnywhat? A Look at Saskatchewanisms Darla Kalenchuk and Joseph Manthuruthil	60
Canadian Musical Artists in an American Dream: A Study in Canadian Linguistics Krista Clancy and Johnna Encarnacion	72
Canadian English and Asian Immigrants Grace Li and Helen Yang	85



Preface

The Strathy Undergraduate Working Papers on Canadian English is an ongoing series of collected essays published by the Strathy Language Unit at Queen's University. The series presents the undergraduate papers of Dr. Elaine Gold's Linguistics 202 course in Canadian English. The purpose of the series is to document student work, both as a record of inquiry and as a basis for further investigation. This volume, the fourth, presents work from the fall of 2002: it contains eight diverse essays exploring the relationship between Canada and the English language. Topics include regional lexical variation, place names, the price of success for Canadian lyricists, and ethnic influences on pronunciation and usage. The multifaceted and multicultural landscape of Canada truly shines through.

We hope you enjoy this collection.

Our thanks to Linda Garrison, the Administrator of the Strathy Language Unit, for the original design of this book.

W. Guyitt, Editor
E. Gold and J. McAlpine, Series Editors



Volumes 1-4 are available for \$7.00 each at the Strathy Language Unit or may be shipped directly at an additional cost. Write to:

Strathy Language Unit
Rm. 206 Fleming Hall/Jemmett Wing
Queen's University
Kingston, Ontario
K7L 3N6

or e-mail: garrisnl@post.queensu.ca



AN ANALYSIS OF ONTARIO CITY AND TOWN NAMES

Jenny Bos and Ravi Sunder

1. Introduction

Why is Kingston called Kingston? What is the connection between Athens, Ontario, and Athens, Greece? Why are Ontario towns that were founded in the mid-1800s named after places in India? There was no East Indian population in Ontario at that time, so there must be another explanation. This paper delves into these questions.

Although most Ontarians probably do not ponder the origin of the name of their hometown, many of Ontario's place names reveal intriguing details about the history of the area. A name can commemorate the past, describe the present, or even express hope for the future. This study will explore the place names of Ontario by classifying them according to their purpose. The place names will then be analyzed according to their country of origin. From the resulting data, we can not only infer patterns of Ontario settlement but also gain a greater understanding of the role of place names in recording Ontario's history.

2. Method

From an alphabetical list of all Ontario cities and towns, every third municipality was selected, resulting in a list of 122 Ontario place names (Rand McNally, *Road Atlas* 1992). Each place name was assigned a binomial classification using the following standard: **Type of Name (Nationality)**. (See **Appendix A** for a complete list of place names chosen, as well as their classifications.)

With respect to Type of Name, each place name was classified as performing one of the following functions:

- 1) honouring a person (Person)
- 2) commemorating the homeland (Homeland)
- 3) describing the local environment or the settlers' expectations in this new location (Description)

Some place names have peculiar origins, falling into none of the above categories; for these the Type of Name classification is Other. Names were then classified according to Nationality. The Nationality category refers to the name's country of origin, where it could be ascertained. For example, Braeside, Ontario, was named by its settlers after a place in Scotland. Thus, its classification is Homeland (Scottish). St. Clements, named by Irish Catholics, is classified Person (Irish). Forest is classified Description (English Language). In this last case, the nationality associated with the name cannot be pinned down exactly. Many descriptive names in English could have been coined by American, Scottish, English, or Irish immigrants; hence, no nationality can be ascribed.

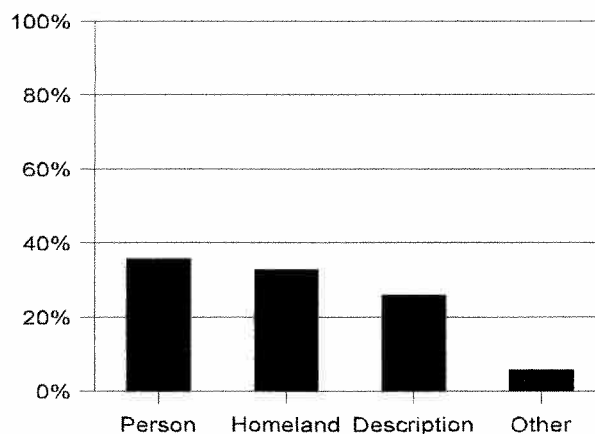
Any place name in our sample that was not obviously descriptive was checked against the index in the *Oxford Atlas of the World*. This test was carried out to determine whether an Ontario place name could be based on a previously existing place (i.e., a city, town, or river). For the purposes of our study, most Ontario place names that were found to have a namesake in another country were classified as being of that nationality.

If nationality could not be found through the above technique and the name might have been derived from that of person, that person's national origin was investigated. The town of Chapleau provides an example: it was named after Sir Joseph-Adolphe Chapleau, a Quebec statesman of French ancestry and a contemporary of Sir John A. Macdonald. Chapleau therefore is classified as Person (French).

3. Results by Type of Name

Of the place names examined, 35.6% are named after people, 32.7% are named after places in the settlers' homelands, and 25.8% describe the settlers' new environments. The remaining names—5.7%—do not fall into these categories, and some of these exceptions are discussed below. **Graph 1** shows these percentages.

Graph 1. Classification of Selected Ontario Place Names.



3.1 Person

Of the 122 place names selected, 35.6% are named after people. Many towns were named in honour of politicians, whether to remember those who had passed on or to garner favour from those still alive. Thorold is named after Sir John Thorold, an English MP; Prescott is named after a Governor-in-Chief of British North America. Many places were named after military leaders: Port Rowan honours Captain William Rowan—the Commander-in-chief of British forces in Canada—and Gore Bay is named after Sir Charles Gore, who led Loyalist forces during the rebellion of 1837-8. Chapleau was named after a government official of French ancestry during Sir John A. Macdonald's period of office as Canada's first prime minister, and Desoronto is named after a Mohawk chief. Other types of people who have had places named after them are local Native tribes (Mississauga, Ottawa), and saints (St. Clements, St. Marie). Interestingly, although Bancroft was originally named *York Mills*, the town was renamed (without the consent of its inhabitants) by a Canadian senator after his late mother-in-law!

3.2 Homeland

From the list of place names chosen, 32.7% act as reminders of settlers' homelands. One reason why settlers named their community after a place in their native land may have been to create a link to their history. Since most early immigrants arrived with very few possessions, living in a place with a familiar name might have made them feel slightly more at home. For example, the original Odessa is in the Ukraine; Limoges is found in France; Hanover is in Germany; and Newcastle is in England.

Interestingly, some places are named after significant locations not found in the settlers' homelands. *Athens* was chosen in honour of the capital of Greece when *Farmersville*, the previous name, was deemed exceedingly dull. Lucknow is an Indian city where a mutiny took place in 1857; Scottish troops who fought there brought the name with them to Canada. One captain named his land after Ellora, the famous caves in India, of which he was reminded when he saw the local topography; this is the origin of Elora, Ontario.

3.3 Description

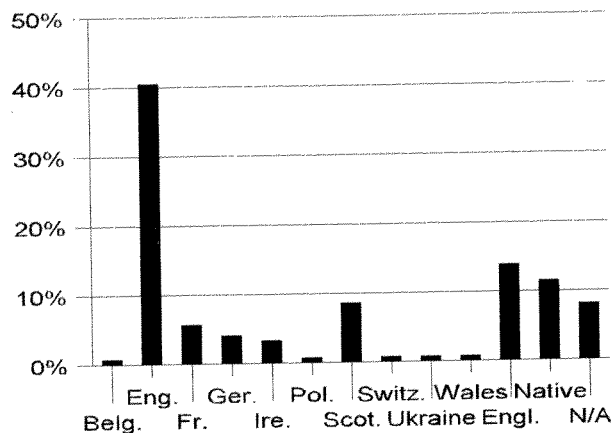
Among the names considered, 25.8% describe the settlers' environment. As mentioned above, the national origins of some names (such as *North Bay*, *Beaverton*, *Beachburg*, and *Woodville*) cannot be determined. Other descriptions, such as *Thunder Bay* and *Little Current*, may be translations from Native names. French descriptions also sometimes incorporate translations of Native geographical terms: one example is the use of *Sault*, meaning *rapids*, to replace an existing Native name. Some Native names remain untranslated: *Bobcaygeon* means "shallow rapids" in the Mississauga language, *Etobicoke* means "the place where the alders grow" in Ojibwa, and *Mattawa* means "the meeting of the waters". There are also descriptive names in languages other than English: *Aylmer* is Welsh for *valley* or *dale* and *Belleville* is French for *beautiful town*. A

unique descriptive name is *Petrolia*, given to the town where the first oil boom in North America took place. Another type of description is inspirational, expressing the settlers' expectations for their new lives. *Port Hope* and *Mount Pleasant* are examples of such names.

4. Results by Nationality

We also examined the influence of nationality on place names, whether categorized as Person, Homeland, or Description. **Graph 2** displays the full results (note again that *Eng.* stands for England, while *Engl.* signifies English-language names which are not attributable to a specific country).

Graph 2. Countries of Origin of Selected Ontario Place Names.



Note: Eng. = England; Engl. = an English-speaking country (Cf. Appendix B).

Results indicate that names in Ontario are predominantly of English origin (40.5%). Such strong influence can perhaps be explained by the fact that the first major wave of immigration to Canada consisted of Loyalists, fleeing the American Revolution. The Loyalists, as their name indicates, were loyal to the British Crown; the names they bestowed upon their new settlements reveal a strong British influence. Names such as *Kingston* (King's town) demonstrate loyalty; *Shelburne* was named after the Prime Minister of England during the American Revolution.

The significant proportion of Scottish names could be explained by the second major wave of immigration to Ontario. Reacting to the War of 1812, the British government encouraged emigration from the British Isles to Canada. The Irish Potato Famine in the late 1840s also resulted in large numbers of emigrants coming from Ireland to Canada. The arrival of these groups of immigrants increased the numbers of English, Scottish, and Irish in Ontario. Many towns in Ontario thus carry Scottish or Irish names: *Ailsa*

Craig, Kincardine, and Caledon all have Scottish roots, while Irish place names include *Arnprior* and *Erin*, which is derived from *Eire*, the Gaelic word for *Ireland*.

5. Conclusion

There is considerable variety among the place names in Ontario and each name has its own history. By examining the name of a city or town, one can gain insight into the history of a region. Which people were important enough to have a town named after them? How attached were immigrants to their homeland? Which environmental features were impressive enough to be included in a place name? The type of place name chosen by immigrants reflects their attitudes and beliefs; the diversity of names demonstrates the variety of settlers who immigrated to Ontario in order to begin their lives anew. Place names open windows to the past; they are testaments to the people who established Ontario as we know it today.

Appendix A

Classification of Names

Ailsa Craig	Homeland (Scottish)
Alfred	Person (English)
Arnprior	Homeland (Scottish/Irish)
Athens	Other (Other)
Atikokan	Description (Native)
Aylmer	Description (Welsh)
Bancroft	Person (Other)
Bath	Homeland (English)
Beachburg	Description (English Language)
Beaverton	Description (English Language)
Belleville	Description (French)
Blind River	Description (English Language)
Bobcaygeon	Description (Native)
Bourget	Homeland (French)
Braeside	Homeland (Scottish)
Bridgenorth	Description (English Language)
Brights Grove	Person (Other)
Brussels	Homeland (Belgian)
Burlington	Homeland (English)
Caledon	Homeland (Scottish)
Campbellford	Person (Scottish)
Carleton Place	Person (English)
Chapleau	Person (French)
Chesley	Homeland (English)
Clinton	Person (English)
Cobourg	Homeland (German)
Colchester	Person (English)
Collins Bay	Person (Scottish)
Cornwall	Homeland (English)
Creemore	Person (Other)
Deseronto	Person (Native)
Dresden	Homeland (German)
Dundas	Person (English)
Elliot Lake	Person (English)
Elora	Other (Scottish)
Erin	Person (Irish)
Etobicoke	Description (Native)
Fergus	Homeland (Scottish/Irish)
Forest	Description (English Language)
Frankford	Homeland (German)
Geraldton	Person (Other)

Gore Bay	Person (English)
Haileybury	Other (English)
Hanover	Homeland (German)
Harrowsmith	Person (English)
Hawkesbury	Person (English)
Hillsburgh	Description (English Language)
Iroquois Falls	Person (Native)
Keewatin	Other (Native)
Keswick	Homeland (English)
Kincardine	Person (Scottish)
Kingston	Description (English)
Kirkland Lake	Person (English)
Lambeth	Homeland (English)
Lansdowne	Homeland (English)
Limoges	Homeland (French)
Linwood	Homeland (Scottish)
Little Current	Description (English Language)
Long Sault	Description (French)
Lucknow	Other (Scottish)
Manitouwadge	Description (Native)
Mattawa	Description (Native)
Merlin	Person (English)
Midland	Description (English Language)
Milton	Person (English)
Mississauga	Description (Native)
Moorefield	Person (English)
Mt. Brydges	Person (English)
Mt. Pleasant	Description (English language)
Nepean	Person (English)
Newcastle	Homeland (English)
New Liskeard	Homeland (English)
Niagara-on-the-Lake	Description (Native)
North Bay	Description (English Language)
Norwich	Homeland (English)
Odessa	Homeland (Ukrainian)
Orangeville	Person (Other)
Oshawa	Description (Native)
Ottawa	Person (Native)
Owen Sound	Person (English)
Paris	Homeland (French)
Pelham	Homeland (English)
Perth	Homeland (English)
Petrolia	Description (English Language)
Plantagenet	Person (English)
Port Carling	Person (English)

Port Hope	Description (Other)
Port Rowan	Person (Scottish/English)
Prescott	Person (English Language)
Red Rock	Description (English Language)
Richmond Hill	Person (English)
Rockland	Description (English Language)
St. Clements	Person (Irish)
St. Mary's	Person (Irish)
Sault Ste. Marie	Description and Person (French)
Schreiber	Person (German)
Sebringville	Person (Other)
Shelburne	Homeland (English)
Smithville	Person (English)
South River	Description (English Language)
Stirling	Homeland (English)
Stratford	Homeland (English)
Sudbury	Homeland (English)
Sutton	Homeland (English)
Tavistock	Homeland (English)
Terrace Bay	Description (English Language)
Thorold	Person (English)
Thunder Bay	Description (English Language)
Tillsonburg	Person (English)
Toronto	Description (Native)
Tweed	Homeland (English)
Walkerton	Person (English)
Wasaga Beach	Other (Native)
Watford	Homeland (English)
Welland	Homeland (English)
West Lorne	Homeland (English)
Wheatley	Other (Other)
Whitney	Person (Other)
Wilno	Homeland (Polish)
Windsor	Homeland (English)
Woodville	Description (English Language)
Zurich	Homeland (Swiss)

Appendix B

Summary Tables (from which Figure 1 and Figure 2 were constructed)

Figure 1

Type	#	%
Person	43.5	35.6
Description	31.5	25.8
Homeland	40	32.7
Other	7	5.7
Total	122	

Figure 2

Country	#	%
Belgium	1	0.8
England	49.5	40.5
France	7	5.7
Germany	5	4.1
Ireland	4	3.3
Poland	1	0.8
Scotland	10.5	8.6
Switzerland	1	0.8
Ukraine	1	0.8
Wales	1	0.8
(English Language)	17	13.9
(Native)	14	11.5
(Not Applicable)	10	8.2
Total	122	

Bibliography

- Behind the Name: The Etymology and History of First Names*. Mike Campbell. 2002.
<<http://www.behindthename.com>>.
- The Canadian Encyclopedia Online*. Historica.
<<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com>>.
- Canadian Geographical Names*. Natural Resources Canada. 2002.
<http://geonames.nrcan.gc.ca/index_e.php>.
- Dawber, Michael. *Where the Heck is Balaheek? Unusual Place-Names from Eastern Ontario*. Burnstown, ON: General Store Publishing House, 1995.
- Dictionary.com*. 2002. Lexico Publishing Group. <<http://dictionary.reference.com/>>.
- Munro, David. *Oxford Dictionary of the World*. New York: Oxford UP, 1995.
- The Northern Ontario Toponymy Site*. <<http://142.51.17.253/jrp/notes/indexfra.htm>>.
- Oxford Atlas of the World*. 9th ed. New York: George Philip, 2001.
- Rayburn, Alan. *Naming Canada: Stories about Canadian Place Names*. 1st ed.
Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.
- Road Atlas: United States, Canada, Mexico*. Deluxe Edition. New York: Rand McNally, 1992.

FROM BERLIN TO ZUBER CORNERS A LOOK AT HISTORICAL PLACE NAMES IN WATERLOO REGION

Sarah Newitt and Shayla Ott

1. Introduction

The Southern Ontario city of Kitchener-Waterloo is known for its industries and for its entrepreneurial history, but primarily for its German heritage. Each fall, Kitchener-Waterloo holds one of the largest Oktoberfest celebrations in Canada, echoing the annual Bavarian festival in Southern Germany.

We decided to investigate the German heritage of Waterloo region, both by researching its history and by surveying residents to see whether or not that history has left a linguistic imprint.

2. History of Waterloo Region

The German influence in Kitchener and the surrounding Waterloo Region is a result of the immigration of German Mennonites from Pennsylvania, known as the Pennsylvania Dutch, after the American Revolution. Originally from Germany, these immigrants left their homeland to escape religious persecution, war, and economic chaos. In 1683, Dutch Mennonites and the first German Mennonites from the city of Krefeld came to Philadelphia on a ship called the *Concord* and founded Germantown (Leibbrandt 6). In Pennsylvania they hoped to achieve the emancipation they had been denied in Europe. They hoped life in America would grant them the freedom to practice their beliefs as they saw fit.

When this group of pacifists refused to fight in the American Revolution, however, they once again found themselves thrust in the middle of a country at war. Longing for peace, the Pennsylvanian Germans looked to Canada for the freedom they had been denied in Germany and America. "The lands of Canada were ruled by an English king from a German dynasty, the House of Hanover" (Leibbrandt 6). Perhaps Canada would provide them with a homeland that would accept their beliefs and culture. "Jetzt gehn mir nach Kanada"—"Off to Canada we go" (Leibbrandt 1)—was the decision that many German immigrants in Pennsylvania made in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

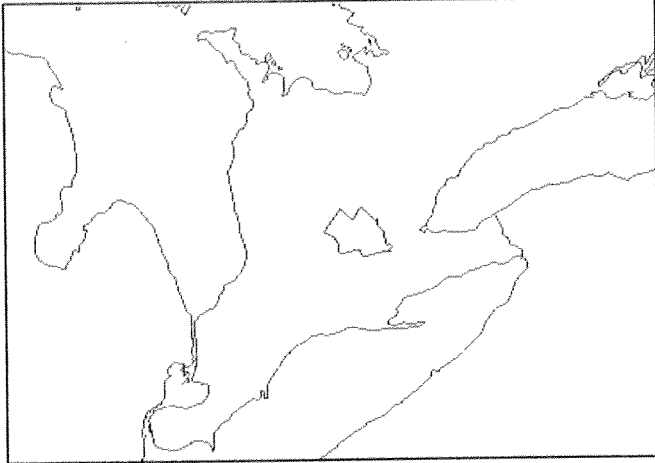


Figure 1. Waterloo Region, Ontario.

As settlers began arriving in the Waterloo area, education for young people became a necessity. In 1802, the region now known as Waterloo (see **Figure 1**) saw the establishment of a school building near Blair; a second school was founded northeast of Preston in 1808. Immigrants taught at these schools, speaking and teaching German to the students. In 1851, German schools in Upper Canada were officially recognized by the Board of Education in Toronto. On April 25, the Council of Public Instruction ruled that it

would be possible to substitute knowledge of French or German for knowledge of English in the school system. In Waterloo County, and in other predominantly German regions, the language of instruction could therefore remain German if desired (Leibbrandt 86). By that time, however, members of the German community realized that their children also needed to learn English, the mother tongue of so many settlers, and instruction in both languages became standard.

By the 1870s, sentiments had changed: the leaders of the Council of Public Instruction began to discourage the teaching of German. This resulted in a steady decline in the number of German schools. German-language newspapers retaliated, voicing opinions against the discriminatory school legislation and stating that it “treats our language like a stepchild and ... is designed to remove it from the curriculum” (qtd. in Leibbrandt 90). Unfortunately, the Waterloo area was on the path to assimilation: few teachers were qualified to teach in German and for economic reasons English was becoming increasingly dominant.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, “German as a language of instruction became the exception rather than the rule in the public schools of Waterloo County” (Leibbrandt 94). It seemed, however, that the German language still held a great deal of influence in the area. In 1900, a German School Association was founded to “safeguard the rights and privileges of the Germans” (Leibbrandt 96) and surveys showed that the public believed that being multilingual was necessary in the business world. There were no objections to continuing with German instruction in the schools; as Carl Schurz commented, “It is not necessary to forget German in order to learn English” (qtd. in Leibbrandt 96). However, that was soon to change.

The onset of World War I had a profound effect on the success of the German language program in the public school system. Since Canada and Germany fought against each other in the war, anti-German sentiment caused a great decline in enthusiasm for the German language. The onset of the war against Germany caused sales to drop in the city of Berlin (which is now Kitchener), as it was viewed as a pro-German town, and

when a change in the town's name was proposed, the result was feuding between families and friends. Two groups emerged: one—the British League—supported the name change, and the other—the Citizens' League—opposed it. When the dispute was brought to a vote, 1 569 approved the change while 1 488 were against it. The name *Kitchener* was chosen as a replacement (Baird); in the rush to suppress the German heritage of the town, the German language vanished from stores, church services, and from general usage.

3. Names in the Waterloo Region

The following section of our essay outlines the origins of place names in the Waterloo region that reflect the German influence in the area. (Figure 2 shows the location of these cities in the Waterloo region.) These names exist in current Canadian English thanks to early German immigration to Southern Ontario; these cities were founded and settled by German speaking people who brought their distinct heritage with them to Canada when founding their new lives.

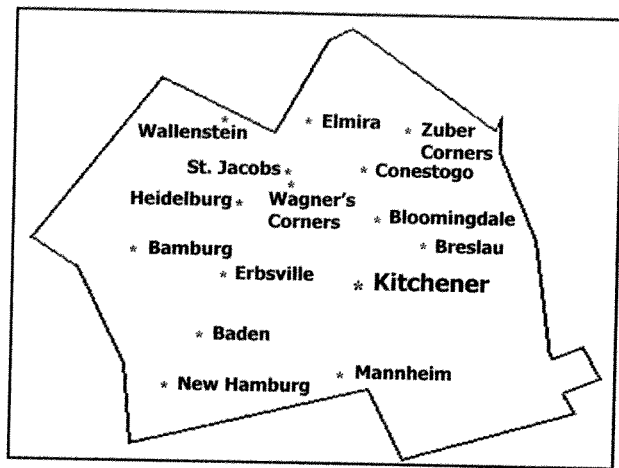


Figure 2. Cities in Waterloo Region.

•Baden

Jacob Beck was born on May 10, 1816, in Weiler, a town in the Grand Duchy of Baden, Germany. He arrived in Preston in 1836 as an enterprising young man, purchasing 190 acres of farmland in Wilmot Township, building a grist and sawmill, and initiating several other entrepreneurial ventures. Since Beck was one of the first settlers in this area, the village bears the name *Baden* after Beck's hometown in Germany (Walker 23).

•Bamburg

The town of Bamburg was originally called Weimer in 1857. It was named after a town in Thuringia in East Central Germany. In 1862, Postmaster Ferdinand Walter initiated a change in honour of the town of Bamburg, which is located in Bavaria, Germany and situated 32 km north of Nurnberg (Rayburn 22).

•Bloomingdale

The town of Bloomingdale was named in 1861, possibly after a town bearing the same name in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, where large numbers of German immigrants resided before moving to Waterloo County (Rayburn 36). A variation of the town name has existed since 1825: "by 1825 the townships of Waterloo and Wilmot were the most

densely populated in all of Upper Canada with the exception of York itself. One thousand six hundred and forty people resided in Waterloo Township which extended from Blair to *Blumental*" (Leibbrandt 13). Phonological changes in the pronunciation of the name resulted in the present day pronunciation of *Bloomingdale*.

•Breslau

According to some documentation, Breslau—settled in 1800—was once known as Chicopee Mills: possibly *Chicopee* is a word of Native origin (Epp). The town was renamed Breslau in 1856, after a German town in the region of Silesia, which is now the city of Wroclaw in Poland (Rayburn 42).

•Conestogo

The town of Conestogo was originally named Musselman's Mills in honour of David Musselman, a settler who arrived in 1832 (Rayburn 78). The word *Conestoga* is an Indian word—meaning "the place of immersed poles" (Epp)—and is also used as a name for a river in Waterloo County and Pennsylvania as well as for the covered wagons of the Pennsylvanian Dutch immigrants. Thus, the Germans obtained the name from the Native people in Pennsylvania and used it to name the town in the Waterloo region. In 1852 the town's name was spelt *Canastogo*; the spelling changed to *Conestogo* in 1853 (Walker).

•Elmira

In 1849, what is now Elmira was named Bristow's Corners after Edward Bristow, the first postmaster. In 1867, however, the region was renamed Elmira, apparently by the wife of Nathan Teall, innkeeper Nathan Teall (Rayburn 110). It seems the name was copied from a town in New York State, as "six thousand of the German immigrants coming by way of New York settled in western Ontario in the 1860s" (Lehmann, 23). These German immigrants traveled through New York so they would have been exposed to the American town of Elmira en route to Canada. Whether or not it was Teall's wife who renamed the town will probably never be confirmed.

•Erbsville

This town is likely named after the Erb family, prominent early settlers in the Waterloo region. The Erbs were of Pennsylvanian Dutch heritage (Leibbrandt 10).

•Heidelberg

The first settlers of Heidelberg were Bulmn and Ansell, two Frenchmen who arrived in the area in 1832 (Epp). Immigrants from Germany settled there shortly after, calling the town Heidelberg after their hometown in the region of Baden, Germany. There is some historical discrepancy regarding the spelling of the town: in the *Illustrated Atlas of Waterloo* from 1881, the town is spelt *Heidelberg*, whereas an insert in the *Daily Telegraph* from 1902 records the spelling as *Heidelberg* (Martin 78).

•Mannheim

This area was named in 1863 after Mannheim in Rhine, Germany. The place name is occasionally misspelled as *Manheim* (Epp). Isaac Shantz, Isaac Latscher and Peter Zoeger were the first settlers in the area.

•New Hamburg

In 1820, Josiah Gusschmann, a recent immigrant from Hesse, Germany, settled in this area and built a small sawmill west of Berlin. He named this area Cassel after the capital of Hesse, Germany (Leibbrandt 49). The name *Cassel* was not to remain for long, however: in 1834, a travelling circus brought the cholera virus to the area and the majority of farmers who lived and worked in Cassel died in the epidemic. When new settlers arrived to repopulate the area, they were again predominantly immigrants from Hesse. They chose to rename the area after another Hessian town, this time calling it Homberg. A vowel change modified this to *Hamburg*, but since there already was a Hamburg in Germany, *Hamburg* became *New Hamburg*.

•St. Jacobs

St. Jacobs was named after three Jacobs who influenced its beginnings. The town was originally called Jacobstettel (meaning "Jacob's village") after Jacob Snyder, who moved to the area in 1851 and built a grist mill along the shore of the Conestogo (Martin 46). According to *The Historical Atlas of Waterloo*: "St. Jacob's received its name from the Snyders, father and son, who were the first mill proprietors here, each sporting the name of 'Jacob', to which the word 'Saint' was prefixed. On the violent death of the younger of these in the terrible Desjardines bridge accident, the mill was purchased by Jacob Eby; so the coincidence of the Christian names in connection with the first industrial enterprise of the village resulted in giving the place its name" (Walker 10).

•Wagner's Corners

There is little documentation revealing the origins of the name *Wagner's Corners*; it can be speculated that this town—located one mile south of St. Jacob's—was named after a German settler bearing the name *Wagner*, which German speakers would pronounce with an initial /v/.

•Wallenstein

Jacob Wallenstein, a hotel keeper, came here in 1860; the area still bears his name today (Epp).

•Zuber Corners

Zuber Corners was likely named after a German immigrant family with the surname Zuber.

4. Survey

Although the German heritage of the Kitchener-Waterloo area is undeniable, we wondered how much of it survives today. Looking for indications of the influence of the German language in the area, we have conducted a survey regarding 15 historic place names to see whether English or German pronunciations are being used. As our responses represent a very small sampling of Kitchener-Waterloo speakers—and as several surveys came to us incomplete—our results paint perhaps an extreme picture. Our goal, however, was to get a sense of whether or not German pronunciations are being used, and we feel that the results were relevant to our question.

4.1 Survey Results

Rather than retaining their German pronunciations, most names, our survey indicates, have been fully anglicized, with all respondents pronouncing them according to English language rules. The following few place names present interesting exceptions to this rule, and reveal that some German influence remains in the area.

•**Bloomingtondale**

Of the respondents, 83% pronounced *Bloomingtondale* with an English pronunciation but one respondent used a higher [ü], creating the slightly more German [blümiŋ dejl].

•**Heidelberg**

All responses for *Heidelberg* used the German pronunciation [haj dəl bərg].

•**Mannheim**

The German pronunciation of the combination 'ei' was chosen by all of the respondents, who pronounced the name [mæn hajm].

•**Wallenstein**

The responses for *Wallenstein* suggest an interesting trend in pronunciation based on age. Those in the 70+ age bracket use the German pronunciation of [aj] (or [ay]), and while this pronunciation disappears completely in the 30-50 and 50-70 age groups, it is also used by over 40% of the 16-30 age group.

•**Zuber Corners**

While all respondents gave the English pronunciation of [zubər], one respondent recalled hearing it [tsubər].

•**Breslau**

The English pronunciation [brez lɑ]—rhyming with *coleslaw*—accounted for 92% of responses. One respondent, however, pronounced Breslau as [brez lo], with the second syllable rhyming with *go* instead of *how*: this pronunciation seems closer to French than to German.

•Conestogo

This town offered an interesting variation in responses, though one that has nothing to do with German phonology: 31% percent pronounced the last syllable as [gə] and 69% pronounced it as [go]. *Conostoga* is not a German word, but rather a Native American name which the Pennsylvania Dutch brought with them to Ontario. While the Conestoga Wagon ends with an 'a', the town of Conestogo is spelled with a 'o': this orthographic variation may have influenced the pronunciation of respondents.

4.2 Survey Conclusions

The graphemes that showed the most variation in pronunciation were combinations such as *ei*, which is pronounced [ay] in German and [i] in English. This variation was most prominent in the results for the name *Wallenstein*. On the whole, however, German pronunciations seem to be on the decline: a minority of the place names surveyed retained German characteristics in their pronunciation.

5. Conclusion

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the social stigma and economic disadvantage of a close association with Germany no longer exists. The Canadian concept of multiculturalism has also created a push toward sharing specific cultural traditions in order to promote diversity in Canada. If these factors rejuvenate the German influence in Waterloo region, the German culture and language could again become prominent. If not, the anglicization of pronunciation will only continue.

The names of Waterloo region unquestionably reflect a German past; whether or not their pronunciations will allow for a German future depends on those who encounter that past on a daily basis.

Appendix A

Waterloo Region Place Names Survey

Thank you for taking part in our survey. We are second year linguistics students at Queen's University and we are studying the ways in which place names in the Waterloo region have changed over time. The purpose of this survey is to determine what current pronunciations are in use. We are interested in learning how you normally pronounce these names when you are talking to your family and friends.

Before you begin we need to know some general information about you. This information will only be used to study the factors affecting responses. Please place an X in the appropriate space or answer YES or NO to the following questions.

1. Are you? male _____ female _____
2. Were you born in Waterloo Region? _____
If not, how long have you been in the region? _____
3. Were either of your parents born in Waterloo Region?
yes, one _____
yes, both _____
no, neither _____
4. How old are you? 16-30 _____
 30-50 _____
 50-70 _____
 70+ _____

We have selected the names of 15 towns in Waterloo Region. Please tell us how you pronounce the underlined portions by placing an X on the line beside the appropriate rhyming sound. There are no right or wrong answers.

1. Mannheim. Does it rhyme with: lime _____
 team _____
 tame _____
 Other (please describe): _____
2. Breslau. Does it rhyme with: coleslaw _____
 clouds _____
 Other (please describe): _____

3. Heidelberg. Does it rhyme with:

heed _____ bird _____
hide _____ bear _____
haven _____

Other (please describe): _____

4. Conestogo. Does it rhyme with:

go _____
guh _____

Other (please describe): _____

5. Zuber Corners. Does it rhyme with:

zoo _____
tsoo _____

Other (please describe): _____

6. Baden. Does it rhyme with:

bad _____
bade _____

Other (please describe): _____

7. New Hamburg. Does it rhyme with:

rue _____ ham _____ bird _____
boy _____ bomb _____ or _____

Other (please describe): _____

8. Bamburg. Does it rhyme with:

ham _____ bird _____
bomb _____ or _____

Other (please describe): _____

9. St. Jacob's. Do you pronounce the first sound of the second word as a:

"j" _____
"y" _____

Other (please describe): _____

10. Wallenstein. Does it rhyme with:

vault _____ mean _____
vat _____ mine _____
wall _____ main _____

Other (please describe): _____

11. Elmira. Does it rhyme with:

my _____
me _____

Other (please describe): _____

12. Wagner's Corners. Does it rhyme with:

wag _____
vaunt _____

Other (please describe): _____

13. Erbsville. Does it rhyme with: fur _____
fair _____
Other (please describe): _____

14. Bloomingle. Does it rhyme with: moon _____
avenue _____
Other (please describe): _____

15. Macton. Does it rhyme with: lack _____
mock _____
match _____
Other (please describe): _____

Thank you for taking part in our survey. Your contribution is greatly appreciated.

We are more than willing to make the results available to all participants. Please e-mail us if you are interested.

Thank you again,

*Sarah Newitt
Shayla Ott*

Bibliography

- Baird, S. *The Tale of the Twin Cities: Kitchener-Waterloo*. Kitchener-Waterloo: Fairway Press, 1969.
- Carter, F. E. *Place Names of Ontario*. London: Phelps Publishing, 1985.
- Epp, F. *Mennonites In Canada 1786-1920*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1974.
- Gellermann, Nancy-Lou. *Swiss-German and Dutch-German Mennonite Traditional Art In The Waterloo Region*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1979.
- Leibbrandt, G. *Little Paradise*. Kitchener: Allprint Company, 1980.
- Martin, VE. *The Early History of Jakobstettel*. St. Jacobs, ON: St. Jacobs Printery, 1979.
- Rayburn, A. *Place Names of Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Roth, L. *Ontario Amish Mennonites: 150 Years*. Waterloo: Mennonite Historical Society of Ontario, 1972.
- Walker, Miles. *Historical Atlas of Waterloo and Wellington Counties*. Owen Sound: Richardson, Bond and Wright, 1972.

THE GHETTO BY ANY OTHER NAME

Katrina Petrik and Sarah Brazeau

1. Introduction

The term *ghetto* is well known and frequently used on Queen's University campus; the student housing area is commonly—and sometimes fondly—known as the Ghetto by Gaels past and present. While most Canadians have a different definition, for Kingston's students *ghetto* means a fun neighbourhood full of garbage-covered lawns and front porches which are ideal for orange and brown couches. How did this meaning come about? Do students at any other schools across the country use this word with the same meaning?

We decided to focus our research on the use of the term *ghetto* in Canadian English and investigate the attitudes related to this term. We also looked at specific uses of the term on Queen's University campus and at other post-secondary institutions across Canada. We hypothesized that, on Queen's campus, the term *ghetto* would be used to refer to a student housing area, but the term would not carry the same meaning at other post-secondary institutions across Canada. We also expected to find that the term would have negative connotations across the country.

2. History and Meaning

We began our research by looking at the historical use of the term *ghetto*. According to the *Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, the term originally described the Jewish section of an urban area. It may have come from the Italian *borghetto*, which means *small market town* or *borough*. The *Canadian Oxford Dictionary* gives an alternate etymology, also from Italian: the term *ghetto* may be derived from the Italian *getto*—which means “foundry”—and was applied to the site of the first ghetto in Venice in 1516. In the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary*, the current definition of *ghetto* is three-fold: a ghetto is part of a city, especially a slum area, which is occupied by a minority group or groups; historically, it is an area of a city in which Jews were required to live; and lastly, it refers to a situation [cf. *ghettoize*] in which a group is segregated because of discrimination or because of its own preference.

3. Current Canadian Usage

Our next step was to investigate the current usage of the term *ghetto* in Canadian English. We used *Canadian NewsDisc*, an Internet database which allows access to broadcast transcripts from CTV and CBC, as well as articles from many major Canadian newspapers—including *The Toronto Star*, *The Vancouver Sun*, and *The Montreal Gazette*—and some smaller, regional newspapers. We found that the term *ghetto* is used most often in reference to black ghettos, drug ghettos, women's ghettos (a more figurative use), and Jewish ghettos of World War II. The articles generally used *ghetto* in a negative context, referring either to slum-like conditions or to forced segregation. The following sentences are examples of the term *ghetto* being used with a negative connotation.

The inner-city ghetto is ripe with social and racial tensions. (Canada AM, CTV, May 26, 1998)

Muslim women boldly marked International Women's Day yesterday by decrying discrimination in their own backyard, especially the ghetto-like isolation of their sex in Afghanistan. (*The Hamilton Spectator*, March 9, 1998, Final Edition, p. B3)

It reminds her of how far she has come since the horrific nights she spent in hiding—or in the Jewish ghetto—during World War II. (*The Montreal Gazette*, April 20, 2001, Final Edition, p. A4)

We then searched *Canadian NewsDisc* for *student ghetto*. Of the 35 occurrences found, 24 refer to the student housing area of Queen's University, and 9 refer to the analogous McGill University student ghetto in Montreal. Among the other references is an article from the *Ottawa Citizen* (November 9, 1997, Final Edition, p. D10) which uses the term as part of a metaphor evoking poor conditions: "cruising Bel Airs, their contours blurred by as many coats of paint as an apartment in a student ghetto." One article in *The Montreal Gazette* also refers to a student ghetto in Hamburg, Germany (October 1, 2001, Final Edition, p. B1). These results indicate that the general Canadian usage of the term follows the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary's* definition of a "segregation because of discrimination" and that few people outside the neighbourhoods of Queen's and McGill tend to use the term *ghetto* in reference to student housing areas.

4. The Ghetto near Queen's University Campus

Our next goal was to discover when the term *ghetto* was first used to refer to student housing near the Queen's University campus. We decided that the best way to find this information would be to look at student-run publications—namely *The Journal* and *The Tricolour Yearbook*—and therefore we searched archived editions of both, scanning each headline in order to find articles related to housing.

The first occurrence of the term appears in the *Yearbook* in 1978:

Over the past few years, a "student ghetto" has developed outside the university boundary, with shrewd landlords buying property close to campus and renting to students. Exorbitant rent can be charged for buildings in questionable condition, as the demand for houses far exceeds the supply. (*Tricolour Yearbook*, 1978)

The Journal first used the term in 1979:

Science '44 is student-owned and operated and has 21 houses concentrated in three areas of the student ghetto. (*The Journal*, February 13, 1979)

Attempting to discover what initiated the use of *ghetto* in this sense, we found a great deal of evidence in *The Journal*. According to records, Kingston suffered a housing crisis in 1974. Many Queen's students were forced to live on friends' couches, in residence common rooms, or in hotels. The crisis brought on the construction of Elrond Co-operative (now known as Princess Towers) and the purchase of houses near campus by landlords. Landlords who were willing to charge high rents for poorly maintained houses soon owned the entire area now known as the Ghetto. It was the substandard conditions of the houses that led to the introduction of the term, presumably as a way to compare Queen's student housing to the houses in poor, inner-city neighbourhoods. Even as the name was catching on, however, students were questioning it; the accuracy of the term *ghetto*—and the image it conveys—has long been a topic of debate on Queen's campus.

The student ghetto (an unusually strange term, since the parents of most ghetto occupants could buy entire blocks of it) is an assault on the lifestyle of the rest of the city. (*The Journal*, September 16, 1980)

More recently, in 1998, the Queen's student government—the AMS, or Alma Mater Society—decided that the term *ghetto* was inaccurate and unacceptable as a name for Queen's student housing. In September of 1998, the AMS officially renamed the area the Student Village, in an attempt to encourage students not to use the more negative term. Having had a policy in place since 1991 not to use *ghetto* in any of their publications, the AMS maintained that the term was unsuitable because it gave landlords licence to treat the area and tenants as though it were really a ghetto.

Other new names have also been proposed—including *Student Housing Area*, *Q-Zone*, and *ShaQ* (*Student Housing at Queen's*)—but none of the alternatives have been adopted. Students have argued that many of the houses do fit the description of slum houses and that their landlords resemble slum lords. Others have indicated that the term is catchy and something of a tradition which will not be changed on a whim. The 1998 attempt to formally rename the Ghetto has so far been largely unsuccessful.

5. Survey

As part of our research, we decided to conduct a survey of students attending post-secondary institutions across Canada. Our survey was designed to do the following: to measure the extent of the use of the term *ghetto* to mean "student housing"; to investigate the general meaning given to the term *ghetto* in current Canadian English as understood by the students; and to discover the attitudes associated with the term *ghetto*. One question in our survey asked respondents to use the following terms in a sentence: *suburbs*, *inner city*, *ghetto*, *residence*. This question had two purposes: we hoped to establish the general meaning each student had for the term *ghetto*, while at the same time hoping that the three related terms would disguise the fact that the survey sought information specific to the use of *ghetto*. The survey was distributed via e-mail to students across Canada (see the full survey in the **Appendix**). We received completed surveys from students representing twelve Canadian post-secondary institutions across the country: University of British Columbia (Vancouver), Simon Fraser University (Vancouver), University of Victoria, Capilano College (Vancouver), University of Calgary, Mount Royal College (Calgary), University of Western Ontario (London), Queen's University (Kingston), Ottawa University, Carleton University (Ottawa), McGill University (Montreal), and St. Francis Xavier University (Antigonish).

5.1 Results

Our results show that the use of the term *ghetto* to refer to a student housing area is limited to a few universities: only students at Queen's, McGill, Carleton and Western used the term in this sense. When asked what word is used for such an area, students at other institutions gave a variety of other answers, including *residence*, *student community*, and *student housing*.

Those respondents who used the term *ghetto* to refer to student housing tended to use this particular meaning in their responses to Question 3c, which asked participants to use the term *ghetto* in a sentence. One respondent from Western, for example, wrote: "My apartment is situated in the student ghetto." Students who showed no evidence of using *ghetto* in the student housing sense, however, tended to use the term to refer to a run-down, dangerous neighbourhood; for example, one respondent from Capilano College in Vancouver responded with the following phrase: "Thugs are from the ghetto."

The majority of respondents associated a negative attitude with the term *ghetto*. No positive responses were given, and only three students—from Queen's and Western, both schools where *ghetto* is used to refer to the student neighbourhood—gave a neutral response.

6. Conclusion

During the course of our research, we have come to the conclusion that the meaning of the term *ghetto* has, in some ways, changed: the word is now used—on Queen's University campus, as well as on a few other Canadian university campuses—differently than in the rest of Canada. Although the term is still associated with a negative attitude, its reference appears to have shifted from an imposed situation to a desired one. One respondent from McGill University may have put it best: “[The term *ghetto*] definitely has a negative connotation, but people tend to use it with pride, as if they are proud to live in a crappy student neighbourhood.”

What is it about the name *Ghetto* that keeps students so attached? The AMS did not have a difficult time renaming a campus pub. Even though it was previously known as *The Underground*, the AMS simply decided that the name was “unimaginative, seldom used and generally dull” (*The Journal*, Jan 16, 1979). The name was changed to Alfie's within a year and the change stuck. This example would suggest that it is possible to rename part of the University; the success of the change depends on whether or not students are attached to the current term.

Would the Ghetto, by any other name, still be the Ghetto? Is it an arbitrary term? How important is it to students that our living area is called a *ghetto*? While it can definitely be argued that the slum-like housing conditions are reason enough to hold on to this term, it ultimately comes down to a question of acceptability. During the course of our research, we came to the conclusion that the local use of this term undermines actual ghetto situations; to compare the student experience at Queen's to actual ghetto atmospheres is misleading. Our results show that the term is generally associated with a negative attitude, and this suggests that a renewed effort to change campus dialect may be welcome.

Appendix

Survey

We are doing a project for a Linguistics course at Queen's University. The following is a brief questionnaire designed to study language use and social attitudes. Your participation is voluntary, and would be much appreciated. Please be advised that the information collected is for our project only and you will not be identified. Feel free to decide not to participate, or to discontinue participation at any time. Remember that there are no correct answers. We are interested in your initial response, so please refrain from changing your answers. It is important not to look ahead and to complete each question before proceeding to the next. If you would like results of the study, please contact us directly. Thank you.

Katrina Petrik and Sarah Brazeau

1. Which post-secondary institution are you currently attending?

Did you previously attend a different post-secondary institution?

If yes, which one?

2. What do you call a neighbourhood in close proximity to a college/university that is mostly inhabited by students?

3. Please use the following terms in a sentence:

a) suburbs _____

b) inner city _____

c) ghetto _____

d) residence _____

4. What type of attitude would you associate with the term *ghetto*?

a) positive _____ b) negative _____ c) neutral _____

Thank you for participating in our survey!

Bibliography

Canadian NewsDisc [now available as *Canadian Newsstand*]. Micromedia Proquest.
<<http://www.mmltd.com/news/NewsstandPR1.htm>>

The Canadian Oxford Dictionary. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language. New York: Elsevier, 1966.

The Queen's Journal. Kingston, ON: Queen's University.

The Tricolour Yearbook. Kingston, ON: Queen's University.

YOU WERE *WHAT* LAST NIGHT? A LOOK AT SYNONYMS FOR INTOXICATION

Courtney Ball and Jennifer van Harten

1. Introduction

Bashed, befuddled, boozed up, buzzed, canned, crocked, drinking, drunken, flushed, flying, fuddled, gassed, glazed, groggy, hammered, high, hosed, in orbit, inebriated, jolly, jugged, juiced, laced, liquored up, lit, lush, merry, muddled, oiled, on a bun, overcome, pie-eyed, plastered, plowed, potted, seeing double, sloshed, soaked, sotted, soused, stewed, stoned, tanked, tight, tipsy, totaled, wasted, and zonked.

The aforementioned words are synonyms for the word *drunk* as listed in *Roget's Interactive Thesaurus*. As is apparent, there is quite a variety of documented terms and many more can be found simply by listening to other people's conversations. Given the abundance of such terms, we decided to develop a survey and look for patterns in terminological variation across Canada. We chose to examine age, region, and sex as factors that could potentially explain such variation. We created a survey and distributed it by hand throughout Kingston and by e-mail to other areas (the survey is reproduced in **Appendix A**).

In our survey, we asked where respondents lived as teenagers instead of where they currently live; by asking where participants spent their formative teenage years, we hoped to be able to identify patterns linked to particular towns, cities, or provinces. Next we asked the respondents to describe themselves at various levels of intoxication, in order to establish relationships between the number of drinks consumed and the words used to describe each state. Finally, we asked if respondents use different terms for females and males who have had a lot to drink, in order to uncover possible patterns of sex-linked terminology.

Although a total of 89 responses were received, only 79 were used: some surveys were filled out incorrectly and consequently were considered invalid for the study (see below, *Problems Encountered*). Of the 79 surveys returned, 49 were completed by females and 30 by males. As three females and one male respondent were non-drinkers, they were asked not to respond to Questions 1 to 3. Consequently, the results for the first three questions do not represent the entire surveyed group but rather comprise the responses of those participants who were eligible to answer them.

Although the ages of our surveyed group ranged from 19 to 52, the vast majority was within the 19-25 range. Because our survey did not cover a large age distribution we decided that age could not be examined for trends.

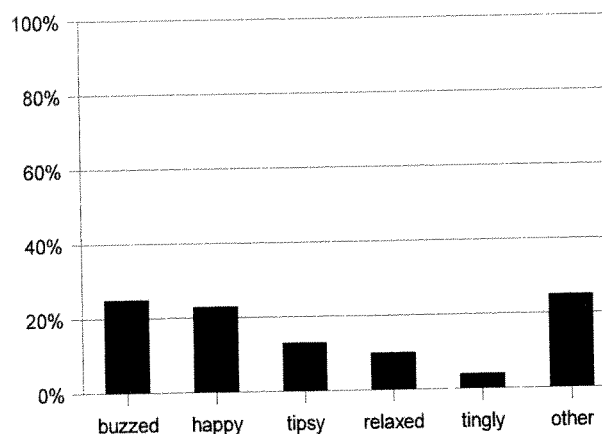
We first considered our results question by question to get a sense of overall patterns. We then considered responses by location in order to find out about regional variation. Finally, we divided the results of each question according to sex of the respondent, in order to determine whether or not patterns of usage exist for females and males. (Full survey results can be seen in **Appendix B.**)

2. Results by Question

2.1 Question 1

When asked to describe their usual state after a couple of drinks, 25% of our participants used the term *buzzed* or *buzzing*, 23% said *happy*. The next most popular word choice was *tipsy*, followed by *relaxed* (10%). *Tingly* was used by 4% of our respondents to describe themselves after a couple of drinks, while the remaining 25% used a variety of other words, 3 of which have a meaning similar to *happy*. **Graph 1** illustrates our findings for the first question.

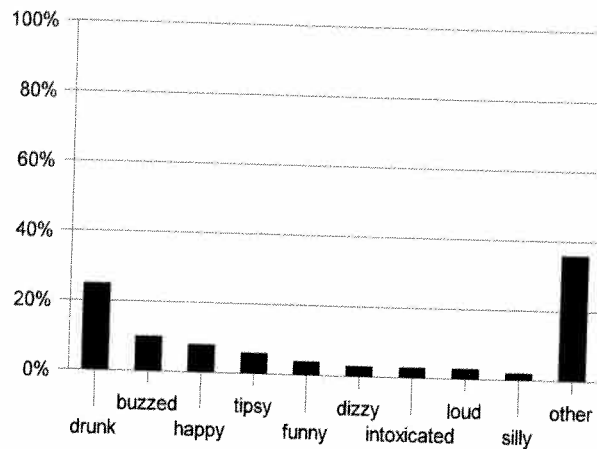
Graph 1. After a couple of drinks, when you just begin to feel the alcohol, how would you describe your state? (Question 1)



2.2 Question 2

When our participants were asked to describe their state after a few more drinks, 25% said *drunk* or *drunker*. The term *buzzed* or *buzzing* was used by 10% of respondents, while 8% used *happy* and 6% used the term *tipsy*. The remaining responses varied greatly. **Graph 2** shows our findings for Question 2.

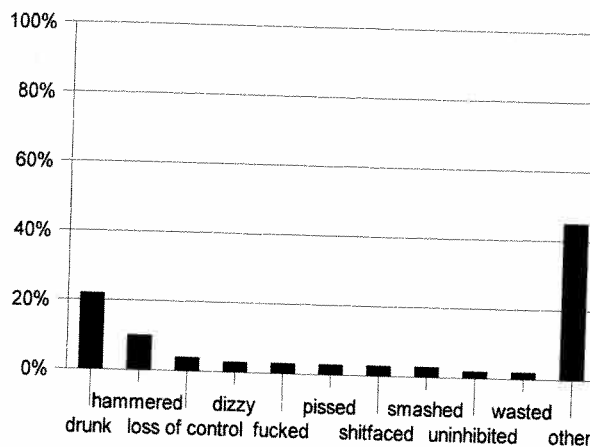
Graph 2. After a few more drinks, how would you describe your state? (Question 2)



2.3 Question 3

When participants described their state after *many* alcoholic drinks, 22% used *drunk*. *Hammered* was used by 10% and 4% used *loss of control* or *out of control*. Other responses included *dizzy*, *fucked*, and *pissed*. Graph 3 shows these results.

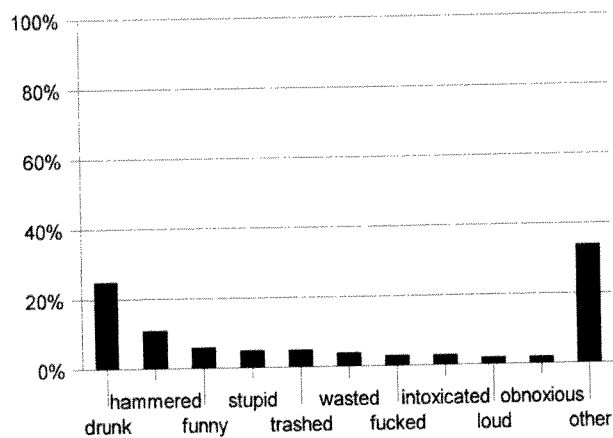
Graph 3. If you have had many alcoholic drinks, how would you describe your state? (Question 3)



2.4 Question 4a

Participants were asked to describe the state of *another person* who has had a lot of alcohol. The word *drunk* was used by 25% of our respondents to describe the other person's state, while 11% used the term *hammered* and 6% used *funny*. *Stupid* was used by 5%, as was *trashed*. Graph 4 shows the results for Question 4a.

Graph 4. How would you describe another person's state if they have had a lot to drink? (Question 4a)



2.5 Question 4b

Participants were asked if the term used to describe someone who has had too much to drink would differ depending on the sex of the person in question. This would not be the case, according to 79% of respondents. (See *Analysis by Sex* below for the responses given by the 17 people who stated that their terminology would change depending on whether they were describing females or males.)

2.6 Summary

Overall, the term used most often was *drunk*. When participants described situations in which lesser amounts of alcohol were consumed, the preferred terms seemed to be *buzzed* or *buzzing*, *happy*, or *tipsy*.

3. Analysis by Location

Because 70 of our 79 respondents—89%—spent their teenage years in Ontario, we decided to look for distribution patterns within Ontario rather than across Canada. Our first step was to map the towns in which respondents lived as teenagers. Then we grouped the towns into regions: Ottawa and surrounding area, Kingston and surrounding area, east of Toronto, north of Toronto, Toronto, and west of Toronto. Responses from outside of these regions—London and surrounding area, Hamilton, and the north—were not included in this analysis because there were not enough responses to establish patterns.

3.1 Results by Location

The majority of those polled from Ottawa used *happy* and *tipsy* in Question 1 (*a couple* of drinks). In fact, 20% of all instances of the word *tipsy* came from the Ottawa area. Most from the Ottawa region used *drunk* in Question 2 (*a few* drinks).

Of those from Kingston, 50% gave *happy* as an answer for Question 1 and most gave *drunk* as an answer to Question 3 (*many* drinks). In fact, the majority of *drunk* responses came from Kingston and area. Those answering from Kingston also came up with some different words not seen elsewhere including *garrulous* and *blotto*.

Respondents from east of Toronto repeatedly used the words *tipsy* and *tingly*, and, for Question 4a (*another person*), *trashed*. Of all respondents who used *trashed* in this question, 75% came from east of Toronto.

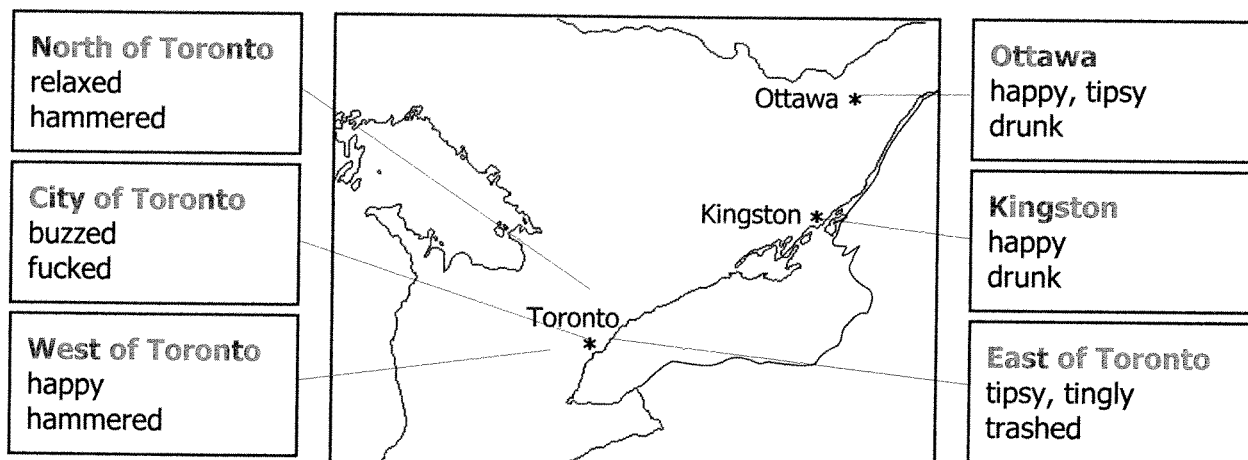
Those from north of Toronto comprised 38% of all respondents who used *relaxed* for Question 1. Likewise, 38% of all those using *hammered* for Question 3 came from north of Toronto.

In Toronto itself, the word *buzzed* was used quite often as an answer for Question 1. Every respondent who said *fucked* for Question 3 came from the City of Toronto.

Finally, most of those from west of Toronto used the word *happy* for Question 1 and *hammered* for Questions 3 and 4a.

Words with a strong affiliation to each region are shown in **Figure 1**.

Figure 1. The most popular words in each geographic location.



3.2 Influence of Location

Based on our findings, there is some correlation between the city one lived in as a teenager and the words used to describe oneself when under the influence of alcohol.

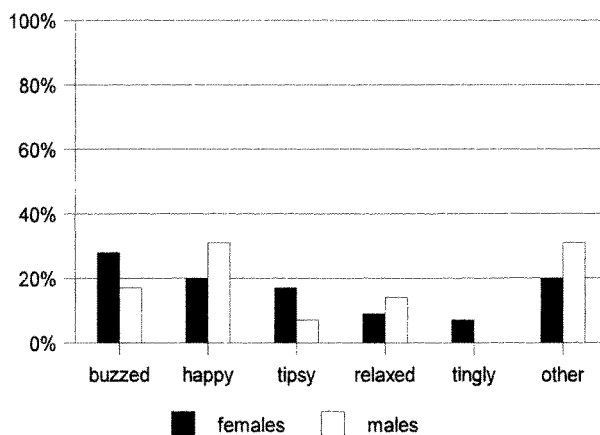
4. Analysis by Sex

Of our 79 usable surveys, 49 were returned by females and 30 by males. In order to compensate for this inequality, we converted the responses for both sexes into percentages, allowing direct comparisons between women and men. Answers that did not recur in the survey—that is, words offered in response to a question by only one respondent—were grouped together in an “other” category.

4.1 Question 1

When participants were asked for responses describing their state after a couple of drinks, *buzzed* or *buzzing* was the most common response overall: 29% of female respondents and 17% of males used one of these two words. The next most popular response was *happy*, used by 20% of females and 31% of males. *Happy* was the term used most by males. Of the females surveyed, 17% answered *tipsy*, while only 7% of males did. *Relaxed* was listed by 9% of females compared to 14% of males. Although 7% of the females used *tingly*, no males responded with this word. Finally, 20% of the females and 31% of males responded with words that fit into the “other” category. See **Graph 5** to get a better understanding of which words were used by each sex.

Graph 5. After a couple of drinks, when you just begin to feel the alcohol, how would you describe your state? (Question 1)

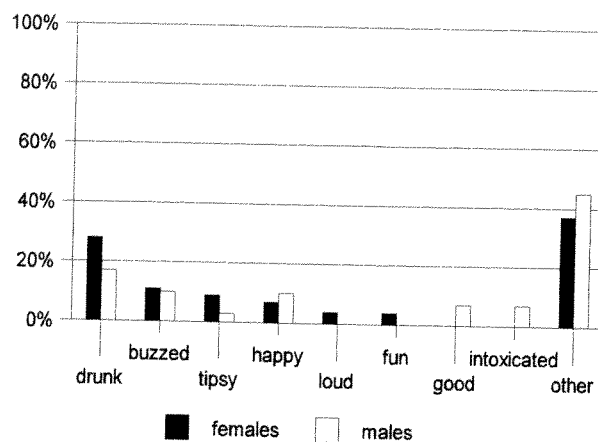


The fact that males have a much higher percentage of responses in the “other” category indicates that females as a group tend to use a more restricted vocabulary than males when referring to intoxication. Another difference between the sexes is that females are more likely to use words that describe their physical feeling. In Question 1, *buzzed* was used most by females to describe their state when they are just able to feel the effects of the alcohol. *Buzzed*—which refers to a vibrating feeling and implies a physical sensation—is used more by females than by males; *tipsy*, which refers to being unsteady, and *tingly*, which refers to a sensation akin to prickly, are likewise. Males, on the other hand, used more emotional terms to describe their state after having a few alcoholic beverages: both *happy* and *relaxed* are used more by males than by females.

4.2 Question 2

When asked for terms describing one’s state after a few more drinks, 28% of females and 17% of males gave *drunk* as their response. *Buzzed*, at 11%, was the second most common female response and was tied for second in males at 10%. *Tipsy* was reported by 9% of the females but by only 3% of the males. *Happy* was used by 7% of females and 10% of males. Although 4% of females used *loud* and 4% used *fun*, no males used either word. None of the females used *good*, the choice of 7% of males, or *intoxicated*, also the choice of 7% of males. The “other” category consisted of responses from 37% of females and 45% of males. Graph 6 represents the findings for Question 2.

Graph 6. After a few more drinks, how would you describe your state? (Question 2)

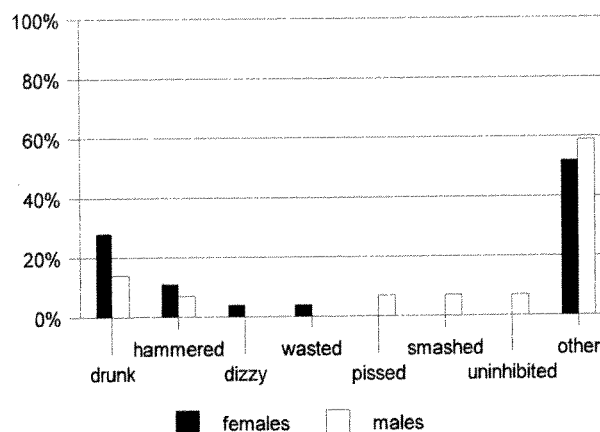


There is much less correlation between sex and word choice in Question 2 than Question 1. The large number of words in the “other” category indicates a lack of consistency in responses from both sexes.

4.3 Question 3

In Question 3, which asked for terms describing one's state after *many* alcoholic drinks, we see even fewer words recurring frequently. *Drunk* is used by 28% of females and 14% of males. The term *hammered*, the second most popular term, is used by only 11% of females and 7% of males. *Dizzy* and *wasted* are each used only by females (4%). Similarly, *pissed*, *smashed*, and *uninhibited* are each used by males (7%). Words fitting into the "other" category are used by 52% of the female respondents and 59% of the male respondents. See **Graph 7** for the results.

Graph 7. If you have had many alcoholic drinks, how would you describe your state? (Question 3)

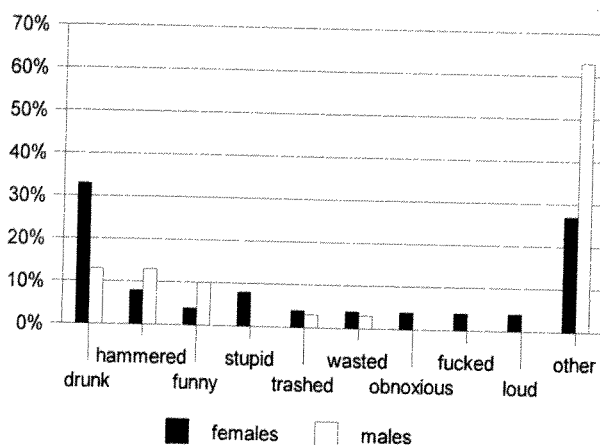


More than 50% of the words used by females and males fit into "other" and since we have responses from only 79 people, we cannot confidently assign words to one sex or the other. All that can be determined from the responses for Question 3 is that females use the term *drunk* more than any other and that males too favour the same term but to a lesser extent.

4.4 Question 4a

Question 4a, which asked participants to list words they would use to describe *other people* who have consumed a lot of alcohol, demonstrates many of the same trends as Question 3. The term *drunk* was used by 33% of females and 13% of males to describe another person who had had a great deal to drink. *Hammered* was used by 8% of females and 13% of males. The term *funny* was used by 4% of females and by 10% of males. The term *stupid* was used by 8% of females and no males. *Trashed* was used by 6% of females and 3% of males. *Wasted* was used by 4% of females and 3% of males. Finally, the terms *obnoxious*, *fucked*, and *loud* were used exclusively by females, 4% for each term. The *other* category represents 27% of females and 63% of males. **Graph 8** presents the findings.

Graph 8. How would you describe another person's state if they have had a lot to drink? (Question 4a)



Females show much more consistency in word choice than males do. For males, only the words *drunk*, *hammered*, *funny*, *trashed*, and *wasted* were given as responses more than once.

4.5 Questions 4b and 4c

For Question 4b, which asked if respondents would use different words to describe males and females who have had a lot of alcohol, 18% of females and 27% of males indicated that they would indeed use different words. In Question 4c, this subset of respondents were asked to list the terms which they would apply to each sex. Both males and females were described in a negative light. Whereas the terms used by females to describe other females were disapproving, sometimes sexually so—choices include *annoying*, *loud*, and *slutty*—males describe females in a sexual manner but use a more approving tone, with words like *easy*, *playful*, and *hot*. Females describe males who have had a lot to drink in negative, stereotypically masculine terms, with words such as *violent*, *horny*, and *pushy*. Males, on the other hand, describe each other as *obnoxious* and *stupid*. The terms given in Question 4c are not exactly what we were searching for with this survey as they are not typical synonyms for being intoxicated; they are, however, revealing of how attitudes toward sex and drinking are expressed.

4.6 Summary of Results by Sex

Females and males have different preferences for words when it comes to describing one's state under the influence of alcohol. Women tend to be more likely to choose the same words while men are more likely to use a wider variety of terms. Females listed *drunk* in 22% of their answers; males listed it only 12% of the time. The term *tipsy* is also used much more often by females than for males. On the other hand, *happy* was preferred by more men than women.

5. Problems Encountered

Despite the fact that we did find some patterns of usage, we realized, with the benefit of hindsight, that there were many aspects of this project which could have been improved. When beginning the study, we decided that the Queen's University campus and its surroundings would be a suitable survey area. After receiving the surveys, however, we realized that we had not achieved a representative distribution of non-Ontario residents. The conclusion surprised us because we had assumed that the survey would be completed by a more diverse group. Sending more surveys by e-mail or creating a website might have allowed us to collect a larger number of non-Ontario participants. Furthermore, because the majority of students are within the 19-25 age range, we knew that we would encounter an age bias. Both the age and location biases that we encountered could have been overcome by surveying a larger sample group and diversifying the locations surveyed.

A further difficulty that we encountered was that there were a few surveys which were unusable. We feel these responses were generated because of our use of the word "state" in the survey. Rather than producing a synonym for *drunk*, some respondents reported that they experienced blurred vision or were physically unstable. Although we had tried to find the best wording possible, no clear solution was found. To clarify our intentions and objectives, therefore, we mentioned that we were conducting a survey on terminology for intoxication prior to handing the survey to the participant. Nevertheless, some participants thought we were looking for feelings rather than words per se, making their responses inapplicable.

6. Conclusions

Our initial impression was confirmed by our survey: there are many words that can refer to a state of being intoxicated. (**Appendix B: Survey Results** shows all of the data we collected for this study.) To summarize the trends we observed, the state one is in after having just a few drinks is described by the smallest variety of terms. Males and females have a preference for certain words; both sexes, however, used such a variety of words that many of the answers had to be clumped in the "other" category. Moreover, each region in Ontario has preferred terms for self-reference and for describing others.

Overall, however, the term used most frequently among every group (female, male, and regional) is *drunk*. Drunk is a term that most people know and, more than likely, would say at some point in their lives. All of the other words, then, are just creative ways of saying the same thing: essentially, we concluded that any word used to describe a person in the context of drinking will be understood to refer to a state of intoxication.

Bibliography

Roget's Interactive Thesaurus. Ed. Barbara Ann Kipfer. First Edition, Vers. 1.0.0. 2003. Lexico Publishing Group. <<http://thesaurus.reference.com>>.

Appendix A Terms For Being Intoxicated

We are conducting a Study on Canadian English. We would appreciate it if you would answer a few quick questions. Participation is completely voluntary, your identity will be kept confidential, and you are welcome to stop at any time. If you agree to participate, please sign below and complete the following form.

Signature Date

Age: _____

Sex: M _____ F _____

As a teenager, where did you live? _____
City Province/ State

Do you ever drink alcohol? Yes _____ No _____

For the following questions we ask that you respond only with the first word that comes to mind. If your answer to the above question is No, please skip to Question 4.

1. After a couple of drinks, when you just feel the alcohol, how would you describe your state?

2. After a few more drinks, how would you describe your state?

3. If you have had many alcoholic drinks, how would you describe your state?

4. a) How would you describe another person's state if they have had a lot of alcohol?

b) Would this term differ if you were referring to a male or a female?

Yes _____ No _____

c) If yes i) How would you describe a male who has had a lot to drink?

ii) How would you describe a female who has had a lot to drink?

Thank you very much for your participation. If you wish to see the results of this survey please provide us with your e-mail address and we will send you the results upon completion.

Appendix B Survey Results

Age	Sex	City	Drink?	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4a	Q4b	Q4ci	Q4cii
20	f	Almonte, ON	no				relaxed	no		
21	f	Barrie, ON	yes	relaxed	happy	silly	drunk	no		
20	f	Barrie, ON	yes	relaxed	buzzed	hammered	hammered	no		
22	f	Belleville, ON	yes	buzzed	kinda drunk	asleep	drunk	no		
21	f	Brampton, ON	yes	happy	easy going	drunk	funny	no		
20	f	Brooklin, ON	yes	buzzed	drunk	loaded	tanked	yes	tanked	drunk
21	f	Burlington, ON	yes	tipsy	buzzed	hammered	drunk	no		
21	f	Collingwood, ON	yes	sleepy	more sleepy	tired	goofy	yes	loud	loose
21	f	Espanola, ON	no				drunk	no		
20	f	Hamilton, ON	yes	smooth	fantastic	drunk	drunkard	no		
20	f	Holland Landing, ON	yes	tingly	tipsy	trashed	trashed	no		
28	f	Kingston, ON	yes	relaxed	fun	drunk	drunk	no		
21	f	Kingston, ON	yes	(never more than one drink)			intoxicated	no		
21	f	Kingston, ON	yes	tingly	irritable	sluggish	loud	no		
21	f	Kingston, ON	yes	happy	tipsy	drunk	stupid	yes	typical guy	annoying
20	f	London, ON	yes	buzzing	wabbling	loss of self control	like me	yes	more control	giddy
21	f	Markham, ON	yes	tipsy	drunk	plastered	trashed	no		

Age	Sex	City	Drink?	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4a	Q4b	Q4ci	Q4cii
21	f	Markham, ON	yes	buzzed	drunk	wasted	wasted	no		
20	f	Milton, ON	yes	buzzed	drunk	hammered	hammered	no		
20	f	Mount Albert, ON	yes	normal	happy	loss of control	not coherent	no		
20	f	Newmarket, ON	yes	same	louder	dizzy	loud	no		
20	f	Newmarket, ON	yes	tipsy	on my way	drunk	trashed	no		
21	f	Orillia, ON	yes	buzzed	tipsy	drunk	drunk	no		
22	f	Ottawa, ON	yes	tipsy	drunk	incapacitated	drunk	no		
21	f	Ottawa, ON	yes	talkative	dizzy	spacey	funny	no		
20	f	Ottawa, ON	yes	buzzed	drunk	shitty	hammered	no		
22	f	Ottawa, ON	yes	tipsy	drunk	hammered	hammered	no		
20	f	Ottawa, ON	yes	happy	loud	loud	obnoxious	yes	peesed	trashed
20	f	Owen Sound, ON	yes	tipsy	drunk	hammered	wasted	no		
28	f	Paris, ON	yes	buzzed	drunk	wasted	drunk	no		
21	f	Pickering, ON	yes	happy	care-free	drunk	thoughtless	yes	horny	loud
21	f	Port Perry, ON	yes	buzzed	silly	drunk	stupid	no		
22	f	Sault Ste. Marie, ON	yes	happy	tired	drunk	drunk	no		
28	f	Scarborough, ON	yes	woozy	drunk	drunk	drunk	no		
21	f	Scarborough, ON	yes	tingly	disillusioned	out of control	polluted	no		
24	f	Simcoe, ON	yes	excited	excited	drowsy	drunk	no		

Age	Sex	City	Drink?	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4a	Q4b	Q4ci	Q4cii
22	f	South Mountain, ON	yes	happy	buzzed	slow	sloppy	no		
20	f	St. Thomas, ON	yes	giddy	dizzy	tipsy	crazy	no		
25	f	Toronto, ON	yes	happy	even better	drunk	annoying	no		
20	f	Toronto, ON	yes	buzzed	tipsy	drunk	drunk	no		
20	f	Toronto, ON	yes	tipsy	drunk	fucked	fucked	no		
20	f	Toronto, ON	yes	buzzed	happy	impulsive	stupid	yes	violent	slut
52	f	Toronto, ON	yes	relaxed	n/a	n/a	stupid	no		
21	f	Toronto, ON	yes	buzzed	really buzzed	dizzy	woah	no		
19	f	Uxbridge, ON	yes	ok	more relaxed	severely inebriated	drunk	no		
20	f	Welland, ON	yes	happy	giggly	ridiculous	fucked off their ass	no		
20	m	Acton, ON	yes	happy	happy	pensive	disgusting	no		
24	m	Acton, ON	yes	buzzed	drunk	hammered	hammered	no		
20	m	Acton, ON	yes	relaxed	really good	superman	playful	yes	stupid	playful
20	m	Brampton, ON	yes	happy	really happy	balance difficulties	you're done	no		
19	m	Kingston, ON	yes	happy	awesome	sick	hilarious	yes	drunk off his ass	wasted
52	m	Kingston, ON	yes	happy	intoxicated	drunk	intoxicated	no		
35	m	Kingston, ON	yes	happy	irresponsible	uninhibited	lush	no		

Age	Sex	City	Drink?	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4a	Q4b	Q4ci	Q4cii
20	m	Mississauga, ON	yes	drunk	pepped	drunk	drunk	no		
20	m	Mississauga, ON	yes	feelin' it	buzzed	pepped	hammered	no		
21	m	Orillia, ON	yes	buzzed	drunk	hammered	hammered	no		
22	m	Orillia, ON	yes	relaxed	funny	confused	non-sensible	no		
25	m	Ottawa, ON	yes	relaxed	drunk	stupor	inebriated	no		
19	m	Pembroke, ON	yes	reserved	outgoing	happy	having fun	yes	obnoxious	giddy
48	m	Picton, ON	yes	aware	garrulous	pepped	blotto	no		
19	m	Scarborough, ON	yes	tipsy	merry	shit-faced	bladdered	no		
19	m	St. Catharines, ON	yes	relaxed	drunker	very drunk	very drunk	no		
19	m	Sydenham, ON	yes	no difference	a little buzzed	really drunk	sloshed	no		
20	m	Toronto, ON	yes	buzzed	festive	smashed	drunk	yes	wasted	smashed
20	m	Toronto, ON	yes	buzzing	intoxicated	wailed	hammered	yes	hammered	plastered
25	m	Toronto, ON	yes	happy	beer goggles are on	I think I'm a God	Just as good as I am	yes	out of control	hot
19	m	Toronto, ON	yes	tipsy	tipsy	smashed	out of it	no		
24	m	Toronto, ON	yes	alive	lively	uninhibited	plastered	no		
19	m	Toronto, ON	yes	buzzed	drunk	fucked up	trashed	no		
20	m	Vankleek Hill, ON	yes	happy	very happy	excellent	drunk	yes	jackass	easy
20	f	Berwick, NS	yes	uninhibited	flirtatious	foggy	drunk	yes	intoxicated	loaded
21	f	Burnaby, BC	yes	buzzed	buzzed	drunk	drunk	no		
20	f	Cape Breton, NS	yes	happy	fun	interesting	obnoxious	yes	pussy	loud

Age	Sex	City	Drink?	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4a	Q4b	Q4ci	Q4cii
23	f	St. Stephen, NB	yes	tipsy	drunk	sloshed	whacked	no		
25	m	Anaheim, CA	no				wasted	no		
21	m	Atmore, AB	yes	happy	uctible	dumbass	jackass	no		
20	m	Ballston Spa, NY	yes	loose	buzzing	sloppy	funny	yes	Fucked up	easy to talk to
22	m	Calgary, AB	yes	energetic	friendly	going with the flow	clumsy	no		

A BUSH PARTY IN THE T-DOT? A STUDY OF INFORMAL LANGUAGE IN URBAN VERSUS RURAL AREAS

Sara Roberts and Navita Sidhu

1. Introduction

Informal language is a unique part of culture; it can vary greatly by age group, region, and other factors. The purpose of our study was to determine the differences between informal language as it is being used in urban and rural areas. We chose to focus our regional comparison on urban versus rural areas because we felt that such areas would have the greatest differences in informal language. Urban areas are demographically diffuse, socially diverse, and open to outside influences on language. Rural areas are secluded, socially tight-knit, and less susceptible to outside influence. As we, the authors of this paper, are from Toronto and Bowmanville, we decided to survey people in these two regions. We had noticed certain features of informal language in each and wanted to investigate further.

2. Toronto and Bowmanville

Toronto is the capital of Ontario. With a population of over four-and-a-half million people, including a large percentage of immigrants, Toronto's cultural make-up is very diverse. Before 1961, the majority of immigrants came from European countries such as the U.K., Italy and Germany. A 1996 census, however, showed that the number of European immigrants has dropped significantly; the majority of immigrants now coming to Toronto are from the Middle East, Asia, South America and the Caribbean (Tisbe, *Toronto and its Immense Cultural Diversity*). Toronto is economically diverse; jobs are highly varied and Torontonians are among the wealthiest and poorest of Canadians.

Bowmanville is a town with a unique architectural image and a deep sense of community (*Bowmanville CAUSE 7*). Located 50 kilometers east of Toronto, most of Bowmanville's inhabitants are employed by Ontario Power Generation (Darlington Nuclear Generating Station), Blue Circle (formerly St. Mary's Cement), Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company, and General Motors. A significant portion of the population is also employed in the agricultural sector. With the population almost tripling since 1990 (in 2002, it measured nearly 30 000), Bowmanville and surrounding area is the fastest growing community east of Toronto and the fourth fastest growing community in Canada. In spite of its rapid growth, Bowmanville is a small town, and for this study, we are considering it a rural area.

3. Methodology

We sent surveys to residents of Toronto and Bowmanville by e-mail and also encouraged respondents to pass on the survey to other potential participants. We received a total of 35 responses and discarded 5 which were not from the areas we were studying. Of the remaining 30, 10 were from Toronto and 20 were from Bowmanville. The survey consisted of 20 questions and 1 bonus question (the survey is reproduced in **Appendix A**).

The first five questions of the survey evaluated participation criteria, asking questions related to age, sex, first language, and whether or not the participant had attended high school in one of the regions being studied. In order to be included in our study, participants needed to speak English as a first language and have attended high school in Toronto or Bowmanville; we felt that high school is a defining period in informal language acquisition.

The remaining questions—the majority of the survey—investigated informal language usage. We used different styles for the questions in the survey, including fill-in-the-blanks, open-ended questions, and multiple choice. We felt that the fill-in-the-blank style of question would be most effective in assessing which words people use to express emotion in certain situations.

4. Results

Many of our results differed greatly from our hypotheses. We had predicted that there would be differences between respondents from Toronto and Bowmanville; in many questions, however, we did not find significant differences. In most cases there were too many variations to suggest any patterns at all. The following are our observations for questions which prompted significantly varied responses.

4.1 Question 7

Do you use any words that you perceive to be specifically or predominantly regional?

We felt that it was important to ask people to list words which they felt were predominantly regional. Of the Toronto respondents, none listed any words which they considered to be predominantly regional. We believe that this is because people from urban areas, as they are a part of the cultural majority, are more likely to believe that everyone speaks the way they do, and consequently they do not feel that their language is unique.

People from Bowmanville, however, were able to think of a number of regional words such as *shwa* (Oshawa), *gnoming* (stealing garden gnomes) and *lick-bo* (LCBO) (see **Appendix B** for the full results). We feel that, being from a rural area, the people of

Bowmanville might consider themselves to be a social minority. They are therefore more forthright in claiming that their language usage is unique compared to other Canadian English speakers.

4.3 Question 8

Are there any everyday words that you use with a non-traditional meaning (for example, using cool to refer to something that is interesting or fascinating rather than cold)?

Question 8 asked for words used in untraditional ways; this question yielded many different results. One result which was common in both Toronto and Bowmanville was the use of the word *hot* to mean "good-looking" or "attractive." Another word use common to both areas was *sick* to refer to something "cool". Other words with untraditional meanings listed by Bowmanville participants were *cool*, *sweet* and *wicked*, all of which were used to describe something good. In both Toronto and Bowmanville, the majority of words listed as being used in untraditional ways were used to express pleasure or approval.

4.4 Question 11

Which term do you use to refer to Toronto?

Question 11 asked what words people used when referring to Toronto. This question was included because we wanted to see if there is any difference in the way people from Toronto and Bowmanville refer to the city. We found that people from Toronto were more likely to use the term *T.O.* rather than the full word. Of the respondents from Bowmanville, 40% referred to Toronto as *Toronto*, but another 40% refer to it as *T.O.* A small percentage of people use *T-Dot* or *The City*. These results suggest that respondents from both areas are as likely or more likely to opt for an alternate word when referring to Toronto than they are to use the word *Toronto* itself.

4.5 Question 12

Do you use any unique terms to refer to your own town?

Question 12 was aimed at respondents from Bowmanville; it asked for terms used when referring to their town. We found that 20% of respondents referred to Bowmanville as *Bonerville*. This pronunciation may or may not be related to past pronunciations: William Humber reports that "long time residents ... often seem to pronounce their hometown's name as Boneville," which, when spoken quickly, may become *Bonerville* (Humber ix). The other responses included *B-ville*, *Boringville*, and—most interestingly—*B-dot*, a term obviously borrowed from *T-Dot*, which, as Question 11 reveals, is slang for *Toronto*. Obviously the way in which Torontonians refer to their city has influenced the language used by Bowmanville residents to refer to their town.

4.6 Question 16

Have you ever used the word *thief* in a sentence such as this: "Hey! Are you trying to *thief* my slippers?" If so, how do you pronounce the word *thief*?

This "bonus" question was included because, growing up in Toronto, Navita noticed that the word *thief* was often pronounced *teef* in an informal setting. This she attributed to Toronto's multiculturalism. We wondered if there would be a difference in the pronunciation and use of this word between urban and rural areas. Our results, however, were the opposite of what we expected. Bowmanville respondents were more likely to pronounce the word as *teef* instead of *thief* and were also more likely to use *thief* as a verb instead of *steal*.

5. Analysis of Results

To our surprise, the results of our survey indicated that, on the whole, there are no significant differences in the patterns of informal language usage between Toronto and Bowmanville areas; in fact, responses from both places seemed highly diverse. To explain the lack of distinct usage patterns in Toronto and Bowmanville, then, several factors must be considered.

The most important factor is the influx of new inhabitants to the Bowmanville area. As Matthew Feaver states, "As urban centres grow at a rapid pace the small towns that surrounded them are being swallowed up and amalgamated" (55). Practically, if not politically, Toronto and Bowmanville have amalgamated; interaction between the two areas may have decreased the level of cultural autonomy once present in Bowmanville. Many newcomers to Bowmanville commute into Toronto to work, thus introducing an urban element into the once isolated community. The increase in population is also a growing concern for Bowmanville natives: many residents feel that, although population growth has many positive effects, it also brings a loss of social identity (*Bowmanville CAUSE 7*).

Compounding the homogenizing effect of the rapid influx of people is the impact of mass media and technology. Since most of our respondents are between the ages of 20 and 29, it is safe to say that many of them have been influenced by the informal language used in movies, television shows, magazines, music lyrics, and many other forms of mass media. The Internet also has a major impact on connecting rural areas to the outside world. All of these forms of interaction contribute to changes in language usage. As most of the respondents to our survey attend university in urban locations, their responses may also have been influenced by their surroundings. Feaver believes that cities act as "melting pots" (57); once people move into a city, they lose their unique speech patterns and adopt the common, mainstream, urban speech patterns. If from a rural area, people might be less likely to use terms that they perceive to be regional due to the fact that some in the new environment will not understand. For example, one of

us, Sara, once used the term *bush party* in conversation with a friend who had never heard that term. To avoid further confusion, she simply stopped using it. The age of our respondents and the outside influences on them may have created unduly biased results; in combination with our small sample size, the narrow age range of our respondents means we must hesitate to overly generalize our results.

6. Problems Encountered

When conducting our study, we found a few problems with the survey itself. For example, Question 16—regarding the usage and pronunciation of *thief*—was problematic. We suggested the non-standard pronunciation that we were looking for by using *tif* instead of *teef*, but some respondents who pronounced the word /tɪf/ wrote down *teef*. This spelling pronunciation would need to be changed were the survey to be repeated.

The way we worded certain questions, particularly the open-ended ones, was also problematic. We wanted to keep the survey nondirective and relevant for respondents from both regions, and therefore we tried, by using open-ended questions, to avoid prompting specific responses. It is possible, however, that we overcompensated and included too many questions of this type. The balance of question types would therefore need to be addressed before future surveys could proceed.

7. Suggestions for Future Research

If we had more time, we would conduct a new survey based on the results from the first. It would be interesting to use our findings to get more specific results, such as whether some of the answers given for Question 7 (for example, *lick-bo* for “LCBO” and *show* for “movie”) really are predominantly regional terms. It would also be interesting to increase our study areas to other urban and rural areas, to see if we would get similar results outside of Toronto and Bowmanville. There are many possibilities for future research.

8. Conclusion

Rather than revealing the difference between rural and urban areas, the results from this study provided information about the evaporation of rural informal language due to the influence of urbanization. For many questions in our study, the usage of informal language by Bowmanville residents is indistinguishable from that of Toronto residents; Bowmanville's proximity to Toronto—and its residents' interaction with urban culture—means that Bowmanville's authentic rural traits are being lost. Our initial hypothesis that urban and rural language would differ significantly may still be valid, but results indicate that Toronto and Bowmanville can no longer serve as examples of such a phenomenon. Perhaps Bowmanville can no longer be classified as a rural

Appendix A
Survey Questions

Background

1. Are you: Male _____ Female _____
2. How old are you? 15-19 _____ 20-29 _____ 30-39 _____
 40-49 _____ 50-59 _____ 60+ _____
3. Where do you live and how long have you lived there? (*Please be specific: if you live in the G.T.A., do not say Toronto.*) _____
4. Is English your first language? _____
If not, what is? _____
5. Where did you attend high school? _____

Survey

Which word(s) do you use when speaking to express the following emotions?

1. happiness:
"I got an A+ on my exam!! I am so _____!"
2. anger:
"When I got to my car at the end of the day, there was a huge scratch on the side. I couldn't believe it. I was so _____."
3. surprise/shock:
"I was so mad that everybody forgot my birthday! But then when I got home and opened the door, the lights flicked on and there stood all my family and friends. My jaw hit the floor and I said _____!"
4. upset/hurt:
"I was laid off from work today. I feel so _____."
5. What would you say to describe events or situations that are good or interesting?

6. What would you say to describe events or situations that are bad or dull?

Appendix B

Survey Results

Background:

Gender	Toronto	Bowmanville	Age	Toronto	Bowmanville
Males	4	7	15-19	1	2
Females	6	13	20-29	6	18
Total	10	20	30+	3	0

Questions:

1. Words for *happiness*:

Toronto		Bowmanville	
smart	20% (2)	happy	30% (6)
happy	20% (2)	thrilled	15% (3)
fuckin' happy	10% (1)	pumped	15% (3)
getting shit-faced	10% (1)	excited	15% (3)
relieved	10% (1)	stoked	10% (2)
excited	10% (1)	amazed	5% (1)
jubilant	10% (1)	pleased	5% (1)
great	10% (1)	ecstatic	5% (1)

2. Words for *anger*:

Toronto		Bowmanville	
pissed off	40% (4)	pissed off	45% (9)
pissed	20% (2)	pissed	30% (6)
mad	20% (2)	furious	5% (1)
fuckin' pissed	20% (2)	angry	5% (1)
		angered	5% (1)
		unimpressed	5% (1)
		cheesed	5% (1)

3. Words for *surprise/shock*:

Toronto		Bowmanville	
oh my god	40% (4)	oh my god	30% (6)
holy fuck	20% (2)	wow	20% (4)
fuck	10% (1)	oh my gracious	5% (1)
what a surprise	10% (1)	oh my gosh	5% (1)
god damn	10% (1)	oh my	5% (1)
oh my	10% (1)	holy crap	5% (1)
		holy cow	5% (1)
		awesome	5% (1)
		cool	5% (1)
		sonofabitch	5% (1)
		about time	5% (1)
		aww	5% (1)

4. Words for *upset/hurt*:

Toronto		Bowmanville	
crappy	20% (2)	down	25% (5)
angry	10% (1)	useless	15% (3)
down	10% (1)	bumped	10% (2)
depressed	10% (1)	disappointed	10% (2)
used	10% (1)	depressed	10% (2)
betrayed	10% (1)	upset	10% (2)
shitty	10% (1)	shitty	5% (1)
homicidal	10% (1)	crappy	5% (1)
dejected	10% (1)	terrible	5% (1)
		sad	5% (1)

5. Words used to describe events as *good* or *interesting*:

Toronto		Bowmanville	
interesting	22% (4)	awesome	25% (8)
nice	11% (2)	cool	22% (7)
sweet	11% (2)	great	9% (3)
exciting	5% (1)	wicked	6% (2)
this rocks	5% (1)	a blast	3% (1)
cool	5% (1)	amazing	3% (1)
so much fun	5% (1)	fun	3% (1)
good	5% (1)	whack	3% (1)
great	5% (1)	fascinating	3% (1)
that's gold	5% (1)	wonderful	3% (1)
adding -tastic to nouns	5% (1)	sazzy	3% (1)
phenomenal	5% (1)	extraordinary	3% (1)
amazing	5% (1)	rocking	3% (1)
		different	3% (1)
		wild	3% (1)
		interesting	3% (1)

6. Words used to describe events/situations that are *bad* or *dull*:

Toronto		Bowmanville	
boring	32% (5)	suck	35% (11)
I'm outta here	13% (2)	boring	26% (8)
dry	6% (1)	waste	9% (3)
stupid	6% (1)	blows	3% (1)
waste of time	6% (1)	disappointing	3% (1)
annoying	6% (1)	stupid	3% (1)
I want to gouge my eyes out	6% (1)	dumb	3% (1)
shitty	6% (1)	wasn't the best	3% (1)
fuckin' sucks	6% (1)	craptacular	3% (1)
sucks	6% (1)	shite	3% (1)
really bites	6% (1)	crappy	3% (1)

7. Words perceived as predominantly regional (no responses from Toronto):

Bowmanville	
eh	3
'shwa (for Oshawa)	2
weenie ("instead of using a mean name")	1
hoochie ("dumb girl who wears absolutely nothing")	1
gnoming ("stealing garden gnomes is total hick Bowmanville slang")	1
show (for movie)	1
lick-bo (for LCBO)	1
just giv'er, let's do it up (for let's party)	1
boonies	1
hick town	1
no response	11

8. Everyday words used with a non-traditional meaning:

Toronto		Bowmanville	
<i>hot</i> (good-looking)	27% (3)	<i>cool</i>	30% (11)
<i>she</i> (referring to objects)	9% (1)	<i>wicked</i>	14% (5)
<i>shit</i> (cool)	9% (1)	<i>sweet</i> (for good, not flavourful)	14% (5)
<i>dry</i> (boring)	9% (1)	<i>sucks</i>	8% (3)
<i>up</i> (happy)	9% (1)	<i>hot</i> (good-looking)	5% (2)
<i>down</i> (sad)	9% (1)	<i>crappy/shitty</i> (bad)	5% (2)
<i>beautiful</i> (good)	9% (1)	<i>dude</i> (good)	3% (1)
<i>sick</i> (cool)	9% (1)	<i>blows</i> (sucks)	3% (1)
<i>rock on</i> (something good)	9% (1)	<i>whack</i> (great)	3% (1)
		<i>top</i> (good)	3% (1)
		<i>on the down-low</i> (secret, not for public knowledge)	3% (1)
		<i>insane</i> (great)	3% (1)
		<i>crazy</i>	3% (1)
		<i>nasty</i> (gross)	3% (1)
		<i>hammered</i> (drunk)	3% (1)
		<i>sick</i> (cool)	3% (1)

9. What do you call the central part of town?

Toronto		Bowmanville	
downtown	90% (9)	downtown	100% (20)
main drag	10% (1)		

10. Have you ever used the term bush party?

Toronto		Bowmanville	
yes	70% (7)	yes	95% (19)
no	30% (3)	no	5% (1)

What is the meaning?

"It's a party that takes place in a rural area, usually hidden among lots of trees/fields away from the town so that the police don't catch the under-agers."

11. Which term do you use to refer to Toronto?

Toronto		Bowmanville	
T.O.	50%	T.O.	40%
Toronto	20%	Toronto	40%
T-Dot	20%	T-Dot	12%
Other	10%	Other	8%

12. Do you use any other terms to refer to your town? (Bowmanville residents only)

Bowmanville	
B-ville	50% (10)
Bonerville	20% (4)
B-dot	10% (2)
Boring-ville	5% (1)
no response	15% (3)

13. Have you ever used *dry* to refer to something other than its traditional meaning?

Toronto		Bowmanville	
yes	70% (7)	yes	55% (11)
no	30% (3)	no	45% (9)

14. What term do you use to refer to your group of friends?

Toronto		Bowmanville	
friends	23% (3)	buddies	30% (6)
the gang	23% (3)	the group	25% (5)
the group	15% (2)	my friends	15% (3)
buddies	15% (2)	the boys	10% (2)
pals	8% (1)	the girls	5% (1)
my girls	8% (1)	crowd	5% (1)
the boys	8% (1)	clan	5% (1)
		the gang	5% (1)

15. Any other informal words that are significant?

Toronto	Bowmanville
whatever	she's bitchin' (cool)
like	crap
	snazzy
	groovy
	nick (steal)
	nerd
	boo ya, boo ya grandma (satisfaction)
	sweet deal

16a. Have you used the word 'thief' in a sentence such as: "Are you trying to thief my slippers?"

Toronto		Bowmanville	
no	90% (9)	no	75% (15)
yes	10% (1)	yes	25% (5)

16b. How do you pronounce the word *thief*?

Toronto		Bowmanville	
thief	100% (10)	tif, teef	60% (12)
		<i>thief</i>	20% (4)
		other (thievin')	25% (4)

Bibliography

- Chambers, J. K. "English in Canada." Toronto: Department of Linguistics, University of Toronto, 2001.
- Feaver, Matthew. "The Disappearing Rural Variant: A Study of a Dying Piece of Canadian English." *Strathy Undergraduate Working Papers on Canadian English, Vol. 2*. Eds. E. Gold and J. McAlpine. Kingston: Queen's University, 2001. 55-58.
- Humber, William. *Bowmanville: A Small Town at the Edge*. Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 1997.
- Municipality of Clarington*. <<http://www.municipality.clarington.on.ca/html/prof-loc.html>>.
- Ontario Association of Architects. *Bowmanville CAUSE: Community Assist for an Urban Study Effort*. 1991.
- Oxford English Dictionary*. 4th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Toronto and its Immense Cultural Diversity*. Ed. Jamie Tisbe.
<http://citd.scar.utoronto.ca/VPAB04/projects/Jamie_Tisbe/demographics.html>.
- WorldWeb Travel Guide*. World Web Technologies Inc.
<<http://www.toronto.worldweb.com/TravelEssentials/Demographics/8-121.html>>.

BUNNYWHAT? A LOOK AT SASKATCHEWANISMS

Darla Kalenchuk and Joseph Manthuruthil

1. *Introduction*

There may only be one million people in Saskatchewan—a far cry from Ontario’s nearly eleven-and-a-half million—but the less populous province is not less linguistically distinctive: Saskatchewanisms, or words unknown outside the province or with a special meaning within the province, are plentiful. These differences in words, unfortunately, sometimes cause confusion for visitors from Ontario to Saskatchewan; they can also cause embarrassment for visitors from Saskatchewan to Ontario. To help bridge the gap between these two provinces, we will describe some of the words which we suspect to be Saskatchewan-specific, and then conduct a survey to compare rates of word recognition in Saskatchewan and Ontario.

2. *Method*

We predicted that there are some words which would be recognized by people from Saskatchewan but not by those from Ontario. Using personal observation (Darla Kalenchuk is from Saskatchewan, Joseph Manthuruthil from Ontario) and linguistic readings (see bibliography), we created a list of 29 words which formed the basis of an e-mail survey. This survey was sent out to acquaintances in Saskatchewan and Ontario; recipients were asked whether or not they knew each word and, if they did, what they thought it meant (the survey is reproduced in **Appendix A**). Respondents were also asked to pass the survey on to others eligible to respond. We accepted responses from Saskatchewan and Ontario residents who had lived in their respective provinces for at least ten years. However, any current Ontarian who had previously lived more than ten years in Saskatchewan was considered to be from Saskatchewan; we felt that anyone who had lived in Saskatchewan would have had a chance to learn these terms and would not be likely to forget them.

A total of 91 responses were received and 4 were discarded. Of the 87 responses used, 61 were from Saskatchewan and 26 from Ontario. Our respondents varied in age from 15 to 70; of the 61 Saskatchewan respondents, 53 had resided in Saskatchewan for their entire lives.

By having a large number of respondents, we hoped to reduce the effect of variables besides region, such as gender, rurality, education, and socio-economic status. We realize, however, that because this survey was conducted over the Internet, our sample may not be representative of the entire population, but rather may represent those who use the Internet. Our sample was also not random, as our distribution of surveys depended on personal contacts. This factor may have influenced our results.

3. Saskatchewan-Specific Words

With the aid of *The Canadian Oxford Dictionary* and the *Gage Canadian Dictionary*, each survey word was assigned a "Saskatchewan definition." These working definitions were used as a guideline for determining whether or not the respondent was familiar with the words in the survey.

The following are the definitions of 19 of the 29 words used in the survey, along with some background information about these words. (Information in parenthesis was considered optional; respondents were not required to reproduce it in order to prove their understanding of the term.) The words we've chosen to define here are those which showed a much higher rate of recognition in Saskatchewan than in Ontario. The other 10 words—those which were recognized in both provinces, and those which were recognized predominantly in Ontario—are explained below in *Non-Saskatchewan-Specific Words*.

•**Baba and Gido:** grandmother and grandfather (among people of Eastern European descent).

The Canadian Oxford Dictionary provides several meanings of *baba*, including a small cake, an old woman of Eastern European descent, a father among people of Indian descent, and a spiritual leader in India. Among our respondents, however, the only definition given was that of grandmother. *Gido* was not found in the Canadian dictionaries we checked but occurred frequently on web-sites in reference to grandfather, as did its alternate spelling, *Dido*. Quite likely, the 78.7% of Saskatchewan respondents who know *Baba* and *Gido* have been influenced by vestiges of Eastern European culture. Thousands and thousands of Eastern Europeans, particularly Ukrainians, arrived in Saskatchewan at the turn of the twentieth century.

•**Bismarck:** a jam or cream filled donut (with sugar coating or chocolate glaze).

Aside from being the capital of North Dakota, a nineteenth-century political leader, a battleship, and the name of a sea off the Pacific Ocean northeast of New Guinea, a bismarck is a type of donut. *The Canadian Oxford Dictionary* states that, in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and the Midwest United States, a bismarck is a sugar-coated, jam-filled donut, and that, in Manitoba, it is a cream-filled donut, often with a chocolate glaze.

•**Bluff:** a grove or clump of trees.

A bluff is commonly defined—if not as a false pretense of strength—as a steep cliff or bank. Many respondents gave this definition, including those from Saskatchewan. While a cliff is the more widely used definition, *bluff* is also used in reference to a clump of trees in Saskatchewan. This meaning is slipping south into North Dakota and into French as *le bluff*.

•**Borscht:** soup (originally Eastern European soup with various ingredients including beets and cabbage, served with sour cream).

That borscht is well known in Saskatchewan among people of all cultures is more proof of the cultural influence of the early immigrants and homesteaders. The word is also spelled *borshch*, and can also be heard in the phrase “cheap like borscht,” which means extremely cheap.

•**Bunnyhug:** a hooded sweatshirt.

The “Bunny Hug” was a dance—supposedly an imitation of sexual relations between male and female rabbits—which originated in San Francisco in the early twentieth century. The origin of the *bunnyhug* sweatshirt is unknown but one might speculate: *bunny*, in informal usage, refers to a rabbit; it is also used derogatorily to describe a young, attractive woman, especially one who is sexually available (for example, a beach bunny or a ski bunny). The warmth of a hug may parallel the warmth of the sweatshirt. One respondent also suggested that a bunnyhug is a softer version of a bear hug. Our Saskatchewan sample’s high rate of knowledge of this term (98.4%) is reflected in online usage: Saskatchewan organizations that sell hooded sweatshirts on the Internet consistently refer to the product as a *bunnyhug*.

•**Correction Line:** a jog in the road where a correction has been made for the discrepancy between straight surveying lines and converging meridians.

Straight surveying lines and the *grid roads* (see below) constructed over them reflect the geography and settlement history of the prairies. Due to the curvature of the earth, grid roads and meridians or lines of longitude were not perfectly parallel. Correction lines, as the name implies, correct for the northward convergence of meridians. Correction lines are a set of parallel lines of latitude twenty-four miles apart. Where a correction line intersects a north-south grid road, there is a jog in the road. As noted above, the jog in the road is also commonly known as a correction line.

•**Gitch, Gotch, Gonch:** a set of underwear or underpants.

Each of these words refers to the same thing. Likely the origin is once again Eastern European. Compare the Hungarian *gatyá* and the Serbo-Croat *gaće*.

•**Grain Elevator:** a building equipped to unload grain from trucks, store it, and load it into rail cars.

The appearance of these structures has changed over the years. Some remain which are tall, box-shaped wooden constructions with pitched roofs. More recently built grain elevators are tall, concrete cylindrical silos. Both are equipped to convey grain to bins where it is sorted, stored, and cleaned before shipment. These prairie icons often display the town's name.

•**Grid Road:** a road forming part of a provincial grid or a gravel road (with north-south roads one mile apart and east-west roads two miles apart).

Throughout Canada, a grid road is a road following the surveyed divisions of a township or municipality. In Saskatchewan, these roads are part of a grid system constructed in the 1950s. They are normally made of gravel.

•**Half-Ton:** a pickup truck (with a carrying capacity of approximately half a ton).

This is a North American term which is likely distinct to rural life. Some specific models are the Ford F-150 and the Chevrolet Silverado.

•**Nuisance Grounds:** a garbage dump.

Nuisance grounds is a prairie euphemism, but only 47.5% of our Saskatchewan respondents recognized this term. It is possible that this term is more commonly used by older generations, who tend to be fond of less vulgar words.

•**Saskatoon Berry:** a purple berry (of the saskatoon berry shrub).

The saskatoon (*Amelanchier alnifolia*) is a tall shrub in Western North America which bears a sweet purple berry often used in baking and preserves. Its Cree name, *misa:skwato:min*, comes from *misa:skwat* (saskatoon) and *min* (berry). The Cree made arrow shafts by cutting saskatoon branches. In W.O. Mitchell's *Jake and the Kid*, set in a small Saskatchewan town in the 1940s, the berries are used in pie; reference is also made to them in the phrase "slicker than peeled saskatoons."

•**Slough:** a small marshy pool or lake produced by rain or melting snow flooding a depression in the soil (pronounced /slu/).

Though commonly used to refer to a swamp, in British Columbia a *slough* also refers to a shallow inlet or estuary lined with grass. The sloughs of Saskatchewan are common in rural areas and are sometimes used as outdoor skating rinks in winter.

•**Stubble**: the cut stalks (of cereal plants) left sticking up after harvest.

Many people think of stubble as a short bristly growth of unshaven hair, especially on a man's face; this meaning likely comes from the resemblance to a harvested field.

•**Stubble-Jumper**: a prairie farmer or someone from the prairies.

It is quite likely that this word is image-based. Several Saskatchewan respondents made note of a second meaning for *stubble-jumper*: as a *jumper* is another name for a deer, a deer on the prairies might share this nickname with the farmers.

•**Sundogs**: mock suns or bright spots (on a solar halo) occurring in pairs on either side of the sun (caused by the reflection of light by atmospheric ice crystals).

The technical name for this phenomenon, which occurs in very cold air, is *parhelia*. *Sundog* is an American term which may have arrived in Saskatchewan by way of the Red River carts which transported goods to and from Minnesota for the Northwest Company in Manitoba.

•**Vi-Co**: chocolate milk.

Vi-Co was first introduced in the mid-1950s to western Canada in a 6.5-ounce can. It was relatively expensive, costing thirty-five cents at a time when a 9-ounce Coke cost only twelve cents. *Vi-Co* was initially an American brand name but Co-op Dairies, a Canadian concern, bought the name and the product name has stuck to this day. There is also a powdered chocolate malt drink mix by the name of *Vico* which is sold by a company in the state of New York.

4. Results for Saskatchewan-Specific Words

Participants who were from Saskatchewan recognized 19 of the 29 words in the survey to a significantly greater degree than participants from Ontario.

The difference between word recognition among Saskatchewan and Ontario respondents was most noticeable in the responses to *bunnyhug*, *Vi-Co*, *slough*, *grid road*, *bismarck*, *gotch*, *gitch*, *Saskatoon berry* and *stubble*. All of these words revealed a greater than 70% divide between Saskatchewan and Ontario respondents. *Bunnyhug* and *Vi-Co* were the most extreme examples, with none of the respondents from Ontario understanding these words and nearly 100% of the respondents from Saskatchewan understanding them. These words are clearly shibboleths of Saskatchewan speech.

Though there was a noticeable difference in the understanding of the words *correction line*, *stubble-jumper*, *bluff*, *nuisance grounds* and *gonch*, the level of understanding even in Saskatchewan was relatively low (less than 50%). Factors such as age, rurality, personal experience, education, and culture might all possibly influence whether or not people in Saskatchewan are familiar with these terms. Two more terms—*grain elevator* and *half-ton*—also showed an appreciable difference, but these were words known to a substantial number of Ontario respondents (65.4%) as well. **Figure 1** shows the levels of recognition for Saskatchewan-specific words in Saskatchewan and Ontario.

Figure 1. Understanding of “Saskatchewan words” in Saskatchewan and Ontario

	Saskatchewan	Ontario
baba & gido	78.7	30.8
bismarck	78.7	7.7
bluff	39.3	0
borscht	90.2	42.3
bunnyhug	98.4	0
correction line	37.7	3.8
gitch	90.2	19.2
gonch	45.9	7.7
gotch	90.2	19.2
grain elevator	100	65.4
grid road	96.7	23.1
half-ton	96.7	65.4
nuisance grounds	47.5	7.7
saskatoon berry	96.7	19.2
slough	90.2	15.4
stubble	85.2	23.1
stubble-jumper	24.6	3.8
sundog	63.9	26.9
Vi-Co	93.4	0

5. Non-Saskatchewan-Specific Words

Of the 29 words in the survey, 10 were either recognized in equal numbers by those from Ontario and Saskatchewan or else were more familiar to those from Ontario. The following are definitions of these words.

- **Auction Mart:** place where livestock are auctioned off.

- Balaclava**: a tight knitted garment covering the whole head (and neck) with holes for the eyes and mouth.
- Duckboots**: a low cut rainboot (with a molded rubber upper and laces at the tongue).
- Homebrew**: a beer or other alcoholic drink brewed at home.
- Moccasin**: a leather slipper (originally worn by North American Aboriginal peoples).
- Moonshine**: liquor made or smuggled unlawfully.
- Perogy**: a dough dumpling stuffed with potato, cheese, etc. (boiled and then optionally fried, and usually served with onions and sour cream).
- Snowbird**: a person who moves to a southern state for the winter.
- Snowfence**: a fence erected in the winter as a barrier to drifting snow.

6. Results for Non-Saskatchewan-Specific Words

Many words were recognized by nearly equal portions of the survey groups in the two provinces. Thus, although used in Saskatchewan, these words are not distinct to Saskatchewan; in fact, two words in our survey—*balaclava* and *snowbird*—are more well known in Ontario than Saskatchewan. One anomalous word in our survey list is *auction mart*. Although no respondents from Ontario recognized this rural term, it did not register strongly enough with Saskatchewan respondents to be classified as a distinctive part of a Saskatchewan dialect. **Figure 2** shows the levels of recognition for non-Saskatchewan-specific words in Saskatchewan and Ontario.

Figure 2. Understanding of “non-Saskatchewan words” in Saskatchewan and Ontario

	Saskatchewan	Ontario
auction mart	32.8	0
balaclava	39.3	80.8
duckboots	78.7	73.1
homebrew	93.4	92.3
moccasin	100	96.2
moonshine	31.1	38.5
perogy	96.7	84.6
prairie dog	90.2	76.9
snowbird	29.5	57.7
snowfence	75.4	73.1

7. Conclusion

Without a doubt, words distinct to Saskatchewan do exist. If you are ever in Saskatchewan, don't forget that a *bunnyhug* is a hooded sweatshirt, *gitch* are underwear and *Vi-Co* is chocolate milk.

Appendix A Linguistic Survey

We, Darla Kalenchuk and Joe Manthuruthil, are conducting a linguistic survey for the purpose of writing an undergraduate paper. Please answer the following questions truthfully. **There is no right or wrong answer.** Work quickly and go with your first answer. Thank you for your participation in our research. **Please return your answered survey before November 10th, 2002.**

1. Do you know what a grid road is? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

2. Do you know what a slough is? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

3. Do you know what a perogy is? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

4. Do you know what Vi-Co is? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

5. Do you know what a bunnyhug is? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

6. Do you know what moccasins are? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

7. Do you know who the titles *Baba* and *Gido* refer to? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, who?

8. Do you know what a correction line is? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

9. Do you know what an auction mart is? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

10. Do you know what moonshine is? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

11. Do you know what homebrew is? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

12. Do you know what a balaclava is? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

13. Do you know what duckboots are? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what are they?

14. Do you know what borscht is? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

15. Do you know what a half-ton is? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

16. Do you know what a bismarck is? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

17. Do you know what a snowfence is? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

18. Do you know what a sundog is? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

19. Do you know what the nuisance grounds is? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

20. Do you know what a stubble-jumper is? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

21. Do you know what a gotch, gitch or gonch is? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, which one(s) do you know?

What are they? _____

22. Do you know what a Saskatoon berry is? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

23. Do you know what stubble is (other than male facial hair)? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

24. Do you know what a bluff is (other than a lie)? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

25. Do you know what a snowbird is (other than an airplane)? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

26. Do you know what a grain elevator is? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

27. Do you know what a prairie dog is? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, what is it?

28. Are you male or female?

29. What age are you?

29. Where do you currently live?

30. How many years in total have you lived in that province throughout your life?

32. Have you ever lived in another province? Yes _____ No _____
If yes, which one(s)?

How many years in total have you lived in that province throughout your life?

33. Would you like to be contacted with the results of this survey?
Yes _____ No _____

Thank you very much for taking the time to participate in this survey. Please forward a copy of this survey to as many people in Saskatchewan or Ontario as you can.

Bibliography

Bentan Corporation. "Vico Chocolate Malted Drink." 1999.
<<http://members.aol.com/coffeemix/prod06.htm>>.

Best, Dianne. "A Brief History of Sternwheelers on the Red River (North)." 2002.
<<http://www.geocities.com/diannebest/OldFiles/Annie/Riverboats1.htm>>.

Bray, Louise. "Magasin Alouette." *Collège Mathieu*.
<http://www.collegemathieu.sk.ca/magasin_alouette/magasin_alouette.htm>.

The Canadian Oxford Dictionary. Toronto: Oxford University Press Canada, 1998.

Cooke, Jeremy. "Old Country Buffet." *The Digital Collegion*. 2001.
<<http://www.collegian.psu.edu/archive/2001/12/12-10-01cm/12-10-01cm-column-03.asp>>.

de Wolf et al. *Gage Canadian Dictionary*. Vancouver: Gage Educational Publishing, 1997.

Denis, Wilfred. "Language in Saskatchewan: Anglo-hegemony Maintained." *Language in Canada*. Ed. John Edwards. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1998. 424-411.

McConnell, R.E. *Our Own Voice: Canadian English and How It Is Studied*. Toronto:

Mitchell, W.O. *Jake and the Kid*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1972.

Saskatchewan Council for Archives and Archivists. "Saskatoon." *Main Street, Saskatchewan*. 2002. <<http://scaa.usask.ca/gallery/mainstreet/saskatoon.html>>.

Schmidt, Jaclyn. "Baba and Gido."
<<http://www.geocities.com/mellojac/Friends/babagido.html>>.

Smoliak, Laura. "John Baran." 2002. *Your True Hero*.
<http://www.yourtruehero.org/content/hero/view_hero.asp?3700>.

Statistics Canada. "Population." *Canadian Statistics*. 2002.
<<http://www.statcan.ca/start.html>>.

Watson, Sonny. "The Bunny Hug!" *StreetSwing.com*. 2001.
<<http://www.streetswing.com/histmain/z3bunny.htm>>.

CANADIAN MUSICAL ARTISTS IN AN AMERICAN DREAM A STUDY IN CANADIAN LINGUISTICS

Krista Clancy and Johnna Encarnacion

1. Introduction

Although Canadians are proud when one of our own is recognized south of the border, success within the American market often results in a loss of Canadian identity, rendering icons less Canadian to fans at home. We decided to examine the words used by Canadian musical artists to see if there is a loss of Canadian dialectical features as artists become more involved in the American music scene. To accomplish this task, we chose four Canadian artists or groups, each at a different stage of acceptance in the United States, and analyzed one or two songs each for Canadian content. We have hypothesized that the number of Canadian dialectical features in Canadian artists' music is inversely related to their success in United States. By examining lyrics for evidence of Canadian spelling, vocabulary, syntax and semantics—as well as references to Canadian places and historical facts—we hope to identify a relationship between Canadian content and American success.

2. Category One: *The Arrogant Worms*

We have chosen *The Arrogant Worms* as an example of category one musicians. Category one musicians were born and brought up in Canada. They write and record their music in Canada. They have not broken into the American market in any way.

The Arrogant Worms started out on campus radio in Kingston, Ontario, and from there have branched out into other parts of the country. They are now performing shows in various cities across Canada, are featured regularly on CBC Radio, and recently performed on Parliament Hill as part of the Canada Day celebration. With seven albums, they are an example of a successful category one group.

We decided to look at two songs from their debut album, *Arrogant Worms*. The first song is entitled "The Last Saskatchewan Pirate." In this song we encounter many Canadian references, including Regina, the Saskatchewan River, Moosejaw, Prince Albert, Saskatoon, Alberta and Athabasca. There are also mentions of the GST, the Mounties, the Métis and Louis Riel.

Well **Mountie** Bob he chased me, he was always at my throat
He had to follow on the shoreline, 'cause he didn't own a boat
But cut-backs were comin' so the **Mountie** lost his job
So now he's sailing with me and we call him Salty Bob
A swingin' sword, a skull-and-bones, and pleasant company
I never pay my income tax, ah, screw the **GST**—screw it!
Prince Albert down to **Saskatoon**, I'm the terror of the sea
If you wanna reach the co-op, boy, you gotta get by me

'Cause it's a heave-ho, hi-ho coming down the plains
Stealing wheat and barley and all the other grains
It's a ho-hey, hi-hey farmers bar your doors
When you see the Jolly Roger on **Regina's** mighty shores
Arr!

Arrrr, **Métis!** Get it? **Métis!**
Oh hey, hey, that's **Riely** funny, you know like **Louis Riel?**

The next song we looked at is called "The Canadian Crisis Song." This song talks about going to the U.S. to shop because taxes in Canada are too high. Again, many references are made to Canadian culture, including the GST, Bob Rae, Loyalists and the Skydome.

Although it is **Canada** that I call home
I don't cheer for the Yankees when I'm in the **Dome**
I didn't swell with pride during the Desert Storm
It's just that I don't want to pay the tax
It's just that he's too cheap to pay the tax

Yes, it's just like this, he's a **Loyalist**
I only shop at malls that fly our flag
And he'll tell **Bob Rae** that he just won't pay
Unless I need my unemployment benefits
Get a job, get a job, get a job

Now everybody's doing the same thing as me
They're doing what they can to beat the **GST**

As we predicted, The Arrogant Worms are a very Canadian band, with many references to Canadian places, culture, and history in their music. From these two songs we see that this group is very vocal about being Canadian and, as of yet, they have not omitted references to Canada from their music in order to become more popular across the border in the United States.

3. Category Two: The Tragically Hip

We felt that The Tragically Hip were an example of category two musicians. Category two musicians were born and brought up in Canada. They write and produce their music in Canada. They have noteworthy success with Canadian fans, but have minimal exposure in the United States (even if they have been signed by a record company in the United States).

Originally from Kingston, Ontario, The Tragically Hip started playing together in 1983. They toured the southern Ontario club scene before coming to the attention of MCA (Music Corporation of America) Records' president Bruce Dickinson, who was impressed enough with their performance at the Horseshoe Tavern to sign them to a long-term record deal. Their 1989 album *Up to Here* heralded their first breakthrough, with two hit singles (*Blow at High Dough* and *New Orleans is Sinking*) firmly establishing them on the Canadian music scene. Despite releasing a live album recorded in Detroit in 1996, however, the American market remains an elusive dream.

Upon viewing The Tragically Hip's lyrics, one finds many references to Canada. This is an example from their *Road Apples* album. The song is entitled "The Luxury."

Prisonyard stares and **fleur-de-lis** tattoos
Cannibals are saving all their bones for soup
Eating with my fingers and sucking hulls of ships
My parasite don't deserve no better than this

The Golden Rim Motor Inn
Soft water and a **colour** TV
So consumed with the shape I'm in
Can't enjoy the luxury

We also decided to examine a more recent album (*Music @ Work*) to see if the band's Canadian content remains consistent, and were pleased to see that they continue to be proudly Canadian. This song is entitled "The Bear."

I think it was **Algonquin Park**
It was so cold and winter-dark
A promised hibernation high
Took me across the great black plate of ice

Now I'm the **Islander**.
I found a place to call my den
And dreamt of the Ferry and
The Enormous Man

As we predicted, The Tragically Hip remains very evidently a Canadian band. It is apparent that their Canadian citizenship is a source of pride for the group. Although not well known in the United States, The Tragically Hip do not seem to be tailoring their music for American acceptance.

4. *Category Three: Avril Lavigne*

Next, we have chosen Avril Lavigne as a category three representative, as she has written her own music but has been produced in the United States.

Avril was born and brought up in Napanee, Ontario. She started off singing in church, local festivals and fairs. She was spotted at the age of sixteen by Antonio Reid in New York, who signed her with Arista records. Avril then decided to relocate to Los Angeles. Avril's American career has been short: to date, she has only released one album.

The following example shows that Avril is indeed fascinated by the American dream. This is from her album *Let Go*; the song is entitled *Sk8er Boi*.

Five years from now, she sits at home
Feeding the baby, she's all alone
She turns on TV, guess who she sees
Skater boy rockin' up MTV

MTV is an American music channel: while Avril states that she writes her own music, it is evident upon viewing her lyrics that the references in her music are solely American. There is no evidence of influences on her music other than those of the United States.

5. *Category Four: Shania Twain*

Finally, we have chosen Shania Twain to represent our last category. Category four musicians are artists who were born and grew up in Canada. They have extremely successful careers in both Canada and the United States. Their music is often collaboratively written, and their albums are produced in the United States.

Shania is from Timmins, Ontario. Shania's mother noticed her singing talent first and took Shania everywhere she could be booked: local senior citizen homes, clubs, bars, and radio and television stations. Shania remembers being woken up in the middle of the night and taken to bars to sing when she was 8 years old. She became popular in 1993 when her first album, *Shania Twain*, containing only one of her original songs, was produced in Nashville. She has released four albums in total, all of which were produced in the U.S. with almost all songs having been written with the help of her husband or, in the case of her first album, someone else. Shania no longer lives in Canada; she and her family moved first to the United States and then to Switzerland.

We decided to look at two songs from Shania's second album, "The Woman in Me." The first song we looked at, entitled "Home Ain't Where His Heart Is Anymore," makes reference to a city in the U.S. rather than in Canada.

We built a love so strong it couldn't break
There was not a road we were afraid to take
And we'd kiss all the way from Arkansas to Rome
'Cause in each other's arms we were home sweet home

In the second song, "Whose Bed Have Your Boots Been Under?," one of the women's names used is Beverly Hill, a reference to the prominent American location Beverly Hills.

I heard you've been sneakin'
Around with Jill
And what about that weekend
With Beverly Hill
And I've seen you walkin'
With long legs Louise
And you weren't just talkin'
Last night with Denise

As we predicted, Shania's music reveals an American influence. Her songs confirm our belief that, for a category four artist, any place names referenced would likely be American so as to make the American public feel more comfortable and consequently more likely to relate to the songs.

6. Conclusion

We feel that Canadian artists who make it big in the U.S. must do so by removing Canadian references from their music, thus making themselves more accessible to the American mainstream. By making it less likely that references will not be understood by the American consumer, Canadian artists are more likely to be treated as Americans and therefore to be accepted by America. Eliminating Canadian references seems to be related to achieving familiarity and popularity in the American market. Evidence of this relationship can be found in the music of Avril Lavigne and Shania Twain: geographically specific references, when made, are American.

We were dismayed at our results and realized that our study did not require the four categories we had suggested. Instead, it appears that only two categories are significant: artists who have been produced in the United States and those who have not. It appears that the fear of many Canadians is being realized: in order to achieve a greater level of success, our talent must not only leave our country but leave our heritage behind as well.

APPENDIX A

"The Last Saskatchewan Pirate," from *Arrogant Worms*, by The Arrogant Worms

I used to be a farmer and I made a living fine
I had a little stretch of land along the **CP** line
But times went by and though I tried the money wasn't there
And bankers came and took my land and told me fair is fair
I looked for every kind of job, the answer always no
Hire you now? they'd always laugh, we just let twenty go
The government, they promised me a measly little sum
But I've got too much pride to end up just another bum
Than I thought who gives a damn if all the jobs are gone
I'm gonna be a pirate on the **River Saskatchewan**

Chorus:

'Cause it's a heave-ho, hi-ho coming down the plains
Stealing wheat and barley and all the other grains
It's a ho-hey, hi-hey farmers bar your doors
When you see the Jolly Roger on **Regina's** mighty shores
Arr!

Well you'd think the local farmers would know that I'm at large
But just the other day I found an unprotected barge
I snuck up right behind them and they were none the wiser
I rammed their ship and sank it and I stole their fertilizer
A bridge outside of **Moosejaw** spans a mighty river
Farmers cross in so much fear their stomachs are a-quiver
Because they know that Tractor Jack is hiding in the bay
I'll jump the bridge and knock 'em cold and sail off with their hay

Repeat Chorus

Well **Mountie** Bob he chased me, he was always at my throat
He had to follow on the shoreline, 'cause he didn't own a boat
But cut-backs were comin' so the **Mountie** lost his job
So now he's sailing with me and we call him Salty Bob
A swingin' sword, a skull-and-bones, and pleasant company
I never pay my income tax, ah, screw the **GST**—Screw it!
Prince Albert down to **Saskatoon**, I'm the terror of the sea
If you wanna reach the co-op, boy, you gotta get by me

Repeat Chorus

Arrrr, **Métis!** Get it? **Métis!**

Oh hey, hey, that's **Riely** funny, you know like **Louis Riel**?

Well, pirate life's appealing but you don't just find it here
I've heard that in **Alberta** there's a band of **Buccaneers**
They roam the **Athabaska** and sail to **Fort McKay**
And you're going to lose your Stetson if you have to pass their way
Well winter is a-comin' and a chill is in the breeze
My pirate days are over once the river starts to freeze
I'll be back in springtime but now I have to go
I hear there's lots of plundering down in New Mexico

Repeat Chorus x2

"The Canadian Crisis Song," from *Arrogant Worms*, by The Arrogant Worms

Often on the weekend I'll jump in my car
I'll not fill up the tank although I'm going far
And if somebody asks me if I'm going to a bar
I'll say I'm **shopping 'cross the border** in the USA

I do not go down there to buy my groceries
I respect our farmers and our factories
I don't believe that local means it's poor in quality
It's just our goddamn prices are too high

If he stays away for just two days
I'll get one hundred dollars duty free
If it adds to more than I claim it for
I don't declare the products if they're in my trunk
He won't declare the products if they're in his trunk

Although it is **Canada** that I call home
I don't cheer for the Yankees when I'm in the **Dome**
I didn't swell with pride during the Desert Storm
It's just that I don't want to pay the tax
It's just that he's too cheap to pay the tax

Yes, it's just like this, he's a **Loyalist**
I only shop at malls that fly our flag
And he'll tell **Bob Rae** that he just won't pay
Unless I need my unemployment benefits
Get a job, get a job, get a job

Now everybody's doing the same thing as me
They're doing what they can to beat the **GST**
They're lining up for miles at the Duty Free
So I bought a J.C. Penny store in Buffalo
So everybody come on down to Buffalo

'Cause if you stay away for just two days
You'll get one hundred dollars duty free
Though it's not that hard it'll still go far
And it ends up in the pockets of a countryman
It ends up in the pockets of a countryman

Canada

APPENDIX B

"The Luxury," from *Road Apples*, by The Tragically Hip

Zoo Lion sobers up and starts to scream and shout
A little dose of home-fire got him all smoothed out
Melancholy wine-soaked tenderness
She hated it here and she couldn't care less

Prisonyard stares and **fleur-de-lis** tattoos
Cannibals are saving all their bones for soup
Eating with my fingers and sucking hulls of ships
My parasite don't deserve no better than this

The Golden Rim Motor Inn

Soft water and a **colour** TV
So consumed with the shape I'm in
Can't enjoy the luxury

She says why are you partial to that Playboy con
When you can see me naked anytime you want?
If I had loads of money to make me tame and sour
I could pay you to remind me of my baby by the hour

Zoo Lion sobers up and starts to scream and shout
A little dose of home-fire got him all smoothed out
If this is where it all starts getting good
Then I'll be here waiting for you, like I said I would

The Golden Rim Motor Inn

Soft water and a colour TV
So consumed with the shape I'm in
Can't enjoy the luxury

The luxury

"The Bear," from *Music @ Work*, by The Tragically Hip.

I was first attracted by your scent
Your heart must be a caramelized onion
By the time I saw your flame
It was all over for you and what's-his-name

I think it was **Algonquin Park**
It was so cold and winter-dark
A promised hibernation high
Took me across the great black plate of ice

Now I'm the **Islander**
I found a place to call my den
And dreamt of the Ferry and
The Enormous Man
Huge as were his children
Following around after him

I'm the **Islander**
Woke up in the furtive Spring
More capable of anything

I waited for more men to come
They docked their boats and cocked their guns
The time for truth and reconciliation's gone
But with my belly full I intended to get
Something done

I'm the **Islander**
Woke up in the dead of Spring
More hungry than anything
Islander

APPENDIX C

"Sk8er Boi," from *Let Go*, by Avril Lavigne

He was a boy, she was a girl
Can I make it any more obvious?
He was a punk, she did ballet
What more can I say?
He wanted her, she'd never tell
Secretly she wanted him as well
But all of her friends stuck up their nose
They had a problem with his baggy clothes

He was a skater boy, she said see ya later boy
He wasn't good enough for her
She had a pretty face, but her head was up in space
She needed to come back down to earth

Five years from now, she sits at home
Feeding the baby, she's all alone
She turns on TV, guess who she sees
Skater boy rockin' up MTV
She calls up her friends, they already know
And they've all got tickets to see his show
She tags along and stands in the crowd
Looks up at the man that she turned down

He was a skater boy, she said see ya later boy
He wasn't good enough for her
Now he's a super star, slamming on his guitar
Does your pretty face see what he's worth?

Sorry girl but you missed out
Well tough luck that boy's mine now
We are more than just good friends
This is how the story ends
Too bad that you couldn't see
See the man that boy could be
There is more than meets the eye
I see the soul that is inside

He's just a boy and I'm just a girl
Can I make it more obvious
We are in love, haven't you heard
How we rock each other's world

I'm with the skater boy, I said see you later boy
I'll be back-stage after the show
I'll be at the studio
Singing the song we wrote
About a girl you used to know

APPENDIX D

"Home Ain't Where His Heart is Anymore," from *The Woman in Me*, by Shania Twain

He knew how to reach me deep inside
And he found a part of me I could not hide
And we'd walk and talk and touch tenderly
Then he'd lay me down and make love to me

We built a love so strong it couldn't break
There was not a road we were afraid to take
And we'd kiss all the way from Arkansas to Rome
'Cause in each other's arms we were home sweet home

But he don't feel the same
Since our lives became
Years of bills, babies and chains

Home ain't where his heart is anymore
He may hang his hat behind our bedroom door
But he don't lay his head down to love me like before
Home ain't where his heart is anymore

If foundations made of stone can turn to dust
Then the hardest hearts of steel can turn to rust
If he could only find that feeling once again
If we could only change the way the story ends

And he may still come home
But I live here alone
The love that built these walls is gone

Home ain't where his heart is anymore
He may hang his hat behind our bedroom door
But he don't lay his head down to love me like before

He don't lay his head down to love me like before
Home ain't where his heart is anymore
No, home ain't where his heart is

"Whose Bed Have Your Boots Been Under?," from *The Woman in Me*, by Shania Twain

Whose bed have your boots been under?

Whose bed have your boots been under?
And whose heart did you steal I wonder?
This time did it feel like thunder, baby?
Whose bed have your boots been under?

Don't look so lonely
Don't act so blue
I know I'm not the only
Girl you run to
I know about Lolita
Your little Spanish flame
I've seen you around with Rita
The redhead down the lane

Chorus:

Whose bed have your boots been under?
And whose heart did you steal I wonder?
This time did it feel like thunder, baby?
And who did you run to?
And whose lips have you been kissin'?
And whose ear did you make a wish in?
Is she the one that you've been missin', baby?
Well whose bed have your boots been under?

I heard you've been sneakin'
Around with Jill
And what about that weekend
With Beverly Hill
And I've seen you walkin'
With long legs Louise
And you weren't just talkin'
Last night with Denise

Repeat Chorus

Come on boots...

So next time you're lonely
Don't call on me
Try the operator
Maybe she'll be free

Repeat Chorus

I wanna know whose bed, baby
Whoa baby, tell me
Whose bed, yes I wanna know
You better start talkin'
Or you better start walkin'...

Bibliography

- Arrogant Worms. "The Canadian Crisis Song." *Arrogant Worms*. 1992.
- Arrogant Worms. "The Last Saskatchewan Pirate." *Arrogant Worms*. 1992.
- Lavigne, Avril. "Sk8er Boi." *Let Go*. 2002.
- Tragically Hip. "The Bear." *Music@Work*. 2000.
- Tragically Hip. "The Luxury." *Road Apples*. 1991.
- Twain, Shania. "Home Ain't Where His Heart is Anymore." *The Woman in Me*. 1995.
- Twain, Shania. "Whose Bed Have Your Boots Been Under?" *The Woman in Me*. 1995.

CANADIAN ENGLISH AND ASIAN IMMIGRANTS

Grace Li and Helen Yang

1. Introduction

The objective of this study is to consider English language usage in Chinese and Korean Canadians. In our Linguistics 202* class, there was an extensive discussion on the influence of the first two waves of immigration on Canadian English but little discussion of the fourth and most recent wave. As we are of Chinese and Korean descent ourselves, we wanted to see whether or not English spoken by ESL (English as a second language) speakers becomes more like Standard Canadian English as time spent in Canada increases. Believing that duration of time in Canada is one of the major factors affecting speech, we wanted to see if children speak more like their peers and less like their parents the longer they are in Canada.

2. Method

We constructed a survey focusing on different word usages and pronunciations. The survey (which is reproduced in **Appendix A**) was conducted through e-mail and in person. The majority of the participants in the study were of university age, with the average being 21 years old. Of our participants, 83% were Chinese and 17% Korean.

Participants were categorized according to the duration of time they have been living in Canada:

- Category 1 respondents are those who have lived in Canada between 0 and 9 years; those in Category 1 generally came to Canada as teenagers.
- Category 2 respondents are those who have lived in Canada between 10 and 15 years; these participants likely came to Canada as children or young adolescents.
- Category 3 respondents have lived in Canada for 16 years or more; members of this group were either born in Canada or immigrated to Canada as infants.

Once we had categorized respondents according to time spent living in Canada, we were able to analyze their responses for patterns. We also compared our results to those of the Dialect Topography of the Golden Horseshoe project conducted by Jack Chambers of the University of Toronto. This comparison allowed us to consider our ESL results against a more normative Standard Canadian English sample group in order to ascertain whether or not Chinese and Korean speakers in Canada are acquiring Canadian dialectal features, and whether or not these features become more prominent the longer the time spent in Canada.

3. Hypothesis

Before conducting this study, we anticipated that the English spoken by respondents in Category 1 would be most divergent from Standard Canadian English speech patterns. We expected that respondents in Category 2 and 3, having spent more time in Canada, would speak more like their Canadian counterparts, despite having been raised with the cultural influence and speech patterns of their parents. Our hypotheses were founded on the assumption that the longer one lives in Canada, the longer one is exposed to the influence of the culture and the language of other Canadians.

According to second language acquisition studies, the age of the learner is a primary factor in determining the fluency and level of comprehension achieved in a second language. A person submerged in a new language before age 7 will grow accustomed to the new language and be able to speak as fluently as a native speaker. The difficulty of learning a new language, however, increases as one ages.

As all participants in our study were approximately the same age, the significant variable is not the current age of respondents but rather how old they were when they came to Canada. Those in Categories 2 and 3, having spent more time in Canada, would most likely have been young children when they came into contact with Canadian English. Those in Category 1, however, are doubly hindered; not only have they had less exposure, but that exposure started at a later age. Thus, Category 1 respondents should show less correspondence to the Standard Canadian English speech patterns determined by Chambers' Dialect Topography of the Golden Horseshoe project than those in Categories 2 and 3.

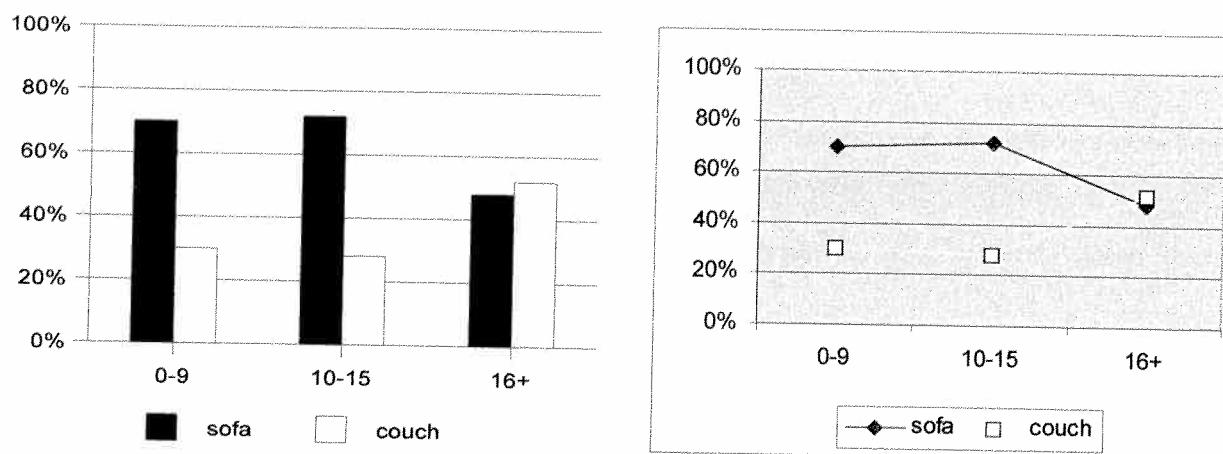
4. Results

Most of the results discussed below are for survey questions that directly parallel those in Chambers' project. For full results, see **Appendix B**.

4.1 Question 2

In Question 2, participants were presented with a picture of a long cushioned seat (see **Appendix A** for the picture) and were asked to identify the object it represents. Of the Category 1 respondents—those who have lived in Canada from 0-9 years—70% identified it as a *sofa*, while 30% identified the object as a *couch*. In Category 2—those living in Canada for 10-15 years—the results were similar, with 72% responding *sofa* and 28% responding *couch*. There was, however, a noticeable difference in the responses of the Category 3 group, who have lived in Canada for 16 or more years. Of the Category 3 respondents, 48% responded with *sofa* and 52% responded with *couch*. The results in **Figure 1** show the significant decrease in *sofa* responses and the increase in *couch* responses from those in Category 3.

Figure 1. What do you call this piece of furniture? (Question 2)

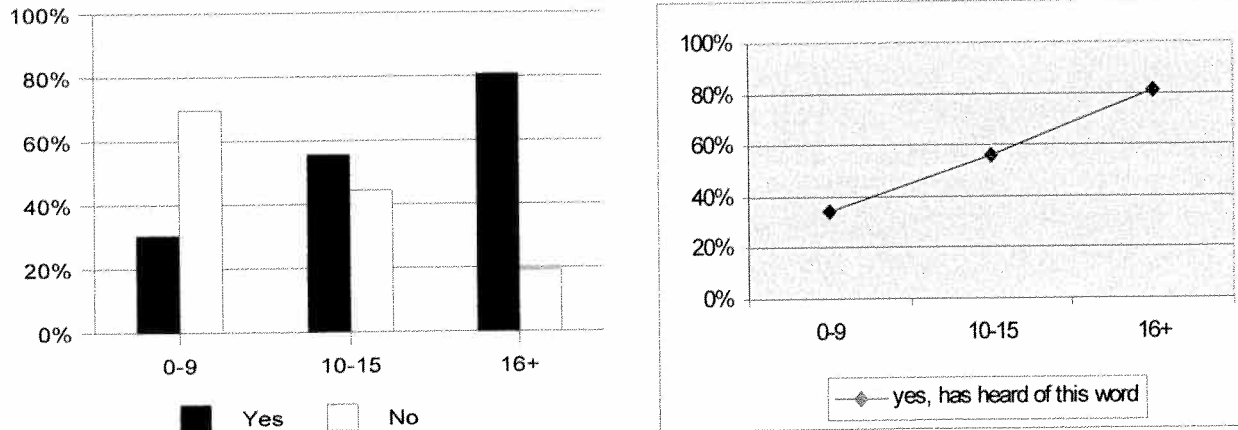


In the Golden Horseshoe Dialect Topography project, 13.5% used the term *sofa*, 6.2% used *chesterfield*, and 78.9% used *couch*. In Chinese, the word for this piece of furniture is a version of the English word *sofa* adjusted to fit the Chinese sound system, which may explain the number of *sofa* responses from Categories 1 and 2. Category 3 respondents, however, indicated a preference for *couch*; this choice may reveal an affinity with the patterns of Standard Canadian English.

4.2 Question 2a

None of the participants in our survey responded with *chesterfield*, but when asked if they had heard of this term, 30% of Category 1, 56% of Category 2, and 81% of Category 3 said yes. **Figure 2** reveals the fact that recognition of the term *chesterfield*—a Canadian shibboleth—increases in proportion to Canadian residency.

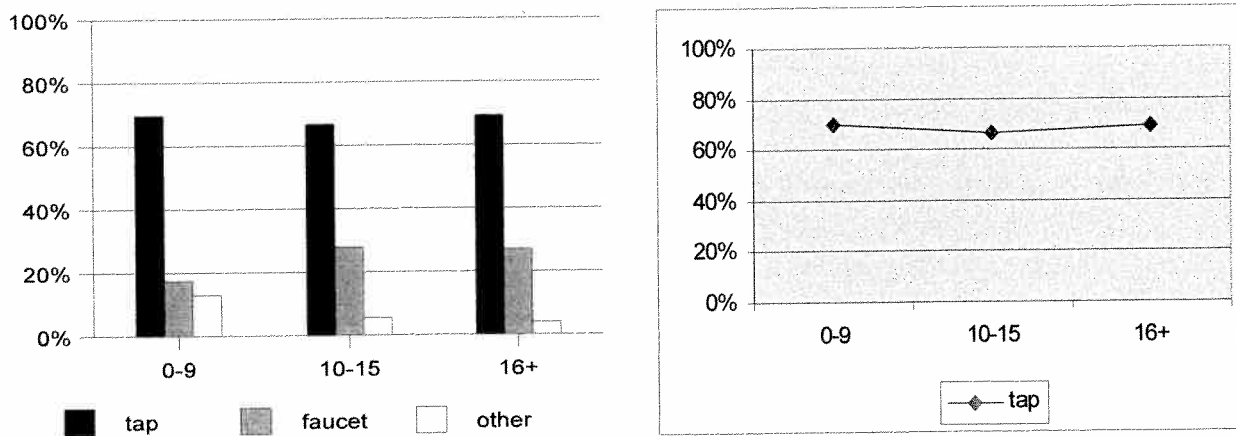
Figure 2. Before today, have you heard of the word “chesterfield”? (Question 2a)



4.3 Question 3

When asked to identify the pipe which water flows from (see Appendix A for the picture), most respondents listed *tap*. Figure 3 shows these results.

Figure 3. What do you call this object? (Question 3)

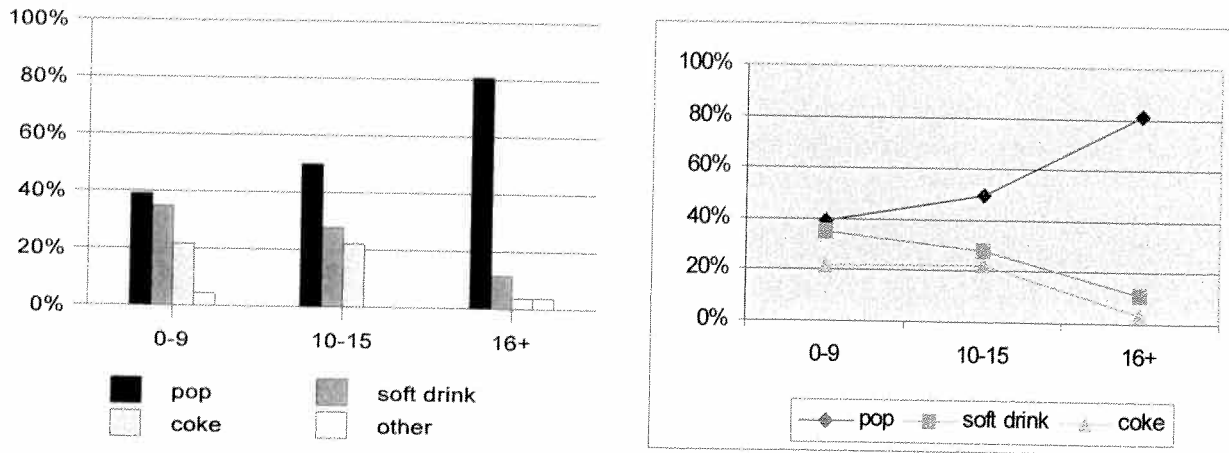


These results match the Dialect Topography project, in which 83% used *tap*.

4.4 Question 4

Asked what they call a fast food drink, 39% of Category 1 said with *pop*, 35% said *soft drink* and 22% made Coke, a popular brand, into a generic term. In Category 2, 50% used *pop*, 28% stated *soft drink*, and 22% said *coke*. In Category 3, 81% listed *pop*, 12% used *soft drink*, and 4% responded with *coke*. Figure 4 displays these results.

Figure 4. What do you call the sweet, non-alcoholic carbonated drink that is mainly served with fast food? (Question 4)

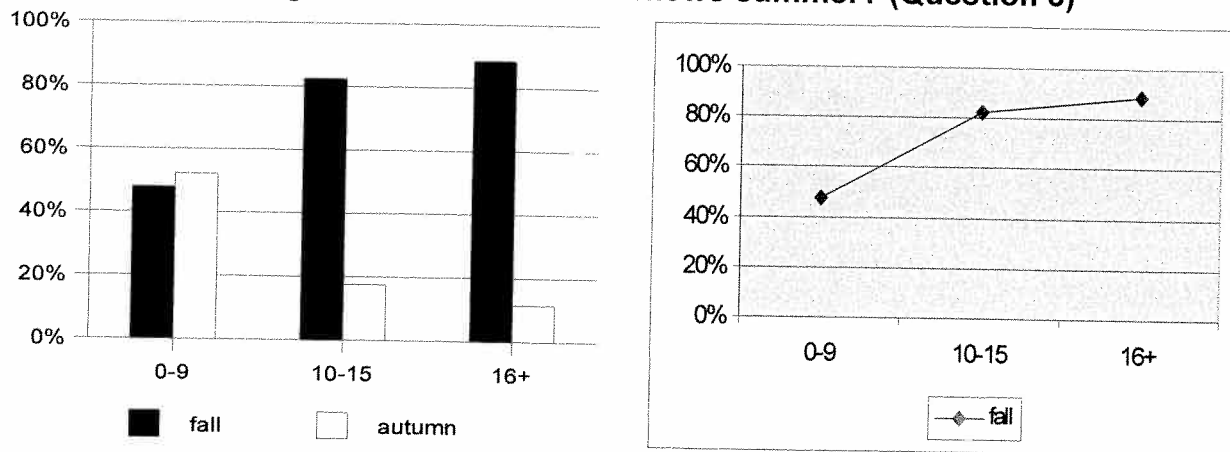


Of the Canadian speakers in the Dialect Topography of the Golden Horseshoe project, 85.5% of the respondents referred to the drink as *pop*, while 6.7% called it a *soft drink* and 2.7% named it *coke*. The pattern of responses demonstrated by these Canadian English speakers is similar to the patterns shown by respondents in our study; each group exhibits an affinity for the term *pop*, and, to a lesser degree, an inclination toward the term *coke*. The difference, however, is most significant in Category 3: these results indicate that the longer one lives in Canada and is exposed to Canadian English, the greater the influence Standard Canadian English will have on one's speech patterns.

4.5 Question 5

Question 5 asked what participants call the season following summer. Figure 5 shows the results.

Figure 5. What season follows summer? (Question 5)

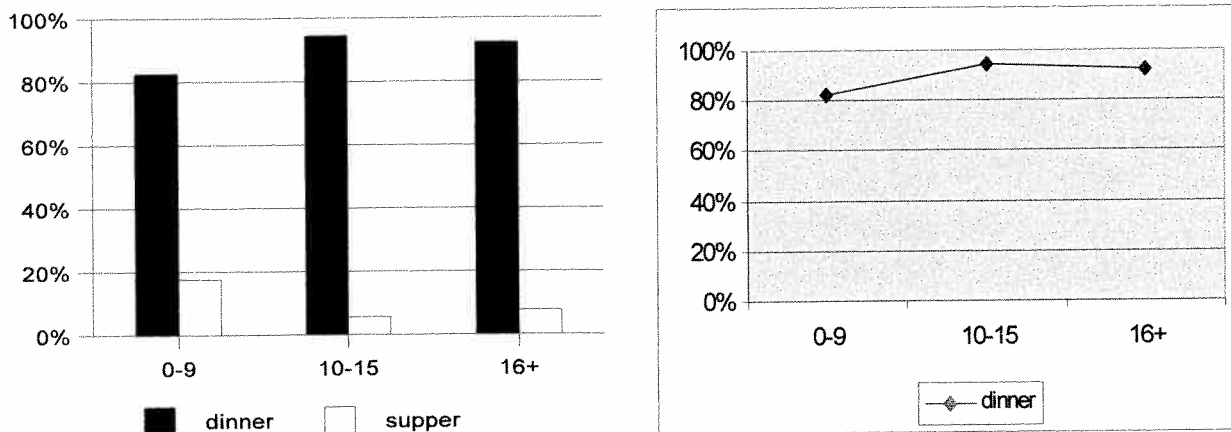


A marked trend appears in Figure 5. More than half of the respondents in Category 1 indicated that they refer to the season after summer as *autumn*, whereas the majority of Category 3 respondents stated that they refer to the season as *fall*. *Autumn* is the current British term, but in Canada and the United States, *fall* is much more common. Eighteenth-century British settlers brought the term *fall* to Canada and the United States where it took hold; usage of the word *fall* in Britain later became strictly poetic or dialectal. Category 1 participants are probably still predominantly influenced by British English which is more widely used in their country of origin. Canadians, however, adhere to the North American term: in a study conducted by M. H. Scargill in the late 1970s, 60% of males and 54% of females responded with *fall*, and 29% of males and 34% of females responded that they might use either *fall* or *autumn*. The prevalence of *fall* over *autumn* in Standard Canadian English therefore explains the term's rising use amongst Category 2 and Category 3 respondents.

4.6 Question 6

When participants were asked what they would call the evening meal, only two responses were received: *dinner* and *supper*. Although we were unable to find any studies which examined this word usage, a quick survey of our classmates indicated that more people say *dinner* than *supper*, which is consistent with our ESL findings. As shown in Figure 6, the majority of participants in each category responded with *dinner*.

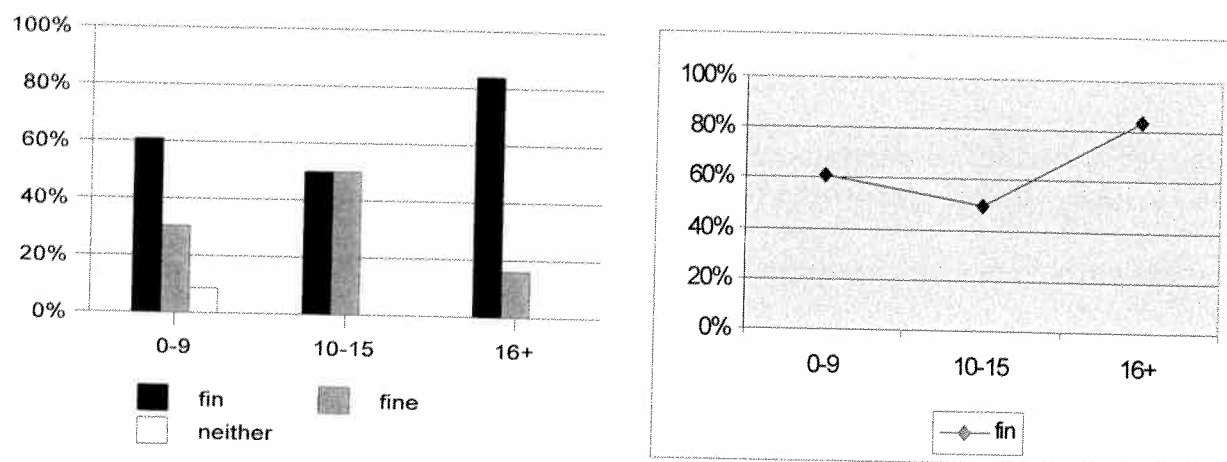
Figure 6. What do you call the evening meal? (Question 6)



4.7 Question 7a

To investigate differences in pronunciation, we asked participants to read several sentences aloud and to note their pronunciation of particular words (see Appendix A). The first sentence investigated the pronunciation of the word *genuine*. As shown in Figure 7, the majority of participants in all categories listed *genuine* as rhyming with *fin*.

Figure 7. Does *genuine* rhyme with *fine* or *fin*? (Question 7a)

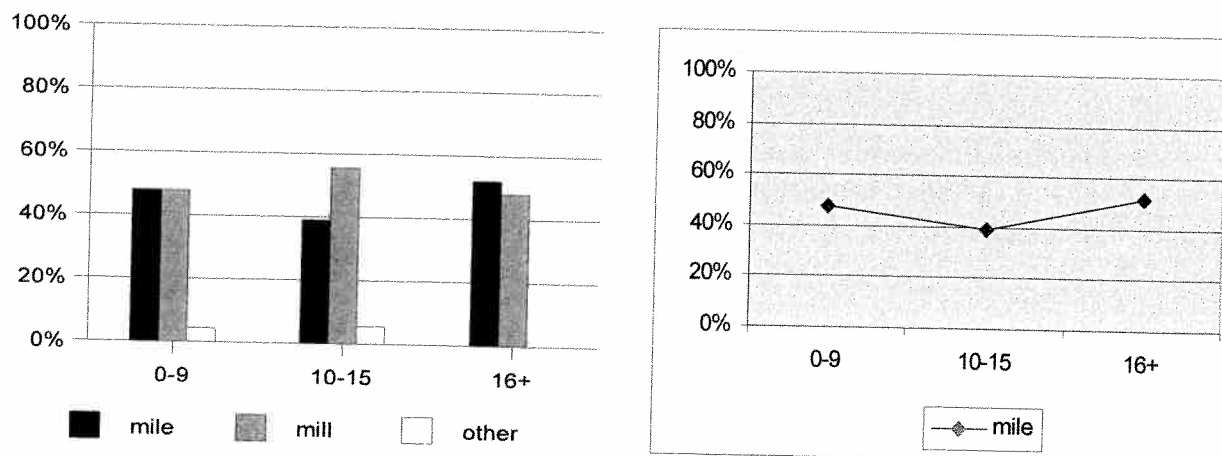


In the Dialect Topography project, on the other hand, Canadian speakers rhymed *genuine* more often with *fine* than with *fin*. The *fine* pronunciation was used by 58% of Chambers' respondents, while 42% used the *fin* pronunciation. Since the *fine* pronunciation of *genuine* is a shibboleth of Canadian English (McConnell 79), the decreased use of *fine* among Category 3 respondents in our survey was quite surprising.

4.8 Question 7b

The next question tested the pronunciation of *missile*, in order to see if participants would rhyme it with *mill* or *mile*. Figure 8 shows these results.

Figure 8. Does *missile* rhyme with *mile* or *mill*? (Question 7b)



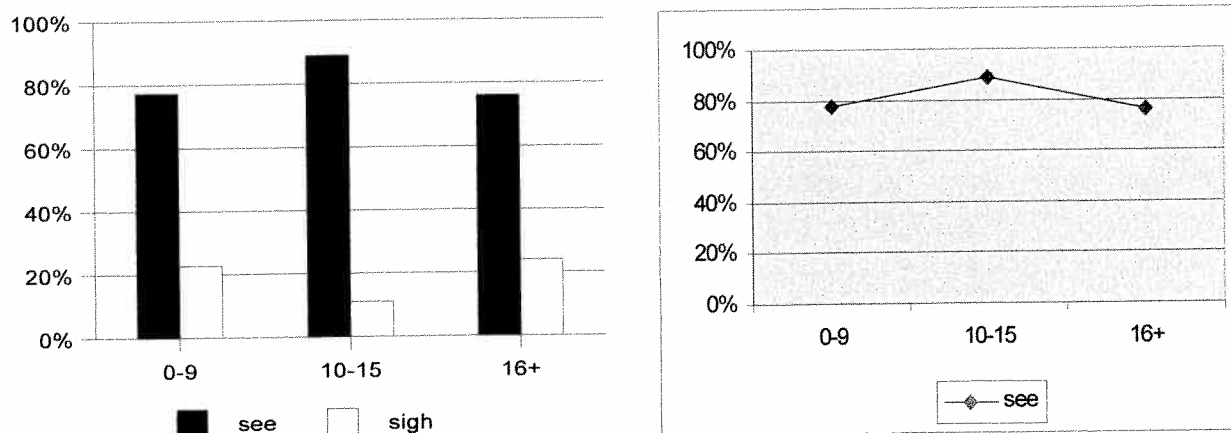
As for Canadian speakers, 37% of respondents used the *mile* pronunciation, while 63% opted for the *mill* pronunciation. Our results for this question therefore seem to be contradictory to Standard Canadian English, as only the results from Category 2 respondents seem to approach those numbers.

It appears, however, from the Canadian study that neither *genuine* nor *missile* has one widely favoured pronunciation. As there is a great deal of indecision amongst the general population as to which pronunciation is appropriate, most participants in our survey apparently felt free to use both pronunciations interchangeably.

4.9 Question 7ci

The next sentence tested two characteristics of pronunciation in one sentence. When asked if *anti* rhymes with *see* or *sigh*, 74% of respondents in Category 1 responded with *see*, as did 89% of those in Category 2, and 76% of those in Category 3. Figure 9 shows these results.

Figure 9. Does anti rhyme with see or sigh? (Question 7ci)

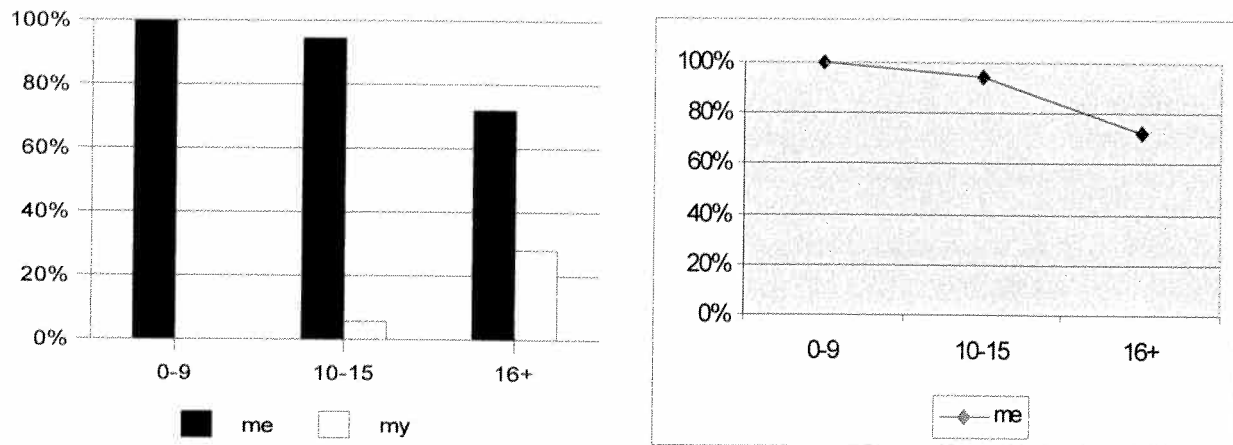


The *see* pronunciation was also used by 84.2% of respondents in the Dialect Topography of the Golden Horseshoe project. Among both Asian and Canadian speakers, there appears to be a tendency toward the *see* pronunciation.

4.10 Question 7cii

Using the same sentence, the participants were asked whether *semi* rhymes with *me* or *my*. In the Dialect Topography study, 86.2% said that *semi* rhymes with *me*. *Me* was the leading choice of all ESL groups, although it was less dominant among Category 3 respondents. Results are shown in Figure 10.

Figure 10. Does *semi* rhyme with *me* or *my*? (Question 7cii)



We were interested to see if there would be any differences in the pronunciation of *semi* if used in a different context. We presented another sentence (*He asked her to the semi-formal*) and asked participants if *semi* rhymes with *me* or *my*. All respondents answered *me*!

The slight inconsistencies in pronunciation might possibly be explained by the context in which the word is presented. Rhyming *semi* with *me* in *semi-formal* and with *my* in *semi-automatic* may be a contextual decision. Formal language in Canada is predominantly influenced by the British—perhaps an event such as a *semi-formal* demands a British pronunciation. In contrast, most media coverage of crime and war is broadcasted by American sources, which prefer the *my* pronunciation. American media influence may explain the use of the *my* pronunciation in the context of weaponry. Overall, however, our participants reveal a greater British influence than does the Canadian population as a whole.

5. Conclusion

Overall, participants' speech patterns correspond with the speech patterns of Standard Canadian English. This correlation is most notable among Category 2 and Category 3 participants: the speech patterns of Chinese and Korean participants living in Canada for 10-15 years or 16 years and longer are similar both to each other and to Standard Canadian English.

We can therefore conclude that the duration of time spent in Canada does affect the speech of Chinese and Korean persons: the longer they are in Canada, the more closely they approach a speech pattern matching Standard Canadian English.

6. Problems

Some problems arose during our investigation, which may account for any inaccuracies or discrepancies in our results. When the surveys were conducted in person, we could observe respondents making judgments about their own pronunciations. We found that, when the participants were left to use their own judgment in deciphering their pronunciation, they were sometimes wrong. The most noticeable mistake occurred when participants were asked if they pronounced the letter *k* in the word *asked*. We included this question for interest purposes, but although many of the participants believed they pronounced the *k*, they in fact did not. Instead, most of the participants pronounced the ending with the voiceless stop /t/. As the survey responses were collected through e-mail, the participants were left to complete the survey using their own, sometimes fallible, judgment, leaving much room for errors in self-assessment.

Another problem that occurred was the fault of the surveyors: we did not include instructions as to how many choices participants were allowed to select. Some participants chose two answers while others who wanted to choose more than one answer felt restricted. Both these issues would need to be addressed if the study were to be repeated.

7. Suggestions for Future Research

Future research in this area would be helpful for ESL programs and would benefit students of Chinese and Korean descent. One suggestion would be to incorporate a reading section to test for differences in pronunciation rather than rhyming words with similar words of equivalent pronunciation. We suggest writing the word down in a sentence on a cue card and having the participant read the sentence aloud. The experimenter could then listen to the pronunciation of the word and transcribe it into IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) format on the spot. This method elicits a spontaneous and natural pronunciation of the word, one which is more authentic to the speech pattern of the individual involved. When differing pronunciations are presented to participants (as they were in our study) results may be altered if the participant takes time to self-consciously investigate his or her choices.

Since the majority of the participants in this study are from Kingston and the Toronto area, we also suggest further research into the English speech patterns of Chinese and Korean persons living outside of these regions, and even possibly outside of Ontario. It would be interesting to compare the patterns revealed by this study with speech patterns of Chinese and Korean persons living in the United States. For example, we have found that Korean people who have lived in the United States for a long time have a sort of twang to their speech; it would be interesting to investigate such cross-border differences.

In addition to examining speech patterns and word preferences, future research could also look at the spelling of Canadian English and incorporate a section into the survey which considers the spelling preferences of Chinese and Korean Canadians. One could also research the speech patterns of peoples from other ethnic groups in order to compare them with Chinese and Korean respondents. Another aspect of this study which could be investigated further is the speech of older generations: one could look at the length of time parents have been here, analyze their speech patterns, and compare them to those of their children. Further research in this area would provide new insights into Canadian English, and would also provide beneficial information and assistance to ESL speakers attempting to grasp the complexity and diversity of the English language.

Appendix A

The purpose of this survey is to study how you speak English. There are no "right" answers and no "wrong" answers, but this exercise is an observation of language. Don't feel pressured to give what you think is "proper" or "correct" English, just what you usually say. Thanks for all your help and input!

Grace and Helen

Background:

Age: _____ Sex: _____ Ethnic Background: _____

Where are your parents from? _____

When your parents communicate with you, do they speak English?

1. Never ___ 2. Rarely ___ 3. Once in a while ___ 4. Often ___ 5. All the time! ___

If your parents don't speak English with you most of the time, what language do they speak? _____

What language do you speak with your parents? _____

How long have you been in Canada? _____

Before coming to Kingston, where did you live? _____

Where did you first learn English? _____

What language do most of your friends speak? _____

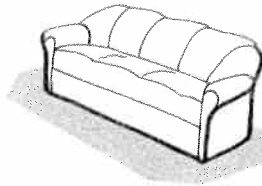
What language do you speak with your friends most of the time? _____

When communicating in English, have you ever inserted a word or phrase from Chinese? (for example, "Aiya!!! Why are you *ma fanning* me?", "This movie is so *mo liu!*")

1. Never ___ 2. Rarely ___ 3. Once in a while ___ 4. Often ___ 5. All the time ___

Questions:

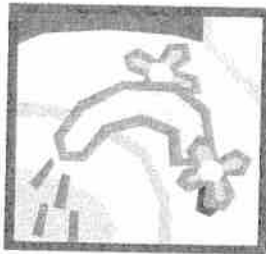
1. What do you call this piece of furniture?



- a. Sofa
- b. Couch
- c. Chesterfield
- d. Other: _____

1a. Before today, have you heard of the word "chesterfield"?
Yes _____ No _____

2. What do call this object?



- a. Tap
- b. Faucet
- c. Other: _____

3. What do you call the sweet, non-alcoholic carbonated drink that is mainly served with fast food? _____

4. What season follows summer? _____

5. What do you call the evening meal? _____

6. Read these sentences out loud and answer the following:

a. This shoe is made of genuine leather.

Does *genuine* rhyme with *fine* or *fin*? _____

b. His enemies launched the missile.

Does *missile* rhyme with *mile* or *mill*? _____

c. The anti-war activists were also against semi-automatic weapons.

i. Does *anti* rhyme with *see* or *sigh*? _____

ii. Does *semi* rhyme with *me* or *my*? _____

d. He asked her to the semi-formal.

i. Did you pronounce the *k* in *asked*? Yes _____ No _____

ii. Does *semi* rhyme with *me* or *my*? _____

Thanks for your help!

Appendix B Survey Results

Background - Category 1

Age	Sex	Background	Parents from	Parents speak English?	Language of Parent	Language to Parent	Years in Canada	Home before migration	English learned where?	Language of Friends	Language to Friends	Chinese in English?
16	F	Korean	Korea	1	Korean (Cantonese)	Korean	0	Hamilton	Korea	Korean	Korean	3
20	F	Chinese	Hong Kong	4	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese), English	1	Hong Kong	Hong Kong	English	English	2
18	F	Chinese	Taiwan	1	Chinese (Mandarin)	Chinese (Mandarin)	3	Toronto	Taiwan	N/A	N/A	4
23	F	Chinese	Taiwan	1	Chinese (Mandarin)	Chinese (Mandarin), Spanish	4	Guatemala		English	English	4
21	F	Chinese	Hong Kong	1	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	5	Toronto	School	English	English	2
22	F	Chinese	Hong Kong	1	Chinese (Cantonese), Dutch	Chinese (Cantonese)	6	Hong Kong	Hong Kong	Chinese (Cantonese), English	Chinese (Cantonese), English	3
19	F	Chinese	Holland	2	Chinese (Cantonese), Mandarin	Chinese (Cantonese)	6	Hong Kong	Toronto	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese), English	4
21	F	Chinese	Hong Kong	1	Chinese (Mandarin)	Chinese (Mandarin)	6	Toronto	USA	English	English	3
23	F	Chinese	China	2	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	7	Calgary	England	English	English	5
22	F	Chinese	Hong Kong	1	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	7	Toronto	Hong Kong	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	4
22	F	Chinese	Hong Kong	1	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	8	Toronto	Hong Kong	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	1
21	F	Chinese	Hong Kong, China	1	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	8	Toronto	Hong Kong	Chinese (Cantonese), English	Chinese (Cantonese)	3
21	F	Chinese	China	1	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	8	Vancouver	Hong Kong	Chinese (Cantonese), English	Chinese (Cantonese)	3
19	M	Korean	Korea	2	Korean	Korean	2		Korea	Korean	Korean	3
23	M	Korean	Korea	1	N/A	Korean	4		Canada	N/A	N/A	2
23	M	Chinese	Hong Kong	1	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	6	Toronto	Hong Kong	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	1
24	M	Chinese	Hong Kong	1	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	6	Vancouver	Hong Kong	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	1
24	M	Chinese	Hong Kong	1	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	6	Toronto	School	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	5
24	M	Chinese	Hong Kong	1	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	8	Vancouver	Vancouver	English, Chinese, Korean	English	5
19	M	Korean	Korea	1	Korean	Korean	8	Hong Kong	Canada	English	English	1
21	M	Chinese	Hong Kong	1	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	8	Hong Kong		N/A	N/A	4
19	M	Chinese	Hong Kong	1	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	8	Toronto	Singapore	English	English	1
23	M	Chinese	Hong Kong	5	N/A	English	8	Toronto	Vancouver	English, Chinese, Korean	English	1
19	M	Korean	Korea	3	Korean	Korean	8	Vancouver	Vancouver	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	2
22	M	Chinese	Hong Kong	2	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	9	Ottawa	Hong Kong	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	2
22	M	Chinese	Hong Kong	2	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	9	Vancouver	Hong Kong	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	3
25	M	Chinese	Hong Kong	4	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	9	Vancouver	Hong Kong	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	3

Background - Category 2

Age	Sex	Background	Parents from	Parents speak English?	Language of Parent	Language to Parent	Years in Canada	Home before migration	English learned where?	Language of Friends	Language to Friends	Chinese in English?
24	F	Korean	Korea	1	Korean	Korean	10			N/A	N/A	4
20	M	Chinese	Hong Kong	1	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	10	Toronto	Hong Kong	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	3
22	M	Chinese	Hong Kong	1	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	12	Toronto	Hong Kong	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	3
18	F	Chinese	Shanghai, Hong Kong	4	Chinese (Cantonese)	English, Chinese (Cantonese)	12	Mississauga	Hong Kong	English	Chinese	4
13	F	Chinese	Hong Kong	2	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	12	Toronto	School	Chinese (Cantonese)	English	4
22	F	Chinese	Hong Kong	2	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese), English	13	Toronto	Hong Kong	English	English	5
22	F	Chinese	China	1	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	13	Ottawa	Hong Kong	Chinese (Cantonese), English	Chinese (Cantonese)	3
23	M	Chinese	Hong Kong	1	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	13	Vancouver	Hong Kong	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	3
22	M	Chinese	Hong Kong	2	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	13	Vancouver	Hong Kong	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	2
22	M	Chinese	Hong Kong	1	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	13	Toronto	Taiwan	Chinese (Cantonese), English	English	3
23	F	Chinese	Taiwan	1	Chinese (Mandarin)	Chinese (Mandarin)	14	Mississauga	Toronto	English	English	3
21	M	Chinese	Hong Kong	1	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	14	Vancouver	Hong Kong	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	4
22	M	Chinese	China, Taiwan	2	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	14	Vancouver	Hong Kong	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	4
22	M	Chinese	Hong Kong	3	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese), English	14	Toronto	Hong Kong	English	English	3
22	F	Chinese	Hong Kong	2	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	14	Mississauga	Hong Kong	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	3

Background - Category 3

Age	Sex	Background	Parents from	Parents speak English?	Language of Parent	Language to Parent	Years in Canada	Home before migration	English learned where?	Language of Friends	Language to Friends	Chinese in English?
24	F	Chinese	Hong Kong, China	3	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese), English	15	Hong Kong	Hong Kong	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	4
22	M	Korean	Korea	1	Korean	Korean	16	London	School	English	English	1
16	F	Korean	Korea	2	Korean	English, Korean	16	Hamilton	Canada	English	English	4
16	F	Chinese	China	4	Korean	English, Chinese (Cantonese)	16	Hamilton	School	English	English	3
17	F	Chinese	China	4	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese)	17	Toronto	School	English	English	5
18	F	Chinese	Hong Kong, China	4	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese), English	18	Toronto	Pre-school	English	English	5
18	F	Chinese	Hong Kong, China	4	Chinese (Cantonese)	Chinese (Cantonese), English	18	Toronto	School	English	English	1
21	M	Chinese	Hong Kong	4	Chinese (Cantonese)	English, Chinese (Cantonese)	18	Toronto	School	English	English	5
20	M	Chinese	Hong Kong	4	Chinese (Cantonese)	English, Chinese (Cantonese)	20	Vancouver	Parents, School	English	English	3
20	M	Chinese	Hong Kong	4	N/A	English	20	Ottawa	School	English	English	0
20	F	Chinese	Hong Kong	3	Chinese (Cantonese)	English, Chinese (Cantonese)	20	Mississauga	Parents, School	English	English	0

Questions		-Category 3		Years in Canada		Q2	Q2a	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7a	Q7b	Q7c	Q7d	Q7e	
Age	Sex	Age	Sex														
16	F	16	F	b		TRUE		a	pop	fall	dinner	fine	mill	sign	me	TRUE	me
16	F	16	F	b		FALSE		a	pop	fall	dinner	fine	mile	see	me	FALSE	me
17	F	17	F	a		TRUE		Other	pop	fall	dinner	fin	mill	sign	me	FALSE	me
18	F	18	F	a		FALSE			soft drink	fall	dinner	fin	mile	see	me	FALSE	me
18	F	18	F	b		FALSE			pop	autumn	dinner	fin	mile	sign	my	TRUE	me
20	F	20	F	b		TRUE			pop	autumn	dinner	fin	mill	see	me	FALSE	me
20	F	20	F	a		TRUE			pop	fall/autumn	dinner	fin	mill	sign	me	FALSE	me
20	F	20	F	b		TRUE			pop	fall	dinner	fin	mile	see	me	TRUE	me
21	F	20	F	a		TRUE			pop	fall	dinner	fin	mill	see	me	TRUE	me
21	F	21	F	b		TRUE			pop	fall	dinner	fin	mill	see	me	FALSE	me
21	F	21	F	a		FALSE			pop	fall/autumn	dinner	fin	mile	see	me	TRUE	me
22	F	22	F	a		TRUE			pop	fall	dinner	fine	mile	see	me	FALSE	me
22	F	22	F	a		TRUE			pop	fall	dinner	fine	mile	see	me	FALSE	me
23	F	23	F	b		TRUE			coke	fall	dinner	fin	mill	see	me	TRUE	me
23	F	23	F	a		TRUE			soft drink	fall	dinner	fin	mill	see	me	TRUE	me
22	M	16	M	a		TRUE			soft drink	fall	supper	fin	mill	see	me	FALSE	me
21	M	18	M	a		TRUE			pop	fall	dinner	fin	mill	see	me	FALSE	me
20	M	20	M	b		TRUE			pop/soft drink	fall	dinner	fin	mile	see	me	TRUE	me
20	M	20	M	b		TRUE			pop	fall	dinner	fin	mile	see	me	FALSE	me
24	M	20	M	a		TRUE			pop	fall	dinner	fin	mill	see	me	TRUE	me
21	M	21	M	b		TRUE			pop	fall	dinner	fin	mile	sign	my	FALSE	me
22	M	22	M	b		FALSE			pop	fall/autumn	dinner	fine	mill	see	me	FALSE	me
23	M	23	M	a		TRUE			pop	fall	dinner	fin	mill	see	me	TRUE	me
23	M	23	M	a		TRUE			pop	autumn	dinner	fine	mile	see	me	TRUE	me

Bibliography

Dialect Topography of the Golden Horseshoe. Ed. Jack Chambers. 2001. November 29, 2002. <http://dialect.topography.chass.utoronto.ca/dt_results.php>.

McConnell, R. E. *Our Own Voice: Canadian English and How It Is Studied*. Toronto: Gage, 1979.

Scargill, M. H. *Modern Canadian English Usage: Linguistic Change and Reconstruction*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974.





