

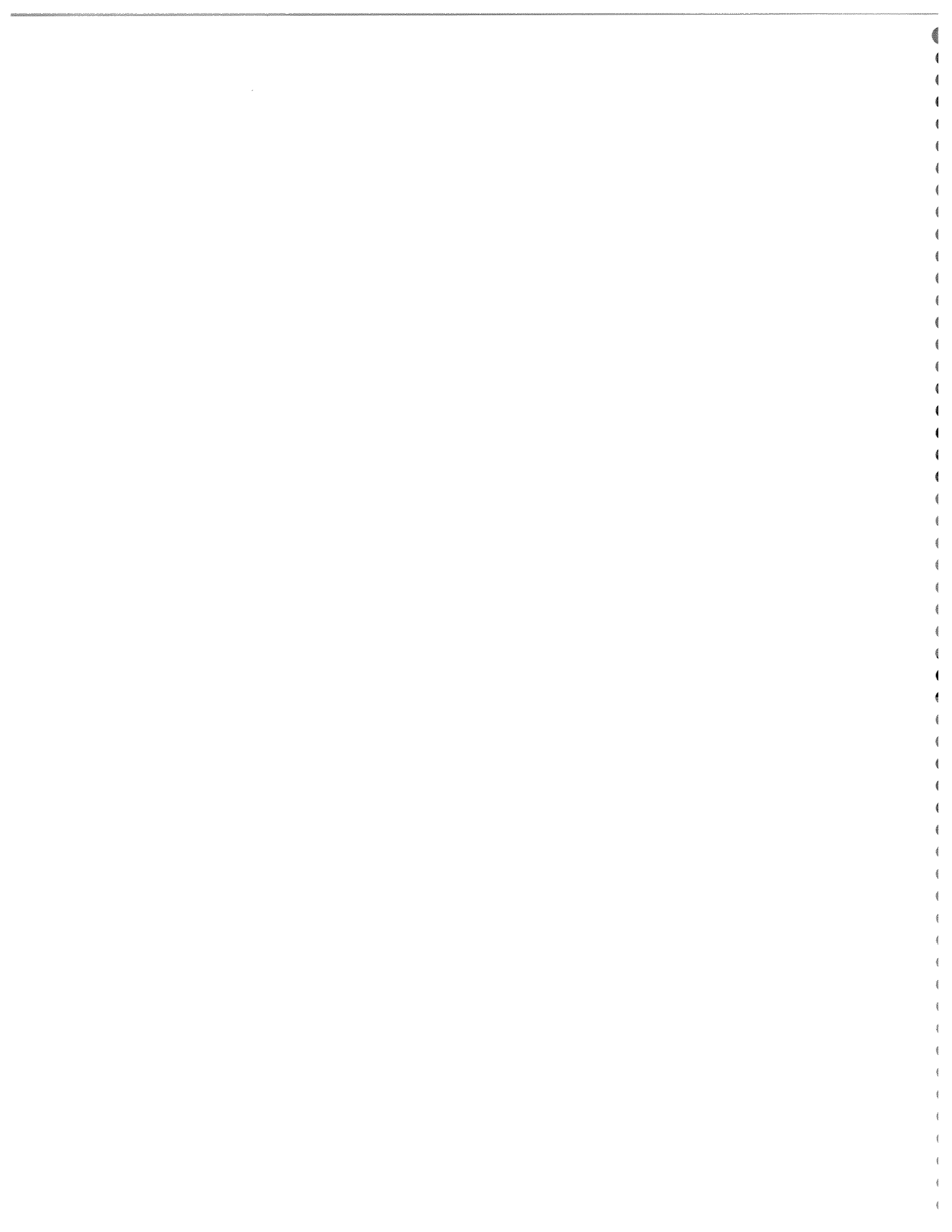
Strathy Undergraduate Working Papers
on
Canadian English

Volume 6, 2007

Strathy Language Unit
Queen's University
Kingston, Ontario

Edited by E. Gold and J. McAlpine





STRATHY UNDERGRADUATE WORKING PAPERS
ON
CANADIAN ENGLISH

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Preface

This is the sixth and final volume of the *Strathy Undergraduate Working Papers on Canadian English*. It gathers selected papers from the Linguistics 202* (Canadian English) classes of 2005 and 2006, with a focus on new topics and new approaches in the study of Canadian English. We hope some of these topics—including team names, trade names, nineteenth-century newspaper writing, euphemism, synonymy and the fecundity of alcohol-related vocabulary—will pique the interest of sociolinguists and general readers alike.

The main purpose of this series of working papers has been to provide inspiration to successive classes of Linguistics 202* students at Queen's University, and it has served that purpose well. Henceforth, we will not be producing and distributing a paper publication, although we will continue to preserve exceptional undergraduate papers in the Strathy Language Unit library.

E. Gold
J. McAlpine

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**Strathy Language Unit
Rm 206 Fleming Hall/Jemmett Wing
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Kingston ON K7L 3N6
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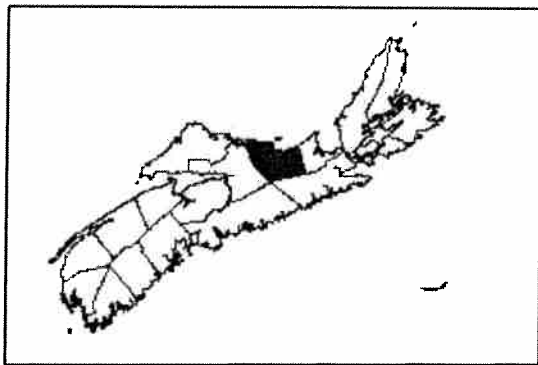
INDIAN PLUMS AND THE ENGLISH OF PICTOU COUNTY NOVA SCOTIA

Naomi Lutes and Clare White

1. Introduction

Despite the recognition of dialect differences between Maritime and general urban Canadian English, next to no research has been conducted on variation *within* Maritime English. In order to shed more light on this variation, we chose to research the English of Pictou County, Nova Scotia (see **Figure 1**). This area is linguistically interesting because of its long settlement history. English speakers have occupied Pictou County since before the American Revolution, that is, before the Loyalist emigrations that brought English to the rest of Canada. Scots immigrants have a history in the county almost as long. In investigating this area, we expected to find that the English of Pictou County would conform partly to characteristics of the Maritime dialect but would vary in ways that can be explained by the local cultural heritage, especially the Scottish language influences.

Figure 1: Map of Nova Scotia Highlighting Pictou County



The first references to Pictou County date from the fourteenth century, when the majority of residents were Aboriginal people, specifically Mi'kmaq¹ (Ryan 6). The

¹ The name *Pictou* is derived directly from the Mi'kmaq place name *Piktuk*, which means 'the explosive area,' a reference to the coal fields in the area. *Pictou* rhymes with *toe* not *too*.

first small contingent of English-speaking settlers were Americans who came to the area from Philadelphia in 1767 (Cameron 1-6). Settlers from Scotland arrived in Pictou shortly afterwards. The government of Scotland and the ancient system of clans were disrupted by the Industrial Revolution, so many Scottish people felt the need to leave and start over in a new place. In 1773, a group of Scots immigrated to Canada on a ship called the *Hector*. The 200 passengers on the *Hector* became the foundation of the Scottish community of Pictou (Withrow 87-88). Scottish immigration to Nova Scotia occurred in several phases, and, after the initial group in the late eighteenth century, some 35,000 Scots arrived in phases between the years 1815 and 1851 (Withrow 90). During this period, Pictou County experienced its largest increase in population of Scots, and by the end of the nineteenth century, 93.5% of landowners in Pictou County were Scottish (Cameron 15). Many Scottish immigrants from the highlands and the islands spoke only Scots Gaelic upon arrival in Canada; nevertheless, by 1850, the English language had established itself in Nova Scotia as the *lingua franca*, the language of the pulpit and the language taught in the schools.

The immigrants from Scotland were surprised when they saw the land they had been promised. They had been told that good farming land awaited them, but, instead, upon their arrival the immigrants found dark and dense forest (Ryan 10). The land was not in any condition to be used for agriculture, and much work had to be done before the settlers were able to live off it. It was an unfortunate situation for the immigrants: the land was not as expected and neither had enough of it been granted to go around.

To make matters worse for the Scots, the condition of the land was completely foreign. They had absolutely no knowledge of local agriculture, hunting or forestry. In order to be able to survive on the land, the Scots had to learn these skills from the Americans. The tightly knit communities that persist to this day are due to the early challenges that forced all the settlers to work together (Cameron 10). Its unique history has certainly influenced the traditions and customs of Pictou County. Presumably its strong Scottish roots have also influenced language in the area.

2. The Survey

Our questions about Pictou County's English led us to devise a survey to test our hypothesis. We wanted to know if there was a unique lexicon, and in particular whether certain expressions and pronunciations that we had noted in the county were part of the idiolect of those observed (i.e., part of their *individual* speech or language system) or part of the dialect of the region. In order to maximize the distribution of our survey, we administered it in two formats: on paper and online. The full-length, "paper" survey we delivered via e-mail to family and

friends in Pictou County. Their help was vital in printing, copying, and disseminating the questionnaire. Among the respondents were the staff and students of two local high schools. We received 23 responses online and 158 paper surveys, for a total of 181, of which 133 were usable.

Our primary objective in distributing the survey was to investigate the speech and vocabulary characteristics of a significant sampling of English speakers who had grown up in Pictou County. Survey participants were asked about their parents' occupations in order to give us an indication of socio-economic status. The most common responses for parents' occupations were farmer, factory worker and salesperson. Our sample would thus be considered working class to middle class. It was also predominantly rural: the largest town respondents came from was Pictou, which has a population of 3875. The largest town in the whole of Pictou County is New Glasgow, with a population of only 9432 (Canada 2001 Census). Because our respondents were similar with respect to socio-economic class, we decided against analyzing results based on this factor. Age was the dependent variable chosen for our survey analysis, allowing us to investigate possible linguistic change and the speech of older residents. We were particularly interested in Scottish influences, which would be more likely to remain among older residents.

The survey consisted of 23 questions, divided into three sections, vocabulary, pronunciation and idiom. Some of our questions were derived from previous research on Maritime English. These we included to test the homogeneity of the dialect. Other questions dealt with words and pronunciations noticed by us or our relatives in the area: we wanted to know whether these items were unique to certain people or widely used by county residents. A third type of question related to characteristics of general Canadian English, such as yod retention (e.g., news pronounced /nyuz/ rather than /nuz/) and the lack of a distinction between the vowels in *cot* and *caught*. Other survey questions related to characteristics of Scottish English that we felt might be present in the Pictou dialect: /hw/ retention and a distinction between *bird*, *heard*, *curd* (vowels before /r/). At the end of our survey, we invited our participants to offer additional comments or provide us with colourful local expressions. **Appendix A** reproduces the survey with results. All the responses to two particular questions have been gathered in **Appendices B** and **C**.

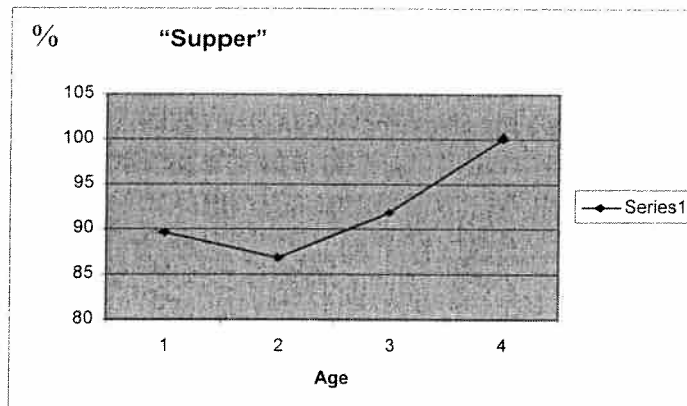
Most of our questions were straightforward; however, a few proved to be problematic. "What do you call your mother" was unclear, and did not contrast enough with "How do you refer to your mother when speaking with someone else?" With the first question we were looking for *mum* vs. *mom* and, with the second, a more formal way to refer to mother, such as *mother*. Our question regarding *basement* and *cellar* also posed problems based on the respondents' lexicon and the design of their homes. Finally, the question asking about the

pronunciation of *aunt* could have been worded differently, as we now realize that some respondents might rhyme *can't* and *taunt*. (No respondent answered both, however, when asked which word *aunt* rhymed with.)

2.1 Vocabulary

Not all of our survey results are notable, and in this essay, only some will be discussed at length. Looking to the vocabulary questions, the *supper/dinner* question confirmed previous work on the Maritimes by J.K. Chambers by showing a preference for *supper* as the term for the evening meal. Chambers had an overall percentage of 83.6% for *supper* in New Brunswick (*Dialect Topography*). We, similarly, have an average of 92% for the *supper* response, which confirms that this is a characteristic of Maritime speech. In **Figure 2** below, the response *supper* is plotted against age. Note that in **Figure 2** and subsequent graphs, the age categories **1**, **2**, **3** and **4** represent under 18, 18-30, 31-55, and over 55 years of age, respectively.

Figure 2. What do you call the meal you eat in the evening?

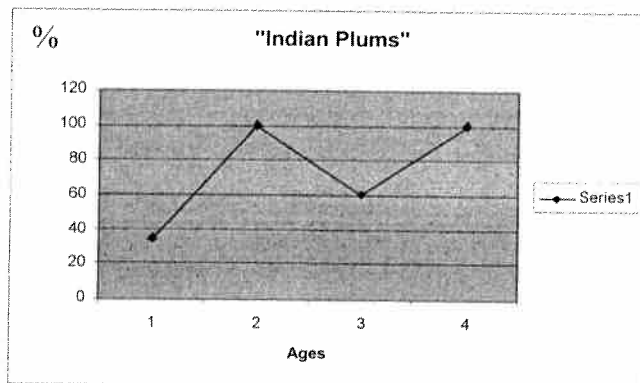


Our question on names for grandparents also confirms previous work on Maritime English. Laura Hawkes has noted the prevalence of forms ending in /i/ or containing /m/, as in *Grampy*. Perhaps these forms are, as she argues, a reflection of the more casual speech in the Maritimes (Hawkes 2-3).

Our berry question (see **Figure 3**) is interesting in that it confirms that there are unique local terms for the serviceberries (also called "Saskatoon berries" on the prairies) that grow wild in Pictou County. Locally, these berries appear to have developed unique names: "Indian plums," "Indian berries" or "sugar berries."

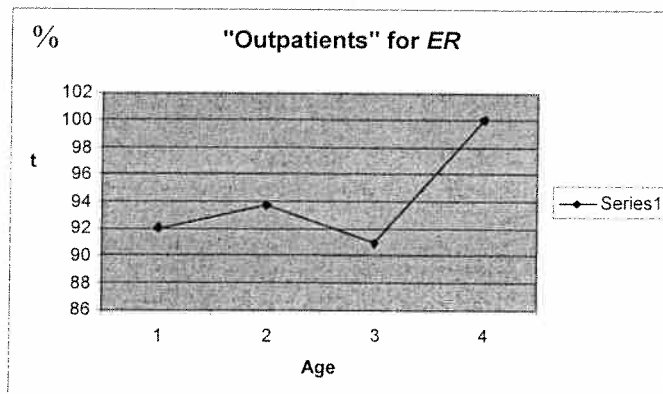
Since many respondents (40%) did not know which berry our survey question was referring to, **Figure 3** represents only those who did respond to this question.

Figure 3. What do you call the berry that grows on bushes or trees and looks like a blueberry but is more purple and is smaller?



Further evidence for a unique lexicon in the Pictou County area is the almost unanimous preference for the term *outpatients* for the emergency room of a hospital. Although we did not set out to survey across regions and compare Pictou English to other varieties, we could not help noticing a pattern as we were determining which of our surveys were usable: speakers who had moved to Nova Scotia from Ontario all had *E.R.* as their response, indicating that *outpatients* meaning the emergency department may be a uniquely Nova Scotian usage (see **Figure 4**).

Figure 4. If you're feeling sick and need to go to the hospital, do you go to Outpatients, ER, or Emerg?



2.2 Pronunciation

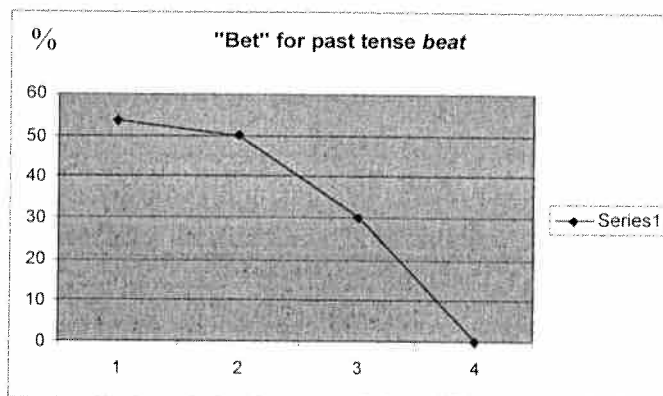
Turning to pronunciation results, there were some interesting findings. Although *aunt* pronounced with the vowel /ɑ/, as in *taunt*, is widely considered a feature of Maritime English, we found that it is not the predominant pronunciation throughout the entire Maritime region. In fact, 73% of our respondents said that *aunt* rhymed with *can't*. Most respondents said their pronunciation of this word did not depend on the situation. The minority who said that their pronunciation did vary explained that they would be more likely to rhyme *aunt* with *taunt* if the word stood alone (as in the sentence "My aunt is coming") and more likely to rhyme *aunt* with *can't* if the word preceded a name (as in "Aunt Linda said . . ."). One respondent explained the reason for having two forms of *aunt* by saying that there is potential for ambiguity when *aunt* by itself is pronounced like *ant*, so the pronunciation is altered from /ænt/ to /ant/, but when /ænt/ is followed by a proper name, it is clear that the word refers to a person and not an insect, so two pronunciations are not necessary. Our survey corroborates the findings Laura Hawkes' survey, where 43% of respondents pronounced *aunt* with the vowel /æ/ (as in *ant*) in the phrase "Aunt Sharon," but only 14% said /ænt/ if the word stood alone. However, while our findings show the same distinction being made in Pictou County, this distinction is made only by a minority of speakers. Fewer than 25% of our Pictou County respondents *ever* rhyme *aunt* with *taunt*. For most speakers *aunt* is pronounced /ænt/.

Our question about yod retention in *coupon* indicates that 91% of speakers overall (and 100% of speakers in the two older age categories) have /kju/ rather than /ku/ as the first syllable. This seems strong evidence of slower loss of yod in Nova Scotia than in the rest of Canada. In the Golden Horseshoe Area (including Oshawa, Toronto, Hamilton and Niagara Falls), for example, Chambers' survey indicates that yod retention has dropped to 10% among teenagers. And even in New Brunswick, only 58% of respondents overall have retained yod in *coupon* (*Dialect Topography*). Again we see that Maritime English is not homogeneous. Further research of other words such as *avenue*, *news*, *tune* and *Tuesday* (where yod is either retained or deleted after coronal consonants) would provide confirmation about the rate of retention in Nova Scotia.

The response to the question about the pronunciation of the past tense of *beat* is particularly interesting. From personal observation, we knew of a past tense variant for *beat*, which contains the vowel /ɛ/, as in *bet*. The *bet* pronunciation is used only when *beat* means "defeated," in sports, for example. Usage is high among the under-18 age group and drops consistently as age increases (see **Figure 5** next page). Two respondents added notes to their answers, saying

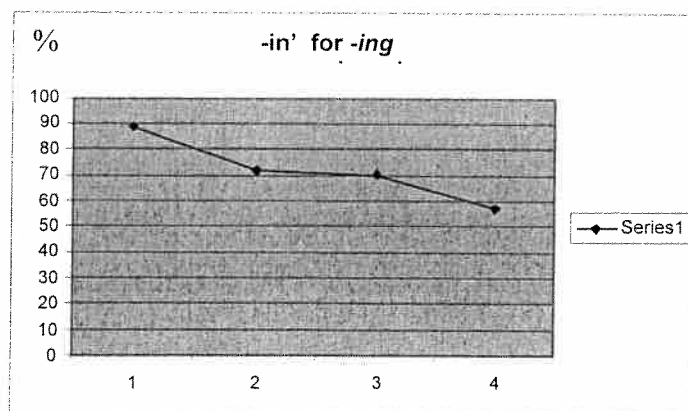
that *bet* was “slang” or that they try to avoid this pronunciation, which would indicate that **Figure 5** shows age grading as opposed to a new usage.

Figure 5. “Mark ___ Sandy in yesterday’s race.” Does *bet* rhyme with *set* or *feet*?



Word final *-ing* was pronounced *-in* by more respondents than expected, with almost 72% of speakers admitting that they “drop the final g” (i.e., end the word with an alveolar rather than a velar nasal consonant). The graph in **Figure 6**, unlike **Figure 5** above, likely shows language variation rather than age grading. Note the high overall usage and flatter shape of the graph.

Figure 6. If you’re speaking quickly, does “running” sound like “runnin”?

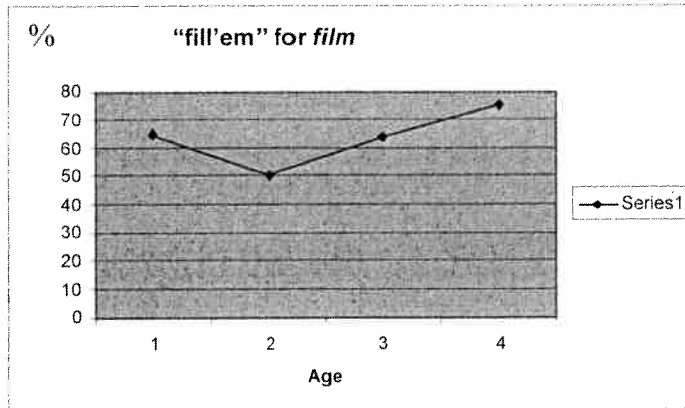


As noted in **Appendix A**, one speaker admitted that she “cannot say -ing” in this environment, demonstrating that this variation is entrenched.

Schwa epenthesis in the word *film* was also higher than anticipated, especially among younger speakers (see **Figure 7**), but as no other research seems to

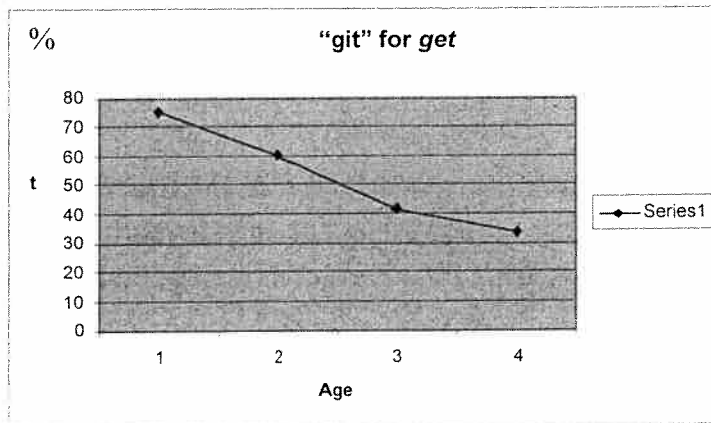
have been done on this characteristic of Nova Scotian English, it is difficult to know the history of this feature. We make a case for Scottish origins below.

Figure 7. Does *film*, as in a movie, sound more like *kiln* or *fill'em*?



Some alternation between /ɛ/ and /ɪ/ in *get* appears to be common (**Figure 8**). Whether *git* is a regional variant, or, like *bet*, a slang usage, which might show age grading, cannot be determined on the basis of this survey question alone.

Figure 8: Does *get* as in "get away from me" rhyme with *sit*, *seat*, *set* or *sate*?



Spelling evidence from nineteenth century written records does suggest, however, that *git* is not an innovation but a much older usage.

Finally, regarding pronunciation, many speakers in Pictou County claim that there is a difference between *witch* and *which*, demonstrating some retention of /w/. This distinction (between voiced /w/ and voiceless /ɸ/) is much more common in speakers over 30 years old, but even in the youngest age group (under 18) 42% claimed that *witch* and *which* sound different. This could mean that they hear

older speakers using /m/, as it is doubtful they themselves make the distinction in their speech.

2.3 Idioms

We asked about how one says "going to town" and had some interesting responses. In conversation, we had heard "going over town" and wondered how widespread this usage was. Was it merely idiolectal? We found that 14% of respondents have this curious usage, that is, use *over* as the preposition in this phrase, while 58% use the more conventional *to* or *into*. Although our survey question did not present the options "going *up* town" and "going *down* town," 29% of respondents wrote in these responses ("up town," 23%; and "down town," 6%). One respondent added that he or she would say "into town" unless going across the causeway, in which case it would be "up town." These various prepositional choices are, again, evidence for a unique lexicon in Pictou County.

3. Additional Observations of Pronunciation

Some additional data about the dialect of Pictou County were noted in informal, conversational settings. One of the most noticeable was the pronunciation of *my*. In standard Canadian English, *my* is transcribed [maj], but in the English of Pictou County, the diphthong begins with a rounder vowel, not as rounded as in the Newfoundland [moj], but perhaps occupying a vowel space between [ʌj] (as in *might*) and [ɔj] (as in *moist*).

Another difference in vowel quality can be heard in the pronunciation of words like *bad*. In standard Canadian English, this "a" vowel is /æ/; in Pictou County it is tenser and longer, perhaps [eə] (so that *bad* sounds something like *bay id*). This difference is especially noticeable before voiced stops but is not as apparent in *bat*, showing that there is contrast between two "a" sounds and not simply a uniform lengthening of /æ/. Another "a" sound that is notable is /ɒ/, an open, back, rounded vowel, still heard in the British and Scottish English (in the word *pot*, for example) but no longer a part of the vowel inventory of general Canadian English. This vowel may have been retained in the Pictou area in words like *want*, but this observation needs to be confirmed. A final note about "a" sounds: "a" before /r/ is not realized with the same vowel as in general Canadian English; again this observation needs further study.

We also noted in Pictou County English rounding of the vowel in *good*. *Good* is pronounced with a vowel close to [u] (as in *food*), and longer than the standard [gʊd]. Perhaps, as in the case of the tensing and lengthening of [æ], this change occurs before a voiced stop. More research might support this hypothesis.

Finally, we have observed on many occasions a “breathy yes.” Especially in conversation, *yes* is often accompanied by a sharp, audible breath.

4. *Origins of Pictou County Variants*

Where do the special characteristics of Pictou County English come from? We believe some are part of a Maritime dialect, but because of the Scottish heritage of the area, we looked to Scottish English, especially the language spoken in the eighteenth century, when immigration to Nova Scotia began, as another possible source. The major areas of Scotland from which the Nova Scotian immigrants originated included Inverness, Ayrshire, the Highlands, and the Western islands of Scotland (Campey 20). Robert Burns, writing in the eighteenth century in Ayrshire, Scotland, made particular note that present participles generally ending in *-ing* (e.g., *running*, in our survey) end, instead, in *-in* or *-an* in the Scottish dialect (Snyder 513). This is one piece of evidence that the almost universal /ŋ/ → [n] / _# found in our survey is not simply a result of fast speech but is a rule that is reinforced by, or descended from, a Scottish tendency that was likely present in the dialect of the early settlers in Nova Scotia.

Another Pictou County characteristic that we claim is a result of Scottish influence is retention of /ɹ/ (*which*) as a phoneme for some speakers. While this feature appears to be disappearing for younger speakers, many still claim to hear the *witch/which* distinction. The voiceless approximant /ɹ/ still contrasts with the voiced /w/ in Scots English, and certainly did in the eighteenth century (Jones 225-26), so the higher rate of retention in our Nova Scotia survey than in Canada generally could be due to Pictou County’s strong Scottish roots.

In addition, in our research, 63% of speakers pronounced *film* /filəm/ with schwa epenthesis. More research into this characteristic would determine whether it is a feature of English across the Maritimes. We propose that this feature definitely has Scottish origins. Scots English reduces consonant clusters in coda (final) position, as in *pearl*, *world*, *farm*, *film*: these /rɹl/, /rɹm/ and /lɹm/ clusters are broken into a CVC sequence, so that *pearl* sounds more like *peril* (Scobbie, Gordeeva and Matthews 10). *Film* is pronounced with exactly this extra syllable by Pictou County speakers.

Finally, the vowel changes that have been noted through our research, such as the rounding in *my* (which is similar to the Newfoundland *by/boy* merger, but not as advanced), the alternation of /ɪ/ and /ɛ/ in *get*, and the hard /r/ colouring in words like *car* warrant further investigation as potential Scottish influences. The pronunciation of *my* in particular is interesting. Alexander Scot in the late eighteenth century created a phonetic respelling system for Scottish readers in which *my* was spelled “moy,” in contrast to *why*, spelled “whey” (likely

representing IPA /aj/) (Jones 187). (See **Appendix D** for more information on the contemporary Scottish English vowel system.)

It appears that Pictou County residents, and likely those of a larger area in Nova Scotia, share linguistic characteristics that differentiate them from speakers of general Canadian English: the unique vocabulary and different realizations of vowels in Pictou are at least partially attributable to Scottish influences.

5. Conclusions

After analyzing the data, it appears that the English in Pictou County is not identical to a general Maritime dialect. Settlement pattern and strong Scottish roots may account for some of the dialect in Pictou County; isolation and a strong cultural heritage have made that dialect more distinct; but more research needs to be done throughout Nova Scotia to discover just how distinct the Pictou County dialect is. We hypothesized that variants found in Pictou County could be accounted for by looking to the Scottish ancestry and the cultural heritage of this area. While some Scots English explanations have been put forward, at this point, we cannot definitively explain all of the linguistic variation: our results have raised additional questions about the variation within Canadian English (see **Appendix E** for topics for future investigations). There is no doubt, however, that we have demonstrated one thing: there is a distinctive mode of speech in Pictou County.

Appendix A
Survey of Nova Scotia English with Results

Survey of Nova Scotia English

Introduction

Greetings! We are students in the Canadian English course at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, and are investigating trends and variation in Canadian English. We have chosen to study Nova Scotian English, particularly in Pictou Co. and Antigonish.

The following survey asks questions about vocabulary and pronunciation. Participation is voluntary and results will be used for research purposes only. All participant information will remain confidential.

Should you have any questions about the survey, or if you would like to view the survey results upon completion of our research, please contact Naomi Lutes and Clare White.

Very little research has been conducted on the English of Nova Scotia, so your participation is particularly valuable. We sincerely thank you for your cooperation.

Instructions

Participants/ Teachers:

Please distribute this survey to your class, friends, colleagues, etc. The more data the better! You can **print off copies and mail** them back, or you can **forward the email** and have participants reply to me. Finally, you can access the survey **online** <<http://www.surveymonkey.com/s.asp?u=254312778440>>.

Mailing address:
Naomi Lutes
Alma Mater Society
JDUC, Queen's University
Kingston, ON K7L 3N6

Thank you for your help.

Canadian English Survey

General Questions

1. What is your age group? (circle one)

- a) under 18
- b) 18-30
- c) 31-55
- d) over 55

2. Gender (circle one)

Male Female Prefer not to answer

3. Where did you grow up? (town and county, or closest town)

4. What are your parents' occupations?

5. Have you lived in Nova Scotia your whole life? If not, explain briefly.

6. Is English your first language?

Yes No

7. Other comments?

If you do not know the answer or do not wish to answer a certain question, please just skip the question and go to the next.

Vocabulary

1. What do you call the meal you eat in the evening?

Age	% Supper	% Dinner
under 18	89	11
18-30	87	13
31-55	92	8
over 55	100	0

2. What do you call your mother?

Age	% Mum	% Mom
under 18	53	47
18-30	56	44
31-55	50	50
over 55	50	50

3. How do you refer to your mother when speaking with someone else, as in, "My _____ . . .?"

Age	% Mum	% Mom	"Mother" was the other common response.
under 18	25	75	
18-30	33	47	
31-55	67	28	
over 55	59	21	

4. What do you call the area beneath the main floor of your house where the fuse box, water heater, furnace, storage, etc., is?

Age	% Cellar	% Basement
under 18	26	74
18-30	39	61
31-55	36	64
over 55	75	25

5. Complete this sentence **using the word *cellar***: "Where's Sue?" "Oh, she went _____ ."

Age	% to the cellar	% down to the cellar	% down cellar
under 18	67	25	8
18-30	33	55	12
31-55	2	80	18
over 55	12	63	25

6. What is haggis?

This question was only asked for the purpose of ascertaining whether the respondent was familiar with Scottish vocabulary. Roughly 20% of participants declined to answer or did not know what haggis was.

7. When you were a child, what did you call your grandparents? (If you used different names for your mother's and father's parents, please list all names.)

*Responses to this question are found in **Appendix B**.*

8. What do you call the berry that grows on bushes or trees and looks like a blueberry but is more purple and is smaller?

Age	% Indian plum/berry	% sugar berry	% wild berry
under 18	35	27	15
18-30	100	0	0
31-55	60	40	0
over 55	100	0	0

Some respondents obviously were not familiar with the berry we were talking about, which is known as an "Indian plum" to some. "Sugar berry" emerged as another possible name, which we had not been aware of. Those who were unfamiliar with this berry (about 40%) either did not answer or offered "grape," "raspberry" or "small purple berry." The approximately 60% who did know the berry demonstrated the existence of unique local vocabulary.

9. If you're feeling sick and need to go to the hospital, you go to _____ .

- a) Outpatients
- b) ER
- c) Emerg

Age	% Outpatients	% ER	% Emerg
under 18	92	1	7
18-30	94	0	6
31-55	91	0	9
over 55	100	0	0

10. What do you call a plate of desserts?

Age	% squares	% desserts
under 18	50	40
18-30	87	6
31-55	77	14
over 55	100	0

The majority said "squares." The rest said "desserts" or had no response. We did not find any unique local vocabulary.

Pronunciation

1. Does *garage* rhyme with **badge** or **collage**?

Age	% badge	% collage
under 18	52	48
18-30	80	20
31-55	67	33
over 55+	67	33

2. Does *unt* rhyme with **can't** or **taunt**? Does it depend on the situation?

Age	% taunt	% can't
under 18	46	54
18-30	12	88
31-55	21	79
over 55+	29	71

3. Does the beginning of *coupon* rhyme with *you* or *too*?

Age	% you	% too
under 18	80	20
18-30	84	16
31-55	100	0
over 55	100	0

4. If you lose a race to someone else, they *beat* you. In reference to a past event ("Mark ___ Sandy in yesterday's race"), does *beat* rhyme with *set* or *feet*?

Age	% feet (beat)	% set (bet)
under 18	46	54
18-30	50	50
31-55	70	30
over 55	100	0

5. If you're speaking quickly, do you tend to drop the last sound in "-ing" so that "running" sounds like "runnin"? If you don't do this yourself, have you heard others do this?

Age	% /ɪŋ/	% "drop last sound" /ɪn/
under 18	11	89
18-30	28	72
31-55	30	70
over 55	43	57

6. Does *film*, as in a movie, sound more like *kiln* or *fill'em*?

Age	% kiln	% fill'em
under 18	46	64
18-30	50	50
31-55	46	64
over 55	25	75

7. Do the vowels in *heard*, *bird* and *curd* sound exactly the same? If not, which ones are similar or different?

All but three respondents said these vowels sounded the same.

8. Does *get* as in "get away from me" rhyme with *sit*, *seat*, *set* or *sate*?

Age	% sit	% set
under 18	75	25
18-30	60	40
31-55	42	58
over 55	33	66

9. Do *witch* and *which* sound the same? Have you heard anyone pronounce them differently?

Age	% sound the same	% sound different (hw)
under 18	58	42
18-30	60	40
31-55	33	67
over 55	20	80

10. Do *caught* and *cot* sound the same?

Age	% sound the same	% sound different
under 18	75	25
18-30	40	60
31-55	40	60
over 55	50	50

Idioms

1. If you're going into town, would you say, "I'm going to town," "I'm going into town," or "I'm going over town"?

Age	% into/to	% over	% down	% up
under 18	54	13	9	24
18-30	57	14	0	29
31-55	75	0	0	25
over 55	60	40	0	0

Appendix B
Vocabulary Question 7: Names for Grandparents

When you were a child, what did you call your grandparents? (If you used different names for your mother's and father's parents, please list all names.)

Nanny, with over 30 responses, and **Grampy**, with over 25, were by far the most popular names for grandparents. **Grammy**, the third most popular name, appeared on 7 surveys. Below is a list of all responses in descending order of frequency. Alternate spellings are listed in parentheses and do not represent separate responses.

Nanny (or Nannie)
Grampy (Grampie)
Grammy (Grammie)
Grandma (Gramma)
Papa (Poppa)
Grandpa (Grampa) We assume that both spelling are realized with an *m* sound.
Nana
Nan
Grandpere
Gran
Grandad
Poppy (Puppy)
Gramps
Pépe
Meme
Grandmaman
Moody
Pop
Granddaddy
Oma
Opa
Mammy

Appendix C

How Respondents Described Their Accents

Responses to the question "Has anyone ever commented on your 'Maritime accent'? Why did they do that?"

Note: We have added slash brackets and phonetic symbols for clarity. None of the survey participants actually included these.

"Our /r/ is hard."

"*Out* is pronounced with a wide, open mouth."

(We don't understand quite which vowel space the diphthong described here is occupying, unless the respondent is referring to Canadian raising.)

"They say we pronounce *out* and *boat* funny."

(Again, perhaps raising is occurring, although boat should contain /o/, so perhaps that vowel is being noticeably tensed or diphthongized.)

"They comment on our Maritime twang."

"I try to avoid saying *I seen 'em*."

(referring to *seen* for *saw*)

"Ontarians say *eh?* a lot."

"Someone from BC said we pronounced our aar's like pirates."

(referring either to /r/ or /a/ or both)

"I can't even say *-ing*."

(in response to the question about *running* vs. *runnin'*)

"We drag our **e**'s to sound like **a**'s. *Leg* sounds more like *lag*."

(This is a great example of vowel lengthening where /ɛ/ → /æ/ or perhaps /e/.)

"I've been made fun of for the way I say my **a**'s."

"The way we say *room* is funny."

"We have hard /r/."

"We focus on the **rrr** in car and card, and they [Ontarians] focus on the **aaa**."

Appendix D Contemporary Scottish English Vowel System

**Contemporary Standard Scottish English, Southern Standard British English
and Standard American English Vowels**

English Words	SSE	SSBE	SAE
greed, greet, neice	i	i	i
agreed, sea, freeze	i:	i	i
grade, greyed, great, say	e or e:	ei	ei
bid	ɪ or ə	ɪ	ɪ
bed	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ
Pam	a or ʌ	a	æ
palm, shah	a or ʌ	ʌ	ʌ
cot	ɔ	ɒ	ɑ or ʌ
caught	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ or ɒ
coat, flowed, sew	o or o:	əʊ	oʊ
put	ʊ	ʊ	ʊ
brood, Bruce	ʊ	u	u
brewed, moo	ʊ:	u	u
cue	jʊ:	ju	ju
but	ʌ	ʌ	ʌ
side, price	ʌi	æ	aɪ
sighed, prize	a:e	æ	aɪ
bough	ʌʊ:	au	au
boy	ɔi	ɔi	ɔi

Adapted from Scobbie, Gordeeva and Matthews, "Acquisition of Scottish English Phonology" and Ladefoged, "A Course in Phonetics."

Appendix E

Future Investigations and Potential Areas of Research

We would recommend that the following questions be investigated in order to provide a more complete picture of English in Pictou County and Nova Scotia.

1. Is the "a" contrast between *bomb* and *balm* (/ɒ/ and /ɑ/), which is now lost for most North Americans, present in Nova Scotian English (Kinloch; Jones, "Some Constraints")? If so, is this due to maintenance of the distinction or to a Scottish influence?
2. Similarly, are there vestiges of the *cot/caught* distinction in Pictou County? Our survey is not conclusive enough to make a pronouncement on this issue.
3. Is there any truth to the claim that intervocalic /s/, as in *greasy*, is pronounced /z/? There is evidence of an s~z alternation in eighteenth-century Scots (Jones, *A Language Suppressed* 204). Chambers' *Dialect Topography* indicates that *greasy* rhymes with *cheesy* for 15% of older speakers in the Canadian Golden Horseshoe area and for 17% of the oldest age group in New Brunswick.
4. Is there yod retention in coronals, where palatalization is likely to occur? For example, is the first syllable in *Tuesday* in Nova Scotia pronounced as /tju/, /tu/ or has it palatalized to /tʃu/?
5. It would be interesting to administer the same survey to the entire province of Nova Scotia in order to see if dialect boundaries exist, and, if so, what relationship they might have to settlement patterns. Similarly, if a survey were administered to New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, we would have more information on the variation within the English of the Maritimes.
6. Is the fronting of /æ/, most noticeable before /r/ (as in *car*) but possibly present in other environments, distinctive in the Pictou County area only because /æ/ is significantly retracted in other areas of Canada (Clarke, Elms, and Youssef)?
7. Are there any syntactic characteristics of Pictou County English that might show Scottish influences, such as the construction "I've not" for "I haven't" or "She'll not go" for "She won't go"?

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PLAYING FOR THE NAME ON THE *FRONT* OF THE JERSEY? SPORTS TEAM NAMING ACROSS CANADA

Emma Giddy and Janette Leroux

1. Introduction

Organized athletics blossomed in Canada at the beginning of the twentieth century. Many cities set up local sports leagues, and in 1917 the National Hockey League (NHL) was formed, with five teams, all Canadian. In this era, naming rights were not sold to the highest bidder. Instead, professional and regionally representative teams were often named after prominent characteristics of their town, city or region. Names of this type could stimulate community support, instill local pride in the players, and even, in some cases, offer a competitive advantage by intimidating rival teams. Team names associated with regional pride and identity are still common in Canada. In this paper, we will discuss characteristics of Canadian sports team naming across the country as well as a fascinating form of semantic shift involving team names.

The title of our paper, "Playing for the Name on the *Front* of the Jersey?" alludes to a question that was frequently on the lips of one of Janette Leroux's minor league coaches. He wanted his young athletes to play for the whole team rather than for personal points or glory. The name of the *team* is on the front of the jersey, while the individual player's name is across the back.

2. Hypotheses

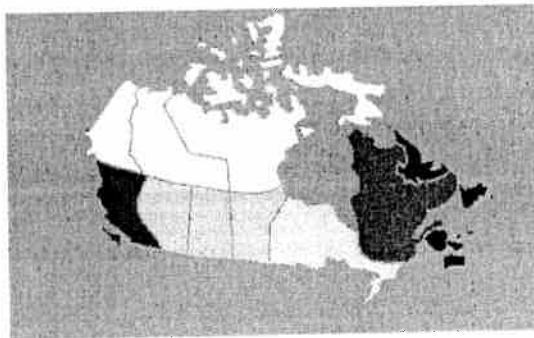
We will examine Canadian teams from different leagues and competitive levels in a variety of sports, and we expect to find great diversity in their names. However, when we narrow our scope to particular regions, however, delimited by geography, economics and history, we expect to find greater uniformity in the types of names chosen for teams. Thus, our first hypothesis is that team names within specific regions of Canada will be associated with particular types of regional characteristics. Our second hypothesis is that the namesake of many sports teams (i.e., the thing they were originally named after) will become, over time, through a process called "semantic shift," a meaning lost to many sports fans, who will associate the lexical item only with its newer sports referent.

3. Methods

3.1 Establishment of Sports Regions within Canadian Borders

For the purposes of our study, Canadian provinces with geographic, economic and historical similarities were grouped together into five major regions (see **Figure 1**): British Columbia; the Prairie Provinces (Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba); Ontario; Quebec; and the Atlantic Provinces (New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland and Labrador). Because the population of the North is dispersed and there is little documentation of its sports leagues, Nunavut, Yukon and Northwest Territories were, regrettably, not included in the study.

Figure 1. Canada divided into 5 regions: BC, the Prairie Provinces, Ontario, Quebec, and the Atlantic Provinces



3.2 Selection of Canadian Athletic Leagues

We decided to examine a variety of professional leagues, the NHL, the CFL (Canadian Football League) and MLB (Major League Baseball), as well as the semi-professional major junior hockey leagues, including the WHL (Western Hockey League), with teams from BC to Manitoba, the OHL (Ontario Hockey League), exclusively in Ontario, and the QMJHL (Quebec Major Junior Hockey League), with teams from Quebec to Newfoundland. We wanted to look at three different sports popular in Canada and at two different competitive levels in order to have a broad, comparative view of naming practices across the country.

3.3 Establishment of a Classification System for Team Names

Understanding how a team was named often required research into the history of the team, as well as its town or its region. We created a system (see **Figure 2** below) to categorize team names. Team names broadly pertaining to local geographic characteristics, including climatic or weather phenomena, topographic features (proximal mountains, valleys, rivers, lakes, oceans), were

assigned to **Category 1**. Teams named after local wildlife were assigned to **Category 2**. Teams with names relating to an occupation prevalent in the region, a major industry, an important natural resource or agricultural product, in other words, teams whose names reflect the economic character of their region, were assigned to **Category 3**. Teams named after events, persons, groups or emblems with regional historical significance were assigned to **Category 4**. Teams whose names constitute a *Canadianism* or *regionalism* were assigned to **Category 5**. Category 5 names are of special linguistic interest. A *Canadianism* is a word coined in Canada or a particular use or meaning of a word peculiar to Canadian English, and a *regionalism* is a word or a use or meaning of a word peculiar to a particular region. For example, *loonie* (one-dollar coin) is a Canadianism; *caribou* (a beverage of red wine and white whisky, popular at Carnaval de Québec) is a Quebec regionalism. Teams with names that bore no discernible relation to their home region were assigned to **Category 6**. Category 6 included teams established in one city that kept the same name after they were relocated to another city in a different region, as well as teams that had moved (with their names) from the United States to Canada. Category 6 team names, because they lacked real regional ties, were omitted from further analysis of data by region.

Figure 2. Classification of Team Names

#	Category	Link to region	Example
1	Geography	local weather or topographic features	Fog Devils, Oceanic
2	Wildlife	regional fauna	Blue Jays, Wolves
3	Economics	common occupations, local economic resources & activities	Oilers, Wheat Kings, Sea Dogs
4	History	groups, leaders, events, and emblems in Aboriginal, military, and settlement history	Eskimos, Petes, Frontenacs, Maple Leafs, Spitfires, Rebels
5	Regionalisms	distinctive regional vocabulary, esp. nicknames	Sagueneens, Nordiques
6	Unrelated	names transferred to a new region with a team; sport-specific or exotic names	Rockets, Ice, Tigercats

3.4 Regional Relevance Survey

Are local teams named after things that are a clear source of pride to area residents? In order to answer this question, and, at the same time, to assess whether the original meaning of a team name remains familiar to regional residents, we designed and conducted a survey (see **Appendix A**). We distributed 50 surveys exclusively to young, adult males (aged 18 to 23) attending a single post-secondary institution, the Royal Military College (RMC).

Since RMC, located in Kingston, Ontario, draws its student population from across the country, we were able to select a survey sample well stratified by region. Individuals in our sample are of an age to have just recently experienced language stabilization, which means that we could expect their language to be representative of the region they grew up in. The similarities in age, sex, level of sports participation and educational background among our survey respondents reduced the effect of extraneous variables, such as greater or lesser knowledge of sports and sports history as well as of Canadian geography and settlement history.

4. *Compilation of Results*

We first did background research on each team in the leagues we were studying and their host city in order to make an assumption about the origin of the team name. This data is shown in **Appendix B**. Next team names were classified by type and the data quantitatively analyzed by region. Results of our classification of team names by region are shown below in sections 4.1–4.6; each regional graph in these sections corresponds to a table of raw data in **Appendix B**.

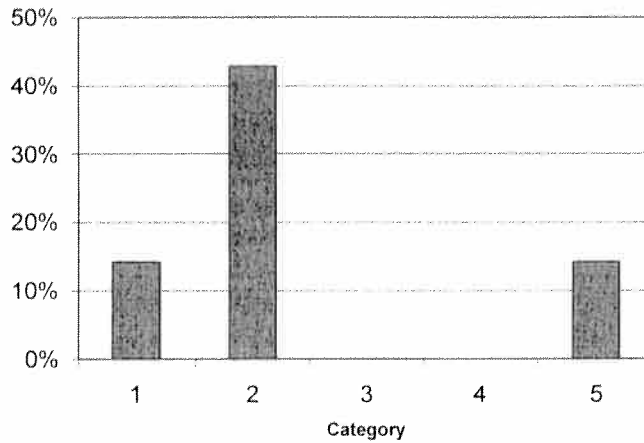
From our survey (**Appendix A**) data we ascertained what respondents saw as the best-known aspects of their hometowns, as well as whether they associated any of these features with the names of local sports teams. Each respondent was deemed either aware or unaware of a possible connection between a local team name and a community attribute or point of pride (see section 4.7). Although our survey asked for the names of *hometown* teams, many respondents provided the names of other teams in their region.

4.1 *British Columbia*

Almost half of British Columbia teams examined were named after local wildlife, which put them in Category 2 (see **Figure 3**). BC, with its unique, unspoiled mountain terrain, is richly populated with animals. The animals that have given their names to teams—the Prince George *Cougars*, Chilliwack *Bruins*, and BC *Lions*—are all predatory and aggressive by nature. Perhaps this element of life in BC has been emphasized in order to add a subtle form of intimidation to athletic rivalries. One BC team, the Kamloops *Blazers*, falls into Category 1, Geography, as the heavily forested Kamloops area is subject to serious seasonal forest fires.

Of the five survey respondents from BC, three were able to correctly identify the names of BC sports teams and accurately hypothesize about their origins. All three mentioned the Vancouver *Canucks* and the BC *Lions*, and all remarked on *Canucks* as a Canadian epithet and *Lions* as a possible reference to regional wildlife (mountain lions).

Figure 3. Classification of Team Names in British Columbia

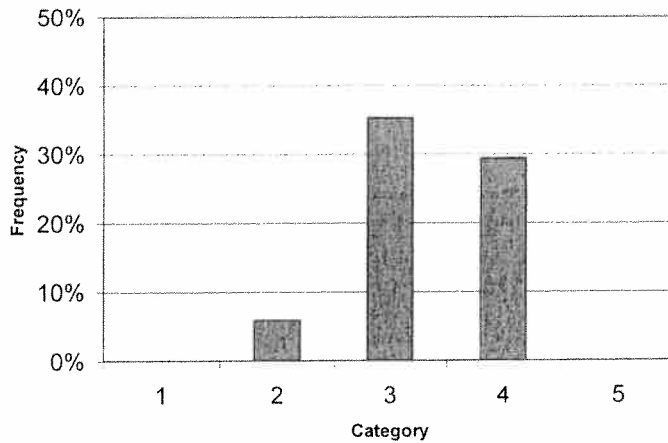


1 Geography • **2** Wildlife • **3** Economics • **4** History • **5** Regionalism/Canadianism

4.2 The Prairies

Team names in the Prairie Provinces we assigned mainly to Category 3, Economics, and Category 4, History (see **Figure 4**). The Category 3 teams—the

Figure 4. Classification of Team Names in the Prairie Provinces



1 Geography • **2** Wildlife • **3** Economics • **4** History • **5** Regionalism/Canadianism

Edmonton Oilers, *Edmonton Oil Kings*, *Brandon Wheat Kings*, *Swift Current Broncos*, and *Calgary Stampeders*—bear names related to the petroleum industry, crop agriculture and ranching. The two teams from Winnipeg both bear names related to military traditions, specifically, CFB (Canadian Forces

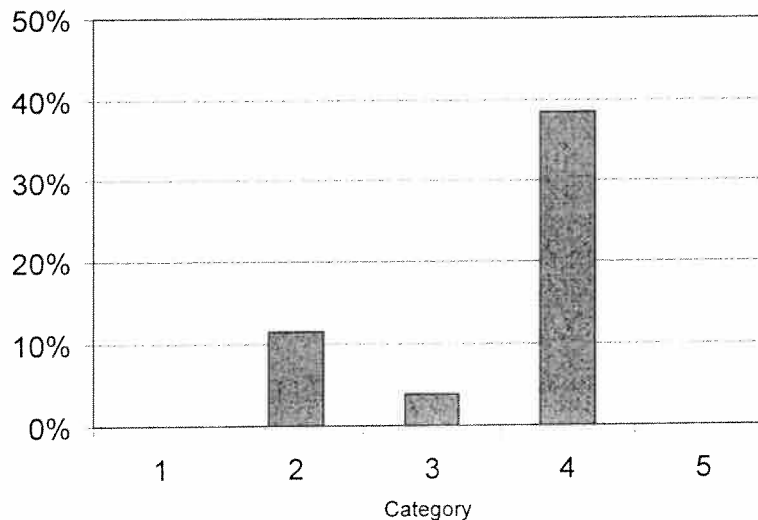
Base) Winnipeg and its aircraft: the Winnipeg *Jets* and Winnipeg *Blue Bombers*. The Regina *Pats* also have a military connection. Their name honours Princess Patricia of Connaught, a granddaughter of Queen Victoria and the original Colonel-in-Chief of the famous Regina-based military regiment, Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry.

All 16 of the survey respondents from the Prairie Provinces (six from Alberta, five from Saskatchewan, and five from Manitoba) were able to identify sports teams in the region, such as the Edmonton *Oilers* and Calgary *Stampeders*, and 15 of the 16 (all but one Saskatchewanian) were able to hypothesize accurately about the origin of their names.

4.3 Ontario

The largest group, almost 40%, of Ontario teams that we examined bore names associated with the history of the region (Category 4; see **Figure 5**). Ontario is, historically, a founding province of Canada and, geographically, it sits at the centre of the country. In national politics, it always plays a prominent role. Some Ontario teams, particularly those based in Ottawa, the nation's capital, have names of national significance. The Ottawa *Senators* are named for the members of the Upper Chamber of the Parliament of Canada, while the Ottawa *67's* are named for the year their franchise joined the Ontario Hockey League, which happened to coincide with Canada's Centennial year (1967).

Figure 5. Classification of Team Names in Ontario



1 Geography • **2** Wildlife • **3** Economics • **4** History • **5** Regionalism/Canadianism

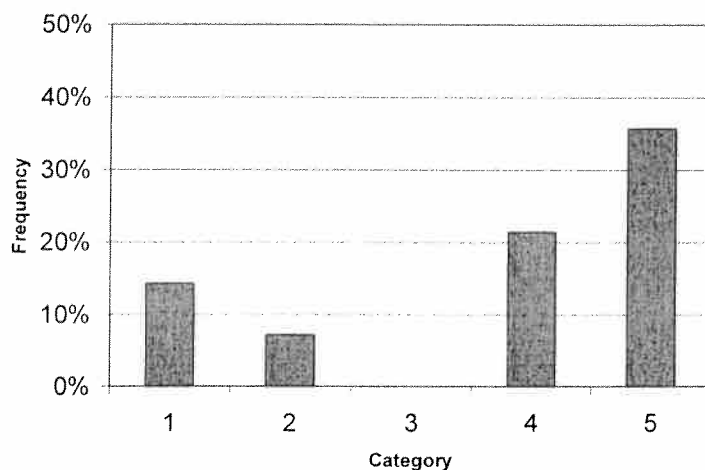
Another OHL team, the Kingston *Frontenacs*, was named to honour the French colonial administrator who established Fort Frontenac on the site of present-day Kingston in the late 1600s. Interestingly, the name *Frontenac* lives on in the greater Kingston area beyond the sports context. Businesses, schools, a wilderness park, and even the county in which Kingston is situated perpetuate the name.

Of the five survey respondents from Ontario, three were able to identify some of the region's sports teams as well as accurately hypothesize about the origins of these names. Most often mentioned were the Toronto *Maple Leafs* and the Ottawa *Senators*.

4.4 Quebec

As shown in **Figure 6** below, team names in Quebec reflect a deep sense of linguistic pride. Thirty-five per cent of all teams examined are named with a Quebec regionalism, which puts them in Category 5. Next in importance are team names associated with History, Category 4, and Geography, Category 1.

Figure 6. Classification of Team Names in Quebec



1 Geography • 2 Wildlife • 3 Economics • 4 History • 5 Regionalism/Canadianism

Almost every Quebec team has a French name, and some of these names pertain specifically to the francophone population. A good example is the Quebec *Nordiques*. In direct translation, a *Nordique* is a "French-speaking Northman." The Montreal *Canadiens* use the French spelling of a word all Canadians can identify with: *Canadian*. Yet the team also demonstrates a strong provincial allegiance with its nickname, the *Habs*. *Habs* is a clipped form of *Habitants*. *Les Habitants*, the early permanent residents of New France, proudly distinguished themselves from French merchants and administrators whose stay

in the colony was temporary. To this day, francophone Quebecers use the term *habitants* to distinguish themselves from tourists and English speaking visitors.

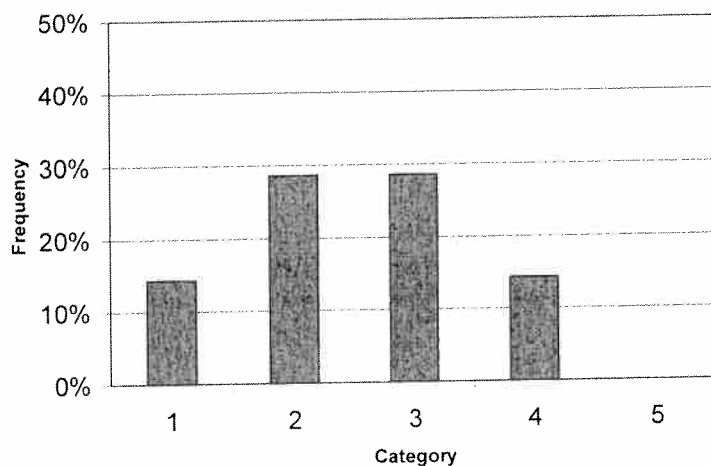
Since French is the official and majority language of Quebec, and the element that makes Quebec unique in North America, French team names are not at all surprising. It is linguistically interesting, however, that French team names have also entered the region's English vocabulary. Some team names have unofficial English spellings created by anglophone sports fans and sports writers (e.g., Olympics for the Gatineau *Olympiques*, Cataracts for the Shawinigan *Cataractes*, Ramparts for the Quebec *Remparts*).

Of the seven survey respondents from Quebec, six were able to provide the names of teams in the region and hypothesize accurately about their origin. Most respondents mentioned the Montreal *Canadiens*, the Montreal *Allouettes* and the former Montreal baseball team, the *Expos*.

4.5 The Atlantic Provinces

As shown below in **Figure 7**, Category 2, Wildlife, and Category 3, Economics, represent most of the team names in the Atlantic region. These two categories together account for just under 60% of team names examined.

Figure 7. Classification of Team Names in the Atlantic Provinces



1 Geography • **2** Wildlife • **3** Economics • **4** History • **5** Regionalisms

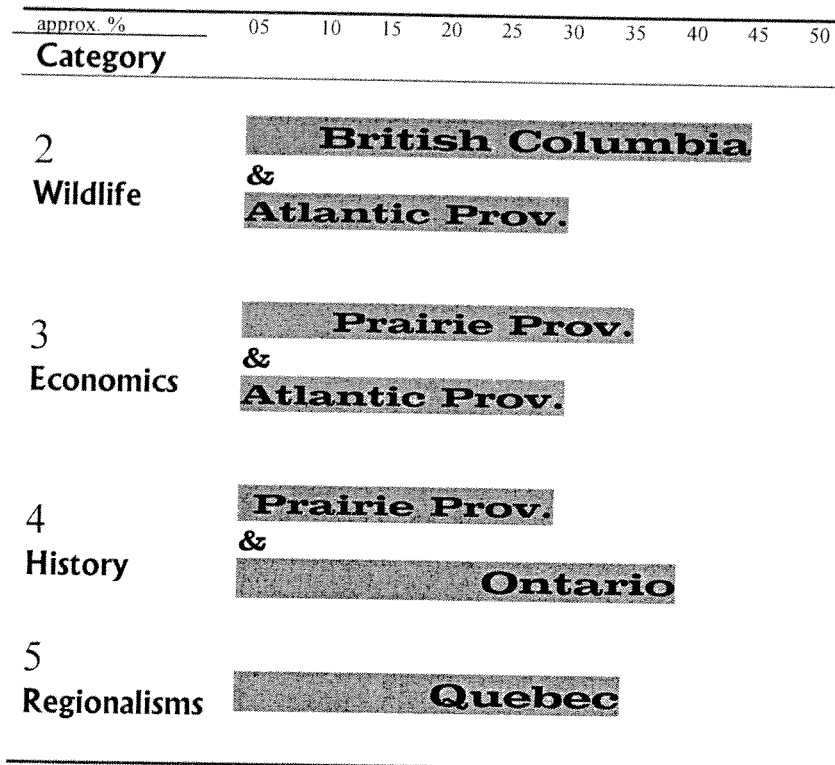
All the names examined in this region belong to teams in the semi-professional QMJHL, for there is not a single professional sports team based in the Atlantic Provinces. The names Cape Breton *Screaming Eagles* and Saint John *Sea Dogs*

reflect the local appreciation of wildlife and pride in the fishing industry. The *Screaming Eagles* were named for the largest bald eagle population on the East Coast, and the *Sea Dogs* for the companion and rescue animals commonly used by fishermen in the area. Of the nine survey respondents from the Atlantic Provinces, only five were able to identify regional team names and accurately hypothesize about their origins. This comparatively poor showing by Atlantic respondents can probably be attributed to the lack of high profile professional teams in the region.

4.6 Regional Naming Practices Compared

Regions were then compared according to the category or categories of team names that predominated (see **Figure 8** below).

Figure 8. Predominant Team Name Categories by Region



Each region favours one or two types of names. Teams from British Columbia are most commonly named after wildlife; teams from the Prairie Provinces usually bear names associated with the region's economic strengths or history; teams from Ontario typically have names of historical significance; the names of

Quebec teams are most often regionalisms, often Québécois nicknames; and, lastly, team names from the Atlantic Provinces are usually associated with animals and the maritime economy.

4.7 Awareness of the Significance of Team Names

Figure 9, below, provides some insight into the intensity of regional pride across Canada by showing the percentage of respondents in each region who could identify important features and characteristics of their region and link these to sports team names.

Figure 9. Awareness of Significance of Regional Team Names

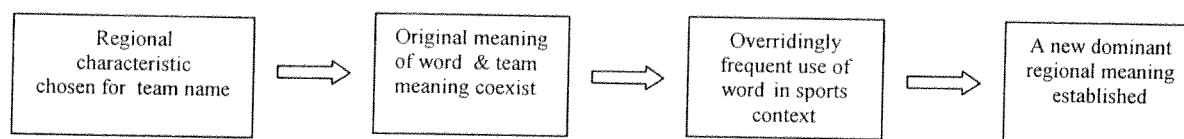
Region	% Respondents Aware
Prairie Prov.	94
Quebec	86
BC	60
Atlantic Prov.	56
Ontario	40

Respondents from the Prairie Provinces had the highest level of awareness of the significance of team names, most likely because of the everyday impact in their region of the prosperous agricultural and petroleum industries. Quebec respondents demonstrated a strong sense of cultural identity in being able to identify and explain many team names that were regionalisms, even though regionalisms—as linguistic rather than real-word entities—constitute a subtle category. Respondents from British Columbia and the Atlantic Provinces had similar levels of awareness of team name origins. We expected a higher level of awareness among British Columbians, since the majority of BC team names clearly derived from local wildlife, and a lower level of awareness among Atlantic respondents since no professional sports teams are based east of Montreal, Quebec. Local semi-professional teams were in fact known to over half of Atlantic respondents, and, it is interesting to note, some Atlantic respondents identified the Montreal Canadiens as a local regional team. Ontario respondents proved to be the least aware of team name significance, a fact which can partially be attributed to the emphasis in Ontario team names on historical associations and on an overall lack of historical knowledge in younger generations.

4.8 Team Names and Semantic or Conceptual Shift

As we studied our survey results, we discovered an interesting linguistic pattern consistently associated with team names: semantic shift. The linguistic term *semantic shift* refers to the phenomenon of words changing meaning over time. Some linguists (D. Geeraerts et al.) theorize that semantic shift occurs when the semantic load carried by a word shifts from a nuclear or central meaning to an extended or peripheral one. In the case we are looking at, the case of sports teams named for regional characteristics, the central or nuclear meaning of the naming word is the noteworthy regional characteristic and the new, peripheral or extended meaning is the sports team and its members. The very frequent use of the term in the sports context, however, creates for people living in the region a new meaning (and thereby a new regionalism). For many sports fans, the original, literal, "nuclear" meaning of the word or phrase that names the team is lost or dissociated. **Figure 10** is a flow chart illustrating the process.

Figure 10. Semantic Shift: Loss of Connection Between Team Name and Regional Characteristic



This shift can be exemplified with the name of the Cape Breton major junior hockey team, the *Screaming Eagles*. Cape Breton residents are aware of the literal meanings of the two words *screaming* and *eagle*, yet when these words are juxtaposed in the phrase "screaming eagle," they connote for most Cape Bretoners not a loud bird but a hockey player on the local team. Likewise, Albertans do not think of the Calgary *Hitmen* as an urban group of hired assassins; rather they recognize them as a WHL hockey team. Names of competitive teams in Canada's popular sports consistently become established vocabulary at the local, regional and national level.

4.9 Puns & Personification in Team Names

Our research also revealed the clever incorporation of puns into team names. A regional soccer team, the Edmonton *Drillers*, although not part of a league or sport we investigated systematically, exemplifies a team name with a dual meaning. While the term *drill* refers to the action of drilling for oil, a common occupation within this petroleum-rich area, it also commonly refers to the action of forcefully kicking the soccer ball. A CFL team we did include in our data analysis, the Calgary *Stampeders*, uses a more discreet pun. While their name alludes to the city's internationally known horse and cattle fair, the Calgary Stampede, it also suggests the ability to *stampede* over opponents. In addition,

we discovered that some teams have been named using a form of personification. Examples include the Sarnia *Sting*, and the Owen Sound *Attack*. These names derive from words that normally function both as verbs and nouns. Then as team names, the words *sting* and *attack* become collective nouns for groups of people.

5.1 Directions for Future Research

The topic of athletic team naming is immense and as yet unexplored. It would be very interesting to apply similar research techniques and to determine naming patterns in the rest of North America, as well as throughout Europe, where athletic league infrastructures are comparable. Our research in Canada has demonstrated a regional divergence in naming trends that we believe reflects this country's widely diverse geography, fauna, economic activities and settlement history. We speculate that teams in a more homogenized society would not show the same pattern of regional differentiation in naming.

In addition, we believe a study of team naming patterns in university varsity athletics might provide interesting insight into not only academic history but also the history of Canadian elites. We also think it would be relevant to analyse our general Canadian data in a different way by looking for consistencies in team names associated with particular cities. For example, the Toronto *Maple Leafs*, the Toronto *Blue Jays* and the *St. Michael's Majors* are all based in the city of Toronto, and all bear rather meek names in comparison to some of the more aggressively named teams within their leagues. Other cities might demonstrate such consistency across teams and sports, and it would be interesting to hypothesize about the motives for each city's self-presentation in its team names.

Since the early 1900s, when the burgeoning of local, regional and national athletic leagues necessitated teams adopting distinguishing titles, teams in Canada have consistently borne names reflecting regional identity. In recent years, Canadian athletics have grown exponentially in popularity and become a prime vehicle for commercial interests. We wonder about future naming trends given that many teams created recently have been named after an element of their owning company rather than after a characteristic of their hometown. For example, the Anaheim *Ducks*, whose first owner was the Walt Disney Company, are named after a fictional team in a Disney movie. And the Plymouth *Whalers*, who are based in Michigan (nowhere near whales or whalers), are so named because they are the property of a businessman who owned the Hartford *Whalers*. (Hartford, Connecticut, is in a former whaling region.)

Finally, research into team names could take another tack involving sports psychology and psycholinguistics. It would be interesting to determine the effect

of team names on a team's mentality, game and style of play. It would also be interesting to study whether region-specific names evoke a hometown passion in individual players that enhances their athletic performance.

5.2 Conclusion

A hockey player from Saint John's, Newfoundland and Labrador, is a *Fog Devil*, but a hockey player from Chilliwack, British Columbia, is a *Cougar*. A hockey player from Brandon, Manitoba, is a *Wheat King*, while a hockey player from Edmonton, Alberta, is an *Oil King*. Sports teams in Canada are consistently named after distinctive characteristics of their home region, a practice that instills pride in the community and pride of place. The types of characteristics that most often inform team names vary by region across Canada. Wildlife inspires the majority of team names in BC; economic activities in the Prairie Provinces; history in Ontario; linguistic allegiance in Quebec; wildlife and economic activities in the Atlantic Provinces. The diversity of Canada accounts for these different naming proclivities. Team names are initially associated with a non-sporting referent or namesake, but over time, through a process of semantic shift, they become regionalisms with the local team and its members as the primary, sometimes only, meaning of the lexical item.

Appendix A Team Name Survey

This survey will be used for student research only. The findings may be published; however, all survey answers will remain completely anonymous.

1. How old are you? _____
2. What is the name of your hometown? _____
3. Have you lived in your hometown for over 10 yrs? Yes No
4. What is your hometown or city best known for (e.g., history, industry, common occupations, landmarks, wildlife, etc.)?

5. List all of the sports teams in your city that you can think of.

6. For all of the teams listed above, comment on why you think that they were given that particular name.

Thank you for your participation with this research. For survey and project results please give your name and email address and you will be contacted upon completion.

Appendix B Classification of Team Names in Selected Leagues

Leagues selected represent the popular Canadian sports of hockey, baseball and football (Canadian) at two competitive levels:

semi-professional--the Western Hockey League (WHL), the Ontario Hockey League (OHL), and the Quebec Major Junior Hockey League (QMJL)

professional--the National Hockey League (NHL), Major League Baseball (MLB) and the Canadian Football League (CFL)

Category Key: 1 Geography • 2 Wildlife • 3 Economics • 4 History • 5 Regionalism/Canadianism

Table 1. Teams of British Columbia Teams: WHL, NHL & CFL

City	Name	Cat.	Origin
Semi-Professional			
Vancouver	Giants	6	unknown
Kamloops	Blazers	1	forest fires prevalent in area
Kelowna	Rockets	6	moved from Washington State
Prince George	Cougars	2	animal native to area
Chilliwack	Bruins	2	animal native to area (bear)
Professional			
Vancouver	Canucks	5	Canadian, esp. military or RCMP member
Vancouver	BC Lions	2	animal native to area (mountain lion)

Table 2. Teams of the Prairie Provinces: WHL, NHL, & CFL

City	Name	Cat.	Origin
Semi-Professional			
Brandon MB	Wheat Kings	3	Brandon is "Wheat City"; rich, abundant farmland
Swift Current SK	Broncos	3	significant ranching operations in area
Regina SK	Pats	4	honours royal Princess Patricia and her namesake regiment
Moose Jaw SK	Warriors	6	moved from Winnipeg MB
Edmonton AB	Oil Kings	3	petroleum industry centre
Medicine Hat AB	Tigers	6	ferocious, exotic animal (Asia)
Red Deer AB	Rebels	4	historical battle site, Riel Rebellion
Kootenay AB	Ice	6	moved from Edmonton
Calgary AB	Hitmen	4	Calgary born team owner, celebrity wrestler: Brian "Hitman" Hart
Lethbridge AB	Hurricanes	6	unknown
Professional			
Edmonton AB	Eskimos	4	Aboriginal people of Canadian north
Calgary AB	Stampeders	3	agricultural herd animals (bison, horses, cattle)
Saskatchewan SK	Roughriders	6	name borrowed from Ottawa; origin unclear--log drivers, North West Mounted Police horse trainers, or Span.-Am. War regiment?
Winnipeg MB	Blue Bombers	3, 4	type of aircraft formerly flown out of military base CFB Winnipeg
Calgary AB	Flames	6	moved from Atlanta, site of famous Am. Civil War fire
Edmonton AB	Oilers	3	petroleum industry centre
Winnipeg MB	Jets	3, 4	CFB Winnipeg, established military (air force) base

Table 3. Teams of Ontario: OHL, NHL, CFL, MLB

City	Name	Cat.	Origin
Semi-Professional			
Belleville	Bulls	6	unknown
Peterborough	Petes	4	namesake of city--Peter (Pete) Robinson, organized 1 st Irish settlers
Ottawa	67's	4	honours Canada's Centennial Year (1967)
Oshawa	Generals	3	local major industry--General Motors of Canada
Kingston	Frontenacs	4	Fort Frontenac in Kingston, named for French colonial administrator
Barrie	Colts	6	unknown
Mississauga	IceDogs	6	unknown
Sudbury	Wolves	2	animal native to and prominent in area
Toronto	St. Mike's Majors	4	orig. from St. Michael's College School; "A" team nicknamed "Majors"
Brampton	Battalion	4	36 th Peel Battalion of Infantry, 1836
London	Knights	6	unknown
Owen Sound	Attack	6	unknown
Guelph	Storm	1	southwestern Ontario, Canada's "Tornado Alley"
Kitchener	Rangers	6	farm team for New York Rangers
Erie	Otters	2	animal native to and prominent in area
Sarnia	Sting	6	unknown
[Saginaw]	Spirit	6	US team, American bald eagle logo
[Plymouth]	Whalers	6	US team with connection to Hartford Whalers
Sault Ste. Marie	Greyhounds	6	canine name to rival Sudbury Wolves (greyhounds are faster)
Windsor	Spitfires	4	legendary WWII aircraft; team formed in 1945
Professional			
Toronto	Maple Leafs	4	Canadian emblem; maple tree common in Canada
Ottawa	Senators	4	Ottawa Canada's capital and Senate the parliamentary upper chamber
Hamilton	Tigercats	6	ferocious, exotic animal (Asia)—blend of two teams Tigers & Wildcats
Toronto	Argonauts	6	originally Toronto Rowing Club; football was off-season sport
Ottawa	Renegades	6	outlaw, rebel; unknown significance
Toronto	BlueJays	2	bird of NA, its colour associated with Toronto sports teams

Table 4. Teams of Quebec: QMJHL, NHL, CFL, MLB

City	Name	Cat.	Origin
Semi-Professional			
Baie-Comeau	Drakkar	4	trans. "dragon-prowed, Viking ship"; 2 waterways in area, possible Viking visits
Chicoutimi	Sagueneens	5	name of regional residents, "people of the Saguenay"
Drummondville	Voltigeurs	4	trans. "acrobat, elite soldier"; name of 1812 War regiment receiving land grants in Drummondville area
Gatineau	Olympiques	6	unknown significance
Quebec	Remparts	5	defensive wall surrounding Quebec city
Rimouski	Oceanic	1	city is on the south shore of the St. Lawrence near the ocean
Rouyn-Noranda	Huskies	6	tough determined animal represents mining community
Shawnigan	Cataractes	1	trans. "large waterfall or downpour": rainy area
Val-d'or	Foreurs	3	trans. "drillers": rich mining area
Victoriaville	Tigres	6	unknown

table continues

Table 4. Teams of Quebec: QMJHL, NHL, CFL, MLB (continued)

City	Name		Origin
Professional			
Quebec	Nordiques	5	French: "French-speaking Northman [Canadian]"
Montreal	Canadiens	5	French: "Canadian"
Montreal	Alouettes	5	famous work song and nickname for Quebec citizens
Montreal	Expos	4	"Expo": world exhibition held in 1967 in Montreal

Table 5. Teams of the Atlantic Provinces: QMJHL

City	Name	Cat.	
Semi Professional			
Bathurst NB	Acadie-Bathurst Titan	4	French: <i>Acadie</i> "Acadian homeland" & Titan, "giant, strong" in both official languages
Cape Breton NS	Screaming Eagles	2	largest population of bald eagles on East Coast
Halifax NS	Mooseheads	3	team franchise owned by Moosehead brewery
Moncton NB	Wildcats	6	unknown
Charlottetown PEI	Rocket	6	moved from Montreal; namesake—hockey legend Maurice "Rocket" Richard
Saint John NS	Sea Dogs	3	working dogs on fishermen's boats
St. John's NL	Fog Devils	1	foggiest Canadian city (124 days/year)

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DEFENDING CANADIANISM THE THREAT OF AMERICAN CULTURE TO THE CANADIAN LINGUISTIC IDENTITY

Ashley Frambach and Emily Hazlett

1. Introduction and Hypotheses

What role does the English language play in the Canadian identity? English is the language of choice for the vast majority of Canadians, from Bonavista Bay to Vancouver Island. It is a unifying force, as most Canadians, except in Quebec, use it for commerce, education, politics and everyday life. English spoken in Canada, despite the existence of certain dialects and regionalisms, is remarkably homogeneous coast to coast. However, what complicates this relationship between English in Canada and identity is the popularity of the language internationally. The British Empire spread English throughout the world; it is spoken widely in Canada, the United States, much of the West Indies, South Africa, Australia and India. English has become the dominant trade language all across the world. While the diffusion of the English language helps Canadians find their way internationally, it also makes language less relevant to identity here than it would be in Japan or Sweden, where the language is spoken only in that nation-state (Resnick 53-54). One would never suggest that Quebecers and French nationals are the same because they speak the same language. Language is just one factor in cultural identity. Yet, it is a very important one. English, as well as being the most widespread language in the world, is the official language of the United States of America, and it is this neighbour to the south, speaking the same language, that undoubtedly presents the largest cultural threat to Canada. Canadians are inundated with American magazines, books, television and movies (Smith 466). Shared media means that there is a strong presence of American English in Canada. The Japanese word *sushi* does not pose a linguistic threat to Canadians, but somehow the word *faucet* (in lieu of *tap*) threatens the very heart of our Canadian identity.

One must be able to pick up on small differences to distinguish Canadian English from other national variants, especially American English, to which it is very similar. We therefore aimed to test Canadians' use as well as recognition of particularly Canadian pronunciations, spellings and vocabulary. We wanted to see if Canadians recognize the English language as a unifying force, and, ultimately, if they see Canadian English as distinct from world and American English. We hypothesized that people with a strong sense of Canadian identity

and anti-Americanism would be more likely to choose Canadian spellings, pronunciations and vocabulary over American ones. Our second hypothesis was that respondents would be more likely to choose Canadianisms in our survey if they were primed beforehand to consider the threat America poses to Canadian culture.

2. Method

To test these two hypotheses we created a six-page survey that we divided into two sections: *Items A–F* and *Item G* (see **Appendix A**). Items A–F tested Canadians' awareness and use of their language. Specifically, Item A looked at vocabulary and Item B at pronunciations. The latter we correlated with the pronunciations given in the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary (CanOD)*. Item C looked at recognition of Canadianisms, words that are exclusively Canadian or that take on a different meaning in a Canadian context. We relied again on the *CanOD* in determining whether a word is a Canadianism. Items D and E compared respondents' preferred spelling of words with what they deemed to be the "Canadian" standard spelling. We ascertained Canadian spellings from the *COD*, and took into account that there were often two correct spellings. Before we compiled our survey questions, we conducted informal research to find what words and spellings Canadians feel are associated with the Canadian identity. These words and spellings, which Canadians already associate with their national identity, we made a point of including in our formal survey to make the Canadian factor more salient. Item F presented the respondents with nine open-ended questions about their attitudes towards their language. We based many of our attitude and awareness questions on the *Survey of Vancouver English* (Richards 180-185). Finally, Item G, in a section by itself, tested Canadian nationalism and anti-Americanism, two measures which we combined to assess respondents' level of "Canadianism." We primed half the respondents by placing Item G, which brings to mind American politico-cultural influences, at the beginning of our survey; the other half of the respondents did not encounter Item G until the end. Placing Item G in these two different positions in our survey allowed us to test our second hypothesis. The questions for Item G were based on ones used in Prasad's undergraduate survey published in the *Strathy Working Papers* of 2000 (55-57).

The various sections of the survey were scored in different ways. For Items A and B, participants were given scores out of 7 and 5 respectively, based on the number of questions for which they chose the correct Canadian response. For Item C, participants received 1 mark for each Canadianism that they correctly identified, and lost a half-mark for each item that they falsely identified. Scores for this section were marked out of 15 (all Canadianisms selected, with no false identifications). Items D and E were scored comparatively. Because there is

legitimate variation in Canadian spelling, we *compared* the responses in D and E to see how likely our respondents were to use what *they* perceived to be the "Canadian" spellings in this word list. Therefore, the score for items D and E combined was simply the number of words that were identified both as "Canadian" and as the participant's preferred spelling. A perfect correlation in these word lists produced a score of 19 for Item D/E. The short answers to the open-ended questions in Item F we read and coded in order to standardize people's various responses. People were marked as answering the questions with "yes," "sometimes/maybe" or "no"; in the case of participants' views of their own language, responses were marked as either "positive," "neutral," or "negative". We also counted the number of times participants reported *vocabulary, pronunciation or spelling* as indicators of Canadian English. Finally, to facilitate the scoring of Item G (where respondents answered on a scale of 1–7) half of the statements (specifically, statements e, g, h, i, j, k, and n) were reversed-scaled, so that a higher number universally indicated a higher degree of anti-Americanism/ Canadian nationalism. This section was scored out of 98. We handed out 41 surveys altogether. Two surveys were discarded because non-Canadians completed them. One was discarded because the respondent gave the same response for each statement in Item G. In total, we had 38 usable surveys. We had respondents indicate age, gender and income in order to rule out strong influences from these factors.

3. Results

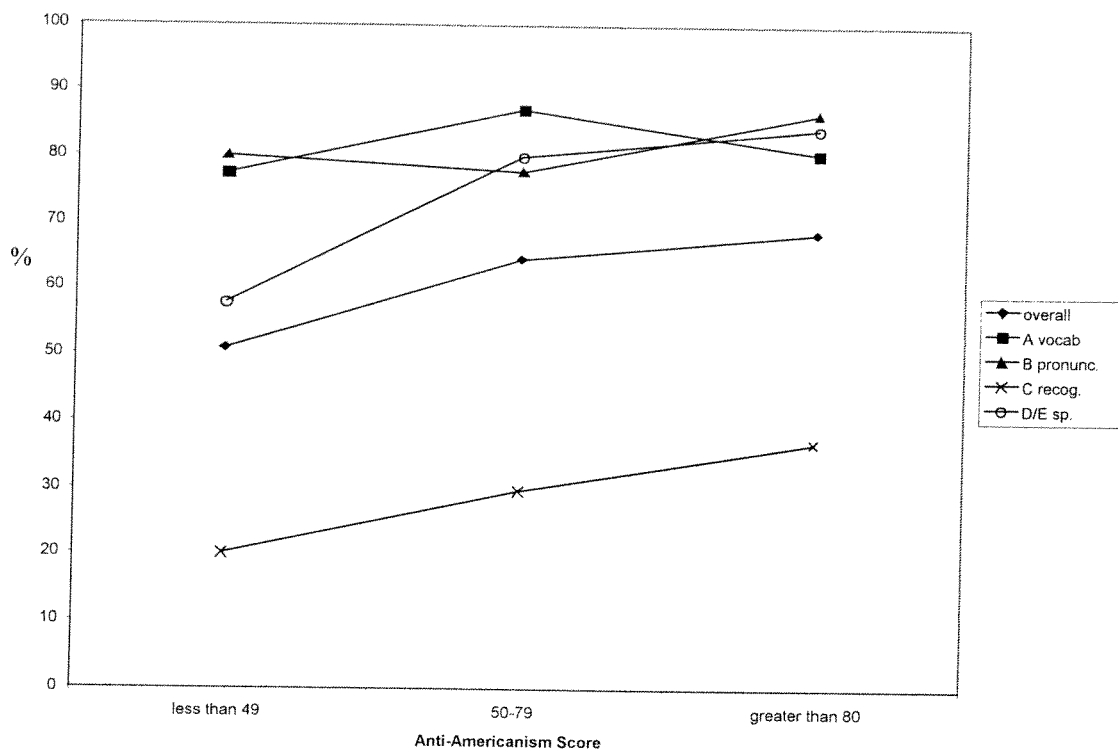
As hypothesized, our results indicate that there is a significant positive correlation between people's sense of Canadian identity and their use of Canadianisms. This correlation exists regardless of age, gender and income. However, our second hypothesis, that priming for anti-American sentiment would affect the correlation, was not confirmed by our results. Whether participants encountered Item G before or after the rest of the survey did not significantly affect results for any survey item. Thus, with no reason to differentiate among participants, we pooled results from all 38 usable surveys, creating a single larger test base.

Participants' results on the Anti-Americanism questionnaire (Item G) ranged from 29 to 95 (out of a possible 98), with higher scores indicating a higher level of Anti-Americanism and Canadian nationalism. The average score was 76.9. Statement **k**, "Canada should become part of the US," received the strongest response from participants, with the average being 1.47 (responses could range from 1 "strongly disagree" to 7 "strongly agree"). No statement had a mean response that indicated pro-Americanism or anti-Canadianism.

Items A through E, which tested vocabulary, pronunciation, recognition of Canadianisms and adherence to "Canadian" spellings, were analysed together and then separately. When results were combined for all five items, participants' scores ranged from 15.3 to 39.5, with a mean score of 30.2 (out of a possible 46). We tested the correlation between scores on Item G and this score of overall Canadian usage, and found a significant, positive relationship. Forty-three per cent of the variability in participants' scores for overall Canadian usage can be accounted for by their Anti-Americanism score ($r = .43, p < .01$). In other words, 43% of Canadians' spelling, pronunciation and vocabulary choices are directly related to their sense of Canadianness or their anti-Americanism. Respondents mentioned other factors that influenced their usage in answers to Item F (open-ended questions); these included the following: simplicity, aesthetic preference, how they were taught in school, and what just seemed right in their head. Gender, age and income did not affect these responses.

We also analysed the correlations with Item G for each individual Item A-E. We found a significant, positive relationship with scores on Item C, recognition of Canadianisms ($r = .37, p < .05$). We also found a significant, positive relationship for the scores on the Canadian spellings, calculated by measuring the difference between Items D and E ($r = .35, p < .05$). Simply put, 37% of respondents' ability to recognize Canadianisms and 35% of their tendency to choose Canadian spellings can be predicted by their sense of

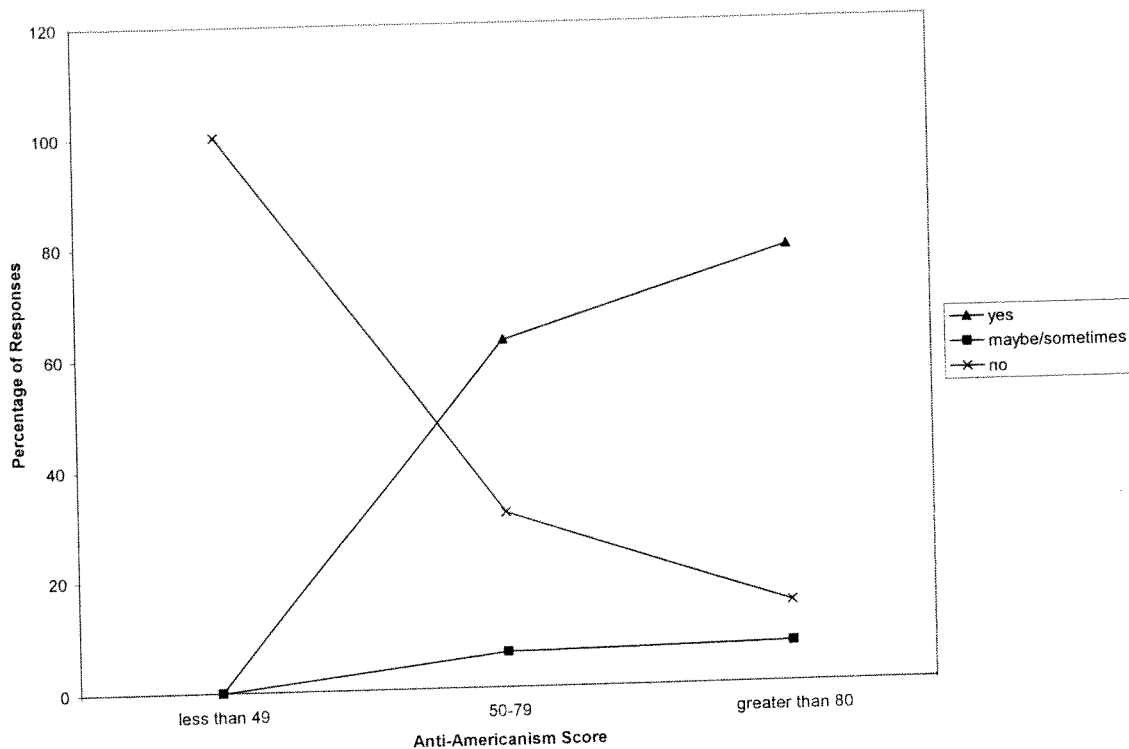
Figure 1. Scores for Items A-E by Anti-Americanism Score



Canadianness. No significant relationships were found for the tests of vocabulary usage (Item A) and pronunciation (Item B), though the small size of the pronunciation test (only 5 words) may have influenced its lack of significance ($p = .44$). The scores on Items A and B were, nevertheless, universally high, with mean scores of 83.5 % and 82.1 %, respectively. **Figure 1** (above) shows respondents' percentage scores on Items A–E plotted over anti-Americanism scores: note that the slopes for Items C and D/E, as well as for combined score on A–E, rise consistently, while those for Items A and B do not.

Finally, we looked for trends in how respondents answered the open-ended questions in Item F and checked whether these responses had any relationship with scores on the anti-Americanism questionnaire. The only significant relationship found was for question F-1, "When travelling in other English speaking countries do you find you speak differently from others?" Tendency to answer "yes" to this question was positively correlated with participants' Anti-Americanism scores ($r = .39, p < .05$). Again, this indicates that 39% of participants' likelihood to distinguish their speech from that of other English-speakers can be predicted by their pro-Canadian sentiment (see **Figure 2**).

Figure 2: Responses to "When travelling in other English-speaking countries, do you find you speak differently from others?" by Anti-Americanism Score



For no other open-ended question did we find any significant relationship between the respondents' answers and levels of Canadianness. Nevertheless, most questions in Item F elicited responses indicating an awareness of Canadian English and a positive attitude toward it. A majority of respondents indicated that they could tell the difference between their English and the English of people from the States; however, far fewer thought that they could distinguish English from different parts of Canada. Our numbers are very similar to answers to the *Survey of Vancouver English*, where most (91%) could tell an American by their speech but only 67% could distinguish between different Canadian dialects (Richards 181). Also, in our survey, 71% of respondents had a positive view of their own speech—some indicating they felt it was superior to American English. Finally, over 83% of our respondents believed that there was such a thing as distinctively "Canadian" English, which could be characterized by unique vocabulary, pronunciation and spelling.

4. Discussion

As we had originally hypothesized, Canadians with higher levels of anti-Americanism and stronger feelings of Canadian nationalism were more likely to use characteristically "Canadian" English. Participants' ability to recognise Canadianisms (vocabulary specific to Canada) and their inclination to use what they perceived to be Canadian spellings (**Figure 1**) could be predicted by their level of Canadian nationalism. People with higher levels of Canadian nationalism were also more likely to differentiate between their own speech and that of other non-Canadian native speakers of English (**Figure 2**).

We believe that the results of our survey indicate a nationalistic response to the cultural-linguistic threat of American English. As we mentioned above, the United States poses a real threat to Canadian identity. Over the past century, the US has become the dominant international force, both culturally and militarily. As its closest neighbour, Canada has had the difficult task of trying to prevent its identity from being crushed under the weight of the proverbial elephant next door. Since it is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish between Canadian and American culture, Canadians are forced to cling to small, less obvious differences. We attempted to present these smaller differences in our survey. Interestingly, in Item A, many respondents chose Canadian vocabulary words without any knowledge that they were particularly Canadian. Respondents were shocked to learn that everyday words like *Gravol* and *Cheezi*s were Canadianisms, though most people did recognize *toque/tuque* as one.

Our findings are especially remarkable when compared to previous research. A study undertaken by undergraduate student Sandeep Prasad in 1999 found that

there was *no* correlation between levels of Canadian nationalism and spelling choices: "a person's use of Canadian spelling and pronunciation variants [...] is not related to his or her views of Canada and the United States" (51). In direct contrast, we have found that there is a significant correlation between the two. One reason for the discrepancy in findings may be the elusive nature of "Canadian" spellings: many Canadians do not know which spelling is distinctly "Canadian," and often (correctly) feel that there is more than one. Thus, instead of testing Canadians' spelling choices against a Canadian dictionary, we looked at whether Canadians with higher levels of nationalism were more likely to choose what they *perceived* to be the standard Canadian spellings. By doing so, we found that there is in fact a significant relationship between level of Canadianness and linguistic choices.

Very few studies of Canadian English have looked specifically at Canadians' attitudes towards their speech and the idea of a Canadian linguistic identity. The *Survey of Vancouver English (SVEN)*, however, does examine these issues, and its findings anticipate our own results. In fact, in the conclusion to her article on the attitudinal section of SVEN, Richards says that there is a need for "further, more direct assessment of attitudes towards Canadian English" (197), which we have tried to provide here. SVEN results indicate that there is unquestionably a "Canadian linguistic identity" (197), an axiom on which we based our own research. Our findings were very similar to Richards'. We found that a vast majority of Canadians believe that a distinct "Canadian" English does exist.

Our second hypothesis, however, was contradicted by our findings. Whether respondents were given Item G at the beginning or end did not affect their responses to Items A through F. It is possible that priming had no discernible effect because anti-American sentiment and Canadian identity are deep-rooted, and respondents had a strong sense of them before filling out the survey. Perhaps Canadians are so accustomed to the threat of American cultural influence they do not need to be reminded of it before responding to a survey. We demonstrated such a strong relationship between Canadian identity and use of Canadianisms that priming may well have been irrelevant.

But what of the lack of correlation between Items A and B and Canadian nationalism? Respondents' ability to choose Canadian pronunciations and spellings, though not based on level of "Canadianness," were very high for both Items A and B. Both of these first two sections were short (7 and 5 questions, respectively). To get more graduated results, we would have had to include a larger number of questions in both sections. Another factor bearing on the results for these sections is that people do not weigh the pronunciations and word choices of informal speech in the same way that they mull over their spellings. Spellings belong to the more formal, written mode and thus are more a matter of conscious choice. Thus, there is more room for more nationalistic

linguistic divergence in spelling than familiar speech, and this may explain our lack of results for Items A and B compared to the other items.

5. Considerations for Future Research

As noted above, were we to do the survey over, we would include more questions in Items A and B. We would also tell respondents that spelling does not matter in Item A; many participants agonized over how to spell *toque/tuque*. (Both spellings are in fact common and accepted in Canada.) We might make some small improvements to a few questions. For example, in Item A, the phrase "flat of beer" confused many respondents. In Item B, question 5, we would offer *pill* as a potential rhyme of *missile* rather than *pull*. (Either short vowel is possible in this position, and both contrast the diphthong in the alternative pronunciation, which rhymes with *pile*, but *pill*, with the letter *i* matching the spelling of *missile*, might seem more accurate to respondents.) In Item B, question 2 (where we sought a rhyme for *roof*), we would replace *gruff* with *hoof*, thereby, at least potentially, offering respondents the vowel /ʊ/, as in *book*, a more likely alternative pronunciation than the /ʌ/ in *gruff*. In addition, we would be interested in exploring more factors that may be influencing Canadians' usage. While age, gender and income had no bearing on levels of anti-Americanism or on respondents' use of features identified with Canadian English, would other factors such as level of education, occupation, political views, or geographic location be more salient? If we were to conduct further research, we would also like to see whether other English-speaking countries, such as Britain, pose a linguistic threat to Canada. Finally, it would be interesting to look at another important question, namely, the effects of Canada's French-speaking minority on Canadian linguistic identity, for so often language has been a polarizing factor in Canada rather than as a unifying force.

Our survey clearly demonstrates that people with a strong sense of Canadian identity and anti-Americanism are more likely than those without a high level of what we've called "Canadianness" to choose Canadian spellings, pronunciations and vocabulary over American ones. Canadian English therefore contributes significantly to the Canadian identity. Unfortunately, we have few such unifying forces in Canada. As the poet Earle Birney wrote, "It is only by our lack of ghosts that we are haunted." We therefore leave off with two recommendations. First, Microsoft Word's spell check needs to recognize that both *color* and *colour* are acceptable Canadian spellings, and, second, Canadians should learn how distinct their English really is and celebrate it.

Appendix A Canadian Linguistic Identity Survey

Dear Esteemed Respondents,

*You are about to answer some questions to help us with a **Canadian Linguistics** research project. We ask that you answer the next thirty questions with as much honesty as possible. It should not take you more than 15 minutes. We are collecting this data to gauge Canadians' knowledge of the language they use, as well as their attitudes towards it. We are not looking for what is "proper" English but rather, the language you use in your daily life. For this reason, we absolutely **INSIST** that you do not go back and change any of your answers. Also do not look ahead! The questions have been arranged in a specific order for a reason.*

Thanks for your time,

Emily Hazlett and Ashley Frambach

*Feel free to contact us with any questions or concerns at
----@qlink.queensu.ca or ----@qlink.queensu.ca*

The easy ones:

Gender: F M

Age: 14-30 31-59 60 and better

Average Yearly Household Income:

<input type="checkbox"/>	less than \$15,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	\$46,000 - \$60,000
<input type="checkbox"/>	\$15,000 - \$30,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	\$61,000 - \$75,000
<input type="checkbox"/>	\$31,000 - \$45,000	<input type="checkbox"/>	more than \$75,000

Were you raised predominantly in Canada between the ages of 8 and 18?

yes no

If not, where? _____

A Please indicate what word or term you use to refer to the following things.

1. What do you call a winter hat? _____
2. What do you call a sweet, carbonated beverage? _____
3. What do you call the final year of high school? _____
4. What do you call a flat of beer? _____
5. What do you consider to be room temperature? _____
6. When you're at a coffee shop and want to get a java with two creams and two sugars, you ask for _____
7. You're feeling nauseous on a plane so you take _____
8. Those tasty noodle shaped cheese chips are called _____

B Please circle the item that most closely resembles the way that you pronounce the following words. Say the indicated word to yourself before looking at the rest of the question to get a more natural sense of how you really say it.

1. when you pronounce the letter **Z**, does it rhyme with
 - a. shed
 - b. see
2. when you pronounce the word **roof**, does it rhyme with
 - a. goof
 - b. gruff
3. when you pronounce the word **route**, does it rhyme with
 - a. shout
 - b. shoot
4. when you pronounce the word **asphalt**, does the first syllable rhyme with
 - a. lass
 - b. lash
5. when you pronounce the word **missile**, does the last syllable rhyme with
 - a. pile
 - b. pull

C Please circle the words you believe to be Canadianisms (a Canadianism is a word distinct to Canada or that has taken its own meaning in Canada). Words that are not Canadianisms are used throughout North America or worldwide. Hint: a Canadianism is a WORD not a uniquely Canadian spelling or pronunciation.

tundra
SIN card
shit-disturber
puck bunny
peewee (sports level)
nanaimo bar
mumbo-jumbo
loonie
kayak

jambuster
jamboree
hockey
Gravol
electoral riding
eh
double-double
cougar
colour

chesterfield
cheesies
canoe
butter tart
bunny-hug
buffalo
aardwolf
toboggan
hoser

D Please circle the way YOU spell the following words (not necessarily what you consider the "correct" spelling).

colour
analyze
odor
analog
connexion
programming
realise
labor
laborious
programme
catalogue
centre
defense (noun)
theatre
travelled
favour
fulfil
jewellery
neighbour

color
analyse
odour
analogue
connection
programing
realize
labour
labourious
program
catalog
center
defence (noun)
theatre
traveled
favor
fulfill
jewelry
neighbor

E Please circle words YOU believe to be standard CANADIAN spellings.

colour
analyze
odor
analog
connexion
programming
realise
labor
laborious
programme
catalogue
centre
defense (noun)
theatre
travelled
favour
fulfil
jewellery
neighbour

color
analyse
odour
analogue
connection
programing
realize
labour
labourious
program
catalog
center
defence (noun)
theatre
traveled
favor
fulfill
jewelry
neighbor

F *This section asks expressly for your personal opinion. Please note that some questions may not apply to you.*

1. When travelling in other English speaking countries do you find you speak differently from others? How so? (Think pronunciation, word choice.)
2. When travelling in the United States do you find you speak differently from Americans?
3. When in the United States have you ever found yourself using *eh* or other such Canadianisms more frequently?
4. Can you recognize an American by their speech?
5. Can Americans tell you're a Canadian by your speech?
6. Can you tell which part of the country a Canadian comes from by their speech?
7. How do you feel about your speech?
8. Do you believe there is such a thing as Canadian English? If yes, how does it differ from other English speaking countries?
9. Do you ever choose spellings because they are more "Canadian"?
Example: colour

G Please circle the number that most accurately reflects your attitude toward the following statements, using the following scale:

<i>strongly disagree</i>			<i>neither agree nor disagree</i>				<i>strongly agree</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
a) "I am proud to be Canadian."							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
b) "I would be offended if I were mistaken for an American."							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
c) "Canadian culture must further distinguish itself from American culture."							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
d) "On average, Canadians tend to be more 'good-willed' than Americans."							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
e) "If the USA were to dominate the world, this would be a 'good thing.'"							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
f) "The USA has too much involvement in the affairs of Canada."							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
g) "On average, Americans are smarter than Canadians."							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
h) "I would prefer to be an American."							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
i) "The American dream is my dream."							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
j) "Canadian nationalism is a 'good thing.'"							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
k) "Canada should become part of the US."							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
l) "Canadian culture is the same as American culture."							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
m) "On average, Americans tend to be more 'full of themselves' than Canadians."							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
n) "Since the American spelling of some words is much more reasonable than the British, Canadians should use the American rather than the British spelling of these words."							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

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TOILET EUPHEMISMS

Kim Brown and Laura Franklin

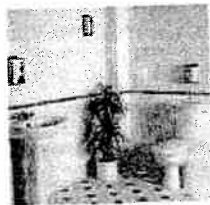
1. Introduction

Is there really a difference between the terms *bathroom* and *washroom*? In what context do people use these words? These nagging questions motivated us to look for usage patterns in Canadian English, and we hypothesized that *washroom* would be the most commonly used euphemism for the toilet in Canada.

2. The Survey

To go about testing our hypothesis, we constructed a survey of ten questions and collected results from 75 Canadian and 23 international respondents. The survey began by asking the hometown of the respondent, and whether this area was classified as urban or rural. We then asked respondents for their age, occupation, gender and mother tongue. Having gathered the background information, we turned to the subject at hand. We showed respondents an image of a toilet, sink and tiled floor (**Figure 1**) and asked them to identify the room in the picture.

Figure 1. Picture of Toilet, Sink and Tiled Floor



Then we asked them (a) how they would go about excusing themselves to visit this room if they were in an informal setting, among friends, and (b) how they would ask for this room if they were in a more formal setting, asking a person they did not know. Finally, we asked (a) whether respondents could think of other names for this location and (b) whether they remembered calling this location something different as a child.

Our surveys, along with a consent form, were sent out to our friends and family by e-mail. A handful of surveys were done in person. For our international surveys, we e-mailed our contacts in the United States, Great Britain and Australia and asked these people to forward the surveys to friends and family.

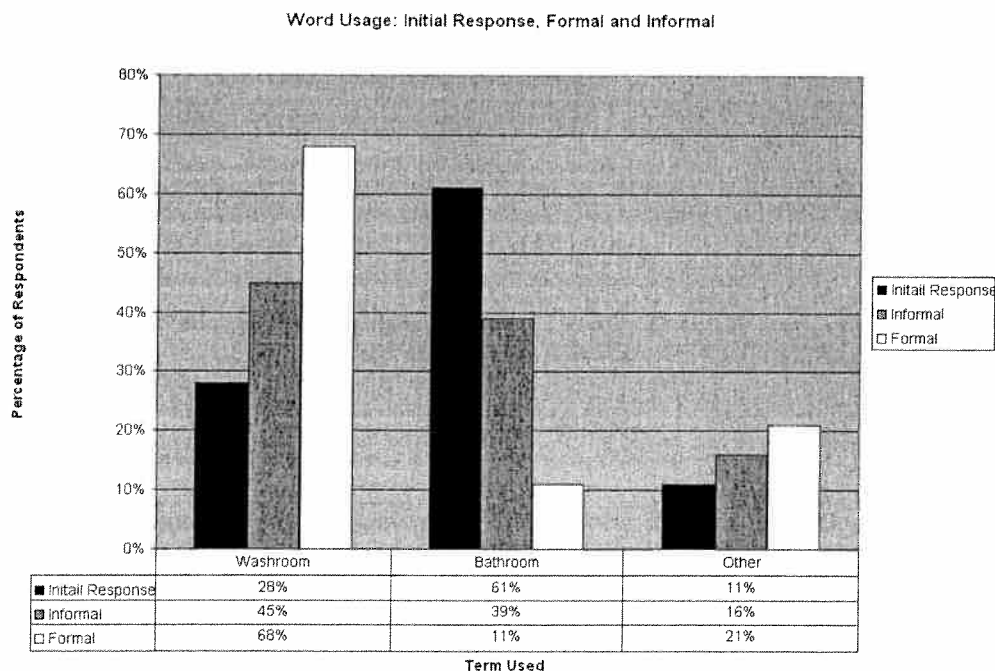
3. Results and Analysis for Canadian Respondents

All the results presented in section 3 (subsections 3.1–3.6) are for Canadian respondents only. The corresponding raw data are available in **Appendix A**.

3.1 Overall

Figure 2 shows the responses to our central questions. The black columns, labelled “initial response,” represent responses to the picture. The grey, “informal” columns and the white, “formal” columns represent responses to the informal and formal scenario questions. “Other” terms that Canadians used when presented with the picture were *powder room*, *sink* and *toilet*.

Figure 2. Canadian Responses to Picture and Scenarios



We found that *washroom* was the term most commonly used in a formal setting, while *bathroom* was the most common response to the picture. In retrospect, we realize that we did not take into account that our respondents may have differentiated between these terms. We accessed dictionary definitions and encyclopedia entries through two web portals *dictionary.com* and *reference.com*, and we discovered that most definitions placed a *washroom* in a public place and a *bathroom* in the home. According to these sources, the picture that we presented in our survey was a bathroom. We did not consider how location might affect people’s word choice when we formulated our survey. If we were to begin again, we would show two pictures, one showing a public or institutional setting and the other a room in a private home.

3.2 Gender

Next we analyzed results by gender. **Figure 3** gives the gender breakdown for responses to the picture and **Figure 4** for excusing oneself in an informal setting.

Figure 3. Responses to Picture by Gender

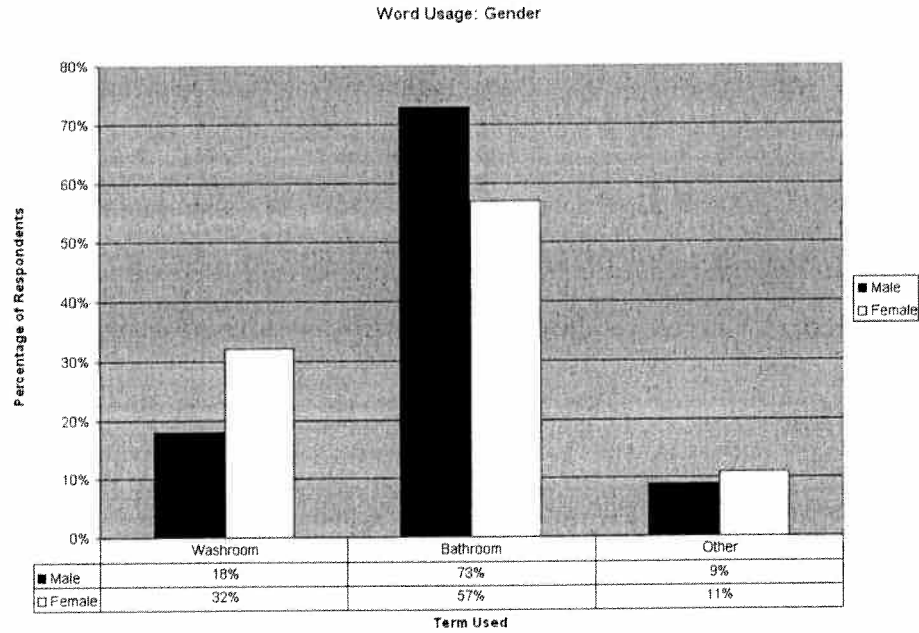
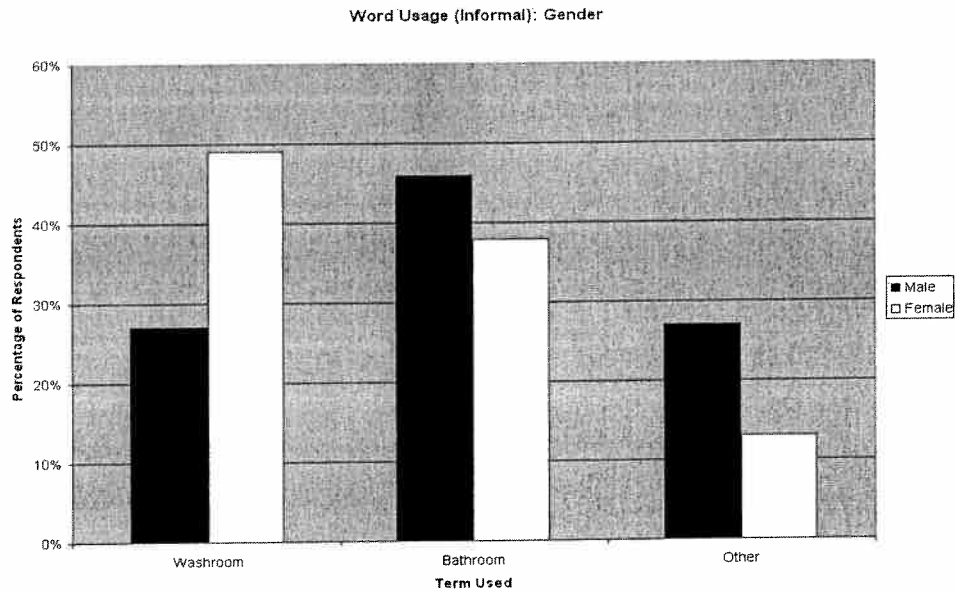


Figure 4. Word Choice in an Informal Setting by Gender

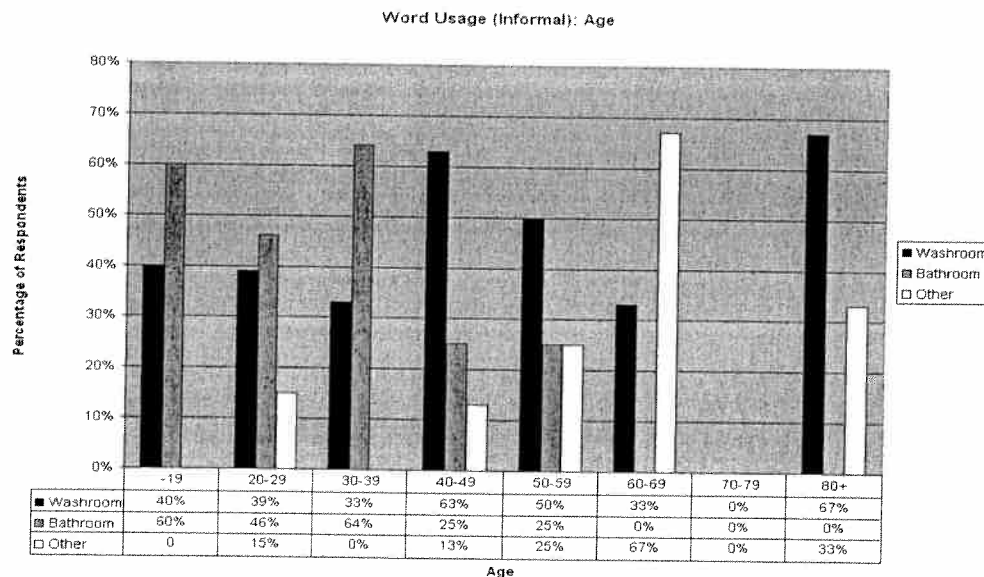


It is evident from both charts that females use the term *washroom* more than males. If *washroom* is considered a more polite term than *bathroom*, this result could suggest that females make more of a conscious effort to be polite and sound proper. Given the public setting of our informal scenario, **Figure 4** could also suggest that females are more conscious of language and more careful to use terms correctly.

3.3 Age

We used eight different age categories in our survey. As a response to the picture, we found that *bathroom* was the most commonly used euphemism at every age, with *washroom* present in each age category as well. **Figure 5** breaks down respondents' word choice in an informal situation by age.

Figure 5. Word Choice in an Informal Setting by Age



Among friends, respondents over the age of sixty did not use *bathroom*, preferring the more polite terms *washroom*, *restroom*, and *ladies' room*, even though, in response to the picture, some of these respondents had used the terms *toilet* and *bathroom*. This result could suggest that as people age they develop a preference for greater formality or politeness among peers. If we were to continue with this study, we would attempt to improve the significance of our results by surveying more people in the older age categories.

3.4 Formal Situations

The formal scenario that we described to respondents occurs in a public place. As we mentioned above, the location of the toilets, in a public as opposed to private space, may have influenced our respondents' choice of words. In any case, **Figure 6** shows a sharp increase in the number of respondents who used the term *washroom*.

Figure 6. Word Choice in a Formal Setting by Age

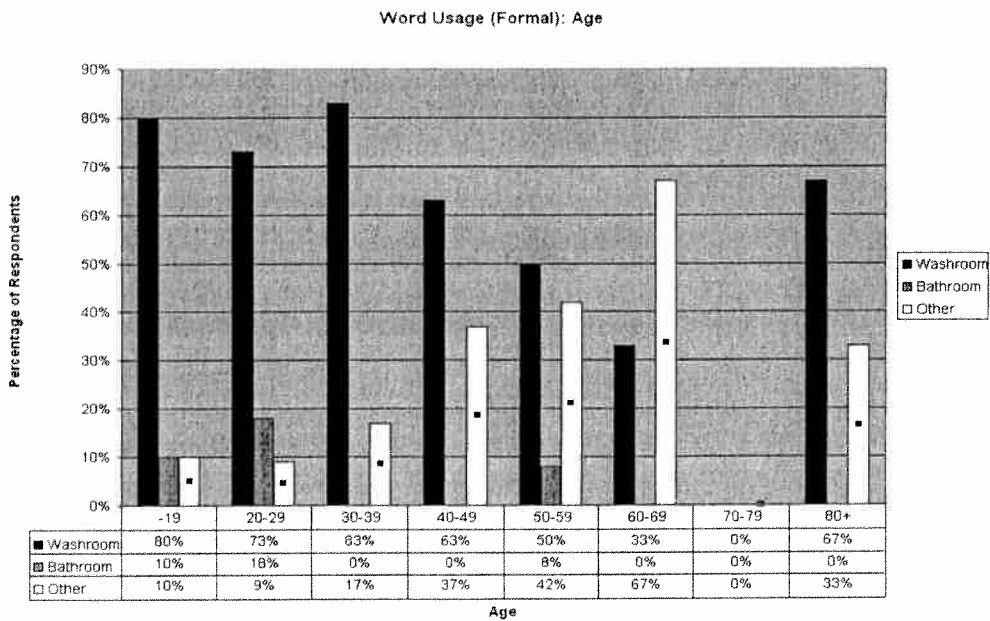
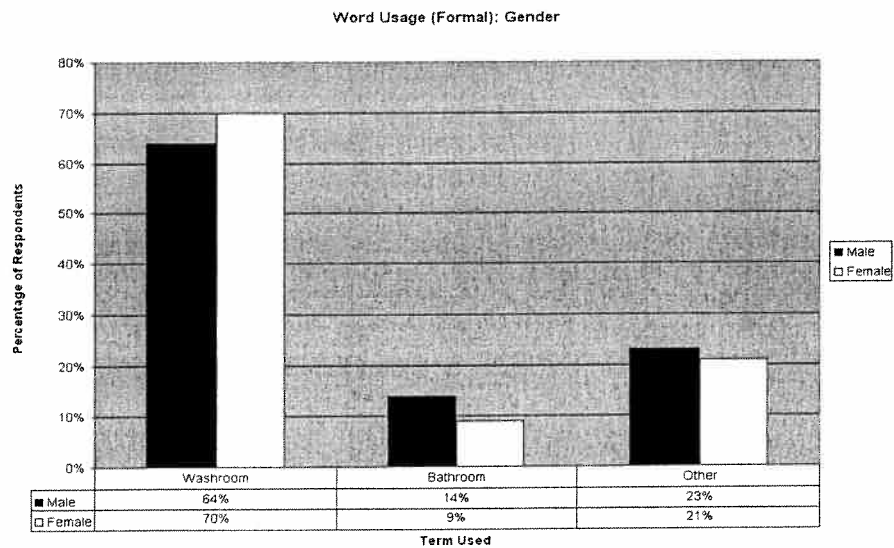


Figure 7. Word Choice in a Formal Setting by Gender



Seven of the eight who responded to the formal question by saying that they would ask for the *bathroom* were under 30. No one over age 60 used *bathroom* for the formal scenario. Of nine respondents who said they would ask for the *Men's* or *Ladies' Room*, seven of them were over 50. *Restroom* was also used more frequently in a formal situation among the older respondents. We believe our age breakdown shows that usage does vary by age, that older speakers are more likely to change their usage when faced with a formal situation, and that *washroom* is a more formal term than *bathroom*.

In **Figure 7** (above), formal results are broken down by gender. Notice that gender gap is narrowest for the formal scenario.

3.5 Age Grading

We also found an example in our results of age grading. We asked if the respondents could remember having a different name for the location in the picture when they were children. About 30% of them had used the term *potty* as a child, but no one in the survey mentioned *potty* as their initial response to the picture. Clearly *potty* is a term people set aside as they get older.

3.6 Insignificant Factors

Three of the questions that we asked respondents seemed to have no effect on their answers. There was nothing distinguishing responses from people in urban and rural areas. Similarly, there was no link between a person's occupation and responses. The few people surveyed who had a first language other than English had responses similar to those whose mother tongue was English except that these people were able to offer additional names for the bathroom or the washroom in their first language. We gathered, for example, *gabinetto*, Italian for the facilities, and *benjo*, Japanese.

4. Refining Our Definitions

Once we realized that the majority of respondents identified the original picture as a *bathroom* rather than a *washroom*, we decided it would be useful to check online sources for distinctions between these two terms. According to WordNet®, a lexical database developed at Princeton University, a *bathroom* is "a room (as in a residence) containing a bathtub or shower and usually a washbasin and toilet." *Wikipedia*, the online encyclopedia, distinguishes the two terms as follows: "Usually the term 'washroom' is used to denote a public, commercial, or industrial personal hygiene facility designed for high throughput, whereas a similar term 'bathroom' is used to denote a smaller, often residential facility for lesser throughput (i.e., often for only one person at a time to use)."

5. International Usage

We also found an interesting informal survey posted on *englishforums.com* by a learner of English. This non-native speaker had been told (in the United States) that saying, "Excuse me, where is the toilet?" was vulgar. He decided to search for the phrases "to the bathroom/washroom/ toilet/ restroom/lavatory" on websites in different English-speaking countries around the world see where each term was most frequently used. He used country codes (.ca, .uk, .in, .au, .nz) to sample different varieties of English and used the educational domain (.edu) to represent American English. According to his results, the euphemism *washroom* was almost uniquely Canadian. On Canadian websites, "to the *bathroom*" appeared most frequently (67.4%) but "to the *washroom*" was next in popularity (20.2%). In other countries, *washroom* was almost unheard of. *Washroom* accounted for only 1.1% of American usage; *restroom* accounted for 12.6%. On the .uk websites, *toilet* was most popular (54.5%); *washroom* accounted for only 0.6% of British usage. We found this survey beneficial because it alerted us to the idea that *washroom* was particularly Canadian. However, recognizing that we could not take the results of this informal survey for fact, we decided to carry out our own research.

To test the idea that *washroom* is a Canadian word, we extended our survey to include respondents from the United States, Britain and Australia. Unfortunately, the number of contacts that we had in those countries was limited. We asked personal contacts to forward the surveys to their friends and family, and we were able to gather a few more responses that way. In the end, we collected data from 23 international respondents, 11 Americans, 10 Brits, and 2 Australians (see the raw data in **Appendix B**).

From our international results, we can see that *washroom* is indeed a euphemism closely associated with Canada. None of our 23 international respondents identified the original picture as a *washroom*. Further, none of these respondents said that they would use the term *washroom* in either a formal or an informal setting. Only when asked if they knew of other words for the location, did four respondents include *washroom* in their answers. Thus, while some people from other English-speaking countries may be aware of the word *washroom*, it is not a part of their personal vocabulary.

6. Conclusion

We had hypothesized that *washroom* was the most common Canadian euphemism for toilet. Our results show that this is not entirely correct. Our Canadian respondents preferred the term *bathroom* in response to the picture in our survey. In a formal setting, however, the majority of Canadian respondents would be most likely to use the term *washroom*. In our research, we made a surprising discovery as well. By

comparing Canadian responses to international ones, we learned that *washroom* is a usage unique to Canada.

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Appendix A Data for Canadian Respondents, Part 1

#	M F	Age	Occupation	Hometown	Urb/Rur	1 st L	Response to Picture	Among Friends	Asking Stranger	As a Child
1	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 3)	Oakville	Urban	E	washroom	washroom	washroom	bathroom
2	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 3)	Ottawa	Urban	E	washroom	washroom	washroom	bathroom
3	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 3)	Toronto	Urban	E	washroom	washroom	washroom	--
4	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 3)	Kingston	Urban	E	bathroom	bathroom	washroom	--
5	M	50-59	engineer	Port Colborne	Urban	E/Ital.	washroom	washroom	men's room	--
6	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 3)	Brantford	Urban	E	bathroom	washroom	rest room	--
7	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 3)	Toronto	Urban	E	washroom	washroom	washroom	--
8	M	20-29	football coach	Toronto	Urban	E	bathroom	bathroom	bathroom	potty room
9	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 3)	Penetanguishine	Rural	E	bathroom	bathroom	washroom	--
10	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 4)	S. Rustico, PEI	Rural	E	bathroom	washroom	washroom	bathroom
11	M	20-29	teacher	Toronto	Urban	E	restroom	men's room	washroom	--
12	M	50-59	retired teacher	Markham	Urban	E	bathroom	bathroom	bathroom	--
13	F	20-29	social worker	Toronto	Urban	E	bathroom	potty	bathroom	--
14	F	30-39	lawyer	Burlington	Urban	E	bathroom	bathroom	washroom	--
15	M	30-39	chemical analyst	Burlington	Urban	E	bathroom	bathroom	washroom	--
16	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 3)	Calgary	Urban	E	washroom	washroom	washroom	--
17	M	20-29	U. student (yr. 3)	Weston, ON	Urban	E	bathroom	kids' pool	washroom	--
18	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 3)	Toronto	Urban	E	washroom	bathroom	washroom	--
19	F	40-49	home economist	Toronto	Urban	E	bathroom	washroom	washroom	--
20	M	50-59	executive	St. Catharines	Urban	E	bathroom	washroom	washroom	bathroom
21	M	20-29	U. student (yr. 3)	Toronto	Urban	E	powder room	bathroom	washroom	--
22	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 3)	Toronto	Urban	E	bathroom	bathroom	washroom	potty
23	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 3)	Burlington	Urban	E	bathroom	bathroom	washroom	bathroom
24	F	50-59	recreationist	Burlington	Urban	E	bathroom	ladies room	washroom	the toilet
25	F	50-59	doctor	Halifax	Urban	E	bathroom	washroom	ladies room	--
26	F	40-49	homemaker	Burlington	Urban	E	bathroom	bathroom	rest room	the potty
27	F	50-59	civil servant	Brantford	Urban	E	bathroom	washroom	washroom	bathroom
28	M	50-59	hydrogeologist	Brantford	Urban	E	bathroom	washroom	washroom	--
29	F	40-49	lawyer	Halifax	Urban	E	bathroom	washroom	washroom	bathroom
30	F	30-39	lawyer	Toronto	Urban	E	bathroom	bathroom	ladies room	--
31	F	50-59	mediator	Toronto	Urban	E	washroom	washroom	ladies room	bathroom
32	F	under 20	high school student	Kingston	Urban	E	bathroom	washroom	washroom	--
33	M	40-49	civil servant	Prescott, ON	Rural	E	bathroom	bathroom	men's room	bathroom
34	M	under 20	high school student	Kingston	Urban	E	bathroom	bathroom	men's room	--
35	F	50-59	admin. assistant	Kingston	Urban	E	bathroom	bathroom	washroom	--
36	F	60-69	retired	Waterloo	Urban	E	washroom	washroom	washroom	bathroom

#	M F	Age	Occupation	Hometown	Urb/Rur	1 st L	Response to Picture	Among Friends	Asking Stranger	As a Child
37	F	30-39	law clerk	Toronto	Urban	E	sink	washroom	washroom	--
38	F	40-49	teacher	Toronto	Urban	E	bathroom	washroom	washroom	--
39	F	50-59	supervisor	Mississauga	Urban	E	bathroom	loo	ladies room	bathroom
40	F	50-59	teacher	Hamilton	Urban	E	bathroom	bathroom	rest room	bathroom
41	F	80 plus	retired	Burlington	Urban	E	toilet	washroom	washroom	toilet
42	M	under 20	U. student (yr. 1)	Bracebridge	Rural	E	bathroom	bathroom	bathroom	potty
43	M	20-29	U. student (yr. 3)	Blackstock, ON	Rural	E	bathroom	washroom	washroom	potty
44	M	under 20	U. student (yr. 2)	London	Urban	E	bathroom	bathroom	washroom	potty
45	F	20-29	college student	Markham	Urban	E	bathroom	bathroom	washroom	potty
46	F	40-49	nurse	Unionville	Urban	E	bathroom	washroom	washroom	pee pee room
47	M	20-29	U. student (yr. 2)	Richmond Hill	Urban	E	bathroom	washroom	washroom	potty
48	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 2)	Whitby	Urban	E	washroom	washroom	washroom	washroom
49	F	under 20	U. student (yr. 2)	Markham	Urban	E	washroom	bathroom	washroom	potty
50	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 2)	Oakville	Urban	Cantonese	washroom	washroom	washroom	washroom
51	F	under 20	U. student (yr. 1)	Toronto	Urban	E	powder room	washroom	washroom	potty
52	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 3)	Ottawa	Urban	E	bathroom	bathroom	washroom	bathroom
53	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 3)	Markham	Urban	E	bathroom	bathroom	bathroom	bathroom
54	M	30-39	ice technician	Ottawa	Urban	E	bathroom	bathroom	bathroom	toilet
55	M	80 plus	retired	Ballantrae, ON	Rural	E	bathroom	restroom	washroom	potty
56	F	80 plus	retired	Ballantrae, ON	Rural	E	washroom	washroom	rest room	our house
57	M	under 20	college student	Sault Ste. Marie	Rural	E	washroom	washroom	washroom	toilet
58	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 2)	Unionville	Urban	E	bathroom	washroom	washroom	bathroom
59	F	under 20	high school student	Stouffville	Rural	E	toilet	washroom	washroom	washroom
60	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 3)	Markham	Urban	E	bathroom	bathroom	washroom	potty
61	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 2)	Markham	Urban	E	washroom	bathroom	bathroom	bathroom
62	M	20-29	U. student (yr. 2)	Edmonton	Urban	E	washroom	bathroom	washroom	potty
63	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 2)	Brampton	Urban	E	washroom	can	washroom	potty
64	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 4)	Markham	Urban	E	bathroom	bathroom	bathroom	bathroom
65	M	under 20	high school student	Markham	Urban	E	toilet	washroom	washroom	potty
66	F	60-69	nurse	Thornhill	Urban	E	bathroom	bathroom	washroom	toilet
67	F	60-69	nurse	St. John's, NL	Urban	E	washroom	ladies room	ladies room	washroom
68	F	30-39	nurse	Toronto	Urban	E	bathroom	ladies room	ladies room	bathroom
69	F	40-49	nurse	Winnipeg	Urban	E	washroom	washroom	washroom	washroom
70	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 3)	Halifax	Urban	Italian	restroom	restroom	restroom	potty
71	M	20-29	maintenance worker	Kingston	Urban	E	bathroom	bathroom	washroom	toilet
72	M	under 20	U. student (yr. 2)	Kanata	Urban	E	bathroom	shitter	restroom	bathroom
73	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 3)	Sudbury	Urban	E	washroom	washroom	washroom	washroom
74	F	40-49	lawyer	Toronto	Urban	E	washroom	washroom	restroom	pee room
75	F	50-59	bookkeeper	Paris, ON	Rural	E	washroom	wash/bathroom	washroom	toilet
							bathroom	loo	washroom	--

Data for Canadian Respondents, Part 2

#	Other Terms Known	#	Other Terms Known
1	bathroom, toilet room, facilities, powder room	39	washroom, john, restroom
2	bathroom, lavatory, loo, salle de bain/toilette	40	toilet, ladies room, WC, head (on a boat)
3	bathroom, ladies room, facilities	41	bathroom, throne, ladies/gents room
4	--	42	can, shitter, john, toilet, potty
5	bathroom, men's/ladies room, gabinetto, can lavatory, john	43	john, toilet, lavatory, loo, potty
6	--	44	toilet, john, shitter, restroom, lavatory, mens/ladies room, powder room, can
7	bathroom, toilet, loo	45	powder room
8	washroom	46	restroom, can, john, loo
9	shitter, can	47	bathroom, facilities, restroom
10	john, toilet, can restroom, toilette, women's/men's room	48	loo, john
11	jon, loo, can, lavatoire, gabinetto, toilet, bathroom	49	bathroom, restroom
12	loo, john	50	little girls/boys room, loo
13	washroom, loo, toilet, outhouse, privie	51	can, toilet
14	loo	52	washroom, mens/ladies room
15	--	53	restroom, ladies room, lavatory
16	bathroom, powder room, rest room	54	restroom
17	restroom, john, crapper, lavatory, loo, toilets, WC	55	little room
18	toilet, powder room, lavatory, WC	56	ladies room
19	restroom, loo, lavatory, toilet	57	john
20	salle de bain, toilets, powder room	58	bathroom
21	can, john	59	john, toilet, ladies room, peehole, out house
22	loo, toilet	60	washroom, loo, toilet
23	loo, lavatory, toilet, men's/ladies room, restroom, john	61	ladies/mens room
24	restroom, john, can, toilet, loo	62	shitter, water closet, bathroom, john, toilet
25	lu, head	63	loo, powder room, john
26	the shitter	64	bathroom, lavatory, loo
27	restroom	65	toilet, WC
28	powder room, toilet, loo, WC	66	bathroom
29	restroom, lavatory, toilet	67	washroom, loo
30	washroom, loo, WC	68	john, can, ladies room, restroom
31	toilet, WC, men's/ladies room, loo, john, can	69	bathroom, washroom
32	--	70	toilet, powder room
33	WC	71	bathroom, washroom, can
34	lavatory, swirly, junction	72	bathroom, shitter, can, banos
35	necessary, loo, Napoleon & Josephine	73	toilet, powder room, pee room, loo
36	bathroom, restroom, little girls' room	74	ladies room
37	loo, gabinetto, banyo, toilette, afa hai bait shamoush	75	toilet, ladies room, restroom, powder room
38	loo, comfort station		

Appendix B Data for International Respondents, Part 1

#	M F	Age	Occupation	Hometown	Country	U R	1 st L	Response to Picture	Among Friends	Asking Stranger	As a Child
1	F	50-59	human resources	Baltimore	USA	U	Japanese	bathroom	ladies room	restroom	toire, benjo (J)
2	M	40-49	executive	Atlanta	USA	U	E	bathroom	bathroom	restroom	--
3	F	20-29	student	Nashville	USA	U	E	bathroom	restroom	restroom	potty
4	F	20-29	waitress	Jackson	USA	R	E	bathroom	bathroom	restroom	--
5	F	20-29	teacher	Melbourne	AUS	U	E	bathroom	bathroom	bathroom	toilet
6	M	20-29	accountant	Adelaide	AUS	U	E	bathroom	toilet	toilet	potty
7	F	50-59	gov. analyst	San Antonio	USA	U	E	bathroom	restroom	restroom	--
8	M	20-29	grad student	Baltimore	USA	U	E	bathroom	restroom	restroom	boys/girls room
9	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 2)	Burgess Hill, West Sussex	GB	R	E	bathroom	loo	toilet	bathroom, toilets, loo
10	F	40-49	teacher	Burgess Hill, West Sussex	GB	R	E	toilet	toilet	toilet	--
11	M	20-29	retail	Nebraska	USA	R	E	bathroom	bathroom	bathroom	the pottie
12	F	20-29	news producer	New Jersey	USA	U	Farsi	bathroom	bathroom	bathroom	--
13	M	30-39	engineer	Bradford, PA	USA	R	E	john	head	can	potty
14	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 2)	Burgess Hill, West Sussex	GB	R	E	toilet	loo	toilet, ladies room	toilet, bathroom, loo
15	M	40-49	IT director	Burgess Hill, West Sussex	GB	R	E	toilet	loo	loo	--
16	M	20-29	U. student (yr. 3)	Glasgow	GB	U	E	bathroom	bathroom	bathroom	--
17	F	20-29	U. student (yr. 4)	Columbia, MO	USA	R	E	bathroom	restroom	restroom	--
18	F	20-29	PR	London	GB	U	E	bathroom	ladies	ladies	--
19	F	under 20	gap year	Burgess Hill, West Sussex	GB	R	E	toilet	loo	toilet	--
20	F	20-29	student	--	GB	U	E	bathroom	loo	toilet	going to tinkle
21	F	20-29	grad student	Jackson	USA	R	E	bathroom	bathroom	restroom	--
22	M	20-29	student	Gloucester	GB	U	E	bathroom	toilet	bathroom	--
23	F	20-29	student	--	GB	U	E	bathroom	toilet	bathroom	--

Data for International Respondents, Part 2

#	Other Terms Known
1	girls room, boys room
2	can, john
3	toilette, WC, powder room
4	ladies room, washroom, toilet
5	toilet, washroom, lavatory, dunny, loo, gents/ladies room, powder my nose, john
6	WC, dunny, drop tank, bog, can
7	WC, bathroom, toilet, loo
8	powder room, facilities, washroom
9	bog, WC, lavatory, ladies room, little boys room
10	bathroom, services
11	loo, john, restrooms, crapper
12	restroom, washroom
13	crapper, porcelain god, shitter, nasty pot, crap factory
14	bathroom, gents/ladies room, bog
15	karzy, bog, gents, wee room
16	toilet, wee boys room, shitter
17	lavatory, john, ladies room
18	lavatory, restroom, toilet
19	bathroom, restroom, services, lavatory
20	bog, lavatory, shitter
21	WC, toilet, loo
22	WC, crapper, loo, shit house
23	restroom, swanny, john, loo

DON'T BE BAMBOOZLED—IT'S STILL THE SAME LANGUAGE! AN ANALYSIS OF THE ENGLISH IN THE EARLY CANADIAN PRESS

Kristen Bundock and Stacie Smith

1. Purpose

The purpose of this research was to examine the difference between the English used in contemporary Canadian newspapers and that used in pre-Confederation newspapers.

2. Hypothesis

We hypothesized that many outdated expressions and words would be used in the old newspapers and that British spelling variants would be favoured over American ones.

3. Method

Samples from historical newspapers from various eras were retrieved on microfilm and studied. This preliminary investigation revealed that the most striking differences were found in the oldest papers available to us, from 1844. Thus, that particular year became the focus of our research; the newspaper examined was *British Whig* of Kingston, Canada West, one of the predecessors of the modern *Kingston Whig-Standard* (Kingston, Ontario). Four main categories of diachronic linguistic differences were identified: words that have fallen completely out of use, words and expressions that are no longer in common use, spelling differences in particular words, and changes in grammar or sentence structure. Unfamiliar words and phrases were researched and their meanings compared to modern day usage. Obsolete spellings and grammatical structures were also contrasted with contemporary equivalents.

4. Results

Table 1 presents words we found in the *British Whig* (1844) that were completely unfamiliar to us, along with an example of each word in context and a historical definition of the word taken from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (online edition).

Table 1. Unfamiliar Words in the *British Whig* 1844

Word	Definition	Example of Use
Chattels	Property, goods, money [not real estate]	Mere goods and chattels...
Spoliation	The action of spoliating, despoiling, pillaging or plundering; seizure of goods or property by violent means, robbery	... allowing his late French and anti-British to make the spoliation of Upper Canada and the destruction of Kingston a Cabinet question.
Dotage	The state of one who dotes or has the intellect impaired, now esp. through old age	Mr. Viger has not a particle of influence, and will be shunned and despised in his old age and political dotage by his former political friends.
Scotched	Cut, scarred	The snake is scotched not killed.
Wherefore	Introducing a clause expressing a consequence or inference from what has just been stated: On which account; for which reason; which being the case; and therefore.	Wherefore it appears that the increase in the liabilities is...
Heretofore	Before this time; before now; in time past; formerly	...before the mania is allowed to spread further, or the end will, as heretofore in all similar cases, be most seriously mischievous and ruinous to the working classes.
Hitherto	Up to this time, until now, as yet	It is now perfectly clear, and must be so even to those who have hitherto doubted, that if the Senate of the United States...
Derision	The action of deriding or laughing to scorn; ridicule, mockery	...exposing themselves unto derision and ridicule, to their no small discomfort and discomposure of mind...
Bamboozled	Deceived or mystified by trickery, hoaxed, cozened	Nothing, except to his creditors; they get all he has, and the lawyer and bailiff are robbed and bamboozled.
Sponging-house	A house kept by a bailiff or sheriff's officer, formerly in regular use as a place of preliminary confinement for debtors	He had been door keeper for twenty years at a most distinguished sponging-house in Newman Street ...

Words that are still in common use but with new meanings are presented in **Table 2**. Both the historical and common contemporary meanings are given (*Oxford English Dictionary*) along with an example of the historical use.

Table 2. Words in the *British Whig* 1844 That Have Changed in Meaning

Word	Historical(*) & Contemporary(~) Definitions	Example of 1844 Use
Apartment	<p>*Separate, proper, or special place of abode; quarters; place appropriated to any purpose</p> <p>~A portion of a house or building, consisting of a suite or set of rooms, allotted to the use of a particular person or party</p>	Through the kindness of the officers, we were allowed to visit the sick; and during our stay in the apartment, I saw five sable skeletons carried out for burial... [events taking place in a room on a ship]
Thong	<p>*A narrow strip of hide or leather, for use as a lace, cord, band, strap, or the like</p> <p>~a skimpy garment (similar to a G-string) consisting of a cache-sexe and a narrow elasticized strip extending between the legs and buttocks to meet a waistband</p>	... he no longer lived upon seals, or did he afterwards ever kill any, except when he wanted lines, which he made by cutting the seal skins into thongs.
Fell	<p>*Of animals and men, their actions and attributes: Fierce, savage; cruel, ruthless; dreadful, terrible</p> <p>~stumbled, tripped</p>	At one fell swoop.
Emissary	<p>*A person sent on a mission to gain information, or to gain adherents to, or promote the interests of a cause. (Used almost exclusively in bad sense, implying something odious in the object of the mission, or something underhand in its manner.)</p> <p>~used without implication of odiousness or underhandedness</p>	Among them that of Captain Place, who was passenger, it was alleged in the same vessel with the emissaries.
Engine	<p>*Fire truck</p> <p>~machines including in themselves the means of generating power. Now esp., an internal-combustion engine, such as the motor of a road</p>	Arriving at the Cricket Ground the Firemen deserted their engines and entered with zest and spirit into the games.

Phrases that we had never heard or that have fallen into disuse since they appeared in the *British Whig* of 1844 are presented in **Table 3**.

Table 3. Obsolete and Obsolescent Phrases from the *British Whig* 1844

Phrase	Comment
To be rented	Instead of the contemporary "for rent"
Half past nine o'clock	Note use of "half past" and "o'clock." Today writers might not even write out "nine thirty" but might instead use figures: 9:30 pm.
For further particulars	Instead of the contemporary "for more info(rmation)"
Terms liberal and made known at the sale	Seems to mean terms are reasonable or negotiable
Begs to intimate	<i>Mrs. Hilton begs to intimate to her Friends and the Public generally ...</i> The verb "intimate" (last syllable pronounced like <i>mate</i> not <i>mitt</i>) means to hint or to suggest obscurely, indirectly or not very plainly. It is also interesting to note the use of "begs." "Wishes" or "would like" would be more likely word choices now.
Come under my notice	Instead of the contemporary "come to my attention"
Vote of want of confidence	Equivalent to our "vote of non-confidence," used to force the government to call an election
Removed to	"Removed to" means moved to. Today we use "remove" only with "from" and the location where something was <i>previously</i> located.
Set at liberty	Instead of the contemporary "set free"
Leaning on a broken reed which will pierce his hand	This expression describes someone who is about to be stabbed in the back or betrayed, or is getting in over his or her head.
Half past six	Instead of "six thirty," usually now written in figures
Negro	Superseded by terms considered more politically correct, such as "African Canadian" and "African American"
At one fell swoop	Often today changed to "one <i>foul</i> swoop" because of the loss of the older meaning of "fell" (see above, Table 2)
The snake is scotched not killed.	<i>Scotched</i> now rarely means "cut" or "injured." Rather, something "scotched" has usually been refuted, put an end to, or stymied.

Differences in spellings between the *British Whig* of 1844 and the contemporary *Kingston Whig-Standard* are recorded in **Table 4**.

Table 4. Dated Spellings from the *British Whig* 1844

Spelling	Comment
Favor, Color, Honor	The American "-or" suffix was used rather than the British "-our" favoured in Canadian newspapers today.
To-day, To-morrow	A hyphen was inserted between the prefix and the root of these words.
Hindoo	<i>Hindoo</i> is no longer spelled with "oo" but ends in "u."
Strecthing	In this word, the vowel combination "ea" has been replaced with "e."
Commedian	The double consonant has been replaced with a single "m."

Notable stylistic and structural features of the writing in the 1844 *British Whig* are presented in **Table 5**.

Table 5. Disused Stylistic and Structural Features from the *British Whig* 1844

Language Feature	Example or Explanation
Use of capital letters in ads	...containing four run of Stones, with Elevators to discharge Cargoes of Wheat from Vessels ...
Use of first person when writing news articles	... we hasten to communicate this important intelligence to our readers
e'en	For "even"
Thought I	Instead of "I thought"
An union	Instead of "a union"
A few shot, two shot	Instead of "a few shot s " and "two shot s "
Spelt	Losing favour to the other form of the past tense, "spelled"

5. Discussion

It is inevitable that every living language change. Natural change occurs constantly in vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation (Trask 1-10). The changes in word use in the above tables exemplify this process. Selected items from each table are discussed below.

The words *chattels*, *wherefore*, *hitherto* and *heretofore*, in **Table 1**, are archaisms, words seldom used by contemporary speakers except in very formal and legal language.

The words in **Table 2** are still frequently used but have changed in meaning. Two types of meaning alteration are very common, one being specialization and the other generalization (Trask 42). *Specialization* occurs when a definition becomes more limited, while *generalization* refers to a broadening of meaning.

Apartment is a term that has undergone a specialization of meaning. Previously, it referred to a space, or a room or set of rooms appropriate for any purpose but in contemporary Canadian English the definition is much narrower. It refers to a room or rooms rented and used as a residence. The word *emissary* underwent the opposite process. *Emissary* was once used to refer only to a spy or person sent on an underhanded mission. Now this term has lost its negative connotations and the meaning is less restricted.

Another type of meaning change involves creating euphemisms for words that seem obnoxiously blunt or unintentionally suggestive (Trask 42). This word substitution process may have occurred recently in the case of *thong*. In 1844, *thong* referred to a lace, cord or band used as a strap, but in contemporary Canadian English two other meanings are more prevalent. A *thong* is a flimsy plastic sandal or a type of risqué underwear. The former meaning may be in decline in Canada as *thong* is used more and more often to refer to the underwear. People wanting to avoid the use of *thong* for sandals have gravitated to the synonym *flip-flops*. The emergence of a new meaning for *thong* has entailed the widespread adoption of a different term to signify the older "beach sandal" meaning, allowing modesty in the spoken language to be preserved.

Generally speaking, the language in the *British Whig* of 1844 is formal in comparison to today's newspaper writing. The case of Mrs. Hilton "begging to intimate" some information is particularly striking. In contemporary Canadian English, it would be preferable to say something like "wishes to inform," if the context were quite formal, or "would like to inform," in a less formal context. Another interesting stylistic feature is the use of capital letters mid-sentence to emphasize important points; for example: "...Elevators to discharge Cargoes of Wheat from Vessels ...". All of the nouns are not capitalized, but nouns central to the message are capitalized for emphasis. Today capital letters are not used in this way for emphasis; in fact, avoiding capital letters is the fashion.

Looking at grammar, there seems to have been a shift in the use of prepositions. The phrase "come *under* my attention" has been replaced with "come *to* my attention." The phrase "removed *to*" is now never used, only "removed *from*," which does not have the same meaning.

The way that times are spoken of and recorded in writing has also undergone change. In the 1844 *British Whig*, times are written out in full, as in "half past nine o'clock." It is interesting to note that this exact time (9:30) appears on a clock face diagram accompanying a question in the contemporary Topography of the Golden Horseshoe survey (Chambers). Respondents were asked to write in words how they would say this time. Chambers documented a striking trend: as age increases, so does the probability of saying "half past nine" instead of "nine thirty" or any other variant. Chambers' results suggest that a change is taking place, in the Golden Horseshoe region at least, in how people describe the time. And the results of Chambers' survey concur with the data obtained in this study, which indicate that the older usage is "half past."

According to Trask, Modern English spelling is complex and irregular due to the practice of spelling words the way they were pronounced hundreds of years ago (31). This has led to many difficult and strange spellings and to frequent spelling mistakes, and these do not occur only in the Canadian variety of English. The word *commedian*, for example, is seen in the 1844 *British Whig*, but we did not find this spelling anywhere else. It is difficult to speculate why this rare spelling was found in a local paper. Quite possibly it appeared in error.

T.K. Pratt, in his study of contemporary Canadian spelling, notes that Canadian English is heavily influenced by both British and American English. Pratt finds that present-day Canadians do not consistently favour either American or British variants but, for many words, accept either form. Looking at the historical data in our own Table 4, we see a clear choice between American and British spelling variants, but the variant chosen wasn't what we expected. For *favor*, *color* and *honor* the American variant of *-or* was used rather than the British *-our*. Given the number of immigrants in the late 1700s and 1800s coming directly from Britain or fleeing the United States as United Empire Loyalists, we expected that the British spelling variant would be more popular. Despite the influx of American immigrants, we expected American spelling habits to be counterbalanced by negative attitudes toward the American Revolution, but this was not the case. Textbooks and teachers from the United States may have directly influenced spelling in Canada West in 1844. The use of American *-or* endings contradicted the hypothesis we developed before we began our newspaper research.

Another interesting finding is a lack of grammatical agreement in nouns following numbers or countable quantitative expressions, for example, "two shot," "a few shot," "four run of Stones." Today the plural forms "shots" and "runs" would be used. It is not clear why this change has taken place. It may be a matter of a change in dialect influence on Canadian English.

6. Conclusion

Canadian English has, as hypothesized, undergone observable changes in the last 161 years. Lexical changes were easy to find: most people would quickly take note of the unfamiliar term *sponging-house*, for instance. As times change, so must vocabulary, and as prisons for debtors disappeared, so did the term *sponging-house*. What surprised us were the syntactic changes. Most people are unaware, for instance, that the verb-preposition combination "remove to" was idiomatic English in the nineteenth century.

Canadian English is influenced by British English in some aspects, and American English in others. Further research might focus on the reasons for and mechanisms of different spheres of influence. Canadian English continues to evolve, so perhaps in another 160 years, researchers will be delving into the archaic words found in the articles of the 2005 editions of the *Kingston Whig-Standard*.

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WRAPPING UP KRAFT DINNER WITH SARAN WRAP THE USE OF BRAND NAMES IN CANADIAN ENGLISH

Evelyn Coutts and Alison Ma

1. Introduction

Today's Canadian society is one that is greatly influenced by brand names. Everywhere we turn, we see branded consumer products being promoted or used in some way. Brands have become commonplace in our everyday lives, and we believe that, for many Canadians, brand names have taken the place of generic product names as standard vocabulary items. We were interested in doing research on what might contribute to the preferred use of brands over generic product names, and the factors we investigated were age, gender, place of birth, and number of years in Canada.

2. Hypotheses

We believed that age would be an important factor in the use of consumer brand names in preference to generic names. Our first hypothesis was that younger age groups would be more likely to use a consumer brand name as a standard word for a product than older people. Older people we thought more likely to use a generic term since some brand names may have come into common use only recently.

We also believed that place of birth would be another important factor. We hypothesized that speakers of English born in Canada or the United States would be more likely than those born outside of North America to use Canadian brand names generically. Our reasoning was that many of the brands commonly used as everyday vocabulary in Canadian English are American.

2. Method

In order to test our hypotheses, we conducted a survey that prompted respondents to provide the word they use for particular products. We chose products for our survey that are commonly used or encountered in everyday life and whose brand and generic names can be used interchangeably: Kraft Dinner (macaroni and cheese), Timbits (donut holes), Saran Wrap (plastic wrap), Kleenex (tissue), Band-Aid (bandage), and Q-Tip (cotton swab). Two products in

particular we felt were strongly associated with Canadian identity: these were Kraft Dinner and Timbits. Although an American company produces Kraft Dinner, it is very much a part of Canadian culture, as Canadians are known to be the largest consumer of this cheesy pasta dish. Timbits are produced by a company founded by a Canadian hockey star that is very successful and visible across Canada. Although we were aware that few people ever refer to *Timbits* as *donut holes* (the generic term), we were interested in comparing Canadians' use of the distinctly Canadian brand name to American brand names for the same item in the vocabulary.

Our survey asked respondents for their age, gender, place of birth, number of years in Canada, and first language (English or other). Respondents were then given descriptions or pictures of six different products and asked what they called them. They were instructed to write the first name that came to mind. (Our full survey is reproduced in **Appendix A.**)

We distributed our survey around Queen's campus and also sent it out by e-mail. In total, we collected 106 completed surveys. Respondents included 73 Canadians and 33 non-Canadians, 41 males and 65 females (see **Appendix B.**)

After collecting our data, we separated the Canadian and non-Canadian results. For the purposes of this study, respondents born outside of Canada, including those who had been living in Canada for more than ten years, were considered non-Canadian. We then sub-classified the Canadian group by age, gender and first language (English or other), and the non-Canadian group by age, gender, country of birth, number of years in Canada, and first language (English or other), and analyzed the results for each of our six questions. (Full results for each question are reported in **Appendix C.**)

We graphed results for Canadian and non-Canadian respondents by age group in order to test out our hypothesis of a correlation between the use of consumer brands and age and to illustrate differences between Canadian and non-Canadian usage.

3. Results

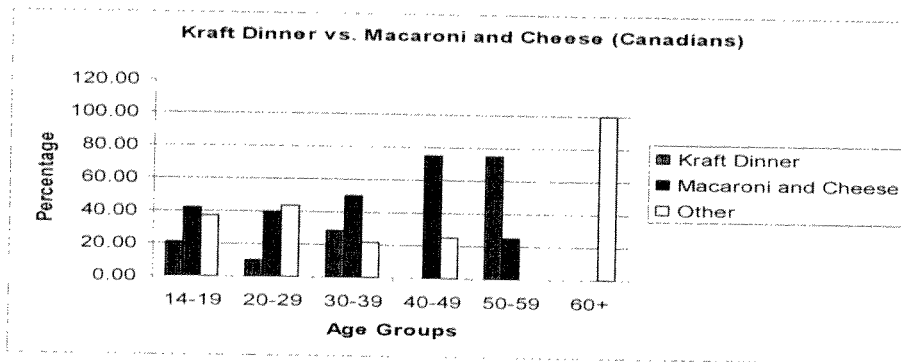
3.1 Kraft Dinner

Kraft Dinner, instant macaroni and cheese, is very much a part of our Canadian culture. According to the CBC, Canadians are the largest consumers of this economical and easy pasta dish, buying over 75 million boxes a year (*CBC Archives* online). This product was introduced in the 1930s to Canada and the United States, but only in Canada did it become a kitchen cupboard staple.

Because Kraft Dinner is especially popular among students, we felt it was highly likely that the younger age groups would show a preference for the use of this brand name over the generic phrase *macaroni and cheese*.

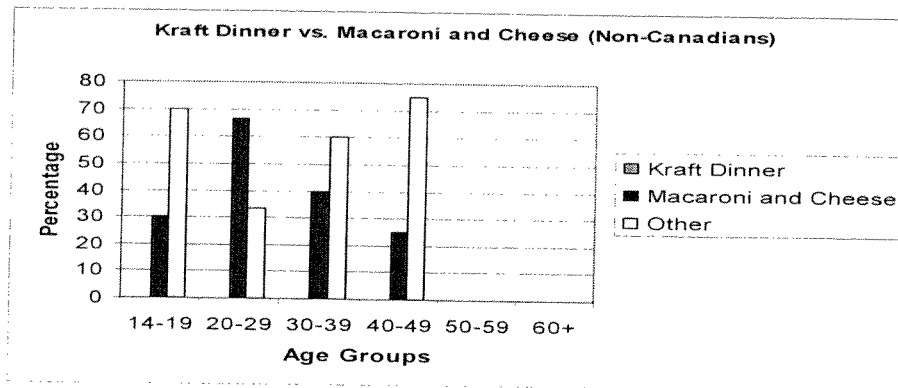
We found, however, that *macaroni and cheese* was much more widely used than *Kraft Dinner* regardless of a respondent's age. Even in the 14-19 and 20-29 age groups, as can be seen in **Figure 1.1** below, only 10-20% of our subjects responded *Kraft Dinner*, while approximately 40% responded *macaroni and cheese*.

Figure 1.1 Canadian Data for Question One by Age



With respect to our second hypothesis, we did find that the term *Kraft Dinner* was more popular among Canadians than non-Canadians. In fact, *only* Canadians produced this answer, as can be seen in **Figure 1.2**.

Figure 1.2 Non-Canadian Data for Question One by Age



Other responses that we received included *lasagna* and *fettucini alfredo*. Many respondents did not interpret the question in the way we had intended. The majority (58%) of non-Canadians had *other* responses, and even among

Canadians about 35% strayed from the expected responses of *Kraft Dinner* or *macaroni and cheese*.

Overall, these results indicate that the generic term of *macaroni and cheese* is still prominent in our vocabulary but that the brand *Kraft Dinner* can nevertheless be considered distinctly a part of the Canadian vocabulary since non-Canadians were found not to use it at all.

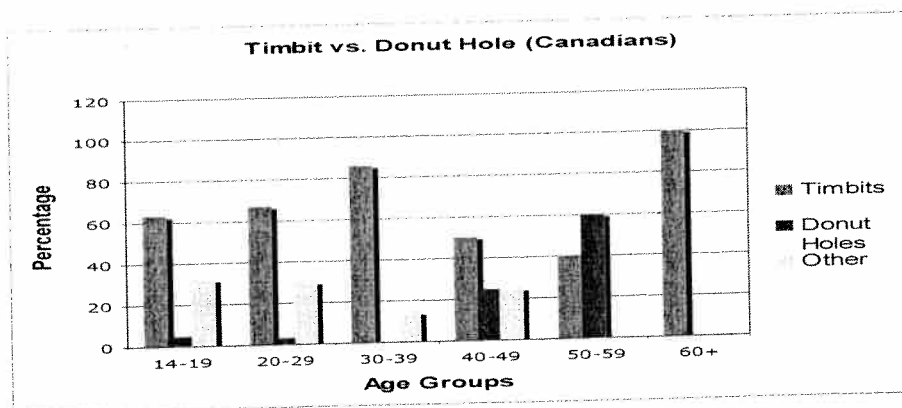
3.2 Timbits

Timbits are bite-sized donut balls sold at the fast-food chain Tim Hortons. A Timbit is supposedly made from that part of a full donut that is cut out to make the donut hole, but in fact they are made from separate balls of dough. This treat was introduced at the Tim Hortons' chain in 1976 (*Wikipedia*).

As expected, we found that among Canadians, the brand name for this item is more popular: 68% of Canadians answered *Timbits* and only 8% *donut holes*. But *Timbit* was also popular among non-Canadians, with a total of 31.5% using the brand name as compared to only 9.5% for *donut hole*. The adoption of this brand name by people born outside of Canada shows a strong Canadian societal influence with respect to this product.

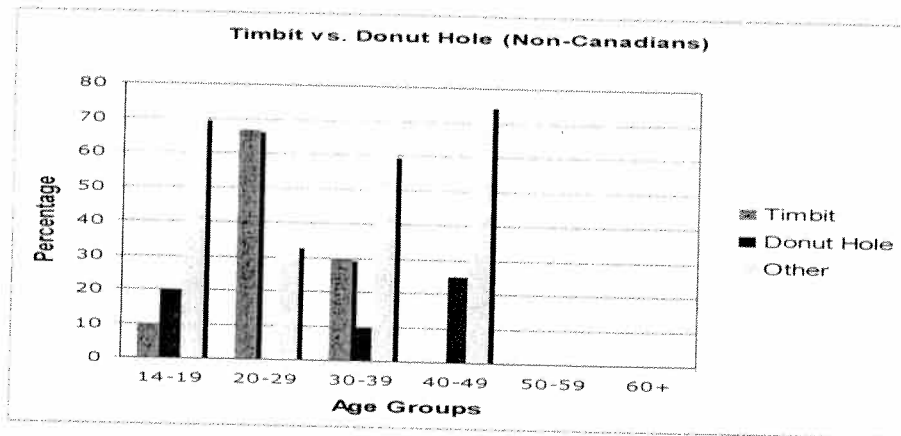
As seen below in **Figure 2.1**, *Timbit* was the most common response across all age groups of Canadians with the exception of the 50-59 category. Our age hypothesis was borne out, however, by the fact that more older people responded with *donut holes*.

Figure 2.1 Canadian Data for Question Two by Age



As seen in **Figure 2.2**, a large majority of non-Canadians once again provided *other* responses to question two. Again the question was often not understood correctly.

Figure 2.2 Non-Canadian Data for Question Two by Age



3.3 Saran Wrap

Saran Wrap is the plastic wrap that is used to seal food items to keep them fresh. It was first introduced in 1953 by the Dow Chemical Company (*Wikipedia*). In the United Kingdom, the product is also known as *cling film*. The majority of Canadians (over 60%) refer to this product as *Saran Wrap*. About 36% of non-Canadians also use this brand name as their everyday term for the product.

For this item, we found a consistent trend among both Canadian and non-Canadian respondents, that is, an upward trend in the use of the generic term *plastic wrap* as respondents became older (see **Figures 3.1** and **3.2**). While the oldest Canadian respondents appeared to defy the trend, there were actually very few respondents in these age categories in this study; see **Appendix B**. Thus the age correlation for question three could be explained by the fact that people often become more formal in their speech as they age.

Figure 3.1 Canadian Data for Question Three by Age

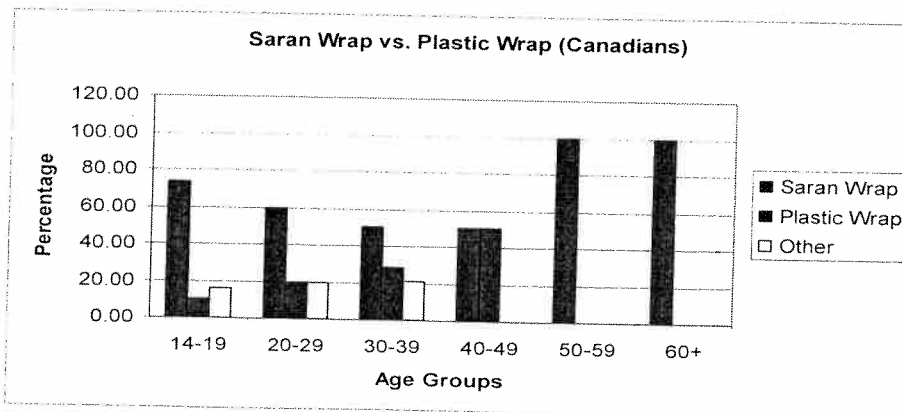
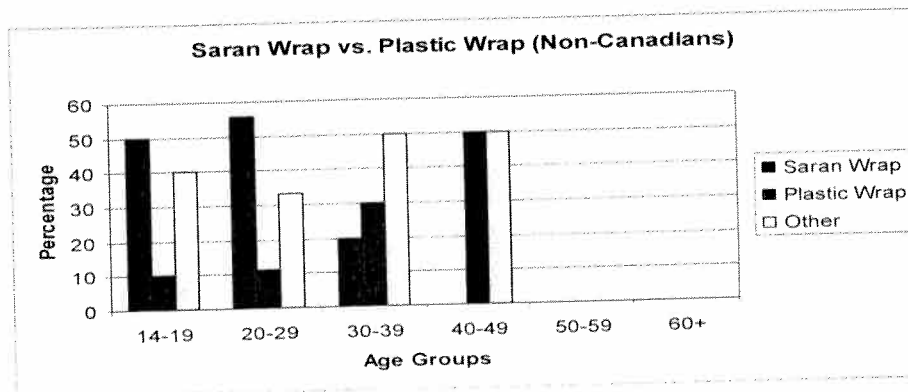


Figure 3.2 Non-Canadian Data for Question Three by Age



As can be seen in **Figure 3.2**, over 40% of non-Canadians produced *other* responses. There were more *other* responses than responses for either *Saran Wrap* or *plastic wrap*. This time, however, the variety of responses was not due to our question being misunderstood; rather, non-Canadians referred to this product using other generic names, such as *cling wrap*, *cling film*, and *cellophane*. And one other response was of particular interest, *Glad wrap*, since it was another brand name. Here we have a case where *more than one* consumer brand has become common enough in our everyday lives to override the generic name of a product.

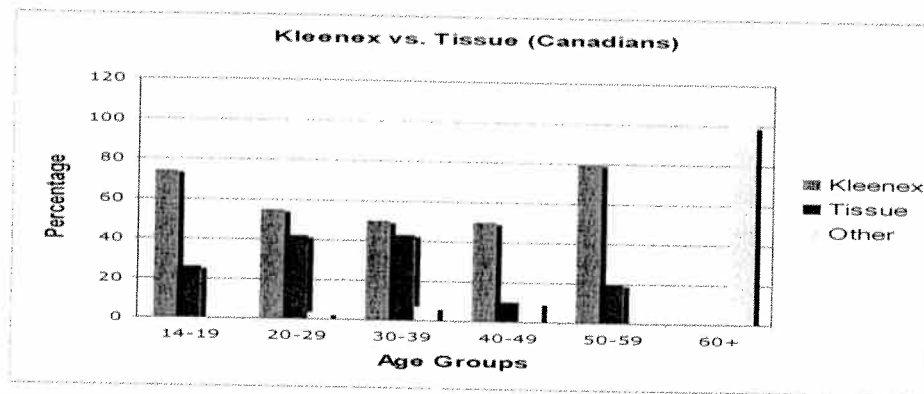
3.4 Kleenex

Kleenex is a brand name of facial tissue and a registered trademark of the Kimberly-Clark Corporation. Kimberly-Clark created the first facial tissues in 1924, originally marketing them as a tool for removing cold cream. By 1926, they were also being advertised as disposable handkerchiefs (*Wikipedia*).

We found the key factor for preferred use of *Kleenex* (the brand name) among Canadian respondents was gender. While 74% of females responded *Kleenex*, only 36% of males did. Conversely, while 53% of males answered *tissue*, only 24% of females did. This finding was unanticipated; when we initially set up our research, we did not believe gender would be a significant factor.

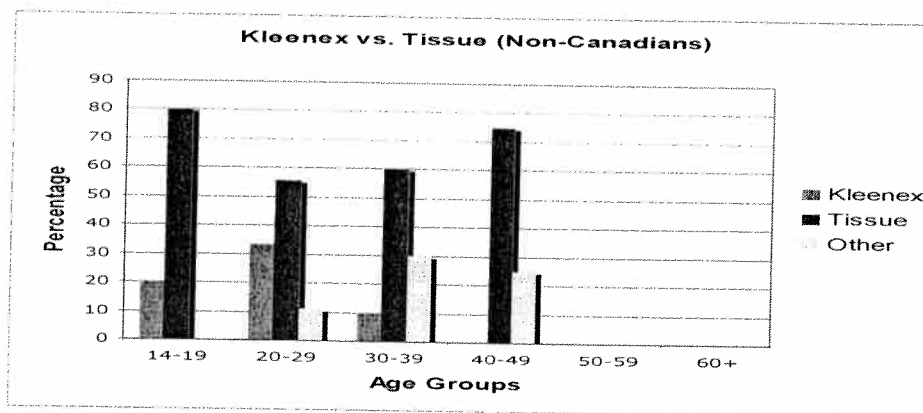
As well, contrary to our hypothesis, we discovered that the percentage of Canadian respondents using *Kleenex* was fairly steady across all age groups. This can be seen in **Figure 4.1**. (The anomalous over-60 category represents a single respondent.)

Figure 4.1 Canadian Data for Question Four by Age



Among non-Canadians, *tissue* was more widely used in all age groups (see **Figure 4.2**), with a total of 66% of respondents offering this generic response as opposed to the 18.5% who preferred the brand name *Kleenex*.

Figure 4.2 Non-Canadian Data for Question Four by Age



3.5 Band-Aid

Band-Aids are the adhesive bandages invented in the 1920s in New Jersey by a young married couple, Josephine and Earle Dickson. As a new housewife, Josephine was always getting cuts and burns on fingers, and Earle, who worked for Johnson and Johnson, had to bandage them up daily. Finally, Earle began to prepare ready-made bandages—little gauze pads on a continuous strip of adhesive—that his wife could apply by herself. Earle spoke of the idea to his boss at Johnson and Johnson, and, since then, over one hundred billion Band-Aids have been produced around the world ("Brand Heritage," *Band-Aid Brand Adhesive Bandages* website).

As expected, due to the worldwide popularity of the brand, *Band-Aid* was preferred to *bandage* by a strong majority of both Canadians and non-Canadians. About 85% Canadians and 55% non-Canadians responded to question five with *Band-Aid*.

However, there seemed to be an increased preference for the generic term *bandage* among older respondents (see **Figure 5.1**). As well, for non-Canadians, there was a downward trend in the use of *Band-Aid* as age increased (see **Figure 5.2**).

Figure 5.1 Canadian Data for Question Five by Age

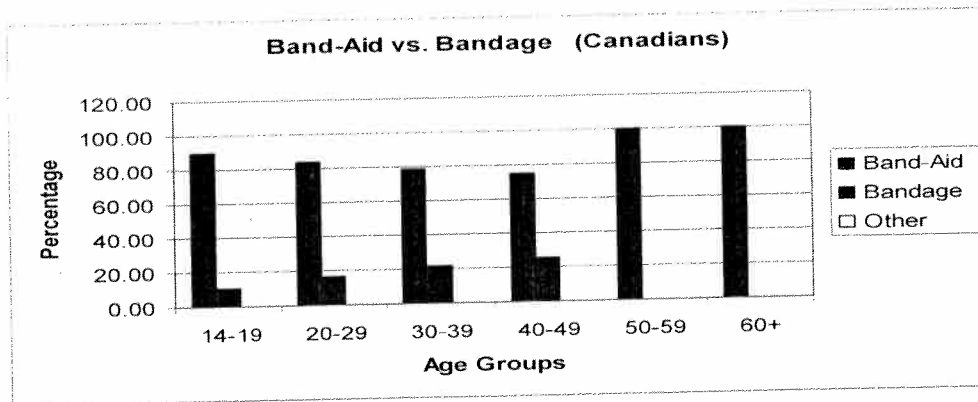
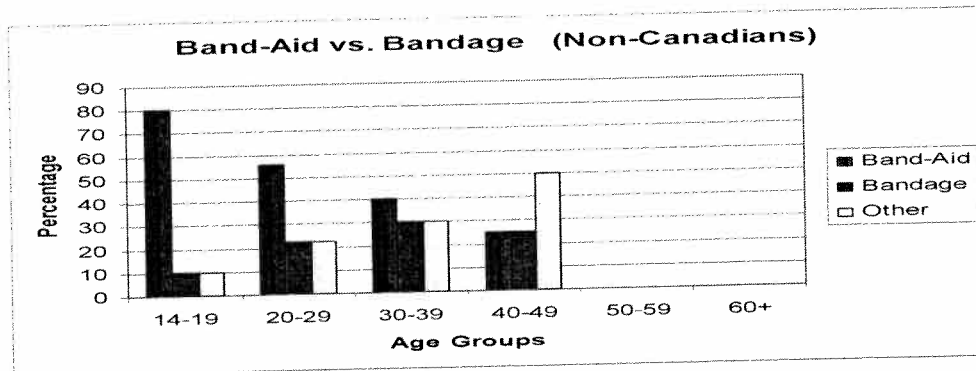


Figure 5.2 Non-Canadian Data for Question Five by Age



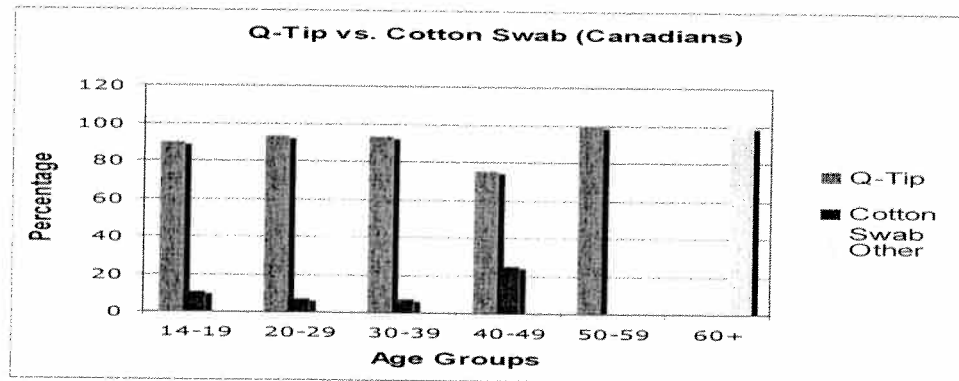
All of our *other* responses were received from non-Canadians (about 24% responded with something other than *Band-Aid* or *bandage*). *Plaster* was an *other* response of interest, since only respondents from Britain and former British colonies (besides Canada and the United States) produced it. *Plaster* demonstrates the correlation between place of birth and preference for a name for an item.

3.6 Q-tips

Q-tips are the best-known brand of cotton swabs in Canada and the United States. They are commonly used for cleaning ears (a use that, according to the packaging, is not advised) and for applying medicine or makeup. *Q-tips* were first produced in 1923 after Leo Gerstenzang, the original founder of the *Q-tips* Company, observed his wife adding cotton to toothpicks (*Wikipedia*).

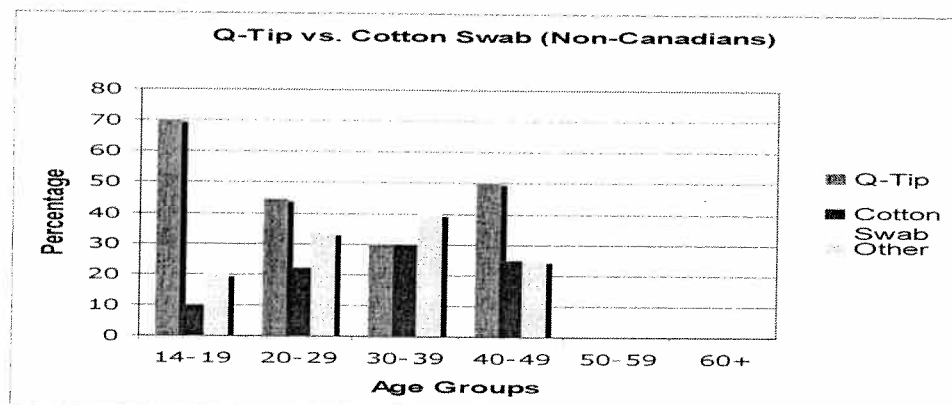
We found that this brand name is almost the only designation used by Canadians, as 90% responded to question six with *Q-tip*. Age and gender did not prove to be significant factors, with percentages fairly equal across age categories (see **Figure 6.1**).

Figure 6.1 Canadian Data for Question Six by Age



More non-Canadians (about 21%) than Canadians (only 8%) used the generic term *cotton swab* (see **Figure 6.2**). Some 30% of non-Canadians also provided *other* responses, including *ear bud* and *cotton bud*. Nevertheless, *Q-tip* was still the most popular response among non-Canadians (49%).

Figure 6.2 Non-Canadian Data for Question Six by Age



4. Conclusion

For making reference to any of the products in our study, Canadians preferred brand names to generic terms. We were correct in surmising that brand names had become an established part of the Canadian lexicon. Age, however, did not play as much of a role as we initially thought it would. Consumer brand names were widely used among all age groups.

Our hypothesis that those *born in Canada* would use Canadian brand names more than those *born outside of North America* was correct. Unfamiliarity with Canadian products and vocabulary may explain in part why non-Canadians did not choose brand names to the extent Canadians did. Non-Canadians living in Canada for more than 10 years used the brand names much more often than those in the country less than 10 years. Non-Canadians were also far more likely to use brand names for products long in existence and popular worldwide. So adopting brand names as generic vocabulary, though prevalent in Canada, may not be a particularly Canadian phenomenon.

5. Problems encountered

The greatest problem that we encountered was unanticipated responses to our survey questions. Some respondents did not answer with one of the two options we expected because they did not understand the question; that is, they did not understand what product we were describing. Our questions for *Kraft Dinner* and *Timbits* were especially troublesome. We might have been able to prevent this problem if we had shown the product itself instead of just providing a description of it. Or, we might have tried distributing our initial survey to a couple of *pilot* respondents and making adjustments to descriptions as needed. The descriptions were probably difficult for non-Canadians who had just recently come to Canada and did not understand English very well.

A second problem was that we needed more respondents in the older age groups, since a small number of respondents cannot necessarily represent the entire age group. If we were to attempt this research again, we would aim for a random stratified sample, representing equally all ages and all respondent categories and allowing a more accurate conclusion to be made.

A final nonlinguistic problem: we would have preferred to have more Canadian products represented in our survey. Finding fully Canadian, familiar branded products was not easy, and we realized that American brands dominate our Canadian economy.

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"A Taste of Canada: Our Homegrown Cuisine." *CBC Archives*, online. 17 June 1997. <http://archives.cbc.ca/IDCC-1-69-1371-8427/life_society/canadian_food>

Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia. <<http://en.wikipedia.org>>

Appendix A Survey

We are Queen's University students taking a Canadian English linguistics course. As required for the course, we are doing a research paper that looks at people's vocabulary used in everyday life. Please take the time to fill out this survey. Your participation would be greatly appreciated.

Please circle one:

Age 14-19 20-29 30-39 40-49 50-59 60+

Gender Male Female

Birth Country Canada United States Britain

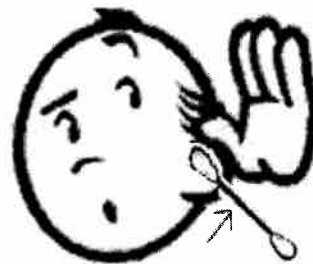
Other (please specify): _____

Number of years in Canada <1 1-5 6-10 10+

Is English your first language? Yes No

Please indicate the name that first comes to mind of the following objects described.

1. What do you call the common dish that is made of cooked pasta and a cheese sauce?
2. What do you call the snack food/dessert that is from the middle of a donut?
3. What do you call the thin plastic film that sticks to itself and is used for wrapping food?
4. What disposable item do you use to blow your nose?
5. What do you call the 2 items pictured?



Appendix B Breakdown of Respondents

Canadians			
Age	14-19	19	
	20-29	30	
	30-39	14	
	40-49	4	
	50-59	5	
	60+	1	
Gender	Male	27	
	Female	46	
English 1 st L?	Yes	68	
	No	5	
			TOTAL: 73
Non-Canadians			
Age	14-19	10	
	20-29	9	
	30-39	10	
	40-49	4	
	50-59	0	
	60+	0	
Gender	Male	14	
	Female	19	
Birth Country	United States	2	
	Britain	2	
	Other	29	
# Years in Canada	<1	3	
	1 to 5	8	
	6 to 10	8	
	10+	14	
English 1 st L?	Yes	11	
	No	22	
			TOTAL: 33
GRAND TOTAL:		106	

Appendix C

Full Results by Question

Table 1.1 Canadian Data for Question One

		Kraft Dinner		Macaroni & Cheese		Other	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Age	14-19	4	21.05	8	42.11	7	36.84
	20-29	3	10	13	40	14	45
	30-39	4	28.57	7	50	3	21.43
	40-49	0	0	3	75	1	25
	50-59	3	75	2	25	0	0
	60+	0	0	0	0	1	100
Gender	Male	7	25.93	8	29.63	12	40.74
	Female	7	15.22	25	52.17	14	30.43
English 1st L	Yes	14	20.59	30	45.59	24	35.29
	No	0	0	3	60	2	40
TOTAL			19.18		45.21		35.62

Table 1.2 Non-Canadian Data for Question One

		Kraft Dinner		Macaroni & Cheese		Other	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Age	14-19	0	0	3	30	7	70
	20-29	0	0	6	66.67	3	33.33
	30-39	0	0	4	40	6	60
	40-49	0	0	1	25	3	75
	50-59	0	0	0	0	0	0
	60+	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gender	Male	0	0	4	28.57	10	71.43
	Female	0	0	10	52.63	9	47.37
Birth Country	USA	0	0	2	100	0	0
	Britain	0	0	0	0	2	100
	Other	0	0	12	41.38	17	58.62
# Years in Canada	<1	0	0	3	100	0	0
	1 to 5	0	0	1	12.5	7	87.5
	6 to 10	0	0	3	37.5	5	62.5
	10+	0	0	7	50	7	50
English 1st L	Yes	0	0	6	54.55	5	45.45
	No	0	0	8	36.36	14	63.64
TOTAL			0		42.42		57.58

Table 2.1 Canadian Data for Question Two

		Timbit		Donut Hole		Other	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Age	14-19	12	63	1	5	6	32
	20-29	20	66.6	1	3.3	9	30
	30-39	12	86	0	0	2	14
	40-49	2	50	1	25	1	25
	50-59	2	40	3	60	0	0
	60+	1	100	0	0	0	0
Gender	Male	16	59	2	8	9	33
	Female	33	72	4	9	9	19
English 1st L	Yes	44	65	6	9	18	26
	No	5	100	0	0	0	0
TOTAL			68		8		24

Table 2.2 Non-Canadian Data for Question Two

		Timbit		Donut Hole		Other	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Age	14-19	1	10	2	20	7	70
	20-29	6	66.6	0	0	3	33.3
	30-39	3	30	1	10	6	60
	40-49	0	0	1	25	3	75
	50-59	0	0	0	0	0	0
	60+	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gender	Male	3	21	0	0	11	79
	Female	7	37	4	21	8	42
Birth Country	USA	0	0	2	100	0	0
	Britain	1	50	0	0	1	50
	Other	9	31	2	7	18	62
# Years in Canada	<1	1	33.3	2	66.6	0	0
	1 to 5	2	25	0	0	6	75
	6 to 10	2	25	0	0	6	75
English 1st L	10+	5	36	2	14	7	50
	Yes	7	64	1	9	3	27
	No	3	14	3	14	16	72
TOTAL			31.5		9.5		59

Table 3.1 Canadian Data for Question Three

		Saran Wrap		Plastic Wrap		Other	
			%		%		%
Age	14-19	14	73.68	2	10.53	3	15.79
	20-29	18	60	6	20	6	20
	30-39	7	50	4	28.57	3	21.43
	40-49	2	50	2	50	0	0
	50-59	5	100	0	0	0	0
	60+	1	100	0	0	0	0
Gender	Male	13	48.15	6	22.22	8	29.63
	Female	34	73.91	8	17.39	4	8.70
English 1st L	Yes	42	61.76	14	20.59	12	17.65
	No	5	100	0	0	0	0
TOTAL			64.38		19.18		16.44

Table 3.2 Non-Canadian Data for Question Three

		Saran Wrap		Plastic Wrap		Other	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Age	14-19	5	50	1	10	4	40
	20-29	5	55.56	1	11.11	3	33.33
	30-39	2	20	3	30	5	50
	40-49	0	0	2	50	2	50
	50-59	0	0	0	0	0	0
	60+	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gender	Male	4	28.57	5	35.71	5	35.71
	Female	8	42.11	2	10.53	9	47.37
Birth Country	USA	0	0	0	0	2	100
	Britain	0	0	0	0	2	100
	Other	12	41.38	7	24.14	10	34.48
# Years in Canada	<1	0	0	0	0	3	100
	1 to 5	3	37.5	1	12.5	4	50
	6 to 10	2	25	3	37.5	3	37.5
	10+	7	50	3	21.43	4	28.57
English 1st L	Yes	3	27.27	0	0	8	72.73
	No	9	40.91	7	31.82	6	27.27
TOTAL			36.36		21.21		42.42

Table 4.1 Canadian Data for Question Four

		Kleenex		Tissue		Other	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Age	14-19	14	74	5	26	0	0
	20-29	16	55	13	42	1	3
	30-39	7	50	6	43	1	7
	40-49	2	50	1	10	1	10
	50-59	4	80	1	20	0	0
	60+	0	0	0	0	1	100
Gender	Male	9	36	15	53	3	11
	Female	34	74	11	24	1	2
English 1st L	Yes	39	57	25	37	4	6
	No	4	80	1	20	0	0
TOTAL			60		35		5

Table 4.2 Non-Canadian Data for Question Four

		Kleenex		Tissue		Other	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Age	14-19	2	20	8	80	0	0
	20-29	3	33.3	5	55.5	1	11.1
	30-39	1	10	6	60	3	30
	40-49	0	0	3	75	1	25
	50-59	0	0	0	0	0	0
	60+	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gender	Male	1	7	9	64	4	29
	Female	5	25	13	68	1	5
Birth Country	USA	2	100	0	0	0	0
	Britain	0	0	1	50	1	50
	Other	4	15	21	70	4	15
# Years in Canada	<1	0	0	3	100	0	0
	1 to 5	0	0	6	75	2	25
	6 to 10	2	25	4	50	2	25
	10+	4	29	9	64	1	7
English 1st L	Yes	1	9	9	82	1	9
	No	5	23	13	59	4	18
TOTAL			18.5		66		15.5

Table 5.1 Canadian Data for Question Five

		Band-Aid		Bandage		Other	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Age	14-19	17	89.47	2	10.53	0	0
	20-29	25	83.33	5	16.67	0	0
	30-39	11	78.57	3	21.43	0	0
	40-49	3	75	1	25	0	0
	50-59	5	100	0	0	0	0
	60+	1	1	0	0	0	0
Gender	Male	22	81.48	5	18.52	0	0
	Female	40	86.96	6	13.04	0	0
English 1st L	Yes	58	85.29	10	14.71	0	0
	No	4	80	1	10	0	0
TOTAL			84.93		15.07		0

Table 5.2 Non-Canadian Data for Question Five

		Band-Aid		Bandage		Other	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Age	14-19	8	80	1	10	1	10
	20-29	5	55.56	2	22.22	2	22.22
	30-39	4	40	3	30	3	30
	40-49	1	25	1	25	2	50
	50-59	0	0	0	0	0	0
	60+	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gender	Male	3	21.43	6	42.86	5	35.71
	Female	15	78.95	1	5.26	3	15.79
Birth Country	USA	2	100	0	0	0	0
	Britain	0	0	0	0	2	100
	Other	16	55.17	7	24.14	6	20.69
# Years in Canada	<1	2	66.67	0	0	1	33.33
	1 to 5	4	50	0	0	4	50
	6 to 10	4	50	3	37.5	1	12.5
	10+	8	57.14	4	28.57	2	14.29
		6	27.27	1	9.09	4	36.36
English 1st L	Yes	6	27.27	1	9.09	4	18.18
	No	12	54.55	6	27.27	4	18.18
TOTAL			54.55		21.21		24.24

Table 6.1 Canadian Data for Question Six

		Q-Tip		Cotton Swab		Other	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Age	14-19	17	89.5	2	10.5	0	0
	20-29	28	93	2	7	0	0
	30-39	13	93	1	7	0	0
	40-49	3	75	1	25	0	0
	50-59	5	100	0	0	0	0
	60+	0	0	0	0	1	100
Gender	Male	23	85	3	11	1	4
	Female	43	93	3	7	0	0
English 1st L	Yes	61	90	6	9	1	1
	No	5	100	0	0	0	0
TOTAL			90		8		2

Table 6.2 Non-Canadian Data for Question Six

		Q-tip		Cotton Swab		Other	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Age	14-19	7	70	1	10	2	20
	20-29	4	44.4	2	22.2	3	33.3
	30-39	3	30	3	30	4	40
	40-49	2	50	1	25	1	25
	50-59	0	0	0	0	0	0
	60+	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gender	Male	4	29	4	29	6	42
	Female	12	63	3	16	4	21
Birth	USA	1	50	1	50	0	0
Country	Britain	0	0	0	0	2	100
	Other	15	58	5	19	6	23
# Years in Canada	<1	1	33.33	1	33.33	1	33.33
	1 to 5	2	25	1	12.5	5	62.5
	6 to 10	4	50	3	37.5	1	12.5
	10+	9	75	1	8	2	17
English 1st L	Yes	5	46	2	18	4	36
	No	11	50	5	23	6	27
TOTAL			49		21		30

HAMMED IN ONTARIO, SCHAMMERED IN NOVA SCOTIA A LOOK AT ALCOHOL-RELATED VOCABULARY IN CANADA

Megan Enns and Andrea Mitchell

1. Introduction

Alcohol use is prevalent in universities across Canada and the United States, and everywhere you go, it seems you encounter new alcohol-related vocabulary. This vocabulary ranges from words used in everyday contexts, to crude words, to completely new words you may be sure the speaker just made up. *Geist*, a magazine on Canadian culture, includes in each issue a "Cross-Canada Phrasebook," to which readers submit words and phrases that they feel are unique either to a particular region in Canada or to Canada in general. Many of the submissions to the Cross-Canada Phrasebook are words and phrases pertaining to alcohol use. Clearly alcohol is a potent generator of words. We were interested in seeing what new vocabulary we could unearth, whether we would encounter the words readers had submitted to *Geist*, and whether or not there were indeed differences between the provinces, and also between Canada and the United States, in alcohol-related vocabulary.

2. Hypotheses

We hypothesized that, overall, there was indeed regional variation in alcohol vocabulary. Our more specific hypotheses related to individual terms and claims gathered from the *Geist* Cross-Canada Phrasebook. One claim that we decided to test was that *mickey* (a 12-ounce bottle of liquor) was a Canadian term never used in the United States. We also chose to look at the validity of claims that there was vocabulary never heard in specific provinces. For example, one reader wrote that a person wouldn't hear twenty-four cans of beer referred to as a *flat* in Vancouver, while another responded that that is exactly what it would be called in the Vancouver area. We decided to test claims and counter-claims in *Geist* in order to see what words are actually used across Canada.

3. Method

We conducted our research by distributing a survey comprising questions related to several different aspects of alcohol use. This survey was sent to people across Canada and the United States. Most respondents received the survey and replied to it by e-mail, although some surveys were completed on paper and returned. In the survey, we asked for age, gender and level of education, as well as current place of residence and place of residence until age twelve. The survey contained fifteen questions that *elicited* vocabulary: four about words pertaining to the effects of alcohol, one about the word for being asked for identification (at the entrance to a bar or a liquor store counter), eight about names for liquor sizes and portions, and two about the names of stores that sell alcohol. Three additional questions investigated the familiarity of specific words that we supplied. (The survey is reproduced in full in **Appendix A.**)

4. Results by Question

4.1 Words for Intoxication

For words referring to intoxication and the effects of alcohol, we found remarkable homogeneity across the provinces. While there were many different words used, including some highly unusual ones (such as *hammered*, probably a clipped form of *hammered*), the most frequent responses were the same right across Canada. *Drunk* was by far the word most commonly used, both across Canada and in the United States. Among the many alternatives to the word *drunk* were, at one end of the spectrum, formal medical terms, such as *inebriated* and *intoxicated*, and, at the other, expressions that seemed to describe the intoxicant's state, such as *tipsy*, *out of one's head* and *gone*. Some completely new and very creative words were elicited by our questions about words for the effects of alcohol. Among these, *schmammered* and *crunk* were two words with no other meanings in the English language (*cf. stupid*, which does have other meanings). We realized that new words without prior meanings had to have been created especially to describe the effects of alcohol. The popularity of the new word *schmammered* surprised us, since neither of us had ever heard this term before. In addition to creative new words, some quite vulgar words were used to describe the effects of alcohol, including *shit-faced*, *fucked*, *pissed* and *retarded*. Overall, there were 32 different words used to refer to drunkenness, with very few words being specific to a certain region of Canada.

4.2 Words for ID Checking

The next question on our survey asked what being asked for identification (before being allowed to buy alcohol or enter a bar) was called. On the *Geist* magazine website, one reader suggested that in Vancouver this process was always referred to as "being

IDed," while in Toronto it was "being *carded*." Along with *IDed* and *carded*, we received a third answer: "being *checked*." This answer came from a few respondents in Ontario, as well as our only respondent in Saskatchewan. We didn't find any support for the statement that those in Vancouver would say they were *IDed*, while those in Toronto would say they were *carded*. Overall, we found that the majority of Canadians would say they were *IDed*, regardless of which province they lived in. However we did see that a strong distinction between usage in Canada and the United States. Respondents in the United States answered *carded* 100% of the time. This result suggests that it *may* be uniquely Canadian to say that you were *IDed* at the door of the bar.

4.3 Words for Large Serving Containers

Our third question dealt with what one would call a large open container of alcohol, meant to be poured into individual units, brought to one's table by a server in a bar. We included this question because of a submission to *Geist*, where a reader recounted that, at a bar in Montreal, his order for a *jug* (rather than a *pitcher*) resulted in blank stares. He suggested that in Calgary, one could ask for either a *pitcher* or a *jug* and the same product would arrive. We found no evidence to discredit his idea that *jug* is unfamiliar in Quebec, as all of our Quebecois respondents referred to this container as a *pitcher*, and our evidence is at least consistent with his theory that one could ask for either a *jug* or a *pitcher* in Alberta: most people across Canada answered this question with the word *pitcher*; a minority of respondents in Alberta, Ontario and Newfoundland responded *jug*.

4.4 Words for Retail Outlets

The next two questions on our survey looked at the names for the stores that sell beer and liquor. It is not surprising that the names for liquor stores varied across Canada, given that the sale of liquor is regulated by province. Some of the words for stores were acronyms, such as the *LCBO* in Ontario, the *SAQ* in Quebec, the *BCL* in British Columbia and the *NSLC* in Nova Scotia. These names are derived from the regulatory agencies governing the sale of alcohol in each particular province. Some less specific answers given to this question were *liquor store* and *beer store*. Some provinces and states allow the sale of beer in locations such as convenience and grocery stores, which led to responses such as *depanneur* and *gas station* from respondents in Quebec and the United States. In Ontario, where the *LCBO* specializes in the sale of spirits and wine and there is a separate chain of stores dedicated to the sale of beer, many respondents differentiated between a store that sells beer and a store that sells liquor. Respondents from other provinces made no distinctions based on the type of alcohol being sold.

4.5 *Specific Terms*

We included in our survey two questions testing whether specific alcohol-related terms were commonly known and used. The first term was *Molson muscle*. Were respondents familiar with this expression? If so, would they use it? Because Molson is a Canadian company, we did not expect this term to be familiar in the United States. Yet, even in Canada, most respondents stated that they had never heard the term and therefore would not use it in. The majority of those who did know this term also said they would not be likely to use it to describe anyone. (For the record, *Molson muscle* refers to what is more commonly described as a "beer belly.") The respondents who did use this term tended to be older than thirty-five. From this result we surmised that the term was perhaps once commonly used and has since fallen into disuse.

The second alcohol-related term we studied was *tipper*, referring to a large glass bottle of alcohol with a built-in handle mounted on a tilting stand to make pouring easier. Very few people had heard this term and consequently very few would use it. Many respondents offered a meaning for *tipper* from a different context: someone who tips, or offers a gratuity, at a bar or restaurant. This was not the meaning we were looking for. Neither of the two specific terms we looked at was currently well known or widely used in any region of the country.

4.6 *Words for Beer Packages and Liquor Bottles*

One series of questions in our survey dealt with names of beer packages and liquor bottles of different sizes. We asked what one might call 24 *bottles* or *cans* of beer, making a distinction between the two to see if the answer was contingent upon the type of container. We found "a *flat* of beer" was used only in reference to 24 *cans*, whereas "a *box* of beer" was used only in reference to 24 *bottles*. *Two-four* and *case* were responses given for *either* cans or bottles. In Canada, 24 bottles or cans of beer might be called a *two-four* or a *case*. In contrast, no American respondents used the term *two-four*. We inferred from this result that the term *two-four* is a Canadianism.

According to the *Geist* Cross-Canada Phrasebook, in Toronto, six cans or bottles of beer are called a *six-pack*; in Vancouver, a *half-sack*; in Cape Breton *just a few*; and, in Saskatchewan, *six in a bag*. This variety of terms prompted us to ask what others might call six cans or bottles of beer. Our respondents offered many terms but the only one that duplicated an item on the *Geist* list was *six-pack*, and this term was received from respondents across all Canadian provinces, as well as in the United States. Among other terms that respondents provided were *jock pack* and *leftovers*. Although our survey does not allow us to draw conclusions about the other terms on the *Geist* list, we would argue that *six-pack* is not a term specific to Toronto but one widely used across North America. A term for six cans or bottles of beer that may be region-specific

is *poverty pack*. This term was given by one of our respondents from Newfoundland and was posted to the *Geist* website by a reader in St. John's.

We also asked what respondents might call different sizes of liquor bottles, specifically 26-, 40- and 66-ounce bottles, and received a large variety of responses. The more common responses were repeated across Canada. In looking at the less common responses, we did not see any evidence of a division along provincial lines. There *was*, however, a clear contrast between the common responses provided by Canadians and Americans. In Canada, a 26-ounce bottle was frequently referred to as a *twenty-sixer*, whereas, in the United States, it was often called a *fifth* (as in a fifth of a gallon, an imperial measure used only in the United States). Similarly, in Canada, a 40-ounce bottle of liquor might be called a *forty* or a *forty-pounder*, whereas many American respondents referred to it as a *half-gallon*. In Canada, many respondents referred to the 66-ounce bottle of liquor as a *Texas Mickey*. As well, there were many creative responses to this survey item, such as *alcohol poisoning*, *too much* and *a heck of a lot of money*.



We also asked in our survey for the name of small, curved bottles of liquor, hoping to see two specific responses, based on location. A *Geist* reader had suggested that Nova Scotians, and only Nova Scotians, would call this bottle a *pint*. In fact, Newfoundlanders as well as Nova Scotians used the word *pint*. While we knew Canadians in other provinces might order "a *pint of beer*," we expected them to call this small, curved *liquor* bottle a *mickey*, and in fact, west of the Atlantic Provinces, most Canadians did respond *mickey*. Not a single American respondent answered *mickey*. so, we feel this is strong evidence that the term *mickey*, like *two-four*, is an alcohol-related Canadianism.

4.7 *Plural of beer*

Our final survey question dealt with a matter of personal interest to one of the authors of this survey, who often discussed with friends whether the correct plural form of the word *beer* was *beers* or *beer*. Our hypothesis going into the survey was that there was a regional distinction in the plural form between Atlantic Canada and the rest of the country, with Atlantic Canada favouring *beer*, without an *-s*. In fact, Atlantic Canadians, especially those in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, did provide the unmarked plural *beer* more frequently than respondents in the rest of the country—which lent some credence to our theory—but both plural forms were actually provided by respondents across the country. Originally, we thought that the unmarked plural *beer* might be popular in Nova Scotia due to an American influence in that province, but, instead, we discovered that American respondents never used *beer* as a plural, suggesting that this plural form may be unique to Canada. We also received two unexpected answers for the plural of *beer*, *brews* and *brewskies*. We believe that some

Canadians, unsure of the correct plural form of *beer*, were using these words to waffle. We were unable to come to a definitive answer to our question about the correct plural form of *beer* in Canada. It remains a mystery.

5. *Demographic Analysis of Results*

As far as demographic factors were concerned, we found that gender and level of education were not predictive of the answers to any of our questions. We did, however, find that for some questions age played a role. We saw what might be interpreted as evidence of both age-grading and linguistic change in progress. Certain vocabulary was more likely to be used in younger age groups than in older groups. Such age correlation was not surprising given that age affects whether a person is likely to be immersed in a culture that involves a high alcohol intake. Respondents who were close to the legal drinking age were more likely to be involved in a culture that emphasized alcohol use and were more likely to be familiar with and use obscure alcohol-related terms and phrases. This suggests age grading of alcohol-related vocabulary. Some older respondents, on the other hand, were familiar with terms, such as *Molson muscle*, that younger respondents had never heard of. This suggests that alcohol-related terms may actually be lost over time from the lexicon.

6. *Research Problems*

Different aspects of our research posed challenges. The wording of our survey questions was problematic. Finding enough respondents from each province was difficult. The vast abundance of unusual words used to describe alcohol use made analysis difficult. To expand on these points, some respondents mentioned that because we included the word *very* in the first four fill-in-the-blank questions (dealing with drunkenness and the effects of alcohol), some casual terms they would have liked to use did not fit the context. This problem of wording may have affected the variety of responses received. We did receive a wide array nonetheless. The use of the word *container* in the question on *pitcher vs. jug* seemed to confuse some people. In questions where we used the words "When you purchase a ...," some respondents felt that they should not answer the question if they did not buy that specific product. A better wording for eliciting responses might have been "What do you call...?" Another problem with the survey involved the *place of residence* questions. We asked respondents where they had lived until the age of twelve. We decided on this age because linguists maintain that many aspects of language are set once a person reaches the teenage years; however, in a study of alcohol-related terms, we believe it might have been more effective to ask for one's place of residence upon reaching the legal drinking age. This would have allowed us to get a better idea of differences between regions. The residence data we collected (for age twelve and the present) did not allow us to control for any changes in residence since the time when people would

likely start learning alcohol-related vocabulary. Our second major problem was the limited number of respondents to our survey. We relied mainly on e-mail to distribute our survey. We attempted to get a wide range of respondents representing all Canadian provinces and the United States, yet the majority of surveys completed were from people in Ontario. Outside certain provinces, we had limited contacts. We would have preferred a more balanced representation from across the country. Our small number of respondents prevented us from making regional generalizations to the extent we would have liked. The final major difficulty we faced was the vast number of terms used to describe alcohol. This made it difficult for us, especially with our small number of respondents, to make generalizations about alcohol-related vocabulary in Canada.

7. Conclusions

Future researchers, by taking into account both the positive aspects and the limitations of this study, should be able to come to a more precise understanding of alcohol-related vocabulary in Canada. Overall, we felt that this study was effective in eliciting some alcohol-related vocabulary, in documenting some regionally determined variation in Canada and the United States, and in highlighting a productive area of the Canadian English lexicon that we believe is deserving of more linguistic attention.

Appendix A Linguistics of Canadian English A Survey of Alcohol-Related Vocabulary

This survey is being conducted by two Linguistics students at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, Canada. The purpose of this study is to try to better understand whether there are variations in English usage of alcohol-related terms across Canada and between Canada and the United States. Participation in this survey is not mandatory. Please forward any questions, and completed surveys to the following email address-----@qlink.queensu.ca

Please let us know if you would like a copy of the results after completion. All results are completely anonymous.

Thanks for your participation!

Age (in years):

Gender:

Level of Education Achieved (check highest level):

- Grade 8
- Some High School
- Completed High School
- Some University or College
- Completed University or College
- Doctorate or Masters Degree Obtained

Current place of residence:

City/town Province/state Country

Past place(s) of residence (until age 12):

City/town Province/state Country

What word or phrase would you use to describe what you are going to be doing when you plan to become intoxicated with alcohol?

For example: I am going to get _____ tonight.

What word or phrase would you use to describe yourself when you are intoxicated?

For example: I am very _____, since I drank so much alcohol.

What word or phrase would you use to describe another person who is intoxicated?

For example: He was very _____ at the bar last night.

If you were describing your intoxication last night, what word or phrase would you use?

For example: Last night I was _____.

When entering an establishment that is licensed to serve or sell alcohol (a bar or a club, for example) where they must check that you are of legal drinking age, what phrase would you use to say that you were asked to provide proof of age?

For example: I was _____ at the entrance to the bar.

At a bar or pub if you are requesting a large container of alcohol, usually beer, to later pour into individual units, what term would you use to refer to the container?

What do you call a store that sells beer?

What do you call a store that sells liquor?

**Do you know what the term "Molson muscle" refers to?
If yes, would you ever use this term?**

When you purchase twenty-four cans of beer, what do you call it?

When you purchase twenty-four bottles of beer, what do you call it?

If you were to purchase six bottles or cans of beer, what would you call it?

What do you call a 26 oz. portion of liquor?

What do you call a 40 oz. portion of liquor?

What do you call a 66 oz. portion of liquor?

What do you call the small, curved bottles of liquor?

**Do you know what a "tipper" is?
If yes, would you use this term?**

What is the plural of the word beer?

For example: I drank one beer, but Joe drank 6 _____.

Are there any other words or phrases you might use to describe beer, liquor or intoxication that you have not listed? Please list them along with what they refer to.

*Thank you very much for your participation in this survey. Please save this file with a unique file name, and attach it to an email sent to the following address
-----@qlink.queensu.ca*

*If you are interested in receiving a copy of the final report, please let us know in the email. If you have any questions pertaining to the study, please feel free to email us.
Once again, participation in this study is completely voluntary and all results are confidential and remain anonymous.*

Appendix B American and Canadian Results

	Canada		United States	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
ID'd	30	65.2	0	0.0
Carded	13	28.3	5	100.0
Checked	3	6.5	0	0.0
Total	46		5	
Jug	6	13.3	0	0.0
Pitcher	37	82.2	5	100.0
Total	45		5	
Beer Store	34	69.4	1	20.0
Depanneur (Dep)	3	6.1	0	0.0
Liquor Store	10	20.4	0	0.0
NSLC	1	2.0	0	0.0
Grocery Store	1	2.0	1	20.0
Gas Station	0	0.0	3	60.0
Total	49		5	
LCBO	16	32.7	0	0.0
Licbo	3	6.1	0	0.0
Liquor Store	25	51.0	5	100.0
BCL	1	2.0	0	0.0
SAQ (Sack)	3	6.1	0	0.0
NSLC	1	2.0	0	0.0
Total	49		5	
Molson Muscle <i>known</i>	7	15.9	0	0.0
<i>unknown</i>	37	84.1	5	100.0
Total	44		5	
Two-four	28	63.6	0	0.0
Flat	6	13.6	0	0.0
24 Cans	4	9.1	0	0.0
Unsure/Other	2	4.5	0	0.0
Case	4	9.1	5	100.0
Total	44		5	
Two-four	37	82.2	0	0.0
Case	5	11.1	5	100.0
Box	3	6.7	0	0.0
Total	45		5	
6er	6	14.6	0	0.0
6 pack	34	82.9	5	100.0
Poverty Pack	1.0	2.4	0	0.0
Total	41		5	

	Canada		United States	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
26er	23	51.1	0	0.0
Twixer	2	4.4	0	0.0
Two-Six	4	8.9	0	0.0
A Fifth	2	4.4	2	40.0
Quart	4	8.9	0	0.0
Other	10	22.2	3	60.0
Total	45		5	
a 40	23	56.1	1	20.0
40 Pounder	4	9.8	0	0.0
40 Ouncer	4	9.8	1	20.0
Other	10	24.4	3	60.0
Total	41		5	
a 60	3	8.3	0	0.0
66er	5	13.9	0	0.0
60 pound	2	5.6	0	0.0
Texas Mickey	7	19.4	0	0.0
Other	19	52.8	5	100.0
Total	36		5	
Mickey	23	54.8	0	0.0
Pint	4	9.5	1	0.0
Other	15	35.7	4	80.0
Total	42		5	
Tipper <i>known</i>	5	11.6	0	0.0
<i>unknown</i>	38	88.4	5	100.0
Total	43		5	
Beer	22	44.0	0	0.0
Beers	24	48.0	5	100.0
Brews	3	6.0	0	0.0
brewskies	1	2.0	0	0.0
Total	50		5	

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TROUSERS AREN'T PANTS EVIDENCE FOR SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION OF SYNONYMS IN CANADIAN ENGLISH

Anjli Patel and Richard Zimmermann

1. Theoretical Background

One of the most prominent features of present day Canadian English appears to be its large degree of free variation: the phenomenon of two distinct linguistic entities expressing the same linguistic idea without a change in meaning and without either being considered incorrect by native speakers. It manifests itself on various linguistic levels, such as orthography (e.g., *-or* vs. *-our* variation), phonology (e.g., Canadian raising vs. "traditional" diphthongs), morphology (e.g., new strong past forms, such *dove* vs. *dived*), and syntax (e.g., *be* after *doing* vs. *have done*, variant perfect tense forms in Newfoundland vernacular). Particularly evident is free variation in the Canadian English *lexicon*, attributed to continuous British and American influences.

American visitors at first think how British the Canadian vocabulary sounds (*braces*, and *porridge*, instead of 'suspenders' and 'oatmeal'). The British think how Americanized the Canadians have become (they hear *truck*, and *wrench* for 'lorry', and 'spanner'). (McCrum, Cran, and MacNeil 263)

Free lexical variation is more commonly known as synonymy. *Strict synonyms* are defined as two or more words with identical meanings that are exchangeable in all contexts. Their meanings must not be distinguished by subtle positive or negative connotations, social registers or any other sort of semantic differentiation. However, it has been declared by many linguists that strict synonymy is impossible. Either supposed synonyms have slightly different meanings or one of the words has fallen out of use. Jackson suggests this mechanism of semantic divergence: "[I]f strict synonyms occur in the language [...] a differentiation of meaning takes place, and one of the words begins to be used in contexts from which the other is excluded" (66).

According to this theory, the pairs of words assumed to be strict synonyms in Canadian English should in fact display semantic differentiation. Or, in the absence of differentiation, Canadian English speakers should have dismissed one of the synonyms.

2. Hypotheses

We conducted a survey in two Canadian cities and the United States to track semantic differentiation for 19 pairs of supposedly synonymous nouns currently in use in Canadian English. We established the currency of the nouns in Canadian English by looking for them in the second edition (2005) of the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary*. Three hypotheses about the outcome of this survey follow logically from the theoretical background.

- (1) Strict synonyms are impossible: therefore, we expect to find none.
- (2) Free lexical variation (strict synonymy) appears to be a feature of Canadian English: therefore, we expect to find more semantic differentiation of synonyms among Canadian respondents than among American respondents. Conversely, since free variation is not associated with American English, we expect American respondents to more frequently drop synonyms.
- (3) We expect to find consistent (i.e., dialectal) rather than individual (i.e., idiolectal) semantic differentiation within Canadian regions. In other words, we expect Canadians in a given region to agree on the subtle differences in meaning between pairs of words traditionally called synonyms.

3. Methodology

We devised a survey to track semantic differentiation (see **Appendix A**). The survey, 26 pages in length, presented 38 nouns alphabetically. Each survey question was structured in the following manner. A noun was listed, followed by a box that respondents could check if they did not know or use the word (in which case they were instructed to move on to the next question). Below that box possible *semantic properties*, or defining characteristics, of the noun were listed. Respondents checked the ones they thought were associated with the noun. Below that list, there was a section labelled "other" where respondents could add semantic properties.

The semantic properties we presented were gradated. The phrases *must be*, *usually is* or *are*, and *can be* indicated the degree of association between a given property and the noun. For example, *a tramp* (must be/usually is/can be) *male*. *Must be*, of course, indicated the highest degree of association, and *can be*, the lowest. A property that *must be* associated with a word is *always* associated with it, a property that *usually is* associated with a word is *normally* associated with it, and a property that *can be* associated with a word *may be* associated with it. We provided clarification of the gradation of semantic properties in the instructions preceding the survey.

We approached respondents between the ages of 18 and 30, who were from one of three regions: Toronto, Vancouver, and the United States. Our choice of age range was

deliberate, and mainly determined by the accessibility of potential respondents to us. The respondents were approached primarily at Queen's University, in Kingston, Ontario, either in the main library or elsewhere on campus. We circulated additional surveys electronically, which allowed us to find our quota of respondents from the United States. In total, we collected 23 surveys (mean age: 22.7) with 9 respondents from Toronto (mean age 22.4), 6 respondents from Vancouver (mean age: 21.2) and 8 respondents from the United States (mean age: 24.1).

4. Suggested Methodological Improvements for Future Research

There are numerous ways in which our research could be improved and expanded. The length of the survey could be reduced from 26 pages to a more manageable length. We worried throughout survey distribution that our results would be affected by respondents' attention span wavering toward the end of the survey. The length of the survey could be significantly reduced by including only those semantic properties considered essential to each word or simply by investigating fewer words. In addition, we realized that the gradient formulation of the semantic properties could have caused confusion, leading some respondents to check off illogical sets of semantic properties for a word. Thus, it would be useful to devise a better way to describe the semantic properties.

It would also be interesting to duplicate our research but change the format of the survey to see whether using two different survey structures changes the overall results. If the survey had been structured in such a way that words in a pair appeared side-by-side, with semantic properties listed directly beneath each word, we believe that we would have seen more consistency in our results. We believe the alphabetical ordering of the words in the survey contributed to our finding of idiolectal rather than shared semantic differentiations.

Finally, this research could be expanded upon by including more regions, age groups, and by using other independent variables with which to correlate variation, such as socio-economic class. Perhaps most importantly simply expanding the pool of respondents would improve this research.

5. Results

5.1 Discussion of Hypothesis 1

According to our first hypothesis, we expected to find no strict synonymy. For Vancouver respondents, 3.5 % of the pairs were strict synonyms; for the USA, 4.5 %; and for Toronto, 9.9 % (see **Appendices B, C and D**, respectively). Very low percentages of strict synonymy in comparison to semantic differentiation or the

dropping of words are in accordance with our hypothesis. The strict synonymy we did find could have occurred because of respondent error. While filling out the survey, once a respondent came across the second word in a pair, he or she could have realized that the semantic properties we listed were exactly the same for both words in the pair. Thus, for any number of reasons, such as having an excellent short-term memory, the respondent could have simply checked exactly the same semantic properties for both words in a pair. It's also possible that the list of semantic properties we presented for each word was not exhaustive. Thus, unless the respondent took the time to add the differentiating semantic property in the "other" box, we would have interpreted the word pair as synonymous.

The low proportion of strict synonymy for our Vancouver (3.5%) and American (4.5%) respondents were within our expectations. However, Toronto respondents (9.9 %) indicated synonymy twice as often as the American group and nearly three times as often as the Vancouver group (see **Appendices B, C and D**). We looked more closely at the Toronto results and realized that a single respondent accounted for nearly half (41.2 %) of all strict synonymy. Without this particular respondent, the rate of strict synonymy in the word pairs would drop from 9.9 % to 6.1 %. Also worth noting is the fact that strict synonymy was never consistent through the whole Toronto respondent group. In other words, the same word pair was never judged to be strictly synonymous by more than one third of respondents in this group (**Appendix D**).

Nevertheless, we are forced to conclude that, contrary to what most linguists claim strict synonymy is in fact possible. It occurs, however, only idiolectally rather than dialectally. If we narrowly define strict synonyms as two or more words with the same meaning that are exchangeable in all contexts and are not merely part of a personal lexicon but are used with consistent meaning across a speech community, then our data confirms our first hypothesis.

5.2 *Discussion of Hypothesis 2*

According to our second hypothesis, we expected our American respondents to drop words from the synonymous noun pairs more frequently than our Canadian respondents. Conversely, we expected our Canadian respondents to differentiate the meaning of words in synonymous noun pairs more often than our American respondents.

Our data offers strong evidence for this assumption. The overwhelming majority of the responses from our Toronto group, namely 81.9 %, showed semantic differentiation for the synonymous noun pairs; only 8.2 % represented the dropping of a noun from a pair. The results for our Vancouver group were remarkably similar. Here, we found semantic differentiation rate of 87.7 %; only 8.8 % of the responses were dismissals of one of the words of the noun pairs. Overall, Canadians retained both words of a pair

and differentiated their meanings 84.8 % of the time and dropped words only 8.5 % of the time (see **Appendix E**). However, the results for our American group were strikingly different. Our American respondents dropped a word in 34.2 % of the cases, and retained both synonyms only 61.3 % of the time (see **Appendix C**). Obviously, the American ratio of dropped words, more than one third, was considerably greater than the Canadian ratio of roughly one tenth (see **Appendix E**). Therefore, we feel confident in claiming that our second hypothesis is valid. Free variation in the Canadian English lexicon predisposes Canadian English speakers toward semantic differentiation; on the other hand, speakers of American English, a dialect that does not show much free variation, are more inclined to drop lexical variants.

5.3 Discussion of Hypothesis 3

According to our third hypothesis, we expected our respondents in a given region to have the *same* semantic properties differentiating the synonymous noun pairs in their lexicon.

In order to confirm or refute this prediction, it was necessary to take a closer look at our word pairs. First, we assessed which semantic properties seemed highly relevant to the semantic differentiation of the noun pairs. Next, we highlighted the responses of each participant for these particular semantic properties. Although essentially objective up to this point, from this point on, our data was subject to our own, individual interpretations. For the nouns in each pair, we looked for differentiation on the basis of one key semantic property or a cluster of semantic properties. We were employing induction rather than mathematically rigid criteria to evaluate the data. We determined how many noun pairs were semantically differentiated in a consistent manner, how many words were dropped consistently and how many pairs were contrasted only idiolectally, for each of the Canadian regions (Toronto and Vancouver), for Canada as a whole, for the USA, and for all of North America (see **Appendix F**). As mentioned above with respect to our first hypothesis, there was not a single instance of strict synonymy maintained consistently through a dialect group. In Canada, consistent semantic differentiation or consistent dismissal was apparent in 79.0 % of noun pairs, while only 21.0 % of the noun pairs correspondingly showed idiolectal differentiation or dismissal. Our findings strongly suggest that our third hypothesis is true: Canadians generally concur on the nuances of meaning that separate synonyms.

6.1 Canadian English As a Means of Investigating Strict Synonymy

It seemed only natural to us that a noun, although arbitrarily connected to its referent, should have consistent meaning across a speech community in order to allow successful communication. Therefore, we expected to find more consistent (dialectal) than individual (idiolectal) lexical differentiation among our American as well as our Canadian

respondents. And, indeed, the proportion of consistent differentiation or dropping was high for both groups. As noted above, Canadians in each region were consistent 79% of the time. For our American respondents, 84.2 % of the word pairs showed consistent treatment while only 15.8 % showed idiolectal differentiation or dropping. The percentage of noun pairs from which one word was dropped consistently plus the percentage of noun pairs differentiated consistently for Canadian and American respondents taken together was 80.8 %. Thus our research suggests that, both in Canadian English and other dialects, when synonymous word pairs are differentiated through fine nuances of meaning, these nuances will be shared through the greater part of a speech community.

6.2 *A Contribution to Defining Canadian English*

Consistency in differentiating synonyms or dropping one synonym of a pair may obtain across a smaller or larger speech community. Some nouns have the same meaning for speakers of English all over North America (*continental differentiation*), others have an exclusively Canadian *or* American meaning (*national differentiation*), while others still have a meaning unique to Toronto or Vancouver (*regional differentiation*). As well, in some cases, a word is semantically consistent for many general semantic properties on the continental or national level but has additional nuances within a smaller area, i.e., at the national or regional level. Of the noun pairs in our study, 41.7 % showed differentiation or synonym dismissal consistently across the continent, while 37.5 % of pairs showed semantic differentiation that was unique to Canada. Another 20.8 % showed differentiation unique to one region of Canada.

The fact that only about a fifth of noun pairs are differentiated regionally in Canada provides evidence for the astonishing homogeneity of Canadian English, not in terms of its phonology, morphology or syntax but in terms of its lexical semantics. The fact that 37.5% of noun pairs showed semantic differentiation *unique to Canada* suggests that free lexical variation in Canadian English has given rise not only to synonym differentiation but also to *exclusively Canadian meanings*.

7. *An In-depth Analysis of the Synonymous Noun Pairs*

In this section, we will discuss our synonymous noun pairs in depth, pointing out in what regard and in which geographic areas their meanings differ. Data for each noun pair may be found in **Appendix G**, where the individual tables are ordered alphabetically.

First we will examine pairs that showed consistent variation on the continental level.

Across North America, *holiday* and *vacation* primarily differ in their respective lengths. A *vacation* is more likely to span multiple days, whereas a *holiday* can span a single day. Furthermore, a *vacation* is more likely to be associated with leisure, rest and travelling.

There is a distinct difference in gender between *tramp* and *hobo*. A *hobo* is more likely to be male and dirty, while a *tramp* is more likely to be female, sexually promiscuous, and disreputable.

The words *caretaker* and *janitor* imply two separate occupations with different locations. A *caretaker* is more likely to care for or assist another person, and thus work in a private home. A *janitor* is more likely to perform routine maintenance and remove garbage as a paid employee in a public institution.

Number plate is the only synonym of all our pairs dropped consistently on a continental level. *License plate* is the term favoured in North America. *Number plate* is a British term, and its unfamiliarity in North America is not surprising. Britain and the United States developed their own distinctive vocabularies for motor vehicles, and Canadians bought cars and adopted automotive vocabulary from the States.

Handbag and *purse* differ with respect to size: a *handbag* is more likely to be large than a *purse*.

Biscuit and *cookie* differ in flavour: *biscuits* are more likely to be savoury and *cookies* sweet. And the texture of *biscuits* is more likely to be crumbly.

Jug and *pitcher* differ in appearance and function. A *jug* is more likely to be short and wide, while a *pitcher* is more likely to have a spout and to be associated with pouring.

Curtains and *drapes* differ in regard to their material and elegance. Curtains are likely to be made of light, wispy material and are less likely to be considered sophisticated. Drapes, on the other hand, are likely to be made of heavy material, such as thick velvet, and are more likely to be considered elegant.

An *unpaved road* is strongly associated with a gravel-like surface, while a *dirt road* is less well defined with respect to surface material.

Caravan and *trailer* show consistent semantic differentiation on three points. First, a *caravan* is more likely to be a vehicle that can be driven, whereas a *trailer* is more likely to be attached to a vehicle that pulls it. Second, a *trailer* is more likely to be a permanent home for poor people. Third, only a *caravan* can be a group of people journeying together.

Next we will look at pairs showing consistent variation at a national level. The uniquely Canadian meanings we discovered are perhaps the most interesting aspect of our research.

Canadians and Americans both differentiated the noun pair *eraser* and *rubber* but along different lines. For Americans, *rubber* is likely to be a part (the wheels) of a car and is virtually never something that resembles an *eraser*. For Canadians, *rubber* shows semantic narrowing and is a special kind of *eraser*. It usually removes only pencil or ink writing, while an *eraser* can also be used to wipe chalk from a blackboard.

In Canada, *restroom* and *washroom* differ primarily by location. A *restroom* is more likely to be public; a *washroom* is more likely to be in a private home, and thus, usually contains a bathtub or shower and a medicine cabinet. Americans consistently drop the word *washroom*.

Serviette and *napkin* are differentiated idiolectally in Canada. In the United States, however, the word *serviette* is used considerably less often and is considered more sophisticated: a *serviette* is more likely to be made of cloth and used in posh restaurants.

We found a very similar result for *couch* and *sofa*. While the two nouns are differentiated only idiolectally (if at all) in Canada, there is a tendency to differentiate the nouns by shape in the United States: a *couch* is more likely to be symmetrical, a *sofa*, asymmetrical.

In Canada, an *apartment* is more likely than a *flat* to have a superintendent. A *flat* is more likely to be located in a smaller building. In the United States, the British term *flat* is consistently dropped.

The noun pair *trousers* and *pants* showed one of the most interesting semantic differentiations of our survey. While consistently dropped in the United States, *trousers* is in use in Canada, often with formal connotations and usually to refer to men's clothing. *Pants*, according to respondents across Canada and the United States, can have any style: flared, tapered, straight leg or boot cut. But Canadians are less certain about the proper style of *trousers*, which means that, in Canada, *trousers* has undergone semantic narrowing to become a specialized kind of pants. This example provides very convincing evidence for the claim that there are exclusively Canadian meanings.

We discussed *curtains* and *drapes* above because they show consistent semantic differentiation, with respect to material, on a continental level. This noun pair can also be distinguished, at the national level by placement. Within Canada, the word *drapes* is strongly associated with windows, while *curtains* can be found elsewhere (partitioning rooms, on stage, etc.). In the United States, these two words are also differentiated by

placement but only idiolectally. In other words, there is no consistency in how American speakers assign the words.

Socket and *outlet* are differentiated idiolectally in Canada. In the United States, *socket* is consistently dropped. In our Canadian data, we discovered a weak tendency to associate *socket* more readily with openings where Internet cables, headphones, and so on, are inserted rather than for wall openings that supply electricity. Perhaps this semantic property will catch on as a consistent distinction between these words in Canada.

In Canada, we found consistent differentiation for *tap* and *faucet*, while in the United States the pair was differentiated only idiolectally. For a Canadian, a *tap* is likely to be of lower quality than a *faucet*. Furthermore, a *tap* is more likely to be found outside, to have a hose attached to it, and to be operated with a turning motion. Although many Canadian speakers today might still use *tap* for an elegant sink fixture in the house, if the present trend continues, the meaning of *tap* may eventually be restricted to an outdoor water valve. The meaning many Canadians assign to *tap* is possibly different from any other English variety. It is shared neither by Americans, who usually use only *faucet*, nor by the British, who tend to use *tap* in all contexts and are unlikely to associate the word with a shabby fixture. Thus, *tap* and *faucet* form yet another instance of a noun pair with meanings that are exclusively Canadian.

This third and final set of noun pairs showed variation regionally.

For the noun pair *biscuit* and *cookie*, Vancouver is the only region in which a *biscuit* is quite likely to be sweet. This result, which surprised us, might be due to the greater British influence in this region. In Toronto and the United States, a *biscuit* does not have to be sweet at all.

For our Toronto group, we found that a *pitcher* is associated more strongly with the act of pouring than a *jug*. Simply put, when a Torontonian thinks of a *pitcher*, he or she almost invariably pictures it being used to pour something.

Interestingly, for each regional group, we found different results for the pair *caravan* and *trailer* regarding the semantic property of size. In Toronto, a *trailer* is likely to be bigger than a *caravan*. In Vancouver, *trailer* and *caravan* are differentiated only idiolectally with respect to size. For Americans, a *caravan* is likely to be bigger than a *trailer*.

For our Toronto and American groups, we found consistent semantic differentiation for *unpaved road* and *dirt road*. Torontonians and Americans are likely to associate a *dirt road* with a dust or soil surface. Vancouverites are less sure about what a dirt road should look like and differentiate the two words idiolectally apart from the semantic

property of gravel-like material for an *unpaved road*, which, as we mentioned above, is consistent on a continental level.

Finally in this group, *pita* and *wrap*, showed regional semantic differentiation. *Pita* is more frequently dropped by Americans than by Canadians. The two terms show idiolectal differentiation in the United States and Vancouver but are consistently differentiated in Toronto, where a *pita* is more likely to be stuffed and semi-circular, while a *wrap* is usually rolled and cylindrical. We believe that this finding exemplifies how regional economy can influence the lexicon. The Pita Pit is a fast food chain that has popularized pitas in Canada, and a brief investigation of its website (see www.pitapit.com) reveals a major difference in the distribution of Pita Pit restaurants across Canada. The site lists only two restaurants in Vancouver, compared to eight in Toronto. This information helps to explain why *pita* and *wrap* are consistently differentiated in Toronto but not in the other regions we surveyed.

8. Conclusion

Our research supports our three hypotheses. We demonstrated that strict synonymy is never consistently maintained by a dialect group; that Canadian English frequently differentiates the meaning of Canadian synonyms, while American English frequently drops one of a synonym pair maintained in Canadian English; and that the semantic properties that differentiate synonyms in Canadian English are largely consistent from speaker to speaker.

The methods that we devised to track differentiation allowed us to analyze the semantic differences between 19 synonymous noun pairs in detail. We believe that our methods have potential for future research and may be an important addition to socio-linguistic research techniques.

We used the state of English as it is spoken in Canada today not only to do some research exclusively on Canadian English but also to verify a theoretical linguistic assumption on synonymy.

Finally, our research has provided a novel perspective in the quest to define Canadian English. Although some words in the Canadian variety of English are by and large used for the same general idea as in other varieties of English, they seem to have acquired fine connotations that can only be found in Canada. Hence, we have shown that there is definitely such a thing as "Canadian meaning."

Appendix A Survey of Canadian English Semantics

Age: _____

Where did you live from ages 2-14? _____

This survey is the foundation of our research paper in LING 202, Canadian English. We are interested in your precise understanding of words. You will find tables that list words. Below each word is a list of characteristics, or semantic properties, that qualify it. Please check the boxes that you think are applicable for each word. At the end of each list of semantic properties, you will find a space, entitled "Other", in which you can add characteristics of the word that you think are essential to defining it. For example:*

In my understanding of the word, <i>pavement</i> ...	
<input type="checkbox"/>	can be found on a street
<input type="checkbox"/>	must be black
<input type="checkbox"/>	usually consists of cobblestones
Other:	

There are three different formulations for the semantic properties.

- a) **must be:** If you check such a box, you are saying that this semantic property is always necessarily included in the word. If you do not check such a box, you are saying that this semantic property could be but does not have to be included in the word.
- b) **can be:** If you check such a box, you are saying that this semantic property can possibly be included in the word. If you do not check such a box, you are saying that this semantic property can absolutely never be included in the word.
- c) **usually or typically:** If you check such a box, you are saying that this semantic property is normally included in the word. If you do not check such a box, you are saying that this semantic property is not included in your prototype of the word.

This survey is not meant to test your knowledge. It is designed to find out what words you use and how exactly you understand these words. If you do not know of or use a word, check the appropriate box, and don't check any semantic properties for that word.

We hope you will enjoy working through this survey.
Thank you very much!

Word 1: Apartment

- I don't know what an *apartment* is OR I never use *apartment*.
(Do **not** check anything in the *apartment* column.)

In my understanding of the word, an *apartment*...

- can be a set of rooms
- must refer to a set of rooms on one floor
- must refer to a set of rooms on many floors
- can have at least one flight of stairs
- can be a single room
- can refer to a portion of a single story building
- can refer to a whole single story building
- can refer to a portion of a skyscraper
- can refer to a whole multi-storey building
- is usually located in a building that houses many families or households
- must be located in a building that houses many families or households
- must be allotted to only one person, family or party
- is usually rather small
- is usually spacious
- is usually used by young people, such as students
- is usually used by older people, such as retirees
- is usually found in suburban areas
- is usually found downtown
- is usually in a building which is found in a large city
- is usually in a building which is found in a small city or town
- must be used as a dwelling
- is usually used for economic purposes
- must be owned individually
- can be rented out
- must be found in a high rise building
- must be found in a low rise building
- must have one bedroom
- must have two bedrooms
- must have three or more bedrooms
- must have common facilities like bike storage, laundry, and parking
- can be in a building that has a superintendent
- must be in a building that has at least one elevator
- must be in a building that has security cameras
- can be in a building that has a buzzer for guests

Other:

Word 2: Biscuit

- I don't know what a *biscuit* is OR I never use *biscuit*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *biscuit* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *biscuit*...

- must be edible
- must be sweet
- can be sweet
- can be variously composed and flavoured
- usually has a chocolate flavour
- must fit in the palm of the hand
- must be made of dough
- must be baked
- typically takes on a thin, flat shape
- typically forms a round shape while being baked
- is usually made into various shapes using a cutter (for example: hearts, stars)
- can be decorated (for example: with icing, sprinkles)
- is usually crumbly
- is usually chewy

Other:

Word 3: Caravan

- I don't know what a *caravan* is OR I never use *caravan*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *caravan* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *caravan*...

- must be driven
- can be driven
- must be attached to a vehicle that can be driven
- can be attached to a vehicle that can be driven
- must contain living quarters
- is usually spacious enough for up to a family of four
- is usually spacious enough for one person
- can have windows
- can be a group of travelers journeying together
- usually offers luxurious living conditions
- usually offers cramped living conditions
- is usually owned by wealthy people
- is usually owned by middle class people
- is usually owned by poor people
- must be solely used for travel
- can be the permanent home of poor people

Other:

Word 4: Caretaker

- I don't know what a *caretaker* is OR I never use *caretaker*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *caretaker* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *caretaker*...

- usually cleans all rooms in a house
- usually cleans washrooms and/or restrooms
- usually cleans all parts of a public building
- usually cleans washrooms and/or restrooms in a public building
- must perform routine maintenance
- can perform routine maintenance
- must care for another person who constantly needs assistance
- can care for another person who constantly needs assistance
- usually removes garbage
- must be a profession

Other:

Word 5: Cookie

- I don't know what a *cookie* is OR I never use *cookie*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *cookie* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *cookie*...

- must be edible
- must be sweet
- can be sweet
- can be variously composed and flavoured
- usually has a chocolate flavour
- must fit in the palm of the hand
- must be made of dough
- must be baked
- typically takes on a thin, flat shape
- typically forms a round shape while being baked
- is usually made into various shapes using a cutter (for example: hearts, stars)
- can be decorated (for example: with icing, sprinkles)
- is usually crumbly
- is usually chewy

Other:

Word 6: Couch

- I don't know what a *couch* is OR I never use *couch*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *couch* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a <i>couch</i> ...	
<input type="checkbox"/>	must seat a maximum of three people
<input type="checkbox"/>	must seat a maximum of two people
<input type="checkbox"/>	can have legs that raise it off the ground
<input type="checkbox"/>	can have a high back
<input type="checkbox"/>	can have wooden accents
<input type="checkbox"/>	can have a skirt
<input type="checkbox"/>	can have arm rests
<input type="checkbox"/>	can have patterned upholstery
<input type="checkbox"/>	can have a uniform colour
<input type="checkbox"/>	must have removable seat cushions
<input type="checkbox"/>	must have a seat that does not have removable cushions
<input type="checkbox"/>	is usually made of leather
<input type="checkbox"/>	is usually made of fabric
<input type="checkbox"/>	can be made of plush material, such as velvet
<input type="checkbox"/>	can have a surface with buttons
<input type="checkbox"/>	must be symmetrical
<input type="checkbox"/>	can be symmetrical
<input type="checkbox"/>	must be asymmetrical
<input type="checkbox"/>	can be asymmetrical
Other:	

Word 7: Curtains

- I don't know what *curtains* are OR I never use *curtains*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *curtains* column.)

In my understanding of the word, <i>curtains</i> ...	
<input type="checkbox"/>	must hang in a window
<input type="checkbox"/>	can hang in a window
<input type="checkbox"/>	can have a decorative purpose
<input type="checkbox"/>	must screen the sunlight
<input type="checkbox"/>	can screen the sunlight
<input type="checkbox"/>	can have a practical purpose
<input type="checkbox"/>	usually have folds
<input type="checkbox"/>	must be held in place by a bar at the top of a window
<input type="checkbox"/>	can be held in place at each side of the window
<input type="checkbox"/>	must be found in pairs
<input type="checkbox"/>	can be found in pairs
<input type="checkbox"/>	can be pulled to each side of the window to let in light
<input type="checkbox"/>	can accentuate a window
<input type="checkbox"/>	can be made of thick, heavy material
<input type="checkbox"/>	can be made of light, wispy material
<input type="checkbox"/>	are usually expensive
<input type="checkbox"/>	are usually cheap
<input type="checkbox"/>	are usually found in middle class homes
<input type="checkbox"/>	are usually found in wealthy homes
Other:	

Word 8: Dirt Road

- I don't know what a *dirt road* is OR I never use *dirt road*.
(Do **not** check anything in the *dirt road* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *dirt road*...

- is usually covered with gravel
- is usually covered with rocks
- is usually covered with dust
- is usually covered with soil
- is usually found in the countryside
- is usually found in the desert
- is usually found in the woods
- can have grass growing in the middle
- is not usually well maintained
- is usually big enough for a car to drive on
- is usually very bumpy
- is not usually of uniform width
- is usually of constant width
- is usually traveled on by a car
- is usually traveled on by any vehicle
- is usually used by people walking

Other:

Word 9: Drapes

- I don't know what *drapes* are OR I never use *drapes*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *drapes* column.)

In my understanding of the word, *drapes*...

- must hang in a window
- can hang in a window
- can have a decorative purpose
- must screen the sunlight
- can screen the sunlight
- can have a practical purpose
- usually have folds
- must be held in place by a bar at the top of a window
- can be held in place at each side of the window
- must be found in pairs
- can be found in pairs
- can be pulled to each side of the window to let in light
- can accentuate a window
- can be made of thick, heavy material
- can be made of light, wispy material
- are usually expensive
- are usually cheap
- are usually found in middle class homes
- are usually found in wealthy homes

Other:

Word 10: Eraser

- I don't know what an *eraser* is OR I never use *eraser*.
(Do **not** check anything in the *eraser* column.)

In my understanding of the word, an *eraser*...

- is usually made of gum-like material
- is usually elastic
- can be used to remove pencil writing from paper
- can be used to remove ink writing from paper
- can be used to remove chalk writing from a black board
- can be used for polishing
- can be used as an instrument for scraping something off
- can be used to spread something on some material
- can be used as an instrument to smooth or flatten a surface
- can denote a person
- can denote a profession
- can be found at the end of a pencil
- can be a part of a car
- is usually thin
- is usually rectangular
- is usually pink
- is usually white
- usually creates shavings
- must have a distinct scent

Other:

Word 11: Faucet

- I don't know what a *faucet* is OR I never use *faucet*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *faucet* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *faucet*...

- can be used to get water
- can be found inside a house
- can be found outside a house on a wall
- is usually found in the kitchen
- is usually found in the bathroom
- can have a hose attached to it
- must be made of shiny metal
- can be turned to open it
- must be pushed to open it
- can be pushed to open it
- can be made of dull metal
- must be turned to open it
- is usually very elegant looking
- is usually rather shabby looking

Other:

Word 12: Flat

- I don't know what a *flat* is OR I never use *flat*.
(Do **not** check anything in the *flat* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *flat*...

- can be a set of rooms
- must refer to a set of rooms on one floor
- must refer to a set of rooms on many floors
- can have at least one flight of stairs
- can be a single room
- can refer to a portion of a single story building
- can refer to a whole single story building
- can refer to a portion of a skyscraper
- can refer to a whole multi-storey building
- is usually located in a building that houses many families or households
- must be located in a building that houses many families or households
- must be allotted to only one person, family or party
- is usually rather small
- is usually spacious
- is usually used by young people, such as students
- is usually used by older people, such as retirees
- is usually found in suburban areas
- is usually found downtown
- is usually in a building which is found in a large city
- is usually in a building which is found in a small city or town
- must be used as a dwelling
- is usually used for economic purposes
- must be owned individually
- can be rented out
- must be found in a high rise building
- must be found in a low rise building
- must have one bedroom
- must have two bedrooms
- must have three or more bedrooms
- must have common facilities like bike storage, laundry, and parking
- can be in a building that has a superintendent
- must be in a building that has at least one elevator
- must be in a building that has security cameras
- can be in a building that has a buzzer for guests

Other:

Word 13: Handbag

- I don't know what a *handbag* is OR I never use *handbag*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *handbag* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *handbag*...

- can have two handles
- can have a single strap
- is usually worn on the shoulder
- is usually held in the hand by the handles
- is usually held in the crook of the arm
- must be large enough to carry a bottle of water or a small umbrella
- must be small; can only carry essentials: cell phone, lipstick, keys, money, etc.
- can be made of leather
- can be made of fabric
- can be made of plastic
- can be made of straw
- can be made of wool
- is usually rather expensive
- is usually rather cheap
- is usually used for everyday purposes
- is usually used on holiday
- is usually elegant looking
- is usually gaudy looking
- must be classic
- must be trendy

Other:

Word 14: Hobo

- I don't know what a *hobo* is OR I never use *hobo*.
(Do **not** check anything in the *hobo* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *hobo*...

- usually refers to a person
- must be male
- must be female
- usually is male
- usually is female
- can refer to an action of long walking, hiking or trudging
- can imply the idea of sexual promiscuousness
- usually travels on foot
- can be somebody who enjoys walking for pleasure in his leisure time
- is usually far away from home
- usually has no home
- is usually dirty
- is usually disreputable
- is usually disliked
- is not usually someone you would readily suspect
- usually begs for money and food
- usually has little baggage
- usually has no work
- is not usually a young person
- is usually old
- usually is a foreigner

Other:

Word 15: Holiday

- I don't know what *holiday* is OR I never use *holiday*.
(Do **not** check anything in the *holiday* column.)

In my understanding of the word, *holiday*...

- can span a single day
- must span multiple days
- is usually celebrated by the general public
- is usually celebrated by a specific group of people
- usually involves a form of travel
- usually involves a foreign location
- must be a day or multiples days upon which ordinary business is suspended
- must be imposed by law
- usually involves a fixed period of leave from work
- usually involves recreation or leisure
- usually involves rest

Other:

Word 16: Janitor

- I don't know what a *janitor* is OR I never use *janitor*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *janitor* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *janitor*...

- usually cleans all rooms in a house
- usually cleans washrooms and/or restrooms
- usually cleans all parts of a public building
- usually cleans washrooms and/or restrooms in a public building
- must perform routine maintenance
- can perform routine maintenance
- must care for another person who constantly needs assistance
- can care for another person who constantly needs assistance
- usually removes garbage
- must be a profession

Other:

Word 17: Jug

- I don't know what a *jug* is OR I never use *jug*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *jug* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *jug*...

- must have a neck
- must have a long neck
- must have a short neck
- must not have a neck
- must have one handle
- must have two or more handles
- must not have handles
- must have a spout
- must have a small opening
- must have a large opening
- must have a lid
- must have a cap
- can be corked
- can have a cylindrical body
- can have a boxed body
- can have a spherical body
- can be made of clay
- can be made of ceramic
- can be made of plastic
- can be made of glass
- is usually transparent
- is usually opaque
- is usually tall and slim looking
- is usually short and wide looking
- is typically used to hold liquids
- is typically used to pour liquids

Other:

Word 18: License Plate

- I don't know what a *license plate* is OR I never use *license plate*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *license plate* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *license plate*...

- must show a sequence of large, bolded letters and numbers
- can show the name of a region
- can show a slogan
- can show a small image
- can show the month of issue
- usually has a white background
- can be encased by a fluorescent light
- is usually found on the front of a vehicle
- is usually found on the back of a vehicle
- can be found on the side of building
- can be found on appliances
- is usually made of metal
- can be rectangular
- can be oval shaped

Other:

Word 19: Napkin

- I don't know what a *napkin* is OR I never use *napkin*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *napkin* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *napkin*...

- must be made of cloth
- can be made of cloth
- must be made of paper
- can be made of paper
- is usually folded twice to form a square shape
- is usually found folded intricately
- is usually placed on the lap
- is usually tucked into the neck of clothing
- is usually used to hold finger foods
- is usually used to wipe hands
- is usually used to wipe the mouth
- is usually used to protect clothing from food and drink spills
- can be found in a variety of colours
- is usually found in white
- can be found gathered with a ring
- is usually found in posh restaurants
- is usually found in fast food restaurants

Other:

Word 20: Number Plate

- I don't know what a *number plate* is OR I never use *number plate*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *number plate* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *number plate*...

- must show a sequence of large, bolded letters and numbers
- can show the name of a region
- can show a slogan
- can show a small image
- can show the month of issue
- usually has a white background
- can be encased by a fluorescent light
- is usually found on the front of a vehicle
- is usually found on the back of a vehicle
- can be found on the side of building
- can be found on appliances
- is usually made of metal
- can be rectangular
- can be oval shaped

Other:

Word 21: Electric Outlet

- I don't know what an *electric outlet* is OR I never use *electric outlet*.
(Do **not** check anything in the *electric outlet* column.)

In my understanding of the word, an *electric outlet*...

- must be something through which current runs
- must be an opening intended to hold an electric light bulb
- can be an opening intended to hold an electric light bulb
- must be a device constructed to receive a plug from an electric appliance
- is usually found on a wall
- can be found in a lamp
- can be found on a PC
- can be a device to receive an internet cable
- can be found on a music keyboard for headphones
- must refer only to the holes in a fixture
- must refer only to the entire plastic fixture
- must refer only to a part within the fixture
- must have at least three openings
- must have at least two openings
- is usually white or lightly coloured
- can be found in Continental Europe
- can be found in Britain
- can be found in North-America
- can be found everywhere where there is electricity
- is usually found in pairs (is designed to receive two electric appliances)

Other:

Word 22: Pants

- I don't know what *pants* are OR I never use *pants*.
(Do **not** check anything in the *pants* column.)

In my understanding of the word, *pants*...

- must be formal or elegant
- must be casual
- must be expensive
- must be cheap
- must be pleated
- must not have pleats
- must have belt loops
- must not have belt loops
- can have two front slash pockets
- can have two back pockets
- must be worn with a belt
- can be worn with a belt
- can be washed
- can be dry cleaned
- must cover the entire leg and ankle
- can be boot cut
- can be flared
- can be tapered
- can be straight leg
- must be tight fitting
- must be loose fitting
- are usually dark, solid colours
- must have a zipper or button fly opening
- must have a side seam zipper opening
- can have contrast stitching
- can have monochromatic stitching
- are usually worn by older people
- are usually worn by younger people
- are usually worn by men
- are usually worn by women

Other:

Word 23: Pita

- I don't know what a *pita* is OR I never use *pita*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *pita* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *pita*...

- must be edible
- must be rolled around fillings
- must be stuffed with fillings
- can be filled with vegetables
- can be filled with meat
- can be filled with sauce
- can be cylindrical shaped
- must be cylindrical shaped
- can be semi-circular shaped
- must be semi-circular shaped
- must be made using a circular-shaped, thick bread
- must be made using a circular-shaped, thin bread
- can be made of bread that can be opened to form a pocket
- can be made of whole wheat

Other:

Word 24: Pitcher

- I don't know what a *pitcher* is OR I never use *pitcher*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *pitcher* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *pitcher*...

- must have a neck
- must have a long neck
- must have a short neck
- must not have a neck
- must have one handle
- must have two or more handles
- must not have handles
- must have a spout
- must have a small opening
- must have a large opening
- must have a lid
- must have a cap
- can be corked
- can have a cylindrical body
- can have a boxed body
- can have a spherical body
- can be made of clay
- can be made of ceramic
- can be made of plastic
- can be made of glass
- is usually transparent
- is usually opaque
- is usually tall and slim looking
- is usually short and wide looking
- is typically used to hold liquids
- is typically used to pour liquids

Other:

Word 25: Purse

- I don't know what a *purse* is OR I never use *purse*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *purse* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *purse*...

- can have two handles
- can have a single strap
- is usually worn on the shoulder
- is usually held in the hand by the handles
- is usually held in the crook of the arm
- must be large enough to carry a bottle of water or a small umbrella
- must be small; can only carry essentials: cell phone, lipstick, keys, money, etc.
- can be made of leather
- can be made of fabric
- can be made of plastic
- can be made of straw
- can be made of wool
- is usually rather expensive
- is usually rather cheap
- is usually used for everyday purposes
- is usually used on holiday
- is usually elegant looking
- is usually gaudy looking
- must be classic
- must be trendy

Other:

Word 26: Restroom

- I don't know what a *restroom* is OR I never use *restroom*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *restroom* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *restroom*...

- must have at least one mirror on the wall
- must have at least one sink
- must have at least one soap container or dispenser
- must have at least one hand dryer or paper towel dispenser
- must have a baby changing station
- usually has tiled walls
- usually has a tiled floor
- must not have a toilet
- must have at least one toilet
- must have multiple toilets that are private but within one room
- usually has at least one urinal
- usually contains a machine that dispenses pads, condoms
- must have a sign on the door indicating the gender allowed inside
- can have a shower stall
- can have a bathtub
- can be found in a private house
- can be found in a public place
- usually has at least one window
- can have a medicine cabinet
- can have counter space
- usually has hand towels
- is usually used to wash oneself
- is usually used to rest and relax
- must be inside a building
- is usually found in an office or workplace and used by employees
- is typically found in a theater
- is typically found in a subway station
- is typically fairly elegant or posh

Other:

Word 27: Rubber

- I don't know what a *rubber* is OR I never use *rubber* in the context of a *rubber*.
(Do **not** check anything in the *rubber* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *rubber*...

- is usually made of gum-like material
- is usually elastic
- can be used to remove pencil writing from paper
- can be used to remove ink writing from paper
- can be used to remove chalk writing from a black board
- can be used for polishing
- can be used as an instrument for scraping something off
- can be used to spread something on some material
- can be used as an instrument to smooth or flatten a surface
- can denote a person
- can denote a profession
- can be found at the end of a pencil
- can be a part of a car
- is usually thin
- is usually rectangular
- is usually pink
- is usually white
- usually creates shavings
- must have a distinct scent

Other:

Word 28: Serviette

- I don't know what a *serviette* is OR I never use *serviette*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *serviette* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *serviette*...

- must be made of cloth
- can be made of cloth
- must be made of paper
- can be made of paper
- is usually folded twice to form a square shape
- is usually found folded intricately
- is usually placed on the lap
- is usually tucked into the neck of clothing
- is usually used to hold finger foods
- is usually used to wipe hands
- is usually used to wipe the mouth
- is usually used to protect clothing from food and drink spills
- can be found in a variety of colours
- is usually found in white
- can be found gathered with a ring
- is usually found in posh restaurants
- is usually found in fast food restaurants

Other:

Word 29: Electric Socket

- I don't know what an *electric socket* is OR I never use *electric socket*.
(Do **not** check anything in the *electric socket* column.)

In my understanding of the word, an *electric socket*...

- must be something through which current runs
- must be an opening intended to hold an electric light bulb
- can be an opening intended to hold an electric light bulb
- must be a device constructed to receive a plug from an electric appliance
- is usually found on a wall
- can be found in a lamp
- can be found on a PC
- can be a device to receive an internet cable
- can be found on a music keyboard for headphones
- must refer only to the holes in a fixture
- must refer only to the entire plastic fixture
- must refer only to a part within the fixture
- must have at least three openings
- must have at least two openings
- is usually white or lightly coloured
- can be found in Continental Europe
- can be found in Britain
- can be found in North-America
- can be found everywhere where there is electricity
- is usually found in pairs (is designed to receive two electric appliances)

Other:

Word 30: Sofa

- I don't know what a *sofa* is OR I never use *sofa*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *sofa* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *sofa*...

- must seat a maximum of three people
- must seat a maximum of two people
- can have legs that raise it off the ground
- can have a high back
- can have wooden accents
- can have a skirt
- can have arm rests
- can have patterned upholstery
- can have a uniform colour
- must have removable seat cushions
- must have a seat that does not have removable cushions
- is usually made of leather
- is usually made of fabric
- can be made of plush material, such as velvet
- can have a surface with buttons
- must be symmetrical
- can be symmetrical
- must be asymmetrical
- can be asymmetrical

Other:

Word 31: Tap

- I don't know what a *tap* is OR I never use *tap*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *tap* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a <i>tap</i> ...	
<input type="checkbox"/>	can be used to get water
<input type="checkbox"/>	can be found inside a house
<input type="checkbox"/>	can be found outside a house on a wall
<input type="checkbox"/>	is usually found in the kitchen
<input type="checkbox"/>	is usually found in the bathroom
<input type="checkbox"/>	can have a hose attached to it
<input type="checkbox"/>	must be made of shiny metal
<input type="checkbox"/>	can be turned to open it
<input type="checkbox"/>	must be pushed to open it
<input type="checkbox"/>	can be pushed to open it
<input type="checkbox"/>	can be made of dull metal
<input type="checkbox"/>	must be turned to open it
<input type="checkbox"/>	is usually very elegant looking
<input type="checkbox"/>	is usually rather shabby looking
Other:	

Word 32: Trailer

- I don't know what a *trailer* is OR I never use *trailer*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *trailer* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a <i>trailer</i> ...	
<input type="checkbox"/>	must be driven
<input type="checkbox"/>	can be driven
<input type="checkbox"/>	must be attached to a vehicle that can be driven
<input type="checkbox"/>	can be attached to a vehicle that can be driven
<input type="checkbox"/>	must contain living quarters
<input type="checkbox"/>	is usually spacious enough for up to a family of four
<input type="checkbox"/>	is usually spacious enough for one person
<input type="checkbox"/>	can have windows
<input type="checkbox"/>	can be a group of travelers journeying together
<input type="checkbox"/>	usually offers luxurious living conditions
<input type="checkbox"/>	usually offers cramped living conditions
<input type="checkbox"/>	is usually owned by wealthy people
<input type="checkbox"/>	is usually owned by middle class people
<input type="checkbox"/>	is usually owned by poor people
<input type="checkbox"/>	must be solely used for travel
<input type="checkbox"/>	can be the permanent home of poor people
Other:	

Word 33: Tramp

- I don't know what a *tramp* is OR I never use *tramp*.
(Do **not** check anything in the *tramp* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *tramp*...

- usually refers to a person
- must be male
- must be female
- usually is male
- usually is female
- can refer to an action of long walking, hiking or trudging
- can imply the idea of sexual promiscuousness
- usually travels on foot
- can be somebody who enjoys walking for pleasure in his leisure time
- is usually far away from home
- usually has no home
- is usually dirty
- is usually disreputable
- is usually disliked
- is not usually someone you would readily suspect
- usually begs for money and food
- usually has little baggage
- usually has no work
- is not usually a young person
- is usually old
- usually is a foreigner

Other:

Word 34: Trousers

- I don't know what *trousers* are OR I never use *trousers*.
(Do **not** check anything in the *trousers* column.)

In my understanding of the word, *trousers*...

- must be formal or elegant
- must be casual
- must be expensive
- must be cheap
- must be pleated
- must not have pleats
- must have belt loops
- must not have belt loops
- can have two front slash pockets
- can have two back pockets
- must be worn with a belt
- can be worn with a belt
- can be washed
- can be dry cleaned
- must cover the entire leg and ankle
- can be boot cut
- can be flared
- can be tapered
- can be straight leg
- must be tight fitting
- must be loose fitting
- are usually dark, solid colours
- must have a zipper or button fly opening
- must have a side seam zipper opening
- can have contrast stitching
- can have monochromatic stitching
- are usually worn by older people
- are usually worn by younger people
- are usually worn by men
- are usually worn by women

Other:

Word 35: Unpaved Road

- I don't know what an *unpaved road* is OR I never use *unpaved road*.
(Do **not** check anything in the *unpaved road* column.)

In my understanding of the word, an *unpaved road*...

- is usually covered with gravel
- is usually covered with rocks
- is usually covered with dust
- is usually covered with soil
- is usually found in the countryside
- is usually found in the desert
- is usually found in the woods
- can have grass growing in the middle
- is not usually well maintained
- is usually big enough for a car to drive on
- is usually very bumpy
- is not usually of uniform width
- is usually of constant width
- is usually traveled on by a car
- is usually traveled on by any vehicle
- is usually used by people walking

Other:

Word 36: Vacation

- I don't know what a *vacation* is OR I never use *vacation*.
(Do **not** check anything in the *vacation* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *vacation*...

- must span a single day
- must span multiple days
- is usually celebrated by the general public
- is usually celebrated by a specific group of people
- usually involves a form of travel
- usually involves a foreign location
- must be a day or multiples days upon which ordinary business is suspended
- must be imposed by law
- usually involves a fixed period of leave from work
- usually involves recreation or leisure
- usually involves rest

Other:

Word 37: Washroom

- I don't know what a *washroom* is OR I never use *washroom*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *washroom* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *washroom*...

- usually has tiled walls
- usually has a tiled floor
- must have at least one mirror on the wall
- must have at least one sink
- must have at least one soap container or dispenser
- must have at least one hand dryer or paper towel dispenser
- must have a baby changing station
- must not have a toilet
- must have at least one toilet
- must have multiple toilets that are private but within one room
- usually has at least one urinal
- usually contains a machine that dispenses pads, condoms
- must have a sign on the door indicating the gender allowed inside
- can have a shower stall
- can have a bathtub
- can be found in a private house
- can be found in a public place
- usually has at least one window
- can have a medicine cabinet
- can have counter space
- usually has hand towels
- is usually used to wash oneself
- is usually used to rest and relax
- must be inside a building
- is usually found in an office or workplace and used by employees
- is typically found in a theater
- is typically found in a subway station
- is typically fairly elegant or posh

Other:

Word 38: Wrap

- I don't know what a *wrap* is OR I never use *wrap*.
(Do **not** check any box in the *wrap* column.)

In my understanding of the word, a *wrap*...

- must be edible
- must be rolled around fillings
- must be stuffed with fillings
- can be filled with vegetables
- can be filled with meat
- can be filled with sauce
- can be cylindrical shaped
- must be cylindrical shaped
- can be semi-circular shaped
- must be semi-circular shaped
- must be made using a circular-shaped, thick bread
- must be made using a circular-shaped, thin bread
- can be made of bread that can be opened to form a pocket
- can be made of whole wheat

Other:

Appendix B Vancouver Responses

VANCOUVER			6 Participants: 6,7,8,9,10,x8		114 Total Responses		
Word Pairs	A	B	Dismissal		Semantic Differentiation	Strict Synonymy	
			A	B			
1	Apartment	Flat		1	5		
2	Biscuit	Cookie			6		
3	Caravan	Trailer			6		
4	Caretaker	Janitor			6		
5	Couch	Sofa			5	1	
6	Curtains	Drapes		1	4	1	
7	Dirt Road	Unpaved Road			6		
8	Eraser	Rubber		1	5		
9	Faucet	Tap			5	1	
10	Handbag	Purse			6		
11	Hobo	Tramp			6		
12	Holiday	Vacation			6		
13	Jug	Pitcher			6		
14	License Plate	Number Plate		5	1		
15	Napkin	Serviette			6		
16	Electric Outlet	Electric Socket			5	1	
17	Trousers	Pants	1		5		
18	Pita	Wrap			6		
19	Restroom	Washroom	1		5		
			2	8			
TOTALS			10		100	4	114
PERCENT			8.8%		87.7%	3.5%	100%

Appendix C American Responses

USA		8 Participants: 1,2,3,4,5,x2,x3,x7				155 Total Responses	
Word Pairs	A	B	Dismissal		Semantic Differentiation	Strict Synonymy	
			A	B			
1	Apartment	Flat		4	4		
2	Biscuit	Cookie	3		5		
3	Caravan	Trailer	2		6		
4	Caretaker	Janitor	1		7		
5	Couch	Sofa	1	1	4	2	
6	Curtains	Drapes		1	7		
7	Dirt Road	Unpaved Road	1	1	5	1	
8	Eraser	Rubber		3	5		
9	Faucet	Tap		2	5	1	
10	Handbag	Purse	1		7		
11	Hobo	Tramp	1	2	6		
12	Holiday	Vacation			8		
13	Jug	Pitcher	1	1	7		
14	License Plate	Number Plate		7		1	
15	Napkin	Serviette		4	4		
16	Electric Outlet	Electric Socket	1	4	3	1	
17	Trousers	Pants	5		2	1	
18	Pita	Wrap	2	1	5		
19	Restroom	Washroom		3	5		
TOTALS			19	34	95	7	155
PERCENT			34.2%	61.3%	4.5%	100%	

Appendix D Toronto Responses

TORONTO		9 Participants: 12,13,14,16,17,18,x1,x9,x10				171 Total Responses	
Word Pairs	A	B	Dismissal		Semantic Differentiation	Strict Synonymy	
			A	B			
1	Apartment	Flat			8	1	
2	Biscuit	Cookie			9		
3	Caravan	Trailer	2		7		
4	Caretaker	Janitor			9		
5	Couch	Sofa			6	3	
6	Curtains	Drapes			9		
7	Dirt Road	Unpaved Road		1	7	1	
8	Eraser	Rubber		1	8		
9	Faucet	Tap			7	2	
10	Handbag	Purse			6	3	
11	Hobo	Tramp			9		
12	Holiday	Vacation			8	1	
13	Jug	Pitcher	1		7	1	
14	License Plate	Number Plate		6	3		
15	Napkin	Serviette		1	7	1	
16	Electric Outlet	Electric Socket		1	6	2	
17	Trousers	Pants		1	7	1	
18	Pita	Wrap			9		
19	Restroom	Washroom			8	1	
TOTALS			3	11	140	17	171
PERCENT			8.2%	81.9%	9.9%	100%	

Appendix E Semantic Differentiation and Dismissal Rates

SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIATION and DISMISSAL: CANADA vs. USA		
	American Respondents	Canadian Respondents
Semantic Differentiation	84.80%	61.30%
Dismissal	8.50%	34.20%

Appendix F Dialectal Consistency vs. Idiolectal Contrast

CSD=consistent semantic differentiation; CD=consistent dismissal; IC=idiolectal contrast

	Word Pairs		Respondents		
	A	B	Toronto	Vancouver	USA
1	Apartment	Flat	CSD	CSD	CD
2	Biscuit	Cookie	CSD	CSD	CSD
3	Caravan	Trailer	CSD	CSD	CSD
4	Caretaker	Janitor	CSD	CSD	CSD
5	Couch	Sofa	IC	IC	CSD
6	Curtains	Drapes	CSD	CSD	IC
7	Dirt Road	Unpaved Road	CSD	IC	CSD
8	Eraser	Rubber	CSD	CSD	CSD
9	Faucet	Tap	CSD	CSD	IC
10	Handbag	Purse	CSD	CSD	CSD
11	Hobo	Tramp	CSD	CSD	CSD
12	Holiday	Vacation	CSD	CSD	CSD
13	Jug	Pitcher	CSD	CSD	CSD
14	License Plate	Number Plate	CD	CD	CD
15	Napkin	Serviette	IC	IC	CSD
16	Electric Outlet	Electric Socket	IC	IC	CD
17	Trousers	Pants	CSD	CSD	CD
18	Pita	Wrap	CD	IC	IC
19	Restroom	Washroom	CSD	CSD	CD
	Regional	overall CSD	73.7% (14/19)	68.4% (13/19)	57.9% (11/19)
		overall CD	10.5% (2/19)	5.3% (1/19)	26.3% (5/19)
		overall IC	15.8% (3/19)	26.3% (5/19)	15.8% (3/19)
	National	overall CSD	71.1% (27/38)		57.9% (11/19)
		overall CD	7.90% (3/38)		26.3% (5/19)
		overall IC	21.0% (8/38)		15.8% (3/19)
	Continental	overall CSD	66.7% (38/57)		
		overall CD	14.1% (8/57)		
		overall IC	19.2% (11/57)		

Appendix G In-Depth Comparisons of the Noun Pairs

CSD=consistent semantic differentiation; CD=consistent dismissal; IC=idiolectal contrast
 SS=strict synonym(s); NA=North America; wrt=with respect to

Properties	TORONTO		VANCOUVER		USA		
	Apartment	Flat	Apartment	Flat	Apartment	Flat	
many families	8/9	1/9	6/6	1/5	6/8	2/4	
superintendent	8/9	8/9	6/6	2/5	7/8	2/4	
small	2/9	6/9	3/6	5/5	2/8	3/4	
Conclusions	flat is located in smaller building; has lower status than apartment						
	CSD in Canada (1 SS)					CD of flat	

Properties	TORONTO		VANCOUVER		USA	
	Biscuit	Cookie	Biscuit	Cookie	Biscuit	Cookie
sweet	4/9	8/9	6/6	6/6	4/6	8/8
crumbly	5/9	4/9	3/6	1/6	4/6	2/8
Conclusions	biscuits are more likely to be crumbly and less likely to be sweet than cookies					
	CSD in NA					
	biscuit is not likely to be sweet			biscuit is likely to be sweet		
	CSD in Toronto			CSD in Vancouver		

Properties	TORONTO		VANCOUVER		USA	
	Caravan	Trailer	Caravan	Trailer	Caravan	Trailer
driven	6/7	8/9	6/6	5/6	4/6	6/7
attached	5/7	7/9	4/6	6/6	3/6	7/7
spacious for 4 people	2/7	5/9	1/6	2/6	1/6	2/7
spacious for 1 person	3/7	1/9	3/6	4/6	1/6	3/7
group travel	4/7	1/9	5/6	1/6	5/6	0/7
cramped	3/7	3/9	3/6	6/6	1/6	5/7
poor people only	1/7	4/9	4/6	6/6	2/6	6/7
Conclusions	caravan can be driven; a trailer cannot be driven; only a caravan can be a group of people traveling					
	CSD in NA					
	trailer is bigger than caravan			trailer is smaller than caravan		
	CSD in Toronto			IC w. r. t. size in Vancouver		CSD in USA

Properties	TORONTO		VANCOUVER		USA	
	Caretaker	Janitor	Caretaker	Janitor	Caretaker	Janitor
profession	1/9	6/9	3/6	5/6	0/7	4/8
care another person	5/9	0/9	5/6	0/6	7/7	0/8
routine maintenance	6/9	8/9	4/6	5/6	2/7	8/8
garbage	4/9	6/9	3/6	6/6	1/7	6/8
Conclusions	caretaker cares for another person; janitor likely to be professional, takes care of maintenance & garbage					
	CSD in NA					

Properties	TORONTO		VANCOUVER		USA	
	Couch	Sofa	Couch	Sofa	Couch	Sofa
can be symmetrical	7/9	8/9	4/6	5/6	4/7	7/7
must be symmetrical	1/9	1/9	1/6	1/6	3/7	0/7
asymmetrical	5/9	8/9	4/6	4/6	4/7	7/7
seat cushions	2/9	1/9	2/6	0/6	0/7	0/7
Conclusions	** perhaps couch more likely to have seat cushions; sofa more likely to be asymmetrical					sofa more likely to be asymmetrical
	IC in Canada (4 SS)					CSD in USA (2 SS)

CSD=consistent semantic differentiation; CD=consistent dismissal; IC=idiolectal contrast
 SS=strict synonym(s); NA=North America; wrt=with respect to

Properties	TORONTO		VANCOUVER		USA	
	Curtains	Drapes	Curtains	Drapes	Curtains	Drapes
can hang in window	4/9	2/9	6/6	3/6	7/8	6/7
must hang in window	1/9	6/9	0/6	2/6	1/8	1/7
thick, heavy	6/9	7/9	4/6	5/6	6/8	7/7
light, wispy	8/9	4/9	6/6	2/6	8/8	2/7
expensive	1/9	4/9	0/6	3/6	0/8	2/7
in wealthy homes	2/9	4/9	1/6	3/6	2/8	2/7
	curtains more likely to be light, wispy; drapes more likely to be thick, heavy; drapes more likely to be elegant					
	CSD in NA (1 SS)					
Conclusions	drapes must be in window; curtains can be elsewhere					IC w. r. t. placement in USA
	CSD in Canada (1 SS) *same instance					

Properties	TORONTO		VANCOUVER		USA	
	Dirt Road	Unpaved Road	Dirt Road	Unpaved Road	Dirt Road	Unpaved Road
used by car or vehicle	5/9	6/8	5/6	6/6	4/7	5/7
used by people	4/9	2/8	0/6	0/6	3/7	3/7
gravel	5/9	8/8	5/6	6/6	3/7	7/7
rock	4/9	5/8	3/6	3/6	2/7	5/7
dust	8/9	5/8	3/6	4/6	6/7	5/7
soil	6/9	2/8	2/6	0/6	3/7	2/7
Conclusions	an unpaved road is more likely to have a gravelly surface					
	CSD for NA (2 SS) *same instance					
	dirt has dust, soil; unpaved has gravel, rock			dirt has dust, soil; unpaved has gravel, rock		
	CSD in Toronto (1 SS)		IC w. r. t. composition in Vancouver		CSD in USA (1 SS)	

Properties	TORONTO		VANCOUVER		USA	
	Electric Outlet	Electric Socket	Electric Outlet	Electric Socket	Electric Outlet	Electric Socket
current runs through it	8/9	7/8	5/6	5/6	5/7	2/4
opening for light bulb	3/9	4/8	4/6	2/6	5/7	3/4
for keyboard headphones	0/9	2/8	0/6	0/6	2/7	0/4
for internet cable	0/9	2/8	0/6	1/6	2/7	0/4
Conclusions	socket more likely to be an electric opening other than for a current or bulb					
	IC in Canada (3 SS)					CD of socket (1 SS)

Properties	TORONTO		VANCOUVER		USA		
	Eraser	Rubber	Eraser	Rubber	Eraser	Rubber	
removes pencil	9/9	5/8	6/6	3/5	8/8	2/5	
removes ink	8/9	2/8	3/6	1/5	8/8	2/5	
removes chalk	8/9	0/8	5/6	0/5	8/8	2/5	
at end of pencil	8/9	4/8	6/6	2/5	8/8	2/5	
part of a car	0/9	1/8	0/6	0/5	0/8	4/5	
Conclusions	rubber is a special eraser that removes pencil, ink, not chalk					rubber part of car; unlikely to be eraser	
	CSD in Canada					CSD in USA	

CSD=consistent semantic differentiation; CD=consistent dismissal; IC=idiolectal contrast
 SS=strict synonym(s); NA=North America; wrt=with respect to

Properties	TORONTO		VANCOUVER		USA	
	Handbag	Purse	Handbag	Purse	Handbag	Purse
small	0/9	1/9	1/6	1/6	0/8	1/8
large	2/9	0/9	2/6	0/6	3/8	1/8
everyday	5/9	4/9	4/6	2/6	4/8	4/8
classic	1/9	0/9	0/6	0/6	0/8	0/8
trendy	3/9	2/9	0/6	0/6	0/8	0/8
Conclusions	a handbag is bigger than a purse					
	CSD in NA (3 SS)					

Properties	TORONTO		VANCOUVER		USA	
	Hobo	Tramp	Hobo	Tramp	Hobo	Tramp
male	5/9	0/9	6/6	0/6	3/7	1/6
female	1/9	5/9	0/6	6/6	0/7	4/6
sexual promiscuity	0/9	8/9	0/6	6/6	0/7	6/6
dirty	5/9	2/9	6/6	3/6	5/7	1/6
disreputable	1/9	5/9	4/6	5/6	3/7	6/6
disliked	3/9	3/9	3/6	4/6	3/7	2/6
Conclusions	a hobo is more likely to be male & dirty; a tramp is more likely to be female, sexually promiscuous & disreputable					
	CSD in NA					

Properties	TORONTO		VANCOUVER		USA	
	Holiday	Vacation	Holiday	Vacation	Holiday	Vacation
single day	8/9	1/9	6/6	0/6	8/8	0/8
multiple days	2/9	4/9	0/6	4/6	0/8	3/8
travel	3/9	6/9	3/6	5/6	1/8	8/8
rest and/or leisure	7/9	9/9	5/6	5/6	5/8	7/8
Conclusions	vacation more likely to be multiple days, associated with travel & rest; holiday more likely to be a single day					
	CSD in NA (1 SS)					

Properties	TORONTO		VANCOUVER		USA	
	Jug	Pitcher	Jug	Pitcher	Jug	Pitcher
spout	3/8	7/9	0/6	6/6	0/7	4/7
short & wide	3/8	0/9	1/6	0/6	3/7	1/7
tall & slim	2/8	3/9	1/6	1/6	2/7	3/7
used to pour	5/8	8/9	5/6	5/6	6/7	6/7
used to hold	7/8	5/9	5/6	3/6	6/7	5/7
Conclusions	a pitcher is more likely to have a spout; a jug is more likely to be short & wide					
	CSD in NA (1 SS)					
	pitcher is associated with act of pouring					
	CSD in Toronto					

Properties	TORONTO		VANCOUVER		USA	
	License Plate	Number Plate	License Plate	Number Plate	License Plate	Number Plate
on front or back of car	9/9	0/3	6/6	1/1	7/8	1/1
on buildings, appliances	1/9	3/3	2/6	1/1	1/8	0/1
Conclusions	CD of number plate in NA (1 SS)					

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Properties	TORONTO		VANCOUVER		USA	
	Napkin	Serviette	Napkin	Serviette	Napkin	Serviette
cloth	8/9	5/8	5/6	4/6	8/8	4/4
paper	8/9	7/8	5/6	3/6	8/8	0/4
variety of colours	7/9	6/8	6/6	3/6	7/8	3/4
white	5/9	4/8	4/6	3/6	4/8	2/4
fast food	4/9	2/8	4/6	1/6	5/8	0/4
posh	3/9	4/8	5/6	4/6	4/8	4/4
Conclusions	IC in Canada (1 SS)				serviette is cloth, posh & rarely used CSD in USA	

Properties	TORONTO		VANCOUVER		USA	
	Pita	Wrap	Pita	Wrap	Pita	Wrap
can be cylindrical	6/9	4/9	4/6	4/6	5/6	4/7
must be cylindrical	0/9	5/9	0/6	2/6	0/6	1/7
can be semi-circular	9/9	1/9	4/6	3/6	5/6	4/7
must be semi-circular	0/9	0/9	0/6	0/6	0/6	0/7
bread that forms pocket	9/9	1/9	4/6	2/6	5/6	4/7
rolled	2/9	4/9	0/6	2/6	1/6	3/7
stuffed	4/9	2/9	4/6	3/6	2/6	0/7
Conclusions	wrap is likely cylindrical; pita is likely semi-circular					
	wrap is rolled; pita is stuffed					
	CSD in Toronto		IC in Vancouver		IC in USA	

Properties	TORONTO		VANCOUVER		USA	
	Restroom	Washroom	Restroom	Washroom	Restroom	Washroom
has shower or bathtub	2/8	7/8	2/5	6/6	6/8	5/5
medicine cabinet	1/8	7/8	1/5	4/6	5/8	4/5
private	2/8	8/8	2/5	6/6	5/8	4/5
public	8/8	6/8	5/5	6/6	7/8	5/5
must have sign on door	4/8	1/8	3/5	1/6	4/8	2/5
Conclusions	restroom is likely to be public; washroom is private, has shower or tub, no sign				CSD in Canada (1 SS)	
					CD of washroom	

Properties	TORONTO		VANCOUVER		USA	
	Tap	Faucet	Tap	Faucet	Tap	Faucet
found outside	8/9	7/9	6/6	4/6	3/6	7/8
found in kitchen	4/9	6/9	5/6	5/6	5/6	5/8
found in bathroom	4/9	7/9	5/6	4/6	3/6	5/8
hose attached	7/9	5/9	6/6	3/6	4/6	4/8
push to open	3/9	5/9	3/6	3/6	6/6	6/8
turn to open	9/9	8/9	6/6	5/6	5/6	7/8
shabby	4/9	0/9	1/6	1/6	1/6	1/8
Conclusions	tap is shabby, outside, hose attached, turned; (in Toronto more so than Vancouver)					
	CSD in Canada (3 SS)				IC in USA (1 SS)	

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Properties	TORONTO		VANCOUVER		USA		
	Trousers	Pants	Trousers	Pants	Trousers	Pants	
worn by men only	2/8	0/9	4/6	1/6	1/3	0/8	
boot cut	5/8	9/9	2/6	6/6	3/3	8/8	
flared	5/8	9/9	1/6	6/6	3/3	8/8	
tapered	6/8	9/9	2/6	6/6	3/3	8/8	
straight leg	8/8	9/9	4/6	6/6	3/3	8/8	
pleated	1/8	0/9	2/6	0/6	0/3	0/8	
formal	3/8	1/9	3/6	0/6	0/3	0/8	
Conclusions	trousers thought to be more formal, worn by men, unsure of style						
	CSD in Canada (1 SS)				CD of trousers (1 SS)		

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