Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader

Edited by
Elaine Gold and Janice McAlpine

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Contents

Foreword

The Canadian public and beginning linguistics students are the intended audience of this book. Its purpose is to familiarize Canadians with the special characteristics of their national variety of the English language, to sketch some of the regional differences in English across Canada, and to raise awareness of how and why regional and social variation occur. This book may also appeal to those who are studying English varieties comparatively.

This is not a collection of the latest research articles on Canadian English; often these are theoretical and statistical, taking earlier studies as a point of departure. This collection brings together new work and old, academic and popular publications, with the goal of presenting a readable, historically informed overview of English in Canada. We have included "Resources for Further Study" sections and editorial footnotes throughout this collection to guide readers to new research and to additional resources on particular regions.

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Part One: Overview and General Characteristics of Canadian English

English in Canada[1]

J. K. Chambers

1. Background, including demographic and geographical information

1.1. Geographical information. Canada is the second largest nation in the world, after Russia, occupying almost ten million square kilometres. It encompasses six time zones, spanning four-and-a-half hours from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific coast. Climate, topography, local networks, geographical orientation, and other factors vary regionally so that the physical experiences of Canadians in the far north, for instance, bear little resemblance to those in the southernmost regions.

Culturally, Canada is complicated by the existence within the Canadian boundaries of two long-standing national consciousnesses which simultaneously share Canadian nationality and maintain their own. Québec is the power base for the francophone minority, equal partners in Confederation since its inception in 1867. Newfoundland joined Confederation only in 1949 after centuries of colonial ties to Britain and self-government.

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[1] To appear in *Varieties of World English*, ed. Tometro Hopkins (London: Continuum International). J.K. Chambers <jack.chambers@utoronto.ca> is a Professor Emeritus of Linguistics, University of Toronto.

Linguistically, their presence affects Canadian English (hereafter CE) in interesting and very different ways (Chambers 1991). Québec's location interrupts the continuity of the English-language majority, splitting the Atlantic provinces from the central and western provinces, and perpetuates bilingual buffer zones in the adjacent provinces of New Brunswick on the east and Ontario on the west. (See Map in Appendix.) Newfoundland, though overwhelmingly anglophone, did not share mainland Canadian settlement history, and her political autonomy gave rise to an indigenous standard accent which is only now beginning to reflect the influence of mainland CE (Clarke 1991). Any generalizations that might be hazarded about CE must necessarily be qualified—implicitly or explicitly—by their presence.

Demographically, the population of 29,639,035 (in the 2001 Census) is often called sparse, but it is hardly that in world terms. Canada's population is twice Australia's, and three and a half times greater than Sweden's. It is almost the same as South Africa's and only slightly less than Spain's. The sparseness of Canada's population is noticeable mainly when one considers the thousands of square kilometres available for settlement. By comparison, the United Kingdom, which would fit handily into even the smallest of Canada's seven inland provinces, has about twice the population, and the United States, more comparable in size as the fourth largest nation in the world, has eight times the population.

One of the sources of Canadian national unity is the fact that the population is geographically concentrated along the southern border. Most Canadians live within two hundred kilometres of the U.S.-Canadian border. The Map of Canada (see Appendix) shows major urban areas, which house nearly two-thirds of the Canadian population; the remaining third live mainly in smaller cities and towns in the catchment area of the largest cities. The border is enormous, stretching more than 4,000 kilometres, but the population concentration in that long, thin ribbon belies the popular stereotype of Canada as a country of isolated homesteads.

Canadians are not only highly urbanized but also overwhelmingly middle-class, to an extent that can scarcely be comprehended by outsiders. As in the New-World societies of the United States and Australia, two factors conspired to determine the relatively homogeneous class structure (Chambers 1998c). On the one hand, Canada's earliest settlements offered virtually no amenities to settlers with aristocratic predilections, with the result that they were naturally excluded from most societies. On the other, the earliest political initiatives fostered geographical mobility as a means of uniting the enormous expanses that needed to be governed. The combination of social egalitarianism and freedom of movement led to occupational and social mobility on a scale unknown in the colonizing nations.

Social trends in the first half of the twentieth century further increased the class homogenization. Urbanization shrank the agricultural class to less than ten per cent of the population, and occupational mobility keeps the unskilled labour group at less than

English in Canada, J.K. Chambers

five per cent (Camu, Weeks and Sametz 1971). More than 85 per cent of the population is thus middle-class, sharing to a greater or lesser degree their values, aspirations, living standards, and (outside of Québec and Newfoundland) speech standards.[2]

1.2. Brief history. Canadian English is one of the oldest varieties of colonial English. Because Canada is due west of England, it was one of the first discoveries in the European quest for a sea route to the Orient. The English first laid claim to Newfoundland, Canada's easternmost province and thus the nearest land mass on the Atlantic Ocean to Europe, in 1497, just five years after Columbus made his historic landing to the south. Newfoundland's discoverer was a Venetian, John Cabot, but he sailed from Bristol in England under the authority of the English king, Henry VII (Chadwick 1967).

The English claim to the rest of Canada was not as direct. In the Atlantic region of the present Maritime Provinces (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island on Map 1 in Appendix), the French arrived before the English and established colonies in what they called Acadia. Samuel de Champlain, the first French governor, founded a settlement called Port Royal at the inlet to the St. Lawrence River in 1605. Three years later, in 1608, he established *Nouvelle France* inland on the St. Lawrence River in the vicinity of present-day Québec City and Montréal.

However, France seemed uninterested in its imperialist role in North America. By the middle of the 18th century, the population of the entire St. Lawrence colony numbered only about 70,000 (Chambers and Heisler 1999). The colonists were the descendants of some 10,000 individuals sent out to the New World from the mother country in a period of 150 years. Even though the birthrate in Nouvelle France was among the highest in the world, this trickle of settlers was hardly enough to establish critical mass (Joy 1972: 51-54; on birthrate and immigration, see §1.3.4 below). By contrast, England, with only one-third the population of France, sent many more settlers to its North American colonies, usually with incentives of free sea passage and freehold farmland to encourage them. This disparity had important consequences not only for Canadian history but for world history. They were described eloquently by the demographer Alfred Sauvy (translated by Lachapelle and Henripin 1982: 10):

> It sufficed that one of the two countries competing for a vast continent sent a few thousand settlers each year, while the other sent a few hundred, and the course of

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[2] Between 1976 and 2007, the adjusted income of the middle 60% of the Canadian population remained steady while the gap between the richest 20% and the poorest 20% widened (Statistics Canada, 2009). Despite increasing income polarization, most Canadians still consider themselves "middle class."—Eds.

history was radically changed. This is both tragic and symbolic, since, just when the French language had reached international predominance in Europe, through its great demographic superiority, it was sealing its fate in the world at large because a few boats more, filled with illiterates, left England every year.[3]

Partly as a result of this disparity, France was forced to cede both colonies to England after suffering defeats in two wars.

- In 1716, the Treaty of Utrecht resolved Queen Anne's War, and one of its terms made Acadia a British possession. The English divided the colony into the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and St. John (since 1798, Prince Edward Island).

- In 1763, England's victory on the Plains of Abraham in Québec City ended the French and Indian War, and by the terms of the Treaty of Paris, France was forced to surrender its hold on the inland colony.

So the English language came to be spoken in Canada because of the English aptitude for warfare. In the Middle Ages, the English people themselves had narrowly escaped becoming colonials dominated by the Normans, and in extricating themselves they inadvertently developed the political and military strengths that would eventually lead to the global spread of their language. Protracted wars against Normandy in particular and France in general, especially the Hundred Years War (1337-1453), developed military prowess and a readiness for aggression. Defending the surrounding seas required the English to develop navigational skills and sea-faring prowess. As a result, when the era of New World exploration dawned in 1492, the English were well equipped to compete with their rivals from France, Spain, Portugal, and Holland.

In inland Canada as in most parts of the New World, British explorers discovered vast land masses sparsely populated by Native hunters or subsistence farmers. Exactly the same discoveries were made by the Spanish in Argentina, the Portuguese in Brazil, the French in Vietnam, and the Dutch in Indonesia. In all instances, the European imperialists subdued the Native peoples either by conquests or treaties. In North America, the Native peoples often became allies of their British overlords, joining them in battles against their European rivals, especially the French. For more than two centuries, European foreign policies were dominated by these imperialist struggles. Although the historical record shows the English as world-beaters, fending off the Dutch in South Africa, the Spanish in the southern United States, and the French in Canada, in

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[3] Most males and many females on the boats from England were not illiterate according to Lawrence Cremin, who documents widespread basic literacy in both 18th century England and Colonial America in *American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607-1783* (New York, Harper & Row, 1970).—Eds.

English in Canada, J.K. Chambers

all these countries conflicts still arise among groups divided along linguistic lines. The descendants are now united not by fealty to their imperial founders but by fealty to their distinctive regional cultures.

The British turned out to be relatively benevolent governors in Canada. They immediately issued proclamations safeguarding certain rights of the Native peoples, including the requirement that ancestral lands could be surrendered only upon execution of legal treaties (Chambers 1990).[4] Their relations with their French-speaking subjects proved equally benevolent with one notable exception that took place in the first years of their government. In 1755, when England and France engaged one another in the French and Indian War, many Acadians chose to remain neutral. The British governors, fearing they might side with France and thus provide a hostile element behind their lines, evicted some 10,000 of them. Most Acadians went southward into the United States, and many of them made their way to the former French colony of Louisiana, at the mouth of the Mississippi River, where they adapted their Acadian culture to local conditions. They are known today as 'Cajuns,' the southern U.S. pronunciation of the word Acadian.

That incident remains vivid in Canada's francophone history. It was a mistake that the British seemed determined to avoid in the newly-acquired Nouvelle France. They instituted the Quebec Act in 1774 in order to establish the legal boundaries of their French-speaking colony. In 1791, when hundreds of English-speaking immigrants arrived as refugees from the American Revolution (discussed in §2.3 below), the governors passed the Constitution Act dividing 'Quebec' into two separate colonies called Lower Canada (present-day Québec) and Upper Canada (present-day Ontario). As a result, the boundaries of the French-language colony remained distinct even as the French-speaking population became a minority. In effect, these administrative divisions guaranteed that the cultural and linguistic heritage of the French colonials would be perpetuated in the new land.

In 1867, the four provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Québec and Ontario joined in the Canadian Confederation. The other Maritime province, Prince Edward Island, where the Confederation Act was drafted and signed, was admitted in 1873. Expansion into the vast western territory known as Prince Rupert's Land came later: Manitoba

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[4] The British governors did not want settlers to negotiate land deals directly, but "for the first time, the Aboriginal people would be expected to extinguish their rights to the land in order for large-scale colonial settlement to take place" (Early Canadiana Online, *Canada in the Making,* 1763 - 1791: The *Royal Proclamation, 1763*, and the *Québec Act, 1774,* retrieved from http://www1.canadiana.org/citm/themes/aboriginals/aboriginals3_e.html).—Eds.

(1870), Saskatchewan (1905), Alberta (1905) and British Columbia (1871) followed the development of the transcontinental rail link. In 1949, Newfoundland joined as the tenth province. The vast subarctic regions, the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, were incorporated as territories, not provinces, the former in 1870 and the latter in 1898. In 1999, a new territory, Nunavut, was created by partitioning the Northwest Territories to establish an Inuit-majority region.

1.3. Demographic information. Canada's population statistics as they relate to language use—Canada's 'demolinguistics,' to use Lachapelle and Henripin's (1982) uncomely but functional word—are somewhat complicated by the fact that Canada has two official languages, English and French. But they become much more complicated by the fact that Canada has an astounding number of 'non-official' languages as well. The Native peoples of Canada spoke at least a hundred different languages at the time of European discovery, and a few dozen survive to this day, though many are threatened with extinction. More significant demographically, throughout the twentieth century Canada provided a land of opportunity for immigrants and a haven for refugees. The newcomers have brought with them the languages of the world. I discuss the two great immigrations of the last century in §2.2 below.

As a result of these immigrations, Canada is perhaps the most multilingual nation in the world not only in the obvious sense that countless languages are spoken there but also in the sense that those language groups tend to sustain themselves beyond the second generation.

1.3.1. Canadian mother tongues. Statistics Canada, the government office responsible for the census, incorporated a useful distinction starting in 1991 in response to Canada's flourishing multilingualism. They asked respondents to distinguish between their 'mother tongue,' defined as the first language learned at home in childhood and still understood by the individual, and their 'home language,' defined as the language used daily in family situations. In this section I will describe the Canadian population in terms of their mother tongues (from Statistics Canada 2001; for analysis of both mother tongue and home language statistics, see Chambers 1998c: 264-68).

Table 1 below provides a finely detailed snapshot of Canada's linguistic diversity at the beginning of the millennium. It lists the Canadian demolinguistics in terms of the major language groups, starting with the official languages, including true bilinguals, that is, people who have more than one mother tongue, and then continues with specific listings for 15 non-official languages. In addition to the figures for the country as a whole, Table 1 lists the figures for the two largest provinces, Ontario and Québec, in order to underscore some points I want to make about the distribution of the official languages. Readers who might feel overwhelmed by the amount of detail can look at the summary lines indicated by the Totals following each sub-category.

English in Canada, J.K. Chambers

Mother Tongue	Canada	Québec	Ontario
English	17,352,315	557,040	7,965,225
English and non-official language	219,860	15,045	114,275
Totals (English)	17,572,175	572,085	8,079,500
French	6,703,325	5,761,765	485,630
French and non-official language	38,630	26,890	8,000
Total (French)	6,741,955	5,788,655	493,630
English, French	112,575	50,060	37,135
English, French and non-official	10,085	5,355	3,200
Total (French-English bilingual)	122,660	55,415	40,335
Chinese	853,745	43,745	404,250
Italian	469,485	124,695	295,205
German	438,080	17,690	156,080
Punjabi	271,220	9,900	110,540
Spanish	245,495	70,095	118,690
Portuguese	213,815	33,355	152,115
Polish	208,375	17,155	138,940
Arabic	199,940	76,285	94,640
Tagalog (Pilipino)	174,060	9,550	88,870
Ukrainian	148,085	5,125	48,620
Dutch	128,670	3,220	69,655
Vietnamese	122,055	21,640	55,240
Greek	120,360	41,980	65,285
Cree	72,885	11,810	4,405
Inuktitut	29,010	8,620	160
Others	1,506,965	214,550	869,400
Total (non-official languages)	5,202,245	709,415	2,672,095
Total (all mother tongues)	29,639,035	7,125,570	11,285,560

Table 1—Demolinguistic statistics for Canada as a whole, and for the provinces of Québec and Ontario (based on Statistics Canada http://www.statcan.ca, last modified 20 January 2003)

Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader

1.3.2. The Aboriginal languages. The non-official languages listed in Table 1 include only those with more than 100,000 speakers with two exceptions. Cree and Inuktitut are aboriginal languages of the most populous Algonquian nation and of the Inuit peoples (formerly called, respectively, Indians and Eskimos). These are non-official languages, of course, but unlike the other non-official languages on the list, they are native (non-immigrant) languages. The Inuit are exhaustively represented by these numbers, but there are 20 other Native (Indian) languages besides Cree listed in the census tables, accounting for a few thousand speakers in the 'Others' category. The reason for the large difference in the Inuit populations in Québec and Ontario is geographical: Québec occupies much more territory above the boreal tree line, where Inuit settlements are located. Greatest Inuit concentration (18,605 of the 26,670 total) is in Nunavut, which was created in 1999 to provide territorial autonomy for them. Inuit thus comprise about 70 per cent of the population. Almost all the rest, 26 per cent, have English as their mother tongue, making Nunavut the least linguistically diverse administrative region in the country.

1.3.3. The immigrant languages. Among the non-official languages, Chinese is the largest mother-tongue group. Although some Chinese in Canada arrived in the 1870s to work as 'coolies' on the construction of the trans-Canada railroad, the Canadian Pacific, most arrived much more recently, since the 1960s, in the diaspora from south mainland China and Hong Kong. The great majority of Chinese-Canadians have been speakers of the Cantonese 'dialect.' Because many Chinese arrived in a relatively recent influx, few of them have completely assimilated and become monolingual English speakers, and as a result the proportion of Chinese-Canadians whose mother tongue is Chinese rather than English is large.

The 1996 census was the first in which Chinese topped the list of non-official languages. As recently as 1991, and for five decades before that, the largest non-official language group was Italian. (Toronto is said to be the second-largest Italian city in the world after Rome.) Many third- and fourth-generation Italo-Canadians speak 'kitchen Italian' with their grandparents and parents but their mother tongue is English. For the first time in 60 years, the Italo-Canadian community shows signs of linguistic assimilation to the English majority. In the 1990s, though their rank order fell to second among immigrant groups after the Chinese, it was not the result of attrition of people whose mother tongue is Italian: in 1991 they numbered 449,660, and in 1996 they numbered 484,500, an increase of almost 35,000. However, in 2001, as Table 1 shows, they numbered 469,485, a decrease of about 15,000 —not many (in fact, only 3 percent) but significant as a counter-trend to the pattern of the last half-century. The change in rank order is the direct result of growth in the Chinese-Canadian community: in 1991 the Chinese mother-tongue respondents numbered 444,940; that number grew by 270,700 in the next five years, and, as Table 1 shows, by another 138,100 in 2001, over 400,000 in a decade.

English in Canada, J.K. Chambers

1.3.4. Immigration and insularity. One point of contrast in Table 1 which has significant sociolinguistic implications is the contrast between Québec and Ontario with respect to non-official languages. In Ontario, 23.6 per cent of the population (2,672,095 of 11,285,560) have a mother tongue other than French or English, whereas in Québec only 9.9 per cent (709,415 of 7,125,570) do. This difference reflects a sharp distinction between the two provinces. Ontario, and indeed all of anglophone Canada, chose immigration as the principal means of expanding its population base, as will become evident in the next section where I discuss the peopling of the nation that has taken place over slightly more than two centuries. Like other New World countries, Canada adopted immigration naturally, as a critically underpopulated nation with an abundance of uncultivated land, unmined natural resources, and, latterly, developing industry. In Québec, only the city of Montréal receives immigrants at a rate comparable to the major anglophone cities. Elsewhere in the province of Québec, immigration is negligible.

This contrast has distinguished the francophone and anglophone regions from the beginning of Canadian history. After the French and Indian War, Québec's population growth from about 10,000 citizens in 1760 to over seven million today included about 20,000 anglophones at the end of the 18th century, mostly refugees from the American Revolution as described in the next section, but otherwise the growth has been almost entirely due to Québec's birthrate (Lachapelle and Henripin, 1982: 97-117). Throughout the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, Québec's birthrate was around 65 per 1,000, one of the highest in the world. It is now around 13 per 1,000, one of the lowest in Canada. With a declining birthrate and relatively little immigration, Québec's population is decreasing proportionately in Canada. . . .

Though Québec nationalism appears to be based on linguistic differences, its basis goes much deeper (Chambers 2004: 107-11). The sociocultural contrasts between societies with significant and continuous immigration and those with stable populations, that is, without significant influxes from outside, are sharp. Belief systems in immigrant societies like anglophone Canada tend to be diffuse because of the importation of diverse creeds, rites, and customs. Ethnicities are more diverse and racial mixing more common. Language is more varied and unstable across generations, with second-language varieties as well as native varieties, different mother tongues in the same household, and loanwords, code-switching and interlanguage. Patriotism is likely to be more diffuse (less focused) and less fervent.

One of the more extreme branches of Québec culture is called *pure laine* nationalism, where *pure laine* (literally 'pure wool', a term used on garment labels) stands for ethnic purity in the sense of direct descent from the original *Nouvelle France* settlers. In the rest of Canada and in much of Québec, this kind of nationalism is viewed as narrow-minded at best and racist at worst. It is a strain of political thought at odds with Canadian openness and tolerance. . . .

Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader

1.3.5. The official languages. All regions of Canada are institutionally bilingual. Every citizen has the right to be served in either French or English by government agencies, tried in either language in federal courts, informed in either language in public announcements on radio and television, and advised in both languages on product labels, tax forms and all other official documents. Only two provinces have linguistic provisions in their constitutions: New Brunswick is constitutionally bilingual, and Québec is officially monolingual French (Joy 1992: 79-80). Québec provincial laws forbid employers to require any language but French of prospective employees (Joy 1992: 9) and forbid merchants from displaying English-language signs.[5] Ironically, federal provisions on bilingualism ensure a nationwide presence for French from the Atlantic to the Pacific, even in regions where the francophone population is nonexistent, but the nationwide presence of English is interrupted officially, though not actually, by Québec monolingualism.

Table 1 above shows that there is a considerable discrepancy in sheer numbers between the French-speaking and the English-speaking populations. In percentages, the mother-tongue groups are proportioned as follows: 59.2 per cent speak English, 22.7 per cent speak French, 0.4 per cent are English-French bilinguals, and 17.5 per cent have a mother tongue neither English nor French. It is important to point out, as a cautionary note, that these mother-tongue figures grossly underrepresent bilingualism in all guises. The French-English bilinguals in these figures count only 'true bilinguals,' rare individuals who learned both languages from birth (Weinreich 1967: Chap. 3). There are, of course, millions of other bilinguals in Canada whose competence in the two languages is asymmetrical or unequal. In fact, French-English bilingualism has been increasing by leaps in the Ontario region bordering Québec under the stimulus of educational immersion and equity policies (Cartwright 1988).

Bilingualism aside, the French mother-tongue population is heavily concentrated in the province of Québec. The concentration shows up dramatically when Québec's numbers are left out of the demolinguistic calculations as in **Table 2**: outside of Québec, English is the mother tongue of 75.5 per cent (about 17.5 million of 22.5), French of 4.2 per cent (953,300), bilingual French-English (true bilinguals) make up 0.2 per cent (67,245), and non-official languages are mother tongues of 19.9 per cent (almost 4.5 million).

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[5] Currently Quebec law allows commercial signs "in French and another language provided that French is markedly predominant" (Government of Quebec, Charter of the French Language, Title 1, Chapter vii).—Eds.

English in Canada, J.K. Chambers

Table 2 below also provides quantitative evidence for the observation made above, that Québec accounts for a relatively small percentage of immigrant languages: the percentages of non-official mother-tongue speakers are very similar across Canada whether or not Québec is counted. However, other proportions on the table change dramatically.

When we compare the percentages for English and French mother-tongue speakers in Table 2, the concentration of French speakers in Québec stands out clearly. Not only is French the mother tongue of fewer than 4.5 per cent of the population outside Québec, but a glance back at Table 1 will reveal that more than half of those French speakers outside Québec live in adjoining Ontario. The proportion of French speakers in Canada has been increasing in Québec and decreasing in the rest of Canada at least since 1931, the first year the census recorded mother-tongue statistics (Lachapelle and Henripin 1982: 39). The relative isolation of francophones within the provincial boundaries is one obvious source of Québecois anxiety about the survival of its language and culture. The effect is a spiral. Legislation of protective measures such as French-only language laws in Québec leads to disaffection among the English-language minority and emigration to other provinces, which further isolates the French speakers in the province.[6]

	Canada		**excluding Québec**	
Mother tongue	%	Total	%	Total
English	59.2	17,572,175	75.5	17,000,090
French	22.7	6,741,955	4.2	953,300
English-French bilingual	0.4	122,660	0.2	67,245
Non-official	17.5	5,202,245	19.9	4,492,830

Table 2—Demolinguistics of Canada including Québec and excluding Québec (based on Statistics Canada, last modified 20 January 2003)

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[6] For a positive reading of Québec's language protection and promotion policies, see Marc V. Levine's *The Reconquest of Montreal: Language Policy and Social Change in a Bilingual City* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990).—Eds.

Because Table 2 tabulates mother-tongue statistics rather than functional language use, it inadvertently obscures the extent to which Canada is an English-speaking country. The figure for the English-speaking population outside Québec is large at 75.5 per cent, but in addition it must be kept in mind that Canadians whose mother tongue is a non-official language, almost 20 per cent of the population, are almost unanimously speakers of English, not French, as a second language. That brings the actual proportion of anglophones outside Québec to 95 per cent. The next section outlines the various routes by which these English-speaking peoples came to the country.

2. Linguistic background and contacts

2.1. The distinctiveness of Newfoundland. Newfoundland, the tenth province, did not participate in the events that shaped mainland Canada until 1949, when it joined the Confederation. It had a very different settlement pattern and colonial history (Shorrocks 1997), and consequently it is the most linguistically distinctive region of English-speaking Canada.

Newfoundland was first discovered by Norse adventurers around 1000, but they appear to have settled there only temporarily, perhaps seasonally. At the time of Newfoundland's re-discovery by Europeans 500 years later, the Norse contact had left so few traces that it took archaeologists until the 1960s to unearth them (Ingstad 1969). Newfoundland's waters teemed with codfish, and fishermen from Portugal as well as England rushed to harvest them. Permanent settlers arrived soon after, mostly from southwestern England, especially from the seafaring regions of Devon, Dorset, Somerset and Hampshire. Then, in the 18th century, Irish immigrants began arriving in such great numbers as to dominate many areas, including the capital, St. John's.

Because of its years of autonomy, there are many features that distinguish Newfoundland speech from mainland Canada in sound and in vocabulary (Paddock 1977, Story 1977, Clarke 1997). Sociolinguistic studies show, however, that the successive post-confederation generations are adopting some mainland features, especially the urban middle class (Clarke 1991). As geographical and occupational mobility further increases, the differentness of Newfoundland English will undoubtedly diminish.

2.2. The peopling of Canada. While Newfoundland was being settled by West Country fisherfolk and Irish workers, the rest of Canada was being wrested from the French on the Atlantic seaboard and then receiving settlers progressively westward. It took two centuries for the settlers to cover the vast expanse, and they arrived in four significant waves of immigration. Each wave had linguistic implications—that is, the immigrants influenced the way in which English is spoken in Canada to some extent. But, predictably, the first two influxes were much more important linguistically than the subsequent ones because they took place when the character of CE was not yet formed, and thus they had a formative influence.

English in Canada, J.K. Chambers

The four major waves of immigration were these:

- Beginning in 1776 and reaching its peak in 1793, hundreds of refugees from the Thirteen Colonies (soon to become the United States of America) entered Canada; these were the people known in Canadian history as Loyalists, the citizens of the southern colonies who chose to maintain their allegiance to the imperial mother-country, England, and fled rather than participating in the American Revolution.

- Beginning around 1815 and reaching its peak around 1850, thousands of immigrants from England, Scotland, and latterly Ireland (because of the Potato Famine of 1845-7) arrived in Canada as a result of systematic, large-scale recruitment by the British governors of the colony in order to counteract pro-American sentiments among the settlers, especially in the face of American border invasions in the War of 1812.

- Beginning in the 1890s and reaching a peak around 1910, thousands of immigrants again from Scotland and Ireland but also many from more diverse European homelands such as Germany, Italy, Scandinavia, and Ukraine were recruited as farmers for the vast wheatlands of the newly-opened Prairie Provinces and as workers for the industrializing cities in Ontario and Montreal in Quebec.

- Beginning in 1946 and reaching a peak around 1960, a highly diverse immigrant population arrived first as a result of the post-War diaspora in Europe, with thousands of Italians, Portuguese, Dutch, Belgians, Greeks, Ukrainians, Poles, Finns, and Yugoslavians, among others, and later, even more diversely, from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Korea, China, Vietnam, and the United States, as a result of political unrest in those countries.

In the last 25 years Canada has received another significant wave of immigrants, often as political refugees from such countries as Pakistan, Chile, Brazil, Cambodia, Somalia, and El Salvador, but also from English-speaking countries in the Caribbean and from Hong Kong. The linguistic diversity evident in Table 1 above is largely the result of this wave combined with the previous one.

By the time of the immigrations that peaked in 1910 and 1960, the linguistic character of Canada was firmly established. The immigrants could thus have only a mild, and minor, immediate influence. Their long-term influence, however, may be more significant. The preponderance of ESL accents in Canada's major cities is truly remarkable. In Toronto, for instance, four of every 10 people (40 per cent) speak an immigrant language natively, and so do 27 per cent in Vancouver, 21 per cent in

Winnipeg, and 17 per cent in Montréal. As a result, in the most densely populated parts of Canada, people encounter ESL accents daily, and they have done so for two generations or more. If some features of those ESL varieties persist in the native varieties of the immigrants' offspring, they will enter CE as markers of urban or ethnic accents. Though no one has yet documented such persistent features, they clearly exist. Because of them, listeners can often identify speakers as having, say, Yiddish ancestry or an Italian background, even in the speech of native Canadians far removed from their immigrant roots. From a sociolinguistic perspective, it seems inevitable that some of the diversity currently heard as interlanguage will ultimately be recognized as markers of urban CE accents (Chambers 1998c: 264-71, 2004: 105-07).[7]

2.3. The Loyalist base. The first immigrants to arrive in Canada were the refugees from the American Revolution, the Loyalists, in the last decades of the 18th century.

There were two main paths of immigration for the Loyalists. One was from the coastal New England States—especially Connecticut and Massachusetts, where the first skirmishes of the Revolution took place in 1776, but also Maine and Rhode Island—into the Canadian province of Nova Scotia. Many of these refugees, perhaps most, bided their time in Halifax or Lunenburg, the main seaports of the province, until they could arrange passage to England. Some others stayed in Nova Scotia or in nearby New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, finding work on the land or in towns. Still others took advantage of government offers of generous land grants further inland, along the banks of the St. Lawrence River and the north shore of Lake Ontario, and made the trek into the regions of Lower and Upper Canada.

These refugees from New England brought with them a distinctive home dialect. New England speech was then, as it is now, r-less and also had several readily identifiable vowel sounds. Wherever the New England refugees became the founding population of a community, the local speech came to sound like New England English. But this happened only in a very small, highly localized region. The town of Lunenburg (about 40km south of Halifax on Map 1) and some rural areas in Lunenburg County and the Annapolis Valley were marked linguistically as descendants of the New England dialect region (Trudgill 2000). In this century, with accelerated mobility and urbanization, the distinctive sound of that New England ancestry has receded in these regions.

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[7] Will major immigrant languages reshape the English of urban Canada? Regarding Toronto, see Michol F. Hoffman and James A. Walker, "Ethnolects and the city: Ethnic orientation and linguistic variation in Toronto English," *Language Variation and Change* 22 (2010): 37-67. The role of English in Montreal is different: see the website of Charles Boberg (McGill University) *English as a minority language: Ethnolinguistic variation and the phonetics of Montreal English* <http://www.arts.mcgill.ca/linguistics/Faculty/boberg/research.htm>.—Eds.

In the inland regions, no trace of the New England accent persevered or survived. By the time the New England Loyalists reached their inland destinations, they were greeted by other Loyalists—refugees who had taken the second route into Canada. And though they too were native Americans, they brought with them a very different accent.

These other Loyalists set out principally from the states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Vermont, and they moved by inland routes to entry points at the narrows of the lower Great Lakes, mainly crossing the border at the upper St. Lawrence River from Montréal westward, along the Detroit River in the region of present-day Windsor, and especially at the Niagara frontier in Upper Canada. There, they were met by Canadian government officials and sent, with a modest allotment of provisions and tools, to homesteads in the richly forested parklands of the Great Lakes basin. In every district where they landed, they formed the first settled population. Native peoples—the Iroquois (Hurons, Tobacco, Oneidas, and others) and Algonquians (mainly Delawares, Odawas, Ojibwas)—circulated through the regions harvesting roots or grains and hunting game, and white or mixed-blood trappers (*coureurs de bois*) cut across the regions chasing pelts and hides. But the Loyalists were the first people to fence in parcels of land, clear them of roots and rocks, and raise houses and outbuildings on them. Where their numbers were concentrated, some of them quit farming to provide goods and services for the others: mills for lumber and mills for flour, blacksmithing, slaughterhouses, tanning, spinning and weaving, rooms and meals for travelers, arithmetic and spelling lessons, Sunday sermons. Towns grew up as central places for distributing goods and services, with churches, schools, markets, and stores.

These people became the founding population of inland Canada. Socially, they brought with them the manners and mores of the middle American states where they originated, as distinct from the Yankees north of them in New England and the planters south of them in Virginia and Georgia. Linguistically, they brought with them the sounds and syntax of those same middle states on the Atlantic coast.

The founding population of any place exerts many subtle and largely unintentional dictates on those who succeed them. They set the pattern for roads in the country and streets in the town, establish local practices (land-clearing, crop selection, house construction, religious observance, educational practices, and much more), determine norms of communal cooperation (midwifery, health care, sewing bees, barn raising) and set the moral tone of the community.

One of the subtlest dictates—and one seldom considered because it is beneath consciousness—is linguistic. The people who come after the founding population, the second or third generation of settlers, may come from far and wide, but their children will speak, under ordinary circumstances, just like the children whose parents arrived before them. So it came to pass in inland Canada—Lower Canada and especially Upper

Canada, destined to become the economic and political wheelhorse of the nation for the next century—that the sound of the speech was directly descended from these Loyalists.

As a result, it is a common experience of young Canadians today, whether their ancestry be Scottish, German, or Bangladeshi, to be mistaken for Americans when they go travelling across the globe. To foreigners, unless they have a good ear for subtle differences, Canadians sound American. That is the heritage of the Loyalist founders.

2.4. The British and Irish arrivals after 1812. The Americans began looking covetously northward soon after they gained their independence. In June 1812, the United States declared war on Britain and launched a series of raids on the Canadian borders. The event is known as the War of 1812 but it actually lasted until 1814, when the Treaty of Ghent ended the conflict with neither side gaining any advantage over the other. Militarily, the war was a draw, but from the Canadian viewpoint it seemed a victory. The aggressor had been repelled, after all, and the Canadian border remained intact.

The American invasions took place at the very sites where the Loyalists had entered the country. The British were embroiled at the same time in the Napoleonic Wars in Europe and could spare very few troops for defending their North American colony, but the outnumbered defenders eventually beat back the American insurgents. The Canadian victories aroused the first significant show of national pride, and today virtually all the battle sites are marked by monuments.

British intelligence later discovered that the Americans relied on finding widespread sympathy for their cause in Canada. They had expected their invading armies to be swelled by anti-English sympathizers as they marched through the colony. Instead, they met with stout resistance at every step. Though the Canadians proved their loyalty, the governors felt uneasy about the broad base of American ancestry in Canada, and they set about diluting that base by recruiting British settlers with promises of transport and generous gifts of land.

Between 1830 and 1860, thousands of British and Irish emigrants settled in Canada, especially along the north shores of the two Great Lakes, Ontario and Erie, but also inland in regions where the Loyalist presence was sparse. Their numbers more than doubled the population of Upper Canada, which to that time comprised the second- and third-generation Loyalists. Economically, the immigrants broadened the consumer base and brought new initiatives. Politically, they brought debating skills and imperialist powerlust. It is an astounding fact that three of Canada's first five Prime Ministers arrived in Canada as immigrant children or youth—the first, John A. Macdonald (in office 1867-73 and 1878-91) and the second, Alexander Mackenzie (1873-78) were native Scots, and the fifth, Mackenzie Bowell (1894-96) was born in England.

English in Canada, J.K. Chambers

2.5. Linguistic influence of British and Irish immigrants. Linguistically, the long-term influence of the British immigrants was highly restricted. Most of the immigrants settled, naturally, in the towns and villages founded by the Loyalists, and, predictably, their Canadian-born children grew up speaking not like their parents but like the children who became their schoolmates and playmates. The essential Loyalist character of CE persisted.

In two accidental senses, the British accents and dialects of the 19th century immigrants made a direct and indisputable impression on Canadian speech. First, in relatively isolated regions where the immigrants became the founding population, their speech formed the basis of the local accent. To this day, one can discern the Scots roots of rural speech in Cape Breton, Pictou and Antigonish counties in Nova Scotia, the Ottawa Valley, Peterborough county, the West Lorne district on the north shore of Lake Erie, and other places. Since Newfoundland joined the Confederation, Canada has come to encompass a large and influential enclave where the speech descends from Irish ancestors.

The second impression was made at the opposite pole, so to speak. Though the English immigrants could not impose their speech sounds on their offspring, they often did succeed in imposing norms of propriety and correctness on them, and on the community in general. Many English immigrants frankly promulgated their linguistic superiority to the benighted natives. Thus Susanna Moodie, whose snide and snobbish account of her immigrant experience, *Roughing It in the Bush* (1852), greatly amused the Victorian gentlefolk she left behind in England, described the first Canadian dialect she ever heard, that of the immigration recruiter, by saying he "had a shocking delivery, a drawling vulgar voice; and he spoke with such a twang that I could not bear to look at him or listen to him. He made such grammatical blunders that my sides ached laughing at him."

English immigrants took it upon themselves to try and change linguistic practices that differed from their own. In almost all cases, these practices differed because they were based on American rather than British models. The first schoolteachers in inland Canada were Loyalists or descendants of them, and they used the pedagogical tools they were familiar with. Noah Webster's spelling-book, for instance, was almost universally used in Upper Canada schools.[8] It included spellings like *color*, *neighbor*, *center*, *meter*, and

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[8] Elaine Gold details a mixed American and British provenance for teachers and texts: see "Teachers, Texts, and Early Canadian English: Upper Canada 1791-1841" in Sophie Burelle and Stanca Somesfalean, eds., *Proceedings of the 2003 Annual Conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association*, 2004, 85-96.—Eds.

connection instead of *colour, neighbour, centre, metre,* and *connexion*, and it included pronunciations like *secretARY, reNAIssance, lootenant* (for *lieutenant), eether* (for *either),* and *zee,* instead of *SECret'ry, renaissANCE, leftenant, eyether,* and *zed*.

One result of the belated intervention on language standards by the English immigrants is the Canadian double standard in many matters of spelling and pronunciation. Wherever British and American practices differ from one another, Canadians usually tolerate both. For instance, many Canadians freely vary their pronunciation of *either* and *neither* without noticing any discrepancy or raising any controversy, and different regions sometimes maintain different norms, as when, for instance, Ontarians prefer the spellings *colour* and *neighbour* but Albertans prefer *color* and *neighbor* (Ireland 1979: 178-79). These double standards are the linguistic legacy of the first two mass immigrations in Canadian history.

Another result, much less obvious but no less real, was attitudinal. In the second half of the 19th century, Canadians came to regard British standards as superior, whether or not they were the ones in common use. This attitude insinuated itself into the Canadian ethos politically as well as linguistically. At many points in Canadian history, being patriotically Canadian has defined itself as being anti-American, either mildly or vituperatively, and in decades past—though probably not since the 1940s—it often also entailed being pro-British.

Many genteel Canadians affected British speech and manners. Throughout the 20th century, many Canadian-born military officers, diplomats, professors, CBC newscasters, actors, and other members of the self-styled cultural élite made themselves 'Anglo-Canadian.' The poet Irving Layton took that as the title of his satirical poem describing a professor of English at Queen's University (Scott and Smith 1967: 75):

Anglo-Canadian

A native of Kingston, Ont.
—two grandparents Canadian
and still living

His complexion florid
as a maple leaf in late autumn,
for three years he attended
Oxford

Now his accent
makes even Englishmen
wince, and feel
unspeakably colonial.

English in Canada, J.K. Chambers

Nowadays, the Anglo-Canadian élite have become relics, along with the Union Jack, the British Commonwealth, and 'God Save the Queen.' Britain's failure to impose itself on recent generations of Canadians coincides, of course, with the decline of Britain as a world power, but, more to the point, the ethnically diverse immigrations of the 20th century have diluted the Anglo-Celtic hegemony. The image of Britain as Canada's mother country is a historical fact, but it is as far removed from Canada's daily affairs as is Victorianism.

2.6. Homogeneity of urban, middle-class Canadian English. As Canada settled its western region in the second half of the 19th century, the first settlers were mainly white Protestants from southern Ontario. Their prominence there was not accidental. In 1870, when the Canadian governors first attempted to carry out a land survey of the Red River Valley—the region around present-day Winnipeg, then (as now) the most populous part of Manitoba—they were opposed by the people who were already there.[9] The strongest opposition came from the Métis, French-speaking Catholics of mixed Québecois and Algonquian ancestry who comprised about half the population of 12,000. They were quelled forcibly by Canadian troops, and their leader Louis Riel fled to the United States. Riel returned in 1885 to lead a second rebellion against Canadian expansion in Saskatchewan. This time, when the rebels were defeated by Canadian troops at Batoche, the Métis capital, Riel was captured. He was imprisoned in Regina, tried for treason, and hanged.

Following these rebellions, the governors ensured that the first significant wave of settlers in the prairies would be sympathetic to their plans for expansion by making generous land grants to the infantry volunteers who had quelled Riel and to other Ontarians. In so doing, they transplanted not only the central Canadian ethos but also, inevitably, the Ontario accent. As a result, CE is remarkably homogeneous across the vast expanse of the country. Except for Newfoundland, urban, middle-class anglophone Canadians speak with much the same accent in Vancouver and Ottawa, Edmonton and Windsor, Winnipeg and Fredericton. The greatest variety, as mentioned above, is found away from the cities, in those rural enclaves founded by settlers from different linguistic backgrounds. In the 20th century, another source of variety arose in working-class neighbourhoods populated mainly by immigrants who are speakers of English as a second language. Their children and grandchildren normally speak like other Canadians

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[9] The Métis had settled the Red River Valley with the long, narrow, seugneurial-style lots of New France, each with crucial river frontage. The surveyors sent from the newly established Dominion of Canada were to draw square lots and townships for new settlers over the existing settlement.—Eds.

Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader

of their age and social class, but there is some evidence for socially significant linguistic variation from this source, as described in §2.2 above.

3. Phonology

Canadian English forms one branch of North American English, with historical affinities to the speech of Midland and Northern United States (Bloomfield 1948). The primary bough in the family tree for world Englishes splits the North American branch from the others, usually known as the British branch.

North America received its first permanent settlers more than a century before Britain's southern hemisphere colonies, with the result that the starting-point in the two regions was essentially different. The differences were maximized because in the 18th century, after the North American settlement, the English spoken in the motherland underwent several changes. For one thing, it became largely r-less, so that the *r* sound was no longer pronounced in words like *bark* [bɑːk], *bar* [bɑː], and *barber* [ˈbɑːbə]. For another thing, the vowel in words like *laugh*, *bath, chant*, and *dance* came to be pronounced long and usually farther back as [ɑː]: thus [lɑːf], [bɑːθ], [tʃɑːnt], and [dɑːns].[10] Most Canadian and American varieties lack these features, and most Australian, New Zealand and South African varieties have them. The presence of these and other similar features in the southern hemisphere varieties link them more closely to the accents of England.

Other general features that occur in North American English accents but not in the varieties spoken in England and the southern-hemisphere countries include the following:

- the vowel contrast in words like *logger* and *lager* is generally lost, so that North American varieties have the same vowel in both words, and also in *bother* and *father*, *bomb* and *balm* (Trudgill and Hannah 1982: 33). . . .

- voicing of /t/ intervocalically when the preceding syllable is stressed: thus *city* is [ˈsɪdi] [i.e., it rhymes with *biddy*], *little* is [ˈlɪdəl] and *hearty* and *hardy* are both pronounced [ˈhɑrdi]. . . .

Within the North American branch, standard CE is distinguished from other varieties by two very distinctive phonological features. One is the merger of low back vowels, so that CE has only one low back vowel phoneme where most other standard varieties of English have two. Phonologically, this is the most structurally significant feature of CE. It has

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[10] See "The Sounds of the Language," by R.E. McConnell, this volume, for a gentle introduction to how Canadian English sounds different from British and American.—Eds.

been a feature of standard CE from the earliest records, remarked upon as early as 1850 (Chambers 1993: 11-12). Because of it, sets of words which are distinct elsewhere are homophones in Canada. In most of the United States, for example, the words listed below are distinguished from one another in this way:

/ɑ/	/ɔ/
cot	caught
bobble	bauble
dotter	daughter
don	dawn
stocking	stalking

In these and dozens of other pairs of words, the phonological distinction does not exist in Canada, and the words in both lists have the same vowel. The vowel is usually (but not always) the unrounded [ɑ], so that *cot* and *caught* are both pronounced /kɑt/, *don* and *Dawn* both /dɑn/, and so on. For some Canadians, the vowel in both words is slightly rounded. What is distinctive is not the quality of the vowel but the fact that the vowel is the same in both words of the pairs.

It is noteworthy that this merger is spreading rapidly in the United States at the present time. Labov (1991a: 30-32) sketches the geographic distribution of the merger throughout Canada and the western States with a midwestern transition zone cutting across Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Arkansas, the Texas panhandle, and angling southward to California. If the rate of change continues for another generation or two, the merger will be established as a general North American feature rather than distinctively Canadian (Chambers 1999). Mergers are favoured over splits in language change, and the spread of this merger provides an instance in which a Canadian feature is disseminating southward into the large, domineering country.

The second distinctive phonological feature of CE is allophonic rather than phonemic, and in that respect is structurally less significant, but it is nevertheless more salient as a marker of the Canadian accent. Many astute listeners distinguish Canadians from other North Americans by their pronunciations of words like *wife, mice, right* and, especially, *house, couch*, and *about.* Canadians pronounce the diphthongs in these words in a singular way, so that outsiders sometimes claim that they are saying, for example, *aboot the hoose* for 'about the house.' That perception is not phonetically accurate, but what they are noticing is the higher vowel at the onset of the diphthong. The process is called Canadian Raising (Chambers 1973). . . .

Exactly how this feature originated in CE is uncertain. One certainty is that a similar diphthong with raised onset occurs very generally in Scots English, not only in words

Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader

like *wife, mice* and *right* and *house, couch* and *about* but also in words like *mine* and *foul* (where it never occurs in Canadian speech). The Scots have been a constant presence in Canada ever since the English language came to be spoken there. One plausible explanation is that Canadian Raising came about by adapting the Scots vowel into the Canadian sound system (Trudgill 1984, Chambers 1989).

4. Vocabulary

Even before Canada had a significant and widespread population, many distinctive features of the Canadian vocabulary came into being. Explorers and adventurers learned the names of all the places they visited from the natives, and in many cases the native names stuck. Canadian place-names resound with words from the native language stocks: from east to west, Pugwash, Buctouche, Miscouche, Kejimkujik, Chicoutimi, Saguenay, Temagami, Napanee, Ottawa, Moosonee, Coboconck, Oshawa, Mississauga, Kakabecka, Wawa, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Ponoka, Wetaskiwin, Squamish, Esquimault, Nanaimo, and in the north, Tuktoyaktuk and Iqaluit, to cite just a few. Other place-names, scarcely less exotic, translate native names: Medicine Hat, Moose Jaw, Red Deer, Kicking Horse Pass, Yellowknife, Whitehorse, among them. Some places had more than one name because the indigenous name contended with an imperial one: Toronto was called York after the nondescript duke who was George III's second son, but in the end—since 1834—the Mohawk name, Toronto, meaning 'trees standing in water,' prevailed.

Indigenous plants and animals usually kept their native names, such as tobacco, potato, tamarack, skunk, raccoon, beaver, grizzly (bear), moose, and caribou. The European adventurers were novices in the wilds, and those who survived were the ones who availed themselves of native know-how and materials: they learned to use foodstuffs such as pemmican, weapons such as tomahawks, watercraft such as kayaks, and apparel such as anoraks, mukluks, and moccasins. Because the first explorers were often Québecois, a number of French terms attached themselves permanently to forest and plain: prairie, portage, bateau, snye (< *chenail* 'channel').

As the population of the country grew with the influxes described earlier, the distinctive vocabulary grew with it. When the land in Upper and Lower Canada was surveyed into lots for the first settlers, the main survey lines, usually 1.25 miles apart, were called *concessions*, the French term, and country roads along them are called concession roads. In Ontario, the secondary roads that intersect concessions are called *side roads*.

Some of the earliest political terms used in Canada were either obscure terms in England or became obsolete there, so their perpetuation in Canada and the meanings they took on make them unique. Among these are *reeve* as the political head of a township, a *riding* as an electoral district, *acclamation* as the election of a candidate without opposition, and *shiretown* as the government seat in Nova Scotia counties.

English in Canada, J.K. Chambers

One obvious area for vocabulary development comes from terms for technological innovations. Because the settlement of North America took place before the Industrial Revolution, the North American and the British branches of the language almost always developed different vocabularies for talking about machines. The automobile provides a well-known example: British English has *bonnet* for North American *hood*, *boot* for *trunk*, *estate car* for *station wagon*, *windscreen* for *windshield*, *hooter* for *horn*, and so on. Similarly, British English has *lift* for North American *elevator*, *pavement* for *sidewalk*, *rates* for *taxes*, *lorry* for *truck*, *coach* for *bus*, and numerous other differences in names for post-colonial developments.

Though the southern hemisphere colonies were also populated before the automobile and other technologies came into being, those colonies were still tied so closely to England that they adopted the British terms. Thus in the lexicon as well as in phonology, their closer link to the English of England is evident, and the distinctiveness of the North American branch from them is further defined.

5. Syntax

In matters of syntax, CE generally conforms to world-wide standards. Most regional variants are traceable to Old World sources.[11] For example, the Hibernian completive construction *after* + present participle is heard in Newfoundland (Clarke 1997, Shorrocks 1997) and in rural areas around Port Hawkesbury, Ottawa, Peterborough, and no doubt other Canadian-Irish enclaves (Chambers 1986: 8-9). Sentences such as *Mary's after telling us about it*, meaning that Mary has recently finished telling us, are exotic to most Canadians, though not to all.[12]

One construction that occurs in standard Canadian syntax and also in some parts of the United States, perhaps all, is the *ever* exclamation, in constructions like *Does John ever drive fast!* and *Is John ever stupid!* The meaning is highly emphatic, signifying, in these

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[11] In other words, standard English grammar varies little from country to country, and where there are nonstandard grammatical constructions in CE, they are usually not Canadian innovations but carryovers from regional dialects in the British Isles.—Eds.

[12] The standard present perfect tense consists of HAVE + past participle: *I have called*. The Hibernian, or Irish, "*after* perfect," a grammatical construction influenced by Gaelic, consists of BE + *after* + present participle: *I'm after calling*. The meaning is "I have just recently called," **not** "I am hoping or intending to call," as Canadians outside Irish-influenced dialect areas might guess.—Eds.

instances, that John drives incredibly fast and that he is astoundingly stupid. The *ever* in the exclamations has or once had the meaning 'habitually, at all times' as in *for<u>ever</u>* 'for all time'. The syntax, oddly, is the same as for Yes/No questions, requiring auxiliary inversion or *do*-support, but the intonation is falling, not rising, and there is no sense of interrogation implied (Chambers 1986: 9-10).

One construction that has so far been reported only in CE is the *'cep'fer* complementizer (Chambers 1987). . . . introducing a subordinate clause, as in *We could sit on the floor 'cep'fer the teacher would probably tell us not to*. The complementizer seems obviously to be a phonological reduction of *except for*, which has long been used as a preposition (*We're all here except for Tom*) but not heretofore as a complementizer. This usage is common in the speech of young Canadians, but there is anecdotal evidence that it is not peculiarly Canadian. Rather, it appears to be on the rise in the United States and perhaps elsewhere.

The most salient piece of dialect grammar found in CE is positive *any more*. This construction is fairly well studied in the United States (Eitner 1949, Labov 1991b, Murray 1993), though its provenance and exact distribution remain mysterious. In standard grammar the world over, the adverbial *any more* occurs freely in negative contexts, as in *Mary doesn't listen to rock any more*. In a relatively small region, *any more* can also occur in a positive context, as in *John listens to rock a lot any more*. Positive *any more* is linguistically interesting for many reasons. Perceptually, it causes extraordinary comprehension problems for people whose grammars do not include it; the sentence above simply means that John listens frequently to rock nowadays and it includes the necessary implication that he formerly did not and the incidental implication that the speaker probably does not fully approve. (Even some speakers who are users of positive *any more* fail to recognize it in citation forms and misconstrue its meaning.)

Geographically, users of positive *any more* are plentiful in the United States in the Atlantic seaboard region of Pennsylvania, and they are found in decreasing numbers in the inland regions settled from there. In Canada, positive *any more* occurs sporadically in Southern Ontario speech and then much more sporadically across western Canada (Chambers 2008: 9-11). In other words, it occurs in the region settled by Loyalists, as described in § 2.3 above, and it was carried westward with the Ontario homesteaders, as described in §2.6 above. As such, it is a remarkable linguistic vestige of settlement history going back more than two centuries.

6. Semantics

Apart from the meanings associated with the grammatical constructions described above, CE offers little of linguistic interest in terms of indigenous semantics. In most respects, peculiar Canadian meanings share their peculiarities with America at large, thus underlining again the global split between North American and British varieties.

Most such Americanisms are well known: words like *store, sick, fix* and *guess* have generalized their meanings to include what the British mean by *shop, ill, repair* and *suppose*. Regional meanings are abundant in Newfoundland, as might be expected, with *fish* for *cod*, *ballicatter* for the icy fringe on a shoreline, *fiddler* for someone who plays the accordion, *horse's fart* for a puffball, and dozens more, all beautifully documented in Story, Kirwin and Widdowson (1982; for other provincial vocabularies, see Pratt 1988, Pratt and Burke 1998).

In nation-wide use but peculiarly Canadian are hundreds of words and uses which arise from Canadian predilections, including *deke* (to feint), *bang-bang* (quick, successive actions), *house league* (a group of teams housed in one arena), all from hockey, or 'ice hockey' as it is called outside Canada; *skunky* (for tainted beer), *salt* as a verb (to apply ice-remover to, as in *salt the steps*), and expressions such as *done like dinner* (utterly defeated) and *pinch of coonshit* (valueless). These meanings and numerous others are recorded, many for the first time, in the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary* (Barber 1998).

7. Media Use of English

Canada has a federally funded national broadcasting arm called the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), with both television and radio branches, including short-wave transmissions to Canadian military installations overseas. As a federal institution, the CBC is constitutionally bilingual. The form it takes is actually divided, with English-language and French-language (called Societé Radio-Canada) networks independent of one another under the aegis of the Ministry of Culture. Virtually all regions of the country can receive broadcasts in both languages. In addition, there are two private-enterprise national television networks, both English.

Newspapers use the language of their communities. For example, Toronto has three daily newspapers, all English, and Québec City has two, both French. Of the major cities in the French-English bilingual belt, Ottawa has three dailies, two English and one French, and Montréal has four, one English and three French. All major cities publish newspapers and broadcast in various immigrant languages as well as the official languages.

8. Literature in English

Canadian literary tradition is long and distinguished. One of the great English-language literary hits of the first half of the 19th century—an international bestseller before such a concept existed—was the work of Thomas Chandler Haliburton (1796-1865), a third-generation Canadian from Halifax who wrote eleven volumes of stories about an itinerant clock salesman in Nova Scotia in 1835-55. Haliburton's salesman, Sam Slick, was prized by readers in England, Scotland and the United States as well as Canada for his tall tales and worldly wisdom. Haliburton represented Slick's dialogue in a full-blown,

authentic Yankee accent, and the novelty of this literary dialect helped to usher in the use of dialect in fiction that culminated a few decades later in the work of Thomas Hardy and Mark Twain.

Linguistically, Haliburton's writings provide the fullest record available of pre-Confederation accent, and have thus attracted the attention of dialectologists (Bailey 1981, Avis 1969). A few other literary works have also attracted linguistic attention. Robert Traill Spence Lowell, brother of James Russell Lowell, wrote a novel *The New Priest of Conception Bay*, set in Newfoundland in 1858; Hiscock (1977) separates features used to represent the five accents of the book, including Newfoundland English and Newfoundland Anglo-Irish. Ralph Connor's rambling novels (1901-34) set in Glengarry County in eastern Ontario represent a mélange of accents in the Ottawa Valley setting; Pringle (1981) discusses Connor's method of representing dialect and puts the various accents in their historical places. Percy Janes's novel *House of Hate* represents the dialogue of four generations in non-standard Newfoundland English, which has been described linguistically by Shorrocks and Rodgers (1993).

Though Canadian literature was in thrall to British models in the 19th century, it grew progressively independent from then on. Canadian literary critics seem to believe that there is a distinctive Canadian voice in the country's mainstream literary tradition. Northrop Frye (1971: 132) said, 'No one who knows the country will deny that there is something, say an attitude of mind, distinctively Canadian, and while Canadian speech is American, there is a recognizable Canadian accent in the more highly organized speech of its poetry.' Such a claim is sociolinguistic if it has any meaning at all, and it could perhaps be elucidated or in some way concretized by linguistic evidence. That is not, however, a task that either linguists or literary critics seem inclined to take on. In Canada as elsewhere, applications of sociolinguistic methods to literature are largely untried.

The novel most readily cited as an emblem of Canada's French-English tensions is Hugh MacLennan's *Two Solitudes* (1945), which focuses on personal conflicts in Montréal, with battle lines clearly drawn on a linguistic plane. MacLennan's novel can be read as an attempt at dramatizing the ethnic and linguistic segregation within Montréal, which Lieberson (1965, 1970) charted sociologically about a quarter of a century later. But even the most sympathetic readers of *Two Solitudes* today are bound to notice that MacLennan's characters are dim stereotypes of a bygone era. They include Fr. Beaubien, a symbol of the reactionary Québec clergy: 'The priest envisioned the whole of French Canada as a seed-bed for God, a seminary of French parishes speaking the plain old French of their Norman forefathers, continuing the battle of the Counter-Reformation.' Huntly McQueen, the shadowy financier, stands for the *maudits anglais:* 'Being an Ontario Presbyterian, he had been reared with the notion that French-Canadians were an inferior people, first because they were Roman Catholic, second because they were French. Eighteen years of living in Montreal had modified this view, but only slightly.'

English in Canada, J.K. Chambers

The Beaubiens and the McQueens have long since disappeared if they ever existed. Even MacLennan renounced them in his last years. 'I found it the easiest book I ever wrote,' he said (Ross 1987), 'probably because I didn't know enough about the problems.' More abiding than the novel itself is the title's image of 'two solitudes,' which resonates in Canadian consciousness more deeply than the amateurish novel that coined it. The continuing retrenchment of the francophone population in the province of Québec (discussed in §1.3.5 above) brings with it the threat that the 'two solitudes' will become complete isolates unless the federal policy of bilingualism softens the provincial insularity.

Linguistic conflicts occupy modern Canadian novelists much more than class conflicts, which are the bedrock of fiction-writing in the traditions of most other nations. Social class is scarcely noticed in novels set in anglophone Canada, except for the early novels of Robertson Davies, which are unconvincingly Canadian anyway because they are so freighted with late-Victorian British conventions and pretensions. More common are tensions between nonstandard 'country' speakers and urban standard speakers. In *The Stone Angel* (1968), Margaret Laurence's first novel set in Manawaka, a fictitious region of Manitoba, both her main character Hagar Shipley and Hagar's husband Bram are native Manawakans but Bram is said to be 'common as dirt.' At one point (1968: 71), Bram says, 'Look, Hagar—this here one is half the price of that there one.' Hagar responds, 'This here. That there. Don't you know anything?' And Bram says, 'I talk the way I talk, and I ain't likely to change now.' In Ernest Buckler's *The Mountain and the Valley* (1952), set in the Annapolis Valley of Nova Scotia, half the continent away from Manawaka, the same conflict surfaces in dozens of incidents, as David Canaan, a young Werther in overalls, rails about the constraints imposed upon him by the backward Valley society though in the end he chooses to remain there. At one point, David attempts to run away by hitching a ride with some 'city folk' (1952: 169). Of his casual conversation during the ride, he muses, 'They were communicating with him. They were all talking as if they were all alike. He talked to them their way. There was nothing angular about their speech.' As David grows older, he notices the Valley changing around him (1952: 229): 'And the people lost their wholeness, the valid stamp of their indigenousness…. In their speech, (freckled with current phrases of jocularity copied from the radio), and finally in themselves, they became dilute.'

Both Laurence and Buckler were dramatizing the tensions that accompanied the urbanization of Canada in the first half of the 20th century, including the spread of the standard dialect. MacLennan dramatized the insularity of an urban area split by, among other things, two languages. These authors are not alone by any means, and Canadian literature offers a largely unexplored lode of social lore that might elucidate and to some extent validate the social implications of linguistic research in a nation where vastness and regionality make generalizations difficult.

9. Current Trends

The two immigration waves of the 20th century, as mentioned in §2.2 above, peaked around 1910 and 1960, but it is probably more realistic to think of them as one continuous immigration briefly interrupted by the two world wars. These immigrations effectively wiped out the Anglo-Celtic hegemony that was the heritage of the earlier immigrations. Nevertheless, the essential features of CE descend directly from the Loyalist base. The most obvious developments in the language in the last 30 or 40 years appear to augment it without altering its basic character.

As we have seen, the oldest vocabulary imported words from Inuits, Indians, and *coureurs de bois*. Most of those words were necessary because the word-stock of European languages provided no equivalents for the actions and objects they named. But this importation of words is not an isolated or strictly historical event. Exactly the same thing is happening today, for exactly the same reasons, and it is happening at an unprecedented rate.

The broader base of Canadian ancestry as a result of recent immigrations influences daily affairs in many ways. One of the more pervasive is gustatory. New foodstuffs require names, and most of them retain their 'foreign' name not just for convenience but also for the sake of fashion: caffe latte, cappuccino, vermicelli, linguini, and countless other items of Italian cuisine, salsa from Mexico, sushi and teriyaki from Japan, dim sum from China, souvlaki, saganaki, gyros, taramasalata, and other Greek items, shish kebab from Turkey, falafels and pita from the Middle East, and samosa and nan from India. In a few cases, loanwords from two or more different languages mean the same thing, and CE ends up with synonyms: hence brochette (from French), satay (from Indonesian), shish kebab (from Turkish) and souvlaki (from Greek) are all names for meat roasted on a skewer; smorgasbord (from Swedish) and buffet (from French) both name meals where diners serve themselves from a communal board. If the foreign names are considered too difficult to pronounce, descriptive terms are sometimes substituted: so sautéed *zhou dzi* (fried dumplings) are usually called pot-stickers in Chinese restaurants. As loanwords come into common use, they occur with CE phonology (gyros, for instance, sounds like 'heroes')¹³ and grammar (teriyaki is an *adjective* preceding nouns like steak or chicken, cappuccino is pluralized regularly as cappuccinos). From a historical viewpoint, by accommodating foreign words of all kinds, CE is simply perpetuating a venerable English tendency.

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[13] The English sound system does not contain the modern Greek consonant transliterated *g*, which means that CE speakers must improvise. Some pronounce *gyro* (roast meat on pita) with an initial /h/ (*hero*), others with an initial /j/ (as in *year*), while still others use /dʒ/ in a spelling pronunciation that rhymes with Cairo and is patterned on *gyration.*—Eds.

English in Canada, J.K. Chambers

That ancient tendency has never been exercised more vigorously than now, when the Canadian vocabulary—indeed, the vocabulary of every modern nation—is swelling more rapidly than ever with words from technology, medicine, international politics, and many other sources. Gigabyte, best-before dates, PMS, quark, glasnost, sexism, ageism, auto-immunity—these words and numerous others were coined recently, but they are already known and used in most parts of the world.

The adoption of words like these on an international scale is itself a recent linguistic phenomenon. Less than a century ago, technological and cultural innovations were much more likely to give rise to different (or partly different) vocabularies in widely separated places, as we saw in the distinctive British and American automobile vocabulary. The reason for the global spread of terms like these is the accessibility of formerly remote regions by modern communications.

Exactly the same kind of adoption is taking place at deeper structural levels as well, and for the same reason. Standard CE is undergoing changes in phonology and grammar so rapidly that there appears to be a headlong rush to re-form the language at the millennium. Using a method known as Dialect Topography for gathering sociolinguistic dialect data rapidly and efficiently (Chambers 1994), we have amassed enormously detailed information about CE in the 1990s (for instance, Chambers 1995, 1998b, Easson 1999, Chambers and Heisler 1999, Chambers 2000). In all the changes in progress we have charted, there is a common pattern. A form with a long history as a minor variant in CE comes into increasing use by younger speakers to the point where, for the youngest group, the teenagers, it has become not only the major variant but sometimes virtually the only form they use. Lexically, this is happening with the replacement of the Canadianism *chesterfield* by *couch* (Chambers 1995), and of *serviette* by *napkin*; phonetically, with the replacement of [ɛ] in the stressed syllable of *leisure* by [ij]; phonemically, with the replacement of [hw] by unaspirated [w] in words like *where*, *when* and *whale*, and the loss of yod [j] as an onset of the diphthongs in words like *duke*, *tune* and *news*;[14] morphologically, with the replacement of past tense forms *dived* and *sneaked* by *dove* and *snuck* (all the above, and more, are discussed in detail in Chambers 1998b). . . .

These and other changes have sometimes been attributed to the reshaping of CE based on the American model (for instance, Nylvek 1992, Clarke 1993, Woods 1993). Not surprisingly, American cultural and economic intrusion is a perpetual fear in Canada, and Canadians routinely attribute changes in Canadian culture and society to it, even in

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[14] In other words, more Canadians are saying *nooz* rather than *nyooz*, *toon* rather than *tyoon*, and so on.—Eds.

the absence of concrete evidence. Fuller information from the Dialect Topography project and other sources shows that attributing the CE changes to Americanization oversimplifies what is really happening. In coming to an understanding of the motivation for these considerable changes, the linguistic evidence leads us into a consideration of some of the cataclysmic social changes of our time.

10. The future

The main historical thrust of the last fifty years, in the broadest perspective, has been the compression of space and time. Rail and sea travel are supplanted by air travel and jet propulsion, postal and telegraph communication by fax and e-mail, gas and electrical cooking by microwave, radio and phonography by television and laser disk, abacuses and adding machines by calculators and computerized spreadsheets, short wave antennae by satellites, scalpels by laser beams, carbon copies by photocopies, linotype by photo-plates, stroboscopic motion pictures by virtual reality. In 1964, when Marshall McLuhan said that the world was becoming 'a global village,' his words had the ring of science fiction. Now, a few decades later, they seem very close to the literal truth.

Such global proximity will inevitably affect the way we speak. The consequences are not yet visible (or audible), but it is possible to project from discernible trends into the future. One likely result is that the various and different standard Englishes in Canada, the United States, England, Australia, Scotland, and elsewhere will someday be superseded by an accent that is somehow neutral with respect to all of them. Sociolinguists are beginning to understand some of the necessary conditions that would give rise to an oceanic English.

On the one hand, we know for certain that accents are not transmitted by mass media. Listeners or viewers can be exposed to endless hours of speech on radio or television without significantly changing their own accents or grammars (Chambers 1998d). They may adopt some vocabulary items, and they may develop a tolerance for the media accent and even an admiration for the users of the accent, but they still sound like themselves. For that reason, Newfoundlanders in the outports, for instance, have retained their indigenous accents after more than fifty years of hearing mainland accents daily on the CBC.[15]

On the other hand, we know for certain that accents are altered by face-to-face interactions between peers. People who move from one end of the country to the other come to sound—more or less—like their new work-mates or playmates. Their proficiency in the new accent is determined partly by age. For people over 14, the

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[15] See Gerard Van Herk, Becky Childs and Jennifer Thorburn, "Identity Marking and Affiliation in an Urbanizing Newfoundland Community," this volume, for the varying effects of changing social conditions on outport accents.—Eds.

English in Canada, J.K. Chambers

adopted accent will always be less than perfect, so that they will never sound exactly like natives even though they come to sound quite unlike the people they moved away from; for people under seven, their adopted accent will sound just like the natives; and for people in between seven and 14 it is impossible to predict how fluent they will become. The inception of an oceanic English depends, therefore, upon close interaction among young people, and for that to happen the globe will have to become even smaller.

The global standard may be some years off, but one of its harbingers is already discernible. It appears that at the beginning of the 21st century there is a new continental standard coming into being in North America. Some of the changes in CE noted in the preceding section appear to be motivated by the formation of the new standard. CE is participating along with every other region of the North American continent in the shaping of a superordinate standard dialect.

There are at least four clear indications that this is what is happening, all of them copiously supported by age-correlated data on specific variables from a large, representative population (Chambers 1998b: 31-33).

First, the variants that are on the rise in Canada are sometimes associated with American English but they have had some currency in CE as far back as the historical record goes. Three changes that incontrovertibly favour American variants are the lexical replacements *couch* and *napkin* and the /i:/-variant of *leisure*. Other variants on the rise are not endemically American by any definition. Though the international ascendancy of *snuck* is not documented, it is apparently gaining ground outside North America as well as inside. Yod-dropping and WH-loss, beyond any doubt, are on the increase virtually everywhere English is spoken and in all the standard accents except Scots. These changes in CE are no more American-based than are the same changes taking place right now in, say, New Zealand or England.

Second, some of the American variants that are increasing in Canada are also increasing in American regions as well. In the replacement of *dived* by *dove*, for instance, young Canadians are adopting the form that is used by Americans across the border from Canada in New York state. But on closer consideration it becomes clear that in doing so they are not choosing *the* American variant. Exactly the same change is taking place in Texas English and other southern American varieties (Bernstein 1994), where *dove* never occurred before. The younger Texans are replacing *dived* with *dove* as the past tense form of the verb exactly as the young Canadians are. So Texas English and Canadian English are both adopting a variant that was formerly a minor one. In doing so, Canada is no more 'Americanizing' than is Texas.

Third, other variables with long-standing status as American-Canadian shibboleths

appear to be persisting without any change whatever. The stable and venerable American-Canadian distinctions include, for instance, pronunciation differences such as the past tense *shone* with /o/ (as in *bone*) in the United States and /ɑ/ (as in Shawn) in Canada and *vase* with /ɑ/ (as in Oz) in Canada and /e:/ (as in *days*) in the States, and lexical differences such as Canadian *running shoes* for American *sneakers* and Canadian *tap* for American *faucet*. So far, we have identified eight pronunciation differences and five lexical differences that are persisting with no sign of change at the border (Easson 1999). The Canadian-American border remains a dialect boundary.

Fourth, some of the changes spreading in North America are exactly contrary to Americanization. Instead, some endemically Canadian features are on the rise in American regions. . . . Most notably, the merger of the low back vowels /ɑ/ and /ɔ/ is spreading rapidly in the United States, as discussed in §3 above. The spread of these features could lead someone to conclude that American English is Canadianizing, but we know better. In reality, they are converging.

As the North American standard language takes shape, the old regionalisms remain to some extent: varieties such as Southern, Northern, New England, Texas and Canadian remain identifiable by the presence and persistence of certain features. On top of those regional standards is a new variety or at least a developing variety in which a set of variants is shared or coming to be shared across a large region. That region apparently covers the continent, and it may spread much further. It appears that the new standard will be marked by a constellation of features from several North American varieties. Some of them will be Northern features like *dove* for *dived*, but not all of them will be. Because mergers are favored in linguistic changes, the low back vowel merger—standard in Canada since the beginning of the historical record—will be one of them.

These features and others are regularizing across a large area in North America presumably under the influence of increased mobility that brings people from disparate regions into face-to-face contact with unprecedented frequency. The changes in CE appear to be adjustments similar to those that are reshaping many middle-class varieties in North America.

Now that Canada has become post-colonial both historically and spiritually, CE is likely to undergo a great many linguistic changes. They will come not only from global networking. Modern technology extends our reach around the globe, but in another sense the globe has come to Canada. The largest cities and towns are cosmopolitan; they make neighbours of people of diverse creeds and colours. The majority of the Canadian population no longer traces its ancestry to either the Loyalists or the British Isles. The integration of diverse peoples into the social fabric will have subtle effects just as the integration of the Scots and English did in the 1850s.

English in Canada, J.K. Chambers

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Appendix: Map of Canada

Map of Canada—showing the ten provinces and three territories, with the largest metropolitan areas and cities

Toronto Downtown circa 1910 (Toronto Public Library Collection)

The Name *Canada:* An Etymological Enigma[1]

Mark M. Orkin

In the year 1883, one E. A. Freeman, recalling his travels through North America, gave Canada a back-handed accolade:

> The truth is, that the great land of the United States has not yet got a name, a real local name, like England or France, or even like Canada or Mexico.... The want of a real name for the land, and the awkwardness to which one is driven for lack of it, struck me at every turn in my American travels. The thought even sometimes occurred, What if the name of New England, a name surely to be cherished on every ground had spread over the whole Union? It would have been better than nothing; but a real geographical name would be better still.[2]

The name *Canada*, inevitable and pre-eminently suitable as it now seems, was the subject of considerable debate at and prior to the time of Confederation. Among many alternatives names suggested for the new country were *Tupona* or *Tuponia*, drawn from the initial letters of The United Provinces of North America and on the same principle, *Efisga*, an acrostic of England, France, Ireland, Scotland, Germany and Aborigines. Other scarcely less likely suggestions included *Transatlantia, Transylvania, Canadensia, Vesperia, Mesopelagia* and *Aquilonia*. Loyalty to the Queen and her late consort inspired the portmanteau word *Albertoria* and such neologisms as *Victoralia, Alexandrina, Victorialand* and *Albertsland*. Of equally patriotic inspiration were *British North America, Western Britannia, Britannia West, Britannica, Albona, Albionora* and *New Albion*. Names evoking Canadian history were also somewhat favoured, among them *Cabotia, Acadia, Hochelaga, Laurentia* and *Niagarentia*; but there were few supporters for *Colonia* to indicate a union of colonies, or such names of more abstract conception as *Ursulia*, *Borealia*, *Superior* and *Norland*.[3]

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[1] This account of the name *Canada* is excerpted from Mark M. Orkin's book *Speaking Canadian English: An Informal Account of the English Language in Canada* (Toronto: General Publishing, 1970), pp. 159-164.—Eds.

[2] E.A. Freeman, *Some Impressions of the United States*, New York, 1883, pp. 31-32, quoted in Joseph Jones, "Hail, Fredonia!" *American Speech*, 1934, p. 12.

[3] These are garnered from Isabel Skelton, "The Name 'Canada,'" *The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Art and Literature*, 1921, pp. 312-314. See also Ivan Velyhors'kyj, *The Term and Name 'Canada,'* Winnipeg, 1955.

There was probably never any real danger that such confections would be taken seriously, for the name *Canada* had a prior claim of very long standing.[4] "It first appears in the narratives of Jacques Cartier in 1534," says the *Encyclopedia Canadiana*, "when it seems to have reference to the Indian community of Stadacona."[5] According to Robert's map of 1638, it was applied to the St. Lawrence River, and later became the popular name for the colony of New France as distinct from *Acadie* or *Acadia*, which comprised what are now the Maritime Provinces and parts of Quebec and Maine. The name *Acadie* itself, which became current after 1604, was almost certainly a misreading of the earlier designation *Larcadie* appearing on Gestaldi's map of 1584.

After the cession of Quebec to England, its official name was "The Province of Quebec" but, such is the persistence of old geographical names, the name *Canada* continued in popular use. When, by the Constitutional Act of 1791, the old Province of Quebec was separated at the Ottawa River, the two new provinces were called *Upper Canada*, now Ontario, and *Lower Canada*, now Quebec, collectively often referred to as *The Canadas*. The Act of Union of 1840 joined them again as the Province of Canada, composed of Canada East and Canada West, although according to contemporary accounts these names never caught on. Samuel Phillips Day in *English America: or Pictures of Canadian Places and People* noted that as late as 1864 the new designations were scrupulously avoided both in legal documents and by the public at large in favour of the older names. Any question of nomenclature was permanently settled by the British North America Act of 1867, which decreed: "It shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the advice of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, to declare by Proclamation that, on and after a Day therein appointed, not being more than Six Months after the passing of this Act, the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shall form and be One Dominion under the name of Canada; and on and after that Day those Three Provinces shall form and be One Dominion under that Name accordingly."

It was fitting that the Province of Canada in passing out of existence should confer its name on the new Dominion, being not merely the name of the largest and most populous of the provinces entering Confederation but also that by which the central territory had been known long before the fall of Quebec. For many years after Confederation, the official designation was *The Dominion of Canada* although that phrase nowhere appears in the British North America Act.[6] At the time of the Second

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[4] As Thomas D' Arcy McGee remarked: "One individual chooses Tuponia and another Hochelaga, as a suitable name for the new nationality. Now I would ask any member of this House how he would feel if he woke up some fine morning and found himself, instead of a Canadian, a Tuponian or a Hochelagander": *Confederation Debates*, February 9, 1865.

[5] *Enclyclopedia Canadiana*, Toronto, 1966, vol. 2, p. 182.

[6] Sir Leonard Tilley is usually credited with having derived *dominion* from Psalms, 72, 8: "He shall have dominion also from sea to sea." Whence also the legend on the Canadian Coat of Arms: *A mari usque ad mare*. However, the phrase "His Majesty's Dominion in

World War, there was some agitation for the suppression of the word *Dominion* on the theory that it had a subservient connotation, and the then Government quietly dropped it, to the periodically recurring displeasure of some native Anglophiles who draw what comfort they can from the fact that Sir John A. Macdonald wanted to call the new nation "The Kingdom of Canada."[7]

The origin of the name *Canada,* which long perplexed historians and philologists, has given birth to a number of intriguing theories. Of these, the most fanciful relates that the early Spanish explorers, finding only ice and snow instead of the fabled wealth of the Indies, exclaimed in disgust "*Aca nada!*"—"Here nothing!" This expression was supposedly treasured by the Indians and repeated to later French voyageurs who concluded that it was the name of the country. The view of a majority of commentators, however, has long been that the name derives from the Indian word *kanata* meaning a village or collection of huts, the theory being that as Jacques Cartier's fleet of two small ships ascended the St. Lawrence the Indians pointed to their settlements saying "kanata," which from its repetition the French took to be the name of the entire country.

A. Marshall Elliott set out long ago to demolish this theory on philological grounds, pointing out that Cartier had appended a list of Indian words to the narrative of his discoveries in which he correctly set down the meaning of *kanata* as village, with no suggestion that from this word had come the name of "la terre et province de Canada."[8] From this and a considerable weight of philological evidence, Elliott concluded that Cartier found the name *Canada* already in existence when he arrived at Stadacona in 1535. In Elliott's view, *Canada* is a Spanish or Portuguese adjective used as a noun, comparable to *Florida* (*terra florida*) and *Barbada* (*ihla barbada*). The Spanish word *cañada*, Elliott further noted, is the term for a glade, and is in wide use in Argentina to signify the fertile reed-grown banks of a river. Its earliest application to Canada was not in reference to the country as a whole but only to a single province lying along the banks of the St. Lawrence. The Spanish origin of the word was further suggested by the existence, according to Elliott, of some fifty places in Spain bearing

British North America" was used as early as 1858 by Sir Edmund Head: Robert M. Hamilton, *Canadian Quotations and Phrases*, Toronto, 1952, p.63.

[7] The term *Kingdom of Canada* was originally used in 1822 by Sir John Beverley Robinson, Chief Justice of Upper Canada, and one of the pillars of the Family Compact. It was adopted by Sir John A. Macdonald in a handwritten draft of the B.N.A. Act, 1867, but was dropped, according to Macdonald, "at the instance of Lord Derby, then [1867] foreign minister, who feared [that the] name would wound the sensibilities of the Yankees": Robert M. Hamilton, *Canadian Quotations and Phrases*, p. 23.

[8] The various and conflicting theories are dealt with by this early student of Canadian linguistics: A. Marshall Elliott, "Origin of the Name 'Canada,'" *Modern Language Notes*, 1888, pp. 327-345. See also J.G. Bourinot, "Canadian Historic Names," *Canadian Monthly*, 1875, pp. 289-300.

"this characteristically generic designation" as well as seven places on the map of France with the same name, notably an elevated promontory above Fécamp (Seine-Inférieure), which has borne this name "de temps immémorial."

This theory of an Iberian origin for the name *Canada* is not without some precedent. When the French first arrived on the eastern coast of America, they found a great many places bearing Spanish or Portuguese names, since they had been anticipated in their travels by explorers from both these countries. Thus *Newfoundland* was first known as *Terra Nova do Bacalhao* from the codfish which abounded in its waters, and *Labrador*, originally *Terra Cortterealis*, a name given to that coast by Cortereal, was later called *Terra de Labrador* or *Laborador*, a name of obscure origin.[9]

Elliott's theory has been called in question largely because it failed to show how a Spanish word came to be in common use among Aboriginal people who had seen practically nothing of Spaniards.[10] Given the difficulty of supplanting an old geographical name among Indian tribes little accustomed to change, it seems improbable that a few visits by Spanish navigators, even if they had penetrated so far up the St. Lawrence, would be sufficient to revolutionize the traditional name of a district; nor does the name *Canada* appear on any early Spanish maps of the area. Ivan Velyhors'kyj, one of a group of Ukrainian students of onomastics dwelling in western Canada, lists three theories about the origin of the name *Canada:* first, that it is of local, probably Iroquois, origin and was applied, it would appear indiscriminately, to the country east of Lake Ontario, the St. Lawrence River, the Montreal district, a settlement, and so on; second, that it is of European, probably Spanish or Portuguese origin—or possibly French; third, that it is of Oriental origin, being either imported from the East Indies or selected to honour the Hindu philosopher Kanada.[11] There seems to be no evidence to support the

[9] Formerly the name *Labrador* was thought to derive from "the adaptability of the natives for labour." See J.G. Bourinot, "Canadian Historical Names," *Canadian Monthly*, 1875, pp. 289-300, who added: "Labrador--Laboratoris Terra--is undoubtedly so called from the fact that Cortereal stole from the country some fifty-seven natives, whom he described in a letter to the Venetian Ambassador at Lisbon, as well-fitted for slaves: 'They are extremely fitted to endure labour and will probably turn out the best slaves which have been discovered up to this time.'" This theory, although repeated by Eloise Lambert and Mario Pei in *The Book of Place Names*, New York, 1959, p. 83, is no longer given credence by serious students of toponymy. M. A. Buchanan, "Notes on Portuguese Place Names in North-Eastern America," in *Estudios Hispanicos Homenaje, a Archer M. Huntingdon*, Wellesley, Mass., pp. 99-104, suggests that the name recalls Joao Fernandes, an Azorean landowner or *laborador* in the service of Bristol. This view is consonant with an inscription on the Wolfenbuttel map of 1534: see *Encyclopedia Canadiana*, 1966, vol. 6, p. 32.
[10] Walter Bell Scaife, *America's Geographical History, 1492-1892,* Baltimore, 1892, pp. 83-88.
[11] Ivan Velyhors'kyj, *The Term and Name 'Canada,'* Winnipeg, 1955. A concise review of some of the theories may be found in *A Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles*, Toronto, 1967.

last of these, and most commentators are divided between the first two with the weight of opinion on the whole favouring the former.

The *Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles* traces the use of *Canadian* back to 1664.[12] At that time, the word *Canadian* referred exclusively to Aboriginal inhabitants of Canada. By 1746, there is evidence that "a Canadian" might also be a native of French Canada, and, by 1792, the meaning had extended to include the English-speaking residents of Upper Canada.   The word *Canadian*, as W.D. Lighthall long ago pointed out, is taken in its present form from the French: "In a translation of Lahontan's *Travels* dated 1763 the English form used is 'Canadans.' Lahontan again, following others, applies 'Canadiens' like 'Canadois' in the Jesuit *Rélations* only to Indians of the country; thence it became the designation of all the French natives of this continent, including those of Louisiana; and now the native British residents enthusiastically accept the name."[13] Lighthall also noted the dual pronounciation, "one 'Canadians;' the other less musical but older [and possibly French influenced]— 'Canajans.'" A traveller in 1840 observed that the name of the country was then pronounced "Kaugh-na-daugh," suggesting an English pronunciation similar to the French.[14]

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[12] *A Dictionary of Canadiansims on Historical Principles,* Toronto, 1967.
[13] W.D. Lighthall, *"Canadian English," The Week* (Toronto), August 16, 1889, pp. 581-583; and see H.L. Mencken, *"*Names for Americans*," American Speech,* 1947, p. 248.
[14] [Henry Cook Todd] *Notes upon Canada and the United States from 1832 to 1840,* Toronto, 1840, p. 160.

The Name *Canada*, Mark Orkin

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A ribbon-like North America—its depth yet unknown to Europeans—is labelled **Baccalearum**, Realm of the Codfish, on this detail from a 1544 map of the world by Peter Apian ("Charta Cosmographica," National Library of Australia Digital Maps).

Canadian English (1857)[1]

The Reverend A. Constable Geikie

It is a growing opinion that the English tongue is destined to become, for many purposes at least, the language of the world. But supposing such an extension of our vernacular to be probable, will the world speak "English undefiled," or English very defiled indeed? I know nothing of the tendencies in Australia, New Zealand, or at the Cape; but certainly, the English we often hear spoken, and see written, in the United States and Canada, is by no means an improvement on the original. That the American retains some obsolete words, or uses current words in obsolete ways, cannot fairly be objected to,[2] though the very same reasons justify the language of modern Quakerism.[3] But this process will account for a small fraction of the peculiarities of his language. He is daily inventing words which are neither English in character, nor needed to supply any deficiency in the language; and even where peculiar circumstances may make such a coinage, or such perversion of words from their primary significance pardonable, the circumstances are continually disregarded, and they are applied in cases where no such need exists, to the exclusion of the proper phrase, and to the injury of the language.

Canada inevitably partakes of the same influences. Her language is largely affected by such lawless and vulgar innovations. New words are coined for ourselves by a process similar to that which calls them into being in the neighbouring States; still more, they are imported by travellers, daily circulated by American newspapers, and eagerly incorporated into the language of our Provincial press. The result is that, with that alacrity at sinking which belongs to human nature, we are in a fair way of appropriating what is worthless in the word coinage of our neighbours, in addition to all which our peculiar position may generate among ourselves.

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[1]A. Constable Geikie, a Presbyterian minister and writer, immigrated to Canada from Scotland in 1843 at age 22. He read this paper before the Canadian Institute on March 28, 1857; it was published in the same year in the *Canadian Journal of Science, Literature, and History,* pp. 344-55. Geikie is thought to be the first scholar to name and describe "Canadian English."—Eds.

[2] Early British immigrants to North America brought some words (e.g., *gotten,* past participle of *get*) that subsequently fell into disuse in Standard British English. —Eds.

[3] When the Quaker movement began, in the 17th century, *ye* was a plural pronoun as well as a singular form used to show respect (cf. *vous* in contemporary French). *Thou* was used only with those of those of equal or lesser rank (cf. *tu* in French)*.* Being adamantly egalitarian, Quakers avoided *ye* singular and used *thou* with everyone. By the end of the 18th century, *you* had become the all-purpose 2nd person pronoun in Standard British English, but many Quakers continued to address others as *thee* and *thou* throughout the 19th century. — Eds.

It is not necessary to attempt any methodic classification of words or phrases; the purpose of this paper will be sufficiently accomplished by noticing a few of the most characteristic novelties as they occur to me. Neither shall I make any distinction between obsolete words and modern inventions. It is enough if it can be shown that words, unrecognized by good authors, are daily used; that words duly recognized are used in improper ways; or that extraordinary creations, and combinations of letters and phrases, are extensively circulated without supplying a recognized want, or contributing in any sense to the enrichment of the language. To refer, then, to a few examples of such transatlantic innovations on the English language: when Englishmen wish to mark their sense of the services of some public personage, by a suitable testimonial, they are said to *give* or *present* something to him, and the thing so *given* or *presented* is called a *gift* or *present*. But with us it is becoming fashionable to speak of such a gift as a *donation*, and still more of a thing *donated*. A minister is, with peculiar delicacy, dragged up before two or three hundred people and, a band of music, to receive a *present* from his congregation, of a horse, it may be, or a purse of money--and this gift, dubbed a *donation*, is *donated* to him at what is called a *donation-meeting*. Webster says, that *donation* is usually applied to things of more value than *presents;* but while such may be true in the States, I have known it applied here to a basket of musty cakes. I suppose that *donation* has a certain meaning in law. Its most ordinary English application is to a single gift in money, in contra-distinction to the periodical payments of a fixed sum as subscription. When applied to a *present,* public or private, I apprehend such an application of the term has its origin in mere pomposity. The language stands in need of no such expression so long as we have our old Saxon *gift*.

In England, when one man accommodates another with the use of money for a time, he lends it. The sum is called a *loan*, but he who provides it is said to *lend* or to have *lent*. Here, however, it is becoming usual to speak of having *loaned* to another. Webster says that *to loan* is rarely used in England, and I may say that I never heard it there. What advantage then does it possess over the more familiar form of the verb that it should supersede it here? Surely the phrase "money to lend," is sufficiently intelligible. To talk of *loaning* money, would suggest to an unsophisticated Englishman, the idea of some unknown process at the mint.

Again, let a clergyman study his sermon, a professor his lecture, a member of Parliament his speech, or a merchant the state of the markets and the rate of exchange: an educated or uneducated Englishman would probably say, "*the man is master* of his subject," and than this, more need not and cannot be said. In the States and Canada, however, a new phrase is current. A member of our Assembly makes a luminous speech, say about that great *institution* of modern civilization, the gallows-- and writers forthwith remark that "he is *posted-up* on it." A Professor of Anatomy gives a lecture on some abstruse branch of his department of medical education, and his admiring pupils exclaim that "he is well *posted-up* on his subject." A metaphysician once more grapples with the old problem how many angels can stand on the point of a

needle, and he, too is *posted-up* on it." A clergyman is *posted-up* in theology, a blacksmith in iron, a milliner in crinoline, a mother in nursery government, and an undertaker in the art of "performing" funerals, and coffining his customers. But, while ledgers may and should be "posted," it has not hitherto been the English practise to treat men so, unless they be black-legs.[4]

A man in England possesses notable capacity, and people style him *capable*, or *able*, or *great*. In Canada he is designated *first-class*. To speak of a *first-class* carriage, or a *first-class* prize, or even a *first-class* ox, may be right enough, but why apply phrases with such poor associations to men of splendid intellect? Is it not enough that a man be *great?* Will he seem any greater when indissolubly associated with a railway van? The originators of such expressions no doubt thought so, but if the victim of such a nick name be what it is supposed to imply, he will not thank his admirers for the compliment.

A man in Britain buys a house, or farm, and it is said *in*, or more precisely, *situated in* such a street, or district, or county. Here, nobody or thing is *situated* anywhere; all are *located*. Our farms, our houses, our congregations, our constituencies, all are *located*. We admire a mansion occupying a healthy, or commanding site, and we are told that "the *location* is good"; a clergyman is congratulated on his incumbency, which is styled a comfortable *location;* and so on *ad infinitum*. To *locate* is a purely technical term, belonging to land-surveyors and their profession, and it is difficult to perceive any gain to the language by its application being extended beyond its original technical significance.

Ask an Englishman how much he has accomplished of a given work, and he will reply if getting on well, "a good deal." Ask the same question in our own colony, and if in a like position, the answer will be, "*considerable*." Now, *considerable* means, "worthy of consideration." Thus: "a man has a *considerable* fortune." We can understand when, in answer to the question, "How are you getting on with your mathematics?" the student replies *considerable*, or, still more elegantly, "considerable much." He means to say, "very well" and it is to be regreted that he should not say so. Or to give another specimen of the novel mode of applying this word *considerable,* a newspaper editor recently illustrating by comparison the telegraph-cable designed to unite Canada with the States, by being laid in the bed of the River St. Clair, from Detroit to the Canadian shore, says of it: "It is larger by considerable than the Atlantic submarine cable."

A man *concludes* a bargain, and he *resolves* on a certain course of action. A man also comes *to a conclusion* after having considered a matter. But there is a difference between coming to a conclusion and resolving. To do the former, merely implies that he has formed an opinion, to do the latter implies that he has determined on a course of

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[4] To be *posted* or *posted up* as a *black-legs* is to be publicly denounced as a "turf swindler," a cheat at the horse races. —Eds.

Canadian English (1857), A. Constable Geikie

action. So we understand it, and so the words are used in English literature. But it is becoming common in Canada to confound *conclude* and *resolve,* and to speak of conclusions when resolutions are intended. Thus, "I conclude to go," is put for, "I have *resolved* or made up my mind to go"; surely a very needless confusion of ideas or vocables.

A *territory* is defined by Webster[5] to be "a tract of land belonging to, or under the dominion of a prince or state, lying at a distance from the parent country, or from the seat of government." It is also used for the *whole lands* belonging to any kingdom or state. On this continent, it is often applied in its first signification, thus, "the *territory* of Wisconsin," and indicates then, either all the lands of a state or nation, or certain distant or outlying possessions. *Region* and *district* again indicate a portion only of a kingdom, province, or territory. But a *district* may indicate a very minute portion of a state, county, or even of a city; whereas a *region* describes so wide an extent of country, as almost to be synonymous with that word. Beginning, then, with the former, we say *district* means the smallest measure, *territory* a large measure, and *region* the largest of all. But in the States and Canada, the three words are often confounded; *territory* is put for *region*, and *region* for *district*, until neither word has any exact or specific meaning left. It is inevitable, indeed, in a new country, settled under peculiar circumstances, so different from those of the mother country, that new terms should be devised. Hence our Gores, Townships, Concessions, broken-fronts, water-lots, &c. But all of these are definite, universally understood with the same significance, and so contribute to the precision of language, instead of detracting from it, and as such, some of them at least, will be permanently incorporated into the English language.

People who speak English, say of a jury when it returns to court, and expresses its judgment, that "it *renders* its verdict," and this act is called "the *rendering* of a verdict," or technically "a finding." All this appears intelligible, and we are slow to imagine anything plainer. But people who, whatever their shortcomings, try to speak the language of Swift and Addison, are little aware of the progress of the age. With many among us, juries never *render* verdicts, but make *rendition* of them; and such, in lieu of speaking of a *finding* or *rendering*, refer to what they style a *rendition*, a mode of expression which, whatever it may be, is not English in such a connection. There is such a word as *rendition*, but it means *surrender* or *yielding possession*, it is a diplomatic, or law term, more than anything else. Let us apply the true meaning of the word to the action of a jury. Thus, "The jury returned to court in the course of half-an-hour, and surrendered or yielded possession of their verdict." I submit that such bodies of men give, or express, but do not *surrender* opinions. Indeed, one would like to know how any man could surrender an opinion? A man may make *rendition* of his property,

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[5] Noah Webster, in his *American Dictionary of the English Dictionary* (1st edition, 1828), rewrote and supplemented existing British dictionary definitions of English words to reflect American meanings. Webster's implicit acceptance of the divergence of Amercian English from British disturbed even some of his fellow American patriots. — Eds.

but he only *expresses* his sentiments. As the men of Derry said, so say I, "no surrender." But the most absurd use of this abused word may be illustrated by its mode of introduction in a newspaper notice of a concert recently given in Toronto. The writer seems to have been pleased with some tune, and he accordingly speaks of "the beauty of its *rendition*." Musical people do speak in a certain sense of "*rendering* tunes," but the author of this critique has the honour of originating the idea of a tune being capable of *rendition*. The unsophisticated reader would be sorely tempted to ask how in all the world a man could *surrender* a tune?[6] Doing so implies a measure of coercion. But can a singer be forced to sing, or even, having done so, does he thereby surrender the tune? By force you may take the notes out of his hand, but how can you take them out of his throat?

In England it occasionally happens that great offenders are *hanged*, but in the States and Canada, criminals are never *hanged;* they are all *hung*. In England, beef is *hung*, gates are *hung*, and curtains are *hung*, but felons are *hanged;* in Canada, felons, beef, gates, and curtains are all treated in the same way.

But our English is not only wayward and independent, it is also so exceedingly modest, that we are in danger, not only of altering our vernacular, but of forgetting how our bodies are constructed. If we know anything of English conversation or letters, we speedily find out, even if stone-blind, that British men and women have both arms and legs. But in Canada, a stranger who could not see, would find it difficult to discover much about our conformation. He would learn that both sexes had *limbs* of some sort, but from any information which our language would give, he could not tell whether their *limbs* were used to stand on or hold by.[7]

Among British domestic fowls there are many styled *gallinaceous;* and among these are cocks and hens, male and female. But a blind naturalist could never fancy that we have the same distinctions in Canada. He would, indeed learn that we have hens; but he would wonder in vain what had become of their mates. That there existed an unknown creature called a *rooster,* he would early discover, but unless he made particular enquiry, he might return after a year's residence among us, thoroughly convinced that there were no cocks in the province. Still greater, perhaps, would be his surprise, on making the discovery, to learn that in using the old familiar English name for the hero of the barn-yard, he had been using a very immodest word. This sort of thing is preeminently disgusting, and speaks ill, not merely for the taste, but for the morals of those with whom such a refinement originated. In Canada, such a garment as trowsers is unknown. What do we wear? Pantaloons is the reply; or more familiarly *pants,* with

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[6] Although Geikie accepts two meanings of the verb *to render,* "to hand over or surrender" and "to repeat (something learned), to recite" (*Oxford English Dictionary*), he associates the derived noun form, *rendition,* only with the first meaning. — Eds.

[7] The word *leg* was unmentionable in certain social circles in 19th century North America. — Eds.

Canadian English (1857), A. Constable Geikie

the feminine elegancy *pantalets!* But is this the fact? Certainly it is not. At least it has never been my fortune to meet with one in this country who wore them. Pantaloons are an article of dress, out of fashion for fifty years. In more familiar vernacular they were wont to be called skin-tights, and while answering a similar purpose, are very different from trowsers in their shape.[8] The origin of such a misnomer is sufficiently obvious. Such prudish euphemisms are by no means peculiar to Canada or the States. They find their complete parallel in the English synonyms: *unmentionables* or *inexpressibles*, and the like familiar shibboleths of immodest prudery, which belong exclusively to no class or county, but are none the less to be avoided by all who would regulate their mode of thought and expression by purity and true refinement.

In England, good housewives and the lieges at large, are sometimes horrified by the apparition of a loathsome insect, yclept a *bug*. Gardeners also find creatures of the same *genus* on their plants, and zoologists are familiar with numerous varieties of them. But, however great the variety, and however diverse the habits of different *species*, few words associated with insect life are so universally avoided, or are, from certain associations, more revolting than this monosyllable. And yet, we hear people on this side of the Atlantic, who, to say the least of it, are quite as familiar with this insect-pest as those on the other, -- applying this nauseous title to the beautiful firefly which makes our fields so glorious on a warm summer night. Canadians call it the "lightning-*bug!*" Here, we have, not simply an abuse of language, but a breach of good taste, which it might be thought no person of refinement could ever perpetrate. As well might they dignify a vase of sweetly scented roses by making it share with the offensive and suffocating missile occasionally employed in naval warfare, the euphonious epithet of "stink-pot!" Moreover as this term *bug* is universally employed both in Canada and the States as a synonym for *insect*, the further result is a loss of precision, such as, in the commonest use of terms at home, discriminates at once between a fly, a beetle, and a grub. In England the term *fly* also applied occasionally to a light vehicle, and it is on the same principle I presume that a four wheeled gig receives here the elegant name of *buggy!*

Turning again to another class of words; there is a curious disposition manifested among our manufacturers of improved English, to convert our regular into irregular verbs, for the sake of gaining what some modern grammarians have styled the strong preterite. In England, when a swimmer makes his first leap, head foremost, into the water he is said to *dive*, and is spoken of as having *dived*, in accordance with the ordinary and regular construction of the verb. Not so however, is it with the modern refinements of our Canadian English. In referring to such a feat here, it would be said,

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[8] For Geikie, *pantaloons* or *pants* were probably "tight trousers fastened with ribbons or buttons below the calf or (later) with straps passing under the boots, which superseded knee-breeches and became fashionable amongst men in the late 18th and early 19th cent" (*OED*). *Pants* in contemporary British English is underwear; thus, Canadians who make nonchalent reference to their pants are likely to raise eyebrows in Britain. — Eds.

not that he *dived*, but that he *dove*. Even Longfellow makes use of this form, -- so harsh and unfamiliar to English ears, -- in the musical measures of his Hiawatha:--

> "Straight into the river Kwasind
> Plunged as if he were an otter,
> *Dove* as if he were a beaver," &c.

As we say drive, drove, driven, we may look for the completion of the verb to *dive*, on its new model, and find the next poet's hero having "*diven* as if he were a beaver" or any other amphibious native of the new world. Though as yet unsanctioned by such classic authority, the verb *to give* not unfrequently assumes among us the past form of *he guv, rose* becomes *ris*, *chid -- chode*, *delved -- dolve*, *helped -- holp*, or *holped*, *swelled -- swoll*, &c. Yet so lawless and systemless are the changes, that, along with such alterations, which might seem to aim at a universal creation of strong preterites, we have the process reversed, and *froze* becomes *freezed* or *friz*, *felt-feeled*, &c. That some of these are as yet mere vulgarisms is not to be denied, but when the older examples receive the sanction of the highest literary authorities we may reasonably dread that the adoption of the remainder is a mere question of time.

When an Englishman speaks at random or without sufficient authority, he *guesses*. When he expresses an opinion, he *thinks*. *Guess* and *think* are not synonyms, but refer to two opposite states of mind. Far otherwise is it in the neighbouring republic, and with too many here; for, with Americans and their imitators, *guess* and *think* have an identical signification, A "Clear-grit" *guesses* that the person beside him who does not spit on the floor, is a tory and a contemptible aristocrat, while a tobacco-moistening "Hoosier" *guesses,* and for like reasons, that a Boston merchant must be a federalist. Now if they only knew it, neither of these discerning and refined individuals *guesses* at all. Contrariwise, each feels confident in the matter pronounced upon. The general conduct of the persons of whom they thus judge, together with the subdued action of their salivary glands, has satisfied both that the political tendencies of the others must be the antithesis of their own. They are in *no uncertainty*, and a *guess* is impossible. The ordinary American use of this word justly subjects its users to ridicule, unless the precision which our English tongue once boasted of is no longer a feature worth preserving.

But a volume might be written about the evils glanced at here. In closing this paper, therefore, I can only indicate a few more of the indigenous elegancies which are already meeting with such general acceptance, and thereby corrupting, not simply the speech of the Province, but such literature as we have. It cannot, we fear, be justly affirmed that such expressions as the following are so entirely confined to the vulgar and uneducated as to be undeserving of notice as an element likely to affect permanently the language of the Province:

Canadian English (1857), A. Constable Geikie

"Are you better to-day?" inquires **Britannicus**. "*Some*," replies **Canadiensis**. "Were there many people present?" asks **B**. "*quite* a number," answers **C**., meaning thereby "a number," for how can a number be otherwise than *quite a number?*

B:-- "Where did you go today?" **C**:-- "*down town*," that is, he walked through, or in the city.

B:-- "are you going by this train?" **C**:-- "yes, I'm just *on board*."

B:-- "where is your master?" **C**:-- "the *boss* is out."

B:-- "how many horses have you?" **C**:-- "a *span*," which word he substitutes for "*a pair*."

B:-- "what is that man's character?" **C**:-- "he's a loafer," that is, in plain English, "a good for nothing fellow."

B:-- "how do you vote?" **C**:-- "I go the Hincks *ticket*."

B:-- "has there been a committee meeting?" **C**:-- "yes, they had a *caucus* last night."

B:-- "can that wheel revolve now?" **C**:-- "yes, I guess it can do nothing else, for I've *fixed* it."

B:-- "did you mend my shoe." **C**:-- "yes, I've *fixed* it."

B:-- "when will your sister be ready?" **C**:-- Jane is just *fixing* her hair."

B:-- "what do you eat to venison?" **C**:-- "jelly *fixings*."

B:-- "what have you done with your other horse?" **C**:-- "I've *dickered* him."

B:-- "what kind of a speaker is W--?" **C**:-- "a *stump-orator*."

B:-- "how did he get his present office?" **C**:-- "by *chiseling*."

B:-- "is there much jobbing in the house?" **C**:-- "no end of *log-rolling*."

B:-- "did he run away?" **C**:-- "yes, he *sloped*," or "*he made tracks*."

B:-- "how do you feel to-day?" **C**:-- "I'm quite sick."

B:-- "sick! why don't you take something to settle your stomach?" **C**:-- "my stomach isn't unsettled. Its my toe that aches!" &c.

Nor is it in solitary words or phrases alone that we are thus aiming at "gilding refined gold," in our improvements on the English language. So far has this process already been carried that it would not be difficult to construct whole sentences of our Canadian vernacular which, to the home-bred ear, would stand nearly as much in need of translation, as an oration of one of the Huron or Chippeway Chiefs whom we have supplanted from their ancient hunting grounds on the shores of the great lakes. Let us take a brief example. A Canadian who has enjoyed the advantages of the American vocabulary will thus describe a very simple transaction:-- "I traded my last yorker for a plug of honey dew, and got plaguy chiseled by a loafer whose boss had dickered his lot and betterments for notions to his store;" some of the words introduced here are genuine Americanisms, such as *betterments*, *i.e*. improvements on new lands; *lot*, or division of land; *town lots*, sites within the area designed for a village or town; *boss* (Dutch) the euphemism for the unpalatable word *master;* and *store,* the invariably term for a shop. Others again, such as *yorker*: a shilling york currency, or sixpence sterling, are no less genuinely Canadian; and the whole, will become intelligible for the first time to the inexperienced English ear when thus translated:-- "I exchanged my last sixpence

for a packet of tobacco, and got thoroughly cheated by a disreputable fellow whose employer had bartered a piece of improved land to obtain small wares for his shop."

These and a thousand other examples which might be produced, fully justify the use of the term "Canadian English," as expressive of a corrupt dialect growing up amongst our population, and gradually finding access to our periodical literature, until it threatens to produce a language as unlike our noble mother tongue as the negro patua, or the Chinese pidgeon English. That the English language is still open to additions no one can doubt, or that it assimilates to itself, when needful, even the racy vernacular of to-day, to enrich itself, where synonyms are wanting. Hence, whenever a single word supplies the place of what could only be formerly expressed by a sentence, -- unless the word be singularily uneuphoneous, -- the language gains by its adoption. But if *chiseling* only means *cheating;* and *long-rolling, -- jobbing;* and *clearing out*, or *making tracks, -- running away;* then most men of taste will have little hesitation in their choice between the oldfashioned English of Shakespeare, Milton, Swift, and Addison, and such modern *enrichments* of the old "well of English undefiled." Such words-of-all-work, again, as *some,* and *quite,* and *fix*, and *guess*, having already a precise and recognized acceptance in classical English, it is probable that good writers and educated speakers will still recognize them in such sense, and when they *fix* a wheel immovably, they will say they have fixed it; but when they mend of repair the same wheel, they will find no inconvenience in using one of the latter terms as equally apt and less ambiguous. And so also when they make a *guess* at some fact beyond their certain knowledge they will say so; but when they speak of what they actually do know, they will state it as a fact, and not guess about it.

An amusing illustration of the manner in which such misuse of words can obscure the sense of their true meaning even in the minds of educated men, is furnished by a critical comment in the "Shakespear's Scholar," of Richard Grant White, A.M.,[9] on the following passage in "Richard III." Act IV, Scene IV:--

Stanley.	Richmond is on the seas.
K. Richard.	There let him sink--and be the seas on him.
	White livered runnagate;--what doth he there?
Stanley.	I know not, mighty sovereign, but by guess.
K. Richard.	Well, as you guess?

A better illustration of the correct use of the word could now where be found. Stanley says he does not know, he only guesses; and the king replies; well tell me what your guess or suspicion is. But hear the American critic:-- "If there be two words for the use of which, more than any others, our English cousins twit us, they are 'well,' as an interrogative exclamation, and 'guess.' Milton uses both, as Shakespear also frequently

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[9] R.G. White, *Shakespear's Scholar; Being Historical and Critical Studies of His Text, Characters and Commentators, &c.* (New York, Appleton & Co., 1854).

Canadian English (1857), A. Constable Geikie

does, and exactly in the way in which they are used in America; and here we have them both in half a line. Like most of those words and phrases which it pleases John Bull to call Americanisms, they are English of the purest and best, which have lived here while they have died out in the mother country." To such "*English of the purest and best!*" are we fast hastening, if some check is not put on the present tendencies of our colloquial speech, and the style adopted in our periodical literature.

It may be assumed that enough has now been said to shew the truth of the complaint with which this paper began. How then is the evil to be remedied? One or two suggestions occur to me which may not seem unworthy of some attention, as means calculated to check in some degree this growing evil. The first is that, educated men in private stations should carefully guard against the errors indicated, and others germane to them, and use their influence to check them when introduced. The second is, that our common school teachers should not only do likewise, but should correct the children under their care, whenever they utter slang or corrupt English, not only in the school, but in the play-ground, and on the streets; and the third is that, our newspaper and other writers should abstain from the attempt to add new force to the English tongue by improving the language of Shakespeare, Bacon, Dryden, and Addison. It is true that these are antiquated names; and it may be that some among us rather know them by the hearing of the ear than the sight of their works; still, weak though it may seem, and -- to cull once more, for the sake of illustration, one of the choicest phrases of Canadian letters, -- "old fogyish" though it may appear, I cannot get rid of the impression, that those men understood English fully as well as any American or Canadian author, and that, though they never wrote slang, no one either on this side of the Atlantic, or on the other, has written, or is likely to write, either with augmented force, or greater clearness.

Resources for Further Study: An Emergent Canadian Dialect

Chambers, J.K. "'Lawless and vulgar innovations': Victorian views of Canadian English" *Focus on Canada.* Ed. Sandra Clarke. Amsterdam: Benjamins*,* 1993. 1-26.

Dollinger, Stefan. *New-Dialect Formation in Canada: Evidence from the English Modal Auxiliaries*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2008.
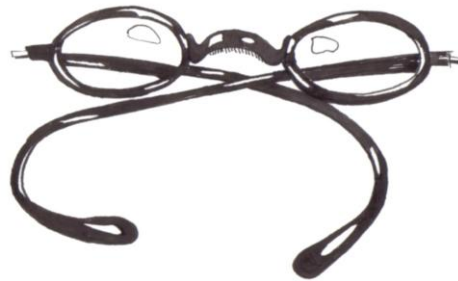
Canadian English (1967)[1]

Walter S. Avis

Language in Canada, as in most countries, is taken for granted. Unfortunately, however, a great deal of nonsense is taken for granted by many Canadians. Some people, especially recent arrivals from the United Kingdom, refuse to accept the fact that the English spoken in Canada has any claim to recognition. Others, who themselves speak Canadian English, are satisfied with the view that British English is the only acceptable standard To these people the argument that educated Canadians set their own standard of speech is either treasonable or ridiculous.

One Canadian I know had his eyes opened in a rather curious way. While shopping in a large Chicago department store, he asked where he might find chesterfields. Following directions to the letter, he was somewhat dismayed when he ended up at the cigar counter. He soon made other discoveries as well. Blinds were "shades" to his American neighbors; taps were "faucets," braces "suspenders," and serviettes "napkins."

Before long his American friends were pointing out differences between his speech and theirs. He said *been* to rhyme with "bean," whereas for them it rhymed with "bin"; and he said *shone* to rhyme with "gone," whereas for them it rhymed with "bone." In fact, their Canadian friend had quite a few curious ways of saying things: *ration* rhymed with "fashion" rather than with "nation"; *lever* with "beaver" rather than "sever"; *z* with "bed" rather than "bee." Moreover, he said certain vowels in a peculiar way, for *lout* seemed to have a different vowel sound from *loud*, and *rice* a different vowel from *rise*.

The Englishman is also quick to observe that Canadians talk differently from himself. For example, he doesn't say *dance*, *half*, *clerk*, *tomato*, *garage*, or *war* as Canadians do; and he always distinguishes *cot* from *caught*, a distinction that few Canadians make. He also finds that many of the words he used in England are not understood by people in Canada. Suppose he gets into a conversation about cars. Says he, "I think a car should have a roomy boot." No headway will be made till somebody rescues him by explaining that in Canada the boot is called a "trunk." Before the session is finished, he will probably learn that a bonnet is called a "hood" and the hood of a coupé is "the top of a convertible."

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[1] This article was written by the editor-in-chief of the Gage series of Canadian dictionaries as a preface to the senior school dictionary, first published in Canada's Centennial year: Walter S. Avis et al., eds., *Canadian Senior Dictionary* (Toronto: Gage, 1967) vi-ix. We have glossed [in square brackets] many of the Canadianisms Avis cites.—Eds.

Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader

Similarly, he must substitute *muffler* for *silencer, windshield* for *windscreen, truck* for *lorry*, and *gas* for *petrol*.

The examples I have mentioned suggest, quite correctly that Canadian English, while different from both British and American English, is in large measure a blend of both varieties; and to this blend must be added many features which are typically Canadian. The explanation for this mixed character lies primarily in the settlement history of the country, for both Britain and the United States have exerted continuous influence on Canada during the past two hundred years.

As the several areas of Canada were opened to settlement, before, during and after the Revolutionary War in the 1770's, Americans were prominent among the settlers in many, if not in most, communities. American influence has been great ever since: Canadians often learn from American textbooks, read American novels and periodicals, listen to American radio programs, and watch American T.V. and movies. Moreover, Canadians in large numbers are constantly moving back and forth across the border, as emigrants, as tourists, as students (especially on athletic scholarships), and as bargain hunters. Finally, Canada shares with the United States a large vocabulary denoting all manner of things indigenous to North America. One need only leaf through the full or concise *Dictionary of Canadianisms* or the *Dictionary of Americanisms* to appreciate this fact.

On the other hand, Britain has also made an enormous contribution to the settlement of English-speaking Canada. For more than a century and a half, Britishers in an almost continuous stream and speaking various dialects have immigrated to Canada. In most communities, especially those along the Canadian-American border (where most of Canada's population is still concentrated), these newcomers came into contact with already established Canadians; and, as might be expected, their children adopted the speech habits of the communities they moved into. Only in certain settlement areas where relatively homogeneous Old-Country groups established themselves did markedly British dialectal features survive through several generations. Such communities may be found in Newfoundland, the Ottawa Valley, the Red River Settlement in Manitoba, and on Vancouver Island. For the most part, however, the children of British immigrants, like those whose parents come from other European countries, adopt the kind of English spoken in Canada. Yet in the very process of being absorbed, linguistically speaking, they have made contributions to every department of the language.

That part of Canadian English which is neither British nor American is best illustrated by the vocabulary, for there are hundreds of words which are native to Canada or which have meanings peculiar to Canada. As might be expected, many of these refer to topographical features, plants, trees, fish, animals, and birds; and many others to social, economic, and political institutions and activities. Few of these words, which may be called Canadianisms, find their way into British or American dictionaries, a fact which

Canadian English (1967), Walter Avis

should occasion no surprise, for British and American dictionaries are based on British and American usage, being primarily intended for Britons and Americans, not for Canadians.

Prominent among Canadianisms are proper nouns, including names of regions: *Barren Grounds* [the northern tundra], *French Shore* [the Newfoundland shoreline where the French retained the right to fish after 1783], *Lakehead* [the "top" of the Great Lakes watershed around Thunder Bay]; names given to the natives of certain regions: *Bluenoses* [Nova Scotians], *Herringchokers* [Maritimers, especially New Brunswickers]; names associated with political parties: *New Democratic Party*, *Union Nationale*. In addition, there are a host of terms identified with places or persons: *Digby chicken* [smoked herring], *McIntosh apple*, *Quebec heater* [a tall cylindrical wood stove], *Winnipeg couch* [a pull-out couch/bed].

Languages other than English have contributed many Canadianisms to the lexicon: (from Canadian French) *brulé* [burnt-out area], *fameuse* [a type of apple], *lacrosse, Métis*, *portage*; (from Amerindian) *babiche* [rawhide string], *kokanee* [a type of salmon], *pemmican, shaganappi* [rawhide string; hasty, inferior]; (from Eskimo) *komatik* [dog sled], *kuletuk* [woman's parka], *ooloo* [woman's semicircular knife], *oomiak* [woman's skin-covered rowboat]. Sometimes the origin of such loanwords is obscured in the process of adoption; thus *carry-all*, *mush*, *Siwash*, *snye*, and *shanty* derive from Canadian French *cariole* [horse-drawn sleigh], *marche* [go], *sauvage* [savage], *chenail* [channel], and *chantier* [logger's camp].

Other Canadianisms are more or less limited to certain regions - to Newfoundland: *jinker* [jinx], *nunny bag* [packsack], *tickle* [strait], *tilt* [lean-to]; to the Maritimes: *aboideau* [marsh dyke with sluice-gate], *gaspereau* [a small fish], *longliner* [a fishing boat]; to Ontario: *concession roads* [roads transecting a township, generally at 1.25 mile intervals], *dew-worm* [earth worm], *fire-reels* [a fire truck]; to the Prairie Provinces: *bluff* [clump of trees], *grid roads* [rural road, 2 miles apart north-south and 1 mile east-west], *local improvement district* [a sparsely populated rural municipality governed by the province]; to British Columbia: *rancherie* [the settlement within an Aboriginal reserve], *skookum* [big, strong], *steelhead* [a trout]; to the Northland: *bush pilot, cat-swing* [a tractor-pulled train of sleds], *cheechako* [Johnny-come-lately].

Hundreds of Canadian words fall into the category of animal and plant names: *caribou, fool hen, inconnu* [a northern fish], *kinnikinnick* [a smoking mixture], *malemute, oolichan* [a smelt], *saskatoon* [a berry], *sockeye, whisky-jack* or *Canada jay*. Many more fall into the class of topographical terms: *butte* [rhymes with *newt*, an isolated hill], *coulee* [gulch], *dalles* [rhymes with *gals*, river rapids between high rock walls], *sault* [pronounced and spelled informally Soo, waterfalls]. Yet another extensive class includes hundreds of terms of historical significance: *Family Compact, Klondiker, North canoe, Red River cart,*

wintering partner [fur company representative and shareholder living year round at the trading post]*, York boat.*

For many terms there are special Canadian significations: *Confederation, Grit, height of land* [watershed]*, reeve, riding* [electoral district, only in Canada]*, warden.* From the sports field come a number of contributions, especially from hockey and a game we used to call rugby, a term now almost displaced by the American term football: *boarding, blueline, convert, cushion* [natural ice rink]*, flying wing* [*Cdn. Football,* an extra roving defensive player]*, puck, rouge* [*Cdn. Football,* a one-point play]*, snap.* And in the same area there are a number of slang terms that merit mention: *chippy* [pugnacious hockey player]*, homebrew* [an athlete born in Canada]*, import, rink rat.*

In pronunciation, as in vocabulary, Canadians are neither American nor British, though they have much in common with both. Although most Canadians pronounce *docile* and *textile* to rhyme with *mile*, as the British do, it is probable that most pronounce *fertile* and *missile* to rhyme with *hurtle* and *missal*, as the Americans do. And no doubt Canadians pronounce some words in a way that is typically Canadian. Most of us, for example, would describe the color of a soldier's uniform as *khaki*, pronounced (**kär**kē).[2] Yet no non-Canadian dictionary recognizes this Canadianism. Americans say (**kak**ē), while the British say (**kä**kē). In Canada, many people put flowers in a vase, pronounced (vāz); Americans use a (vās) and the British a (väz). To be sure, a number of Canadians say something like (väz), especially if the vase is Ming.

If we take imported dictionaries as our authority, such pronunciations as (**kär**kē) and (vāz) are unacceptable. But surely the proper test of correctness for Canadians should be the usage of educated natives of Canada. Here are some other example of pronunciations widely heard among educated Canadians; few of them are recorded in our imported dictionaries: *absolve* (ab **zolv**), *arctic* (**är** tik), *armada* (är **mad** ə), *chassis* (**chas** ē), *culinary* (**kul** ə **ner** ē), *evil* (**ē** vəl), *finale* (fə **nal** ē), *fungi* (**fung** gī), *jackal* (**jak** əl), *longitude* (**long** gə **tüd**), *official* (ō **fish** əl), *opinion* (ō **pin** yən), *placate* (**plak** āt), *plenary* (**plen** ə rē) *prestige* (pres **tēj'**), *resources* (ri **zôr** səz), *senile* (**sen** īl), *species* (**spē** sēz), *Trafalgar* (trə **fol** gər).

Of course, not everyone uses all of these forms; yet all are used regularly by educated Canadians in large numbers. Who can deny that (ri **zôr** səz) and (**spē** sēz) are more often heard at all levels of Canadian society than (ri **sôrs** əz) and (**spē** shēz), the pronunciations indicated in nearly all available dictionaries? Surely, when the evidence of

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[2] Avis indicates pronunciations with the scheme from Gage dictionaries: **ä** as in *ah*; **a** as in *at*; **ā** as in *aid*; **e** as in *let*; **ē** as in *eat*; **i** as in bit; **ī** as in *high*; **o** as in *odd*; **ô** as in *order*; **u** as in *cup*; **ü** as in *ooze*; **g** as in *go*; **j** as in *jam*; **ng** as in *long*; **ch** as in *child*; **sh** as in *she*. We have replaced Avis's post-syllabic stress marks with bolded stressed syllables.—Eds.

Canadian English (1967), Walter Avis

usage justifies it, forms such as these should be entered as variants in any dictionary intended to reflect Canadian speech.

Another of the functions of a dictionary is to record the spellings used by the educated people of the community. In spelling, as in vocabulary and pronunciation, Canadian usage is influenced by the practice of both the Americans and the British. In areas where American and British practices differ, Canadian usage is far from uniform. Until recent years, British forms have predominated in most instances, for example, *axe, catalogue, centre, colour, cheque, mediaeval, plough, skilful*, and *woollen* (and words of similar pattern), in spite of the obvious practical advantages of the American forms: *ax, catalog, center, check, color, medieval, plow, skillful*, and *woolen*. In some cases, however, American spellings have asserted themselves to the virtual exclusion of the corresponding British forms, as in *connection, curb, jail, net, recognize, tire*, and *wagon* for *connexion, kerb, gaol, nett, recognise, tyre*, and *waggon*.

In recent years there have been indications that American spellings are becoming more commonly used in Canada. Many have, for example, been adopted by Canadian newspapers, especially those in the larger centres, and by magazine and book publishers. Young people seem to use such spellings as *color, center, defense, medieval, program, skillful*, and *traveler* much more frequently than was formerly the case, the implication being that at least some American forms are accepted as proper in many Canadian schools. The fact is that usage is very much divided, varying from province to province and often from person to person. For the most part, however, Canadians respond to these variants with equal ease. Under such circumstances, a Canadian dictionary should include both forms, for here, as elsewhere, the lexicographer's obligation is to record usage, not to legislate it.

It has been argued in these pages that there is such a thing as a distinctive variety of Canadian English; yet it should be observed that this distinctive variety is referred to as "Canadian English" and not as "the Canadian language." The fact is that Canadians share one language with Britons, Americans, Australians, and a host of other people, both inside the Commonwealth and beyond it. To claim that there is a Canadian language, or, as many Americans do, an American language, is to distort the meaning of the word *language* for nationalistic purposes. On the other hand, it is a form of blindness to insist, as many do, that "English is English" and that only fools "dignify the slang and dialect" of Canada by giving it serious attention.

Canada's Centennial Logo
(Stuart Ash, Designer)

Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader

Resources for Further Study: Canadian Lexicon

Barber, Katherine. *Only in Canada, You Say: A Treasury of Canadian Language*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Dollinger, Stefan and Laurel J. Brinton. "Canadian English Lexis: Historical and Variationist Perspectives." *Anglistik: International Journal of English Studies*. 19.2 (Sept. 2008): 43-64.
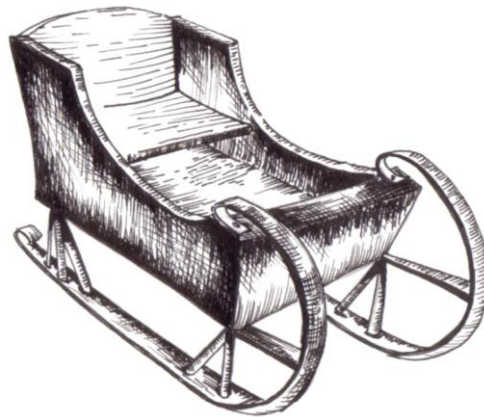
Canadian French *carriole*, a sleigh, became in English either *carriole* or **carryall**. The process by which a word is borrowed from one language into another and reinterpreted in a semantically plausible form is called *folk etymology*.

The Hobgoblin of Canadian English Spelling[*]

T.K. Pratt

1. Introduction

In October of 1985, I was privileged to attend a most stimulating conference at Queen's University in Ontario held by the Strathy Language Unit, which had been recently endowed "to stimulate interest in Canadian English usage and to publish successive editions of a guide to written and spoken communication" (Lougheed 1986:190).[1] The title of the conference, "In Search of the Standard in Canadian English", said a great deal. It also meant different things to the different professions represented: dialectology, lexicography, school teaching, E.S.L teaching, journalism, publishing, and professional editing. Participants had been invited that Thanksgiving weekend to give their various perspectives on what standard Canadian English was, and where authorities for it could be found. Some stood on guard against a perceived decline in educated usage, against, as one put it, "the barbarians, the slipshod, no-rules, empty-minded chatterers of the airwaves and scribblers of the press" (Nowlan 1986:66). Others, chiefly the academics, took the position that what we were searching for was the Canadian *norm*: just what are the generally accepted conventions of English in Canada, even among the non-chattering, careful-footed citizens who want to follow the rules? To no one's surprise, the conference (hereafter "Strathy Conference") came to no conclusion on either point. Its proceedings, published under the same title, fittingly preserve all the spelling systems - British, American, and various hybrids - of the individual authors.

This paper searches further into the vexed question of standard Canadian English and its authorities. An excellent beginning might be the style sheet supplied by the editor to the authors of this volume, which enjoins "British rather than American spelling conventions". This is a sensible, straightforward request. It is not hard to imagine, however, the flurries of correspondence that would ensue, from authors to editor, to general editor, even to

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[*] T.K. Pratt is a Professor Emeritus in the English Department of the University of Prince Edward Island; this article first appeared in 1993 in *Focus on Canada,* ed. Sandra Clarke (Amsterdam: Benjamins) 45-64. Several new Canadian dictionaries have appeared since then, notably, a *Canadian Oxford Dictionary* (Toronto: OUP, 1998, 2004); the Canadian Press has reversed its recommendation from *–or* to *–our* spellings; and still, in the words of T.K. Pratt, "the hobgoblin is alive and well, and lives among us still" (personal communication). The author's numbered notes in this article are endnotes.—Eds.

publisher, had the request been to use *Canadian* spelling conventions. For no one can say precisely what these are.

Except, perhaps, to Australians,[2] it may seem almost incredible to outsiders that a country having English as its major, national, mother-tongue language for many generations cannot agree on some of that language's quite ordinary norms in anything close to the degree that these are agreed on in the British Isles, the older Commonwealth, or the United States. Of course it is precisely the historical conflict of British and American usage within the borders of Canada that has perpetuated the disagreements. It is not my intention here to outline this country's sociolinguistic history, well covered in any case elsewhere (for example, Avis 1973; Bailey 1982; Görlach 1987; Chambers 1991). Rather it is to give some indication of the difficulties encountered in searching for the standard, in the sense of norm, as it exists currently in the most problematic area, spelling. The paper is not concerned with spelling variants that tend to call up judgements on incorrectness,[3] like *alot* or *nite* or possessive *it's*, although these may well be part of some wholly statistical norm.

2. The Competing Models

The differences between British and American spelling conventions are well known in general, yet there are interesting traps and some ongoing changes. For convenience of reference, I condense one version[4] of the two sets in **Table 1**, from Burton et al. (1987:8-13), which is based in turn on Ireland (1979).

Many other examples exist beyond those given, nor is there complete agreement among relevant authorities and users on the examples presented, which are those of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1982) and *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary* (1983), with some simplification. Nevertheless Table 1 gives a fair picture of the choices available to Canadians.

Most often, it is true, we spell as do Americans; in some cases, like *curb* and *tire*, the North American sweep has been absolute. But even a casual observation of English Canadians going about their everyday linguistic business will reveal tremendous insecurity about spelling beyond that visited on all writers of English by its orthography. Within the time of contracting to write this paper, I have seen: a choir practice on Handel's *Messiah* fall out over "Good will towards/toward men", with some members insisting on various illusory semantic differences between the two versions; "Programme Co-ordinator" and "Coordinator, Teaching Program" in letters received on the same day from external colleagues, each of whom, on other evidence, might be predicted to use the opposite forms; myself writing to a Canadian corporation and wondering, by free association of the ideas "corporation", "big business", and "American", if the recipients would more readily sponsor a local event if I changed *labour*, the spelling of my education, to *labor*.

The Hobgoblin of Canadian Spelling, T.K. Pratt

Table 1. British versus American spelling conventions

Category	Usual British Preference	Usual American Preference	Other Such Examples	Some Shared Spellings In Both Models
-our/-or	colour	color	favour honour humour labour	glamour stupor
derivations of our/or	colourful	colorful	favourite honourable labouring	coloration glamorous humorous laborious
-re/-er	centre	center	meagre metre spectre theatre	macabre timbre
-ce/-se	defence practise(v)	defense practice(v)	licence(n)	license(v) practice(n)
stems in -*l*	fulfil	fulfill	enrol expel	annul compel install
double/single consonant before inflections	equalled	equaled	imperilled signalled	benefited focused kidnapped outfitted
double/single consonant before derivations	jewellry	jewelry	libellous tranquillize woollen worshipper skilful	
	instalment	installment		
-ise/ize	criticise (permitted)	criticize (exclusive)		advertise civilize realize surprise
-yse/-yze	analyse	analyze	paralyse	
silent *-e-*	judgement moveable (permitted)	judgment	acknowledgement ageing liveable	lovable
-ae-/-e-	anaesthesia	anesthesia	encyclopaedia	aesthetics medieval
-oe-/-e-	foetus	fetus	manoeuvre	
foreign plurals	appendices bureaux formulae referendums	appendixes bureaus formulas referenda	chateaux	indices tableaux
miscellaneous	aeroplane axe catalogue cheque disc draught grey inflexion kerb mould omelette programme pyjamas storey towards	airplane ax catalog check disk draft gray inflection curb mold omelette program pajamas story toward	dialog (permitted)	analogue connection cigarette gypsy

Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader

It is observations like these, not only in spelling but in other areas where Canadians waver between British and American or take a subtle third position,[5] that make usage surveys "one of the most characteristic activities among linguists studying Canadian English" (Pringle 1983:114). The most extensive survey of spelling as such has been that of Robert J. Ireland (1979, 1979/80). His returns were from 3,235 students, age 15-17, in "academic" school programmes across the country. **Table 2** is a highly condensed summary of his findings, giving words that are both typical and especially comparable to **Table 1**, and averaging important regional differences to be discussed later:

Table 2. Overview of Canadian spelling usages

British	American	Either	Clear Exceptions
colour		behaviour	odor
colourful		honourable	favorite
	center	lustre	theatre
		defence licence(n+v)	practice(n) practice(v)
	distill		
equalled kidnapped			signaled
	jewelry woolen enrollment installment		
	criticize		
	analyze		
judgement moveable			
	encyclopedia maneuver/re		
axe catalogue cheque grey pyjamas plough	program snowplow		

Such variation among users makes it difficult for those who might claim authority on how Canadians spell, or should spell.

3. Canadian Style Guides

How can authorities like style guides deal with such complexity among users? The *-or/-our* ending is particularly problematic for anyone who might attempt to advise others on the Canadian norm. Newspapers have long used the American ending, ostensibly to save space, though this reason sits oddly, as do other features of their posture in general, with their preferring the British side of Table 1 for double *ll* and longer forms like *axe* (Brinklow 1986:5). The preference for *-or* was elevated to a rule in the first issue (1940) of the style book for Canadian Press, or CP, the national newspaper co-operative, and reaffirmed in the latest, extensive revision of 1992. A companion volume, *Caps and Spelling* (latest revision, 1990), boasts of itself in the Foreword as having been "quickly adopted as a standard reference work by government departments, colleges, and businesses across Canada". There is no question that *The Canadian Press Stylebook: A Guide for Writers and Editors* is the authority for Canadian journalism, both in itself and as a model for in-house guides. Thus the editor of Kingston's *The Whig Standard* spoke of it at the Strathy Conference as

> probably the most important document in this country in the
> matter of searching for a Canadian standard in English in any
> field. It seems to me to be the only national document that has
> any broad respect and any broad credibility, and you can tell
> me if I am wrong. (Cobden 1986:121)

But this document is hardly the end of the search. Cobden's sudden loss of certainty in the last line is telling. On December 10, 1990, the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, "Canada's National Newspaper" which is satellite-produced daily across 4,000 miles, switched to *-our*, as well as to some other British spellings, like *storey*. This decision is defended in the paper's own best-selling style book, comprehensively revised in 1990: "We have restored elements of traditional Canadian spelling where American usage had come to prevail" (p. 3). When in 1992 the latest revision of *CP Stylebook* was issued, as noted, a *Globe and Mail* columnist took exception to CP's keeping the *-or*. He accused Canadian Press of discomfort in their stubbornness, pointing to the lengthy apologia in the text (which draws on tradition, British wavering, and H. W. Fowler), and to "a long 'backgrounder' sent as succour to member newspapers to help them handle querulous calls or letters" (Cochrane 1992:D6). But Cochrane is equally defensive, albeit jocular, about his paper's breakaway:

> This may be a trifling matter. But language is a keystone of
> culture, and a culture is distinguished by many subtle shadings
> of sounds, looks and behaviour. I say, with uncontrite and *u*-
> ful fervour, let's keep vigour and ardour (etc.) in our English!

English Canada's most prestigious newspaper and the journalists' most credible stylebook also part company on their policies regarding proper nouns from English-speaking countries that happen to use the alternative spelling convention for *-our/-or*. The former

respects the source, while the latter "will use -or spellings come what may" (1992:8), with the important exception of geographical names. Thus only CP writes about the British "Labor Party", yet both, for different reasons, report on the U.S. "Labor Department" and "Harbour Grace, Newfoundland". As Cochrane admits, the situation "leaves the rest of us wondering just what is the proper Canadian way".

Other Canadian media make their own decisions. When the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation needs to display the written word on television, they favour British conventions, as in a recent feature, "The Valour and the Horror". Yet American video clips may come with superimposed designations like "Secretary of Labor" and remain unchanged. *Chatelaine*, a popular women's magazine, uses the style book of *The New York Times*, so a letter to the editor happening to speak of, say, some "cosy dialogue" will come out as "cozy dialog" (Synopwich 1989:47). *Saturday Night*, the quasi-intellectual magazine that is the source of the previous citation, generally follows the British side, so the spelling "programme" was "mandatory" for Synopwich. *Maclean's* is "Canada's weekly newsmagazine". Their style is that of CP, yet, like *The Globe and Mail*, they respect the -u- when used by Britons. They also prefer the British analyse, and have a mixed policy for doubled consonants; in the same text one may find *travelled* and *libelous*, *worshipped* and *gossiping*. Peters and Fee, from whom these *Maclean's* examples are taken, compare its practice with that of the Australian *Bulletin*, and find that "each magazine embodies a unique package of spellings, more and less consistently implemented, which sets it apart from the other, and from both British and American English" (1989:144).

Peters and Fee rely for their research on databases. It might be assumed that large-scale databases of Canadian texts like "Info Globe", as are currently being amassed or collected by the Strathy Language Unit, will in time become the only place one needs to search for the Canadian norm. But such a source can never be wholly or reliably "Canadian" when so many of the texts will be affected by decisions such as those above and following, and when so much of what Canadians read to begin with comes from the United States, often unidentified as such.[6]

As has often been pointed out (e.g. Pringle 1983:115; Peters and Fee 1989:136, 142), and is obvious from Table 1, neither British nor American usage is itself totally consistent or stable. Under Latin influence, British writers after the fourteenth century did flirt with -or in spellings like *color*, and did change derivations based on Latin suffixes like -*ation*, as well as agent nouns like *authour* and some others. Apparently this trend in Britain was brought to a halt by the spelling reforms of Webster's dictionary (1828). From then on, to keep the -u- where it was still possible to keep it meant one was not an American, that is, a barbarian:

> Our first indication that the book we are reading is not English
> but American is often, nowadays, the sight of an -*or*. "Yankee"
> we say, and congratulate ourselves on spelling like gentlemen;

we wisely decline to regard it as a matter of argument. (H.W. Fowler, quoted in McConnell 1978:46).

Canada was formed as a nation in 1867 partly on anti-American sentiments. English Canadians knew themselves to have fallen off already from what they regarded as the true standard of British English, but they took comfort that they had not, or not yet, fallen so far as the United States (Hultin 1967). Yet, from the beginning, residents of the loyal new country welcomed American publications. It was natural, then, that the federal government in 1890 should pass an Order-in-Council: "In all official documents, in the Canada Gazette and in the Dominion Statutes, the English practice of *-our* endings shall be followed". It is perhaps less natural that this ruling should be invoked still in the federal government's own guide book, *The Canadian Style: A Guide for Writers and Editors* (1985:55), published by the Department of the Secretary of State. The Preface to this volume by the Minister of the day proclaims it "an invaluable tool to all Canadians looking for a set of standards". But the Foreword by the bureaucrats who prepared the guide is significantly more cautious:

> [T]he standards and recommendations presented here should not be interpreted as categorical rejections of alternative forms.... In this regard it should be borne in mind that the English language has long resisted attempts to impose on it a single, universal norm of style and usage.

Thus, key style guides no less than average users disagree on the spelling norm for Canadian English.

4. Canadian Dictionaries

The Canadian Style refers readers wishing further guidance to the *Gage Canadian Dictionary.* It is the view of many scholars that this dictionary does reflect Canadian usage better than any other at present, although the work is also commonly viewed as limited and high-schoolish (see Peters and Fee 1989:136; Pratt 1986:62-63; Warkentyne 1986:169). *Gage* lists both *-or* and *–our* spellings as joint headwords. But the American form is first, and is the form the dictionary itself uses in all other places. We should not be in any doubt that dictionary users attach significance to the order in which alternative headwords are presented. Both the CP *Stylebook* and *The Canadian Style*, for example, take care to advise readers to choose the first spelling in such cases. But since the federal government has opted for *-our*, its guide is forced to stipulate an exception here, undercutting *Gage* on a major point as an authority for Canadian writers.

Other dictionaries with the word "Canadian" in their titles differ from *Gage* in this matter. Some examples are shown in **Table 3**, which covers in order of publication *The Winston Canadian Dictionary*, 1974 (**W1**); *The Winston Dictionary of Canadian English*, 1976 (**W2**; in paperback it is *Compact Dictionary of Canadian English*); *The Houghton Mifflin*

Canadian Dictionary of the English Language, 1982 (**HM**); *Gage Canadian Dictionary*, 1983 (**Ga**); *Funk and Wagnalls Canadian College Dictionary*, 1989 (**FW**); and *The Penguin Canadian Dictionary*, 1990 (**Pe**). Three of these dictionaries, **HM**, **Ga**, and **FW**, have chosen to give weight to the American side, and the other three, **W1**, **W2**, and **Pe**, to the British.[7] Table 3 shows how each of them treats the alternative form, the one they have chosen not to highlight, in seven selected words. Clearly any Canadian dictionary must do everything it can to legitimize both spellings. But in these examples, only **Ga** is wholly consistent, and only **Ga** gives full measure to the spelling it has chosen not to make primary by giving it both headword status (e.g. "*color* or *colour*") and a cross-reference at its place in the alphabet (e.g. "*colour*...See *color*"). Worst of all, however, we see that **W2** once, **W1** four times, and **FW** and **HM** at all times effectively de-legitimize a considerable portion of Canadian usage by labelling the other variant as "British" or "American" only.

Gage Canadian Dictionary is not the only dictionary cited as an authority on Canadian English. *The Globe and Mail Style Book*, though an *-our* speller, recommends the American-based **FW** ("based on a rough calculation that its spelling style is closest to the one The Globe wants to follow" [297]), while the American-leaning *CP Stylebook* recommends the *Concise Oxford*. Thus, as with the government's *The Canadian Style*, both contribute to insecurity by having to note the exception of *-our/-or*.

Table 3. Alternative spellings in Canadian dictionaries
Word Key *1.behaviour 2.colour 3.favour 4.honour 5.humour 6.neighbour 7.odour*

Treatment of Alternatives	Main Spelling *American*		Main Spelling *British*	
	No Label	**Label "British"**	**No Label**	**Label: "American"**
Appears both as second headword, and as cross-reference	Ga:1 2 3 4 5 6 7		W2:2 4 5 7 Pe:2 4	W1:2 W2:3
Appears as second headword, but not as cross-reference			W1:3 6 7 W2:1 6 Pe:1 3 5 6 7	W1:4
Appears as cross-reference, but not as headword (though sometimes inside entry)		FW:2 HM:2 4		W1:5
Appears only inside entry		FW:1 3 4 5 6 7 HM:1 3 5 6 7		W1:1

5. Regional and Cultural Differences

The norms for Canadian spelling are yet more difficult to pin down than even these contradictions indicate. If we return to studies of actual usage, we find that Canadians differ radically in choices of this kind from province to province, and even from word to word. **Figure 1**, from Ireland (1979:173), makes this point dramatically, again with a selection of *-our/-or* words. There is surely nothing that can parallel these results in the standard writing of any other English-speaking country.

Figure 1. Percentage choice of **–our** by province for selected words
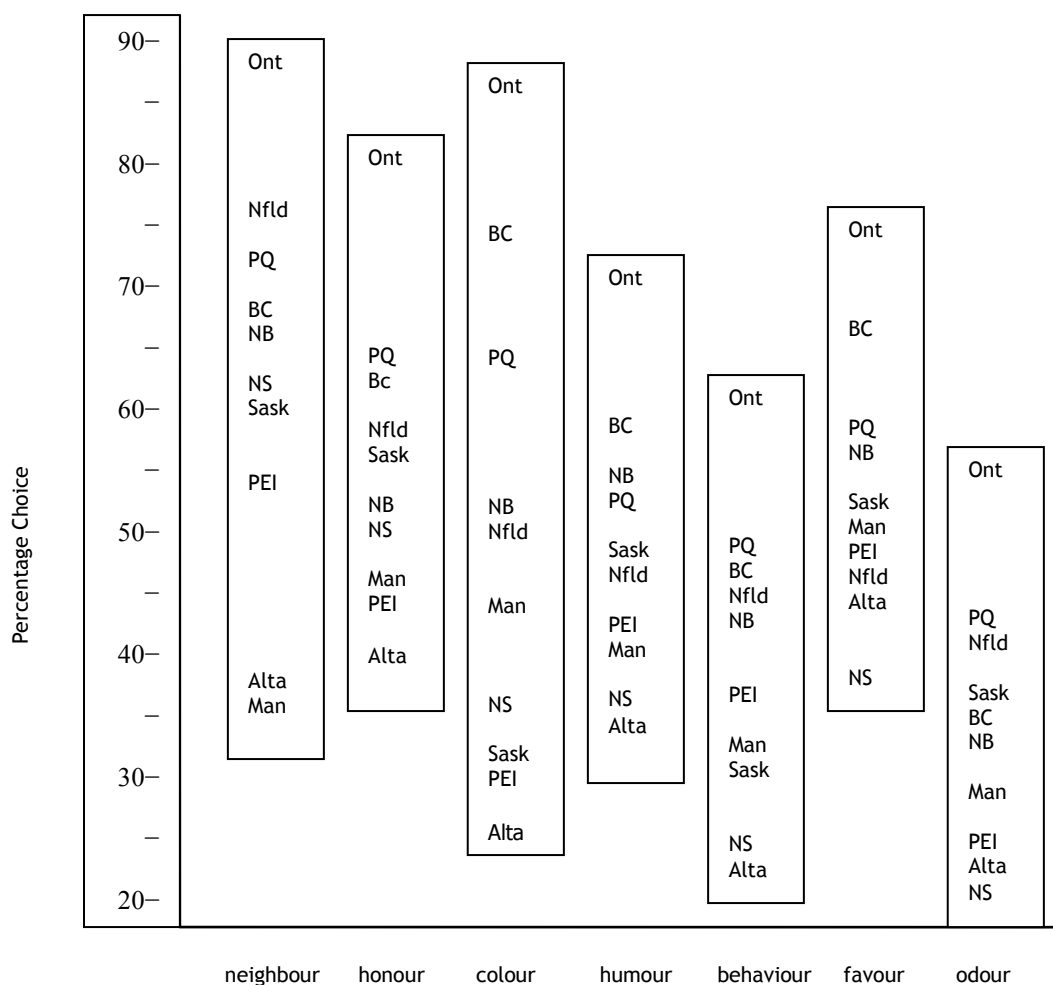
The situation, as Chambers pointed out when he presented this figure to the Strathy Conference, is not one of total chaos, but it does pose an acute problem for anyone trying to generalize on national norms:

> Ontario is invariably at the top, with a clear preference for -*our*, and Alberta is at or very near the bottom, with a clear

preference for *-or*. But the other provinces leap around
erratically, changing places in the rank order and sometimes
swinging from one extreme to the other. Try linking, say,
Saskatchewan or New Brunswick across the figure and you will
get the idea. Most significantly, no province is close to 100%
or 0, the categorical choices. And there is more: Ireland found
that women in Alberta favour *-or* more than men but women in
Ontario favour *-our* more than men, suggesting that the forms
perceived as prestigious are opposite. (Chambers 1986:8,
citing Ireland 1979:178-79)

An earlier cross-Canada usage survey conducted in schools, this one by the Canadian
Council of Teachers of English in 1972, anticipated Ireland's results. The "Survey of
Canadian English" contained 104 questions on usage matters of all kinds, and obtained
returns from some 14,000 grade nine students and their parents. As published in *Modern
Canadian English Usage* (Scargill 1974:100), the figures show that female parents, to take
again the probable style leaders, chose the British spelling for colour approximately as
follows: Prairies 21 %; Maritimes 37%; Newfoundland 42%; British Columbia 48%;
Quebec 64%; Ontario 74%.[8]

It is instructive to put the Canadian variation in *-our/-or* beside that in *-re/-er*. *Centre* and
center can be found on signs in the same shopping plaza or the same university (Nowlan
1986:69; Wanamaker 1983:47). Informants for the Survey of Canadian English used both
with equal frequency, while Ireland found a strong preference for *-er*, except in *theatre*.
Yet in this case, the professional guides largely agree to uphold the British side. Canadian
Press, most of its members, *Maclean's*, most other magazines, *The Globe and Mail,* the
government's *The Canadian Style*, and four of the six "Canadian" dictionaries all agree on
–re[9]. The two most American of the dictionaries, *Houghton Mifflin and Funk and Wagnalls*,
give precedence to *-er* spellings, but *Gage* switches from the side it takes on *-our/-or*. One
probable reason for this large measure of agreement on what is in fact a divided spelling,
and one for which actual usage is possibly more American than not, is that *-re* is used
both in British English and in French, so nationalism has double play.[10] If nothing else, it
makes bilingual signs efficient, like "Interpretive Centre d'Interpretation" (example from
McConnell 1978:47). The word *theatre* is a special case. **HM** fails to label it "British" (i.e.
un-Canadian), in the way both it and **FW** label *centre*, and in the other four dictionaries
the American *theater* has no location other than as a second spelling somewhere in the
entry. But even true American dictionaries like *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate* (1983) give
the spelling *theatre* higher status, undoubtedly because of the word's association with
"high culture". This association is found in Canada too, but across more words. *Centre* is
much more likely to occur in a artistic rather than a sports context; Nowlan (1985:76)
even puts the American spelling in the category of advertising English.

6. The Editors' Dilemma

We have seen that several important guides to Canadian English spelling encourage both *-re* and *-or* in the same text, creating a British/American mix not just with the odd, exceptional word but with two complete categories of words. This phenomenon is distressing to another group of authorities, quality book publishers. They have nevertheless contributed their share to the general uncertainty, for they cannot agree on a style guide of their own. The one most widely used is the American *Chicago Manual of Style*, followed at some distance by the style sheet of the Modern Language Association of America, and then by *The Canadian Press Stylebook*. At the same time, *Oxford* is their most popular dictionary (Warkentyne 1986:170-71; see also Burton 1982:354; Halpenny 1986:116; Wanamaker 1976:47)[11] The Canadian publishing industry is centred in Toronto, heartland of British spelling conventions, and the industry is strongly inclined to those conventions, though less so for more popular books. An interesting problem arises if a Canadian-published book is seen as having potential on the American market. It may be re-edited, as was Margaret Laurence's novel *The Fire-Dwellers* by McClelland and Stewart; or it may be produced with American spellings in the first place, especially if the assumption is that the original hardcover edition will be reduced photographically to create the paperback, as was Ken Dryden's popular book on hockey, *The Game* by Macmillan (Brinklow 1986:4-5). Educational publishing in Canada favours undefined "Canadian" spellings, but if university texts have an anticipated American sale, they too will be edited for that market. Of course financial considerations are a major factor in any decision on whether, or how much, an American text is "Canadianized" by re-editing either style or content (Burton 1982:348-49; Burton et al. 1987:80-82). The cumulative effect of these decisions on any Canadian database that includes them, or simply on any set of informal impressions, is again the unreliability of any general rule.

The same publisher may put very different demands - depending on the market, subject matter, type of publication, and authorial preference – on any editor it may employ. Professional editors in Canada thus require mastery of at least three different styles: American, British, and whatever mix constitutes the "House Canadian". Such mastery is common, but as one freelance editor put it in a panel discussion at the Strathy Conference:

> The problem is that most publishers, or a lot of publishers, will say to an editor, "Here's a manuscript, we have X amount of dollars for it, we want it back by August 15, and we'd like it edited in *Canadian* please"; and they leave it to us to decide what that is. If they were to say, as some of them do, of course, "Use the *Oxford Dictionary*"; or "Use *Webster's*", we'd be a lot further ahead. The problem is that there is the expectation that we as Canadian editors edit in Canadian; and that is what we don't know how to do. (Lougheed 1986:137)

It is on professional editors, whose watchword of course is consistency, that the burden of searching for a Canadian standard sits heaviest. The Freelance Editors Association of Canada (FEAC) was formed in 1979, and it mandated a sub-committee to write the definitive style guide for editing in Canadian, "a sort of Canadian supplement to the Chicago Manual" (Czarnecki 1986:127). The committee began in typical fashion with a survey, garnering opinions from an informal sample of 100 experienced Canadian editors, members of their association and others. These informants faced 457 questions under the general instruction, "Please indicate your preferences when editing *for the Canadian market*". The results were of much less practical value than the organizers had hoped. Chiefly it confirmed their suspicion that "we are not the only ones confused about editorial style in Canada" (Burton et al. 1987:17). The sampled editors preferred on the whole to identify Canadian style with British spellings, but never wholly or predictably. Tabulations from this study include British *-our* 75%, *centre* and *theatre* 89%, *kilometre* 79%, nouns *defence* and *practice* 80%, long forms *axe, catalogue, cigarette,* and *omelette* 90-96%. They also include the American *-ize* 85%, *-yze* 67%, and *peddler, program,* and *toward* all over 50%. A significant minority held that different meanings pertained to *program* and *programme*, *toward* and *towards*, *mold* and *mould*; "the response of a handful of editors to the set 'mould/mold' was quite dazzling and typified the confusion, if not mayhem, that we occasionally encounter" (Burton 1982:352). Something close to a Canadian rule, and perhaps a slight improvement on the parent models, did appear in the preference for doubled consonants wherever possible. Yet only half those surveyed would choose them for *installment*, *enroll*, and *fulfill*, less than half for the first syllable of *skilfull*, and only a few for *biased* (Burton et al. 1987:177-79).

As FEAC's work proceeded, it became clear that opinions were strong on both sides of all the classic Canadian quandaries. The organization found itself shrinking from the term *guide*, speaking of plural "Canadian styles'~, and preferring, in their delightfully frank final product, *Editing Canadian English*, simply to outline the alternatives available, along with the variables to consider in choosing among them for each manuscript. As far as spelling is concerned, the editors make it clear that neither inherited model is wrong in Canada, and that mixing between categories "may well constitute the 'Canadian style'" (Burton et al. 1987:7).[12] But if the FEAC survey made its organizing editors "feel closer to our quarry than we did [before beginning], and closer than any other hunters we've heard of" (Burton et al. 1987:176), they know that their style book does not corner the beast with anything like the assurance of that enjoyed by their colleagues on similar expeditions abroad.

7. Conclusion

The situation can be summed up as follows. Both sets of rival conventions are somewhat inconsistent to begin with. A Canadian writer *may* choose one or the other consistently, which is still the recommendation of many academic styleguides, and of books directed at students like McConnell's *Our Own Voice*. But most other advisors, implicitly or explicitly, now cleave to consistency only within categories. There is disagreement, however, on the

The Hobgoblin of Canadian Spelling, T.K. Pratt

exact formula for the resulting mix. In actual usage, there is no strong following for even this last principle of consistency. All that can be safely asserted of the contemporary conventions of standard Canadian English spelling, when there is a British/American choice, is that the norm is not yet to choose either indifferently for the same word in the same text.

In my observation—choir practices and the odd angry letter to the editor notwithstanding —Canadians are fairly light-hearted about the problem, or see no problem.[13] Stephen Leacock is often quoted: "In Canada we have enough to do keeping up with two spoken languages...so we just go right ahead and use English for literature, Scotch for sermons, and American for conversation" (quoted in Hultin 1967:260). It is tempting to end, as do Hultin and some other commentators (MacDonald 1986; Fee 1988; Chambers 1991), by suggesting that such tolerance for diversity is the kind of thing Canadians do best. At any rate, if a foolish consistency is, as Emerson put it, the hobgoblin of little minds, Canadian spellers might claim to be among the most broadminded people writing English today.

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Endnotes

[1] "The Strathy Language Unit was founded in 1981 by a bequest from John Richard Strathy. Mr. Strathy left to Queen's University the annual income from a trust; he specified in his will that the income was to be used to establish in the English Department of Queen's University a unit for the continuing study of English usage within Canada" (Lougheed 1986:190).

[2] Peters and Fee (1989) show that standard English spelling in contemporary Australia is similarly in flux.

[3] It is true that those Canadians who hold British English to be generally superior to American, as studies on language attitude (such as Warkentyne [1983], MacDonald [1986], and Richards [forthcoming]) continue to reveal, may feel some American variants discussed here to be unarguably incorrect. See note 12.

The Hobgoblin of Canadian Spelling, T.K. Pratt

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[4] Another excellent version is that of Benson, Benson, and Ilson (1986:15-18, 169-74).

[5] Other areas include punctuation (e.g. placing and number of quotation marks), abbreviation (with or without periods), hyphenation (more than Americans, less than British), some grammar (e.g. the relative acceptability of *real* as an intensifier), quite a few pronunciation isolates (e.g. *schedule*), and of course a host of lexical items. It is significant that two of the authorities cited in this paper use the same compound in their titles, but in different forms: *Canadian Press Stylebook* and *The Globe and Mail Style Book*.

[6] This point is made at greater length by Pringle (1986:26-27) and by Willinsky (1986 and 1988:60).

[7] **W2** and **Pe** were edited by the same individual, Thomas Paikeday. Mr. Paikeday was formerly on the *Gage* team, whose publisher he accuses of exaggerating the claims of this dictionary for its Canadianness, since the first edition was based on the American *Thorndike-Barnhart High School Dictionary*, 1965 (personal communication). **HM** and **FW** make no disguise of their being originally American - **HM**, in fact, is little changed in the Canadian edition -and it is predictable that both these dictionaries would stay with American spellings since there is no obvious reason not to.

[8] The Survey of Canadian English has been criticized for aspects of its methodology. The criticisms do not strongly apply, in my view, to this simple example. And if its figures are not always to be trusted, this survey certainly shows where the major issues are in Canadian usage.

[9] In keeping with general policy, CP would change New York's "Rockefeller Center", just as they would change "Canadian Labour Congress".

[10] The federal policy of gradual metrication also means increasing use of *litre, metre*, and so forth, yet the American spellings for these words are also common, and the outcome is by no means clear.

[11] According to Brinklow (1986:4), "one publishing house (The Porcupine's Quill) consistently follows the British style; the company has thus earned a reputation for striving to preserve the classical elements of book publishing, not only in copy-editing style, but in design and make-up as well".

[12] *Editing Canadian English* deals with aspects of mixed Canadian orthography, as well as other kinds of divided usage, that are beyond the scope of this paper. These include, for example, hyphens and capitalization. Canadians prefer more of these than do Americans, fewer than British, but there is still no norm. The FEAC survey found an almost equal division of opinion on the need for hyphens in *co-operation* and *co-ordination*, while *anti-war* was hyphenated by 70%, but *pre-war* by fewer than 50%. Similarly, informants were divided on the need for capitals in the title of Canada's head of state, the Governor General (whose hyphen was also a matter of contention), and for some major regions of the country, like the Prairies (Burton 1987:179,182).

13 McConnell (1978:47, 48) does give some good examples of angry reactions among Canadians to divergent spellings. And it is only fair to note that Strathy participants were divided on the issue of whether Canadian inconsistency matters much to Canadians, including themselves. This division was not along discipline boundaries; it split linguists like Chambers and Pringle, teachers like Nowlan and MacDonald, and journalists like Cobden ("it is most aggravating to anyone who cares about the English language that this country does not have a standard in spelling" [1986:124]) and Stewart ("For my part, I can take a 'u' or leave it alone. When I am writing book manuscripts, I fling 'u's about with careless abandon. When I am writing for newspapers, I take them all out" [1986:95]). It should also be noted that those advocating tolerance may have come to this position fairly recently. Chambers confessed that "until a few years ago, I think I would have looked askance at any Canadian guidebook that recommended spellings different from the ones I learned in school" (Lougheed 1986:8). For my own part, it was some years after I moved to the Maritimes from a rather Britified education in Ontario that I ceased marking *-or* and *-er* spellings in student essays as flatly wrong.

Resources for Further Study: Canadian Spelling

Heffernan, Kevin, et al. "Preserving Canada's 'honour': Ideology and diachronic change in Canadian spelling variants." *Written Language & Literacy* 13.1 (2010): 1-23.

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The Sounds of the Language: British, North American, Canadian[1]

R.E. McConnell

It has long been known that the sound system of any language changes, sometimes slowly and imperceptibly, and sometimes within a generation of speakers. A change may start in a large or prestigious centre and then spread outward, leaving the older form only in remote areas, which thus become "relic areas." A change in London speech, for example, often did not reach Ireland, Scotland, or some rural areas in England. Some changes are confined to certain social classes. Others affect the whole sound system of a language, one shift making another one necessary, and then another, and so on. Such a chain effect took place between approximately 1300 and 1700 with all the tense vowels of English, a shift which left the "back" tense vowels (i.e. those made with the back of the tongue raised) quite unstable and the resulting forms in modern English often unpredictable. Do these sets of words, for example, all rhyme in your speech:

> *broom room boom doom?*
>
> *roof   hoof?*
>
> *boot root soot foot loot?*
>
> *book look took nook?*

Most Canadians would say *broom* and *room* with the vowel sound of *too*, but many Maritimers, like eastern New Englanders, would use the vowel of *book* for these words and also for *roof* and *hoof*. The word *soot* has at least three variants all across Canada.

Tracing such patterns and variants in pronunciation is one of the most important tasks of dialectologists. Because the sound system is probably that part of the language system that a person uses least consciously, it is therefore a good "marker" of the sources of one's language and the influences upon it.

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[1] R.E. McConnell is a Professor Emerita in the Faculty of Education at the University of British Columbia. "The Sounds of the Language" is an excerpt from her 1979 textbook, *Our Own Voice: Canadian English and how it is studied* (Toronto: Gage) 21-31, 34. Some of the trends in Canadian English that McConnell discusses here have progressed rapidly, for example, the loss of the *which/witch* distinction. —Eds.

To treat adequately the sound systems that Canadians use and to compare them with other varieties of English would be difficult to do in an introductory book such as this. Nor is everything known about the speech of Canadians. To identify sounds, we will use the symbols of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)—a system in which a given speech sound is consistently represented by the same written or printed symbol. The symbols are enclosed in square brackets to distinguish them from ordinary letters of the alphabet. But we will use the IPA system in a general way only, and we will give (in spite of the obvious room for error on the part of the reader) some key words for identifying the symbols.

Dialectologists use the IPA, but with finer distinctions. They may also use in their questionnaires the devices of rhyming (*e.g.* "Does *genuine* rhyme with *fine* or with *fin*?") and, of "sames" and "contrasts" (*e.g.* "Is *cot* pronounced the same as *caught*, or differently?" "Is *hoarse* said the same as *horse?* Is *whine* the same as *wine?")*. These devices may be useful to you if you wish to test some of the items in this section with people in your part of Canada.

North America as a Relic Area: Pronunciation

A few differences in pronunciation immediately mark off most North American speech from nearly all other English dialects. These are certain features of seventeenth and eighteenth century English speech which were retained in most of North America, including Canada, but changed in SSB [**Standard Southern British**]. Because Australia, New Zealand, and other countries were colonized after the changes in the home country, these phonological differences set North American English apart.

1. So-called broad **a**

North America (generally) has retained the older [æ] (the vowel of hat) in words such as *dance, half, path, pasture,* whereas SSB has adopted [a:], somewhat like the vowel in *father* or that in *farm*. This use of [a:] was a dialect feature in Great Britain and was considered "vulgar," or

Vowels in English are tense, like the [i] and [u] in *feel* and *fool*, or lax, like the [ɪ] and [ʊ] in *fill* and *full*. In pronouncing such vowels as [i] and [u], the tenseness can be felt in all the organs of speech, but particularly in the tongue.

What evidence suggests that the writer of these lines is an American, not a Britisher?

The turtle lives 'twixt plated decks
Which practically conceal its sex.
I think it clever of the turtle
In such a fix to be so fertile.

—Ogden Nash, *Many Long Years Ago* (1945).

Mrs. Bilbeau came up.... She spoke nasally and with one of those accents common to eastern Canadians of "good family": she would say "bawths" and "I cawn't" in one breath, relapse into common Canadianese the next.

Selwyn Dewdney, *Wind Without Rain* (1946). A novel about a schoolteacher in a small town of southern Ontario; Mrs. Bilbeau is the wife of the principal.

substandard, up to the end of the eighteenth century, when the fashion rather suddenly changed.

In neither area is the pattern complete. North Americans generally do not use [æ] before [r] in words like *far*, *farm*, and *dark*, nor before [l] in many words, such as *palm*, nor in some frequently used words such as *father*. In England, the change did not affect all words: *bass* (the fish) and *mass* have [æ] while *grass* has [a:]; the newer word *plastic* has [æ] but *plaster* has [a:]. As English pop singers of imported American lyrics have discovered, *dance* and *romance* do not rhyme in SSB. Many an imitation of southern British speech puts an [a:] into words that do not have it, *e.g. gather*, which should have [æ] and does not rhyme with *rather*.

Here (in **Table 1**) are the results of one question in the Survey of Canadian English (SCE), a written questionnaire (1972) given to Grade 9 students and their parents across Canada. The results shown are in percentages and are for students and parents born in Canada. Examine the results. Can you explain the regional differences?

Table 1. Do **ant** and **aunt** rhyme? **yes** or **no**

	Parents				students			
	male		Female		male		female	
	yes	**no**	**yes**	**No**	**yes**	**no**	**yes**	**no**
Nfld	61	38	56	44	71	27	62	36
PEI	50	49	40	59	39	57	41	58
NS	41	58	28	71	43	57	31	68
NB	29	71	23	77	27	70	19	80
Que	84	13	79	20	81	16	82	15
Ont	87	13	85	13	80	15	82	17
Man	77	21	83	16	79	19	82	17
Sask	77	21	82	17	78	19	81	18
Alta	87	12	87	12	86	12	86	13
BC	86	13	87	12	84	14	82	16
Total	63	36	58	41	65	32	63	36

The Sounds of the Language, R. E. McConnell

2. Loss of **r**

North America has retained the post-vocalic [r] (that is, [r] after a vowel) before a consonant as in *farm* and *court* or before a pause (*i.e.* in final position, as in *far* and *core*), whereas SSB has dropped the [r], so that *far*, for example, sounds to Canadians like *fah* [fa:]. There is abundant evidence that in Elizabethan English all dialects articulated **r** in all positions. The dropping of [r] in the positions mentioned was an innovation in SSB, completed by the end of the eighteenth century. The change also affected certain areas of the United States, especially eastern New England and parts of the South. These areas, which kept closer contact with the mother country, either changed to the British pattern or were settled by people from the southern and eastern counties of England, where the **r** change (and in some cases the "broad a" change) may already have taken place before these settlers emigrated. The Midland area of the United States was settled by many Ulster Scotch-Irish people, who kept a strong final [r]. The Scots and Irish influence has also been strong in Canada.

It is interesting to note how many **r**-less variants have crept into dialects of English—some seeming substandard or perhaps folksy even though the r-less varieties of English enjoy a certain prestige. Here are some examples: *cuss* (a variant of *curse*), *gal (girl)*, *hoss (horse)*, *bust (burst)*.

3. A Relic Stress Pattern

North American speech usually retains a seventeenth-century stress pattern in many polysyllabic words, a pattern probably used by Shakespeare but since changed in SSB. The difference is especially noticeable in words ending in -**ary**, -**ery**, and -**ory**. North Americans use a secondary stress on the second from last syllable, while the British tendency is to keep the strong stress on the first syllable but to reduce the other syllables, thereby changing the sound of each vowel to a schwa or omitting it altogether.

How do these two fairly recent changes in SSB—the change to "broad a" [a] and the loss of [r] in certain positions—explain why speakers of SSB say *calves* and *carves* as homophones [pronounce them the same way], while most North Americans do not?

In any variety of English, all vowels are affected in quality when followed by r, and both British and North American dialects display a bewildering variety of pronunciations for certain words. Listen, for example, to various dialect speakers say *car*, *poor*, *pure*, *clerk*, *bear*, *more*, and the surname *Moore*.

Schwa, also called the "neutral vowel" and represented by [ə] in IPA, refers to the unstressed vowel sound heard, for example, in the first syllable of *above* and the last syllable of *circus.*

Some examples are:

U.S.A.	British
secretary	sécretary (as if sécret'ry)
millinery	millinery (as if millin'ry)
obligatory	obligatory (as if obligat'ry)
monastery	mónastery (as if mónast'ry)

Some other words show similar differences. For example:

interèsting	interesting (as if int'risting)
medicine	médicine; (as if médsin)

For some words, American dictionaries record both pronunciations—the British one often being assumed to be the more elegant. It is also apparent that the North American stress pattern (and perhaps the influence of the spelling) may be affecting British speech; the pronunciation *sécretàry*, for example, is now commonly heard in England. Canadians choose from both these major patterns of stress placement but, like Americans, tend to follow the older pattern. This major difference in stress placement gives the two large varieties of English markedly different speech rhythms.

A recent change in British speech is the converse of the movement described above. The main stress in some four- and five-syllable words in British speech is now moving from the initial syllable to the second or third syllable. Simeon Potter (1969) notes that *labóratory* has replaced the former Cambridge pronunciation *láboratory*, that *kilómetre* is competing with *kilometre*, and *contróversy* is gaining upon *cóntroversy*. He observes that in many four-syllable words such as *applicable*, *commendable*, *comparable*, *despicable*, *formidable*, *illustrative*, *intricacy*, *migratory*, *pejorative*, and *reputable*, usage remains unsettled; but he decides that the initial stress still "bears the cachet of elegance" and, even in England, will probably prevail.

Within Britain, the United States, and Canada, there are many other slight variations of stress, and thus of pronunciation of vowels; some of these variations are social in range and some are regional. Little wonder that Canadians, who are exposed to many kinds of English, often consult dictionaries to find out the "correct" placement of stress in words such as *centenary*, *compensatory*, or *predicative*, or to see if other Canadians' final vowel in *program* or *record* (noun) is more "correct" than their own—only to discover

The Sounds of the Language, R. E. McConnell

that more than one pattern is acceptable. How do you pronounce *dictionary? territory? cemetery? necessary?* Do you give the full vowel sound to the second from last syllable? Do you say ['progræm] or ['progrəm]? ['rekɔrd] or [rekərd]?

4. Intonation Differences

Few people realize that the intonations of a language or dialect, the musical aspects of speech, marked by the raising and lowering of *pitch*, carry a great deal of message. In fact, intonation is so highly patterned and so basic within a language—and even within a dialect of a language—that a good mimic wishing to copy a language or dialect learns the intonation patterns as the first, and perhaps the most important, step. Because we frequently tie emotional meanings to changes in intonation, misunderstandings can occur with unfamiliar patterns. The main intonational difference between the two large varieties of English—British and North American—shows itself in the question or request pattern.

Generally, the North American intonation for a question or request demanding a yes/no answer is a long, continuous rise in pitch. The British pattern begins at a high pitch, then falls, and rises again on the last syllables only. A recent study of the intonations used by Toronto teenagers, however, shows that many variations exist, some related to the sex and class differences of the speakers—enough differences to suggest that more research must be done before generalizations may be made about Canadian speech (C. Seguinot, in P. R. Léon and P. Martin 1976). There may also be subtle differences between and within regional areas of Canada. If, for instance, we say that prairie speech is "flatter" than Ontario speech, what exactly do we mean? Is Maritime intonation different again? In what way?

In Robertson Davies' novel *Fifth Business* (1970), set in a small town of Ontario about a generation ago, one character (a Canadian) expresses his emotional reaction to a word pronounced with a different stress. (How do you pronounce the word?)

I used to hear him abused by some of the junior masters at the school. They were Englishmen or Canadians who had studied in England, and they were full of the wisdom of the London School of Economics and the doctrines of *The New Statesman.* . . . it amused me to hear those poor fellows, working for terrible salaries, denouncing Boy and a handful of others as "ca-*pittle*-ists"; they always stressed the middle syllables, this being a fashionable pronunciation of the period, and one that seemed to make rich men especially contemptible.

Try taping various speakers saying this question, including British speakers if possible.

"Would you mind repeating that?"

The intonation pattern that many British speakers use to mean merely "Please repeat that" often suggests anger or disbelief to North Americans.

Canada as a Relic Area: A Canadian Diphthong Rule

Canadian English differs from most British and American dialects in the pronunciation of two diphthongs. In fact, the two variations can be seen as one systematic "sound rule." A diphthong is the blending of two different vowels into one syllabic unit, so that the native speaker hears one vowel sound; examples are the "ou" sound in *house* and *how*, the "oy" of *boy* and *toil*, and the "ay" of *die* and *tile*. Say them very slowly and you can hear the gliding from one vowel sound to another.

Nearly every non-Canadian notices the way in which Canadians pronunce the "ou" sound in words such as *house*, *out*, *shout*, and *south*. The diphthong is not [**aʊ**] as in most other dialects but [**ʌʊ**]; that is, it begins with, not the vowel sound of *father* or *balm*, but a centralized vowel (*i.e.* made more in the central part of the mouth) like the [ʌ] in *love*, or a stressed form of the [ə] at the beginning of *above*.

Similar, though less noticeable, is the Canadian diphthong in such words as *white*, *life*, *type* , and *mice*. It follows the same pattern in that it is pronounced [**ʌɪ**], with a centralized first vowel, rather than the southern British and the American [**aɪ**] with a glide from the vowel sound of *cart* to that of—approximately—*sit* [sɪt].

Yet in words such as *how*, *houses*, *housing*, *rowdy*, *loud*, and *wide*, *alive*, *tidy*, *knives*, and *high*, Canadians regularly use the diphthongs [**aʊ**] and [**aɪ**], as do speakers of the other two major varieties of English. What, then, is this system that Canadians are unconsciously using?

A Canadian can hear the different diphthongs in pairs such as the following. (Caution: don't let the spelling fool you; listen to the *sound* of the vowel before voiced or voiceless consonants. You can also feel the change in the opening of your mouth.)

	voiced	**voiceless**
knives: knife	[v]	[f]
hide: height	[d]	[t]
rise: rice	[z]	[s]
loud: lout	[d]	[t]
lousy: louse	[z]	[s]
how: house	zero	[s]

The Rule: The first part of each diphthong becomes centralized [Chambers, this volume, calls this shift "raising"] before a voiceless consonant.

The Sounds of the Language, R. E. McConnell

A *voiced* sound is one in which the cords vibrate; a *voiceless* sound is articulated without this vibration. You can hear the difference by covering your ears and articulating [z] (voiced) and [s] (voiceless). Vowels are regularly voiced. The difference is important in the phonological system of the English language, in which there is a meaningful contrast between the members of such pairs as [b]-[p]; [z]-[s]; [g]-[k];[v]-[f]; [d]-[t]; and [ð]-[θ] (e.g. *breathe/breath*).

The general English language often marks a switch from noun to verb by voicing the final consonants; when this happens, Canadians also change their diphthongs.

noun (voiceless)   verb (voiced)

my *house* [hʌʊs]   I'll *house* them for a week [ha**ʊ**z].

my *mouth* [mʌʊθ]   Don't *mouth* your words [ma**ʊ**ð].

Plurals, too, follow a similar pattern, as in *wife: wives, house: houses*, when these also involve voicing.

When words are run together, a diphthong may follow the same rule. Canadians usually say *high* (alone) or *Hi!* with the [**aɪ**] sound, but in *high school* (fused, or pronounced as if one word) they probably switch to the [**ʌɪ**] diphthong (before the voiceless [s]).

Many Canadians use the regular [**aɪ**] when pronouncing *diaper* with three syllables, ['d**aɪ**əpər] as the diphthong is before a vowel, *i.e.* a voiced sound; yet they change to [**ʌɪ**] if they drop a syllable, ['d**ʌɪ**pər] (as if rhyming with *viper* or *wiper*), because the diphthong now is followed by a voiceless consonant, [p].

Unconsciously, Canadians are following a complicated yet systematic rule.

Where did this feature of Canadian pronunciation come from? There is evidence to show that in Shakespeare's time—the period in which the first British settlers came to North America—*all* the front glide diphthongs were pronounced [**ʌɪ**]. Though probably already changing in the seventeenth century, [a**ʊ**] was also an early pronunciation of the back glide diphthong in all positions. Dialect surveys reveal that scattered instances of these earlier centralized pronunciations still occur in rural parts of New England and in some parts of western New York State. Only in three widely separated areas in North America, however, does the systematic alternation of the diphthongs occur: in Canada and (with some slight differences) in eastern Virginia and a part of South Carolina.

Therefore the [**ʌʊ**] of *out* and *house* and the [**ʌɪ**] of *white* and *ice* in Canadian speech are probably relics, reflecting an earlier stage in English pronunciation. These relic

Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader

features are retained only partially (that is, before voiceless consonants), but systematically.

How Do You Pronounce "khaki"?

One unique Canadian pronunciation illustrates what can happen when a people conscious of their British and North American linguistic backgrounds borrow a word—in this case, the word *khaki* (from India, the Urdu word for 'dust'). Involved are both the loss of [r], and the [a] versus [æ] difference.

The English pronounce the word as [ka:'ki] (that is, no [r]); the Americans use a spelling pronunciation, with [æ], rhyming with *tacky*. Canadians probably first heard the word through Britishers and, accustomed to the Englishman's omission of **r** before consonants, inserted an **r** sound, and made the word ['kar ki] (to rhyme with how a Canadian says *snarky).* . . . At present, with less frequent use of the word *khaki* and with the power of mass media from the United States, there is a movement toward the American pronunciation—that is, if younger people know the word at all. The results of recent surveys suggest that few of them do.

How Do You Pronounce "tomato"?

Sometimes a prestige pronunciation extends to one or two words only. In *aunt*, *rather*, and *tomato*, for example, the [æ] may give way to the British sound [a:]. In fact, *tom**a**to* may have three variations: the vowels of *hate*, *hot*, and *hat*. A survey of the Kootenay area in British Columbia showed definite trends away from the British forms.

tomato [2nd vowel pronounced]
[e] like *may*	92% Adults	100% Teenagers
[ɑ] like *hot*	8% Adults	
[æ] like *hat*	none	

rather
[æ] like *hat*	83% Adults	96 % Teenagers
[ɑ] like *hot*	17% Adults	4% Teenagers.

Data courtesy of Dr. R. J. Gregg and his students, James Poison (written questionnaire) and Howard Woods (field work), 1970.

Practical Observations

One can train the ear to tune in to Canadian speech, and one can also listen for some

The Sounds of the Language, R. E. McConnell

sound changes that are happening right now.

1. How Canadians treat **t**

(a) In-many parts of Canada and the United States, a **t** sound in certain positions may be voiced to a **d** or to almost a **d**. Listen to how people around you, in ordinary running speech, say

butter (like *budder?)*
kitty (like *kiddy?)*
patio (like *padio?)*
teeter-totter (like *teeder-todder?)*

If asked to pronounce pairs*, e.g. bleating/bleeding, better/ bedder, waiting/wading*, and the like, such speakers can readily put back the **t**; but in unconscious, informal speech the movement toward or actually to the **d** can be heard. . . .

> Listen to how Canadians pronounce ***Ottawa***.

This voicing of the **t** is not "sloppy speech"; it dates back to Elizabethan English or earlier, and is heard also in some dialects of Anglo-Irish and southern English (other relic areas for this sound feature). The spreading of this voicing in North America has been observed and recorded since the late nineteenth century.

(b). Also widespread in Canada and the United States is the deletion of a **t** in certain positions, especially after an **n**, so that *winter* sounds like (or almost like) *winner*, *centre* like *cenner*, *twenty* like *twenny*, *international* like *innernational*, and *interested* like *innerested.*

Speakers can—as in (a) above—recapture the **t** in conscious or formal speech as, for example, in differentiating between meanings of an *inter-city express* and an *inner city express*, but the deletion is becoming increasingly noticeable in Canada. A Canadian television ad about a dental product insists that the product was "invenid by a denist."

(c) On the other hand, an intrusive **t** may occur between **1** or **n** and **s**—that is, in the sequences **ls** or **ns**—so that *else*, for example, may be pronounced likes *elts*, and *once* may sound like *wunts*. This explains why *dance* is sometimes spelled *dants*.

2. *Mary merry marry*

Do you and the people in your area say all these words in the same way?

Speakers of SSB and of most other British dialects have three distinct vowels in these

words. Many older Canadians say *Mary* and *merry* in the same way but *marry* differently. Dialectologists are finding, however, that many younger Canadians are merging these vowel sounds before **r** (when the **r** comes between two sounded vowels) so that all three words sound alike. This change, which happened long ago in the northern and north midland parts of the United States, is now taking place in many parts of North America.

Try testing this item in your area, and see if there is a generation gap, or if the change has already occurred.

Barry

berry

bury

Do you differentiate these in speech?

Some Other General Patterns in Canadian Speech Sounds

1. cot/caught, don/dawn, collar/caller, holler/hauler

Are these pairs homophones for you (that is, do they sound exactly alike)? Most Canadians have merged these two vowels sounds, which SSB speakers and many (but not all) Americans differentiate.

2. horse/hoarse, morning/mourning

Are these pairs homophones for you? They are pronounced alike in most parts of North America. But in many parts of the English-speaking world, including the American South, parts of the Midlands, sections of New England and, possibly, parts of the Canadian Maritimes, these words are clearly differentiated, as are the vowels of *forty* and *four*. To know this is to understand why the spelling differentiation is sensible for many English speakers.

Some Other Divided Usages in Canadian Pronunciation.

The speech forms of all three large regions—the British Isles, the United States, and Canada—have within them a wide variety of vowel patterns besides the main differences mentioned above. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Canadian speech sometimes follows a dominant American pattern (especially northern), some-times the British (SSB) usage, sometimes a mixed pattern, and sometimes its own. Here are some of the main variations:

1. Are the following pairs homophones in your speech?
(Do not be fooled by the spellings!)

The Sounds of the Language, R. E. McConnell

wine/whine, witch/which, Wales/whales, weather/whether, wear/where.

Few speakers of SSB now distinguish between members of these pairs. The older use of [hw] to begin *which, whale,* and so on is now considered old-fashioned or provincial. This change in SSB came about in the late eighteenth century.

In the United States, usage varies: the New England area is evenly divided in usage, but the northern area overwhelmingly keeps the older pattern.

Surveys in Canada show that the pattern is unsettled, some Canadians using [hw] consistently, some using only [w], and others using either—depending on the stress or on the word. For example, a Canadian may differentiate between *weather* and *whether*, yet pronounce *Wales* and *whales* as homophones and use either [w] or [hw] for *wheat* or *wheel*. Sometimes teachers have insisted upon different pronunciations to match the spellings, resulting in people either thinking they differentiate the sounds or differentiating only a few pairs of words.

How many of these words do you differentiate in speech? **where wear were**

2. Are these words homophones in your speech: do, due, dew?

In both the United States and Canada, the pronunciation of the vowel in words such as *student*, *news*, *tune*, and *duke* has long been a speech marker and a social shibboleth. The British generally use a glide (that is, a sound beginning like the **y** of *yes* or the **ee** of *see*, followed by the **u** sound), especially after **t**, **d** and **n**: this pronunciation, as contrasted with the simple [u] usually found in educated North American, carries much prestige. Surveys of educated people in Ontario show wide individual variation and much inconsistency. Listen carefully to the usage in your area, especially in words like *Tuesday*, *news*, *dew*, *duke*, *due*, *tune*, *student*, and *suit*.

3. How do you pronounce the italicized syllable in these patterns?
Are you consistent within a pattern?

(a) *pro* cess; *pro* gress (noun, verb)   *pro* duce (noun, verb)
   pro fane; *pro* ceeds

(b) ag*ile* doc*ile* fac*ile* fert*ile* fut*ile* host*ile* miss*ile* text*ile* vir*ile* ster*ile* serv*ile*
       puer*ile* frag*ile* rept*ile*

It is interesting that, although Americans tend to weaken or even eliminate the vowel of the -**ile** while SSB speakers keep it (so that the example words all rhyme with *mile*), American speakers usually keep it in *gentile, exile, crocodile,* and *domicile*. Canadians

have mixed usage, often rhyming most such words with mile, but perhaps using the American pronunciation for a few words, such as *missile* or *futile*.

(c) quin*ine*   genu*ine*   bov*ine*   iod*ine*   fel*ine*

Here is how some modern dictionaries describe the pronunciations: **AHD** is *The American Heritage Dictionary*, 1969-70; **OALD** is *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, 3rd ed., 1974; **DCE** is *Dictionary of Canadian English* (1967 or 1973). The three possible pronunciations are *-in* (rhyming with *fin*), *-ine* (rhyming with *fine*), and *-een* (rhyming with *teen*).

Table 2. Pronunciations given in an American, a British and a Canadian dictionary

	AHD	**OALD**	**DCE**
quinine	-een (Brit. –in)	-een (U.S. -ine)	-ine or -een
genuine	-in	-in	-in or –ine (the latter with the warning that it may be "considered vulgar")
bovine	-ine and -een	-ine	-ine
iodine	-ine –in -een	-een (U.S. -ine)	-ine -in
feline	-ine	-ine	-ine

Variations occur in all regions. The pronunciation of *genuine* with the last syllable rhyming with *nine* is widespread in Canada, but is considered by many to be vulgar. Walter S. Avis (1973) points out how persistent this attitude has been in Canada:

> That this shibboleth has a long history in Canada may be inferred from the following bit of doggerel reported by Captain Marryat, an English traveler, in his *Diary in America*, London, 1839 (Vol. 1. p. 217):
>
> To the Ladies of the City of Toronto [1837].
>
> Our ladies are the best kind,
> Of all others the most fine;
> In their manners and their minds,
> Most refined and *genuine*.

Avis comments: The italics of the last word reflect the attitude of Marryat toward this sample of *Torontoese*. I personally see no reason whatever for disowning this pronunciation, especially in view of its obvious acceptance by a substantial number of educated Canadians.

This pronunciation is also heard in the Midland area of the United States. Here are the relevant results of the SCE (1972). What differences do you see?

The Sounds of the Language, R. E. McConnell

Table 3. *Genuine* rhymes with *fin, fine,* either way.

	parents						students					
	male			female			male			female		
	fin	*fine*	either	*fin*	*fine*	either	*fin*	*fine*	either	*fin*	*fine*	either
Nfld	27	62	7	26	61	7	21	62	16	23	60	16
PEI	19	72	7	23	69	5	17	66	13	17	68	13
NS	25	68	7	33	62	4	24	58	16	24	63	12
NB	24	67	7	34	58	6	23	56	19	22	63	15
Que	31	61	5	41	49	8	37	43	18	37	48	14
Ont	36	58	5	41	51	7	31	53	15	29	53	17
Man	24	73	2	22	72	4	27	53	19	26	56	17
Sask	16	78	5	24	67	8	19	63	16	20	62	17
Alta	18	79	3	27	63	8	24	58	17	28	58	14
BC	31	62	4	40	54	5	34	48	17	40	46	13
Total	24	69	5	31	62	6	26	56	17	27	58	15

Question 26 in Scargill's Survey of Canadian English

What is your own attitude toward the pronunciation of this word?

*4. ant**i**- sem**i**- mult**i**-*

Most Americans use ['semai] (ending with the vowel of *my*); Canadians generally prefer ['semi] (ending with the vowel of *me*), though the other form is also heard. The two other prefixes follow the same pattern.

Avis reported in 1956 that Ontario teenagers, noticing the pronunciation south of the border, referred to Americans as "the semi's" ['semaiz]. . . .

Conclusions

Canadian speech in general is much the same as that of the Northern dialect area of the United States, particularly in its use of [æ] in *dance*, *class*, and the like and in its strong final and preconsonantal **r**. But it also has many Midland American features, many British features, and some features of its own. Its varied settlement history and its ties with the British Isles make inevitable many divided usages, and there is a broad tolerance of such differences. Nevertheless, there does seem to be emerging something like an educated Standard Canadian English, with a grouping of features and choices that marks it as being Canadian. Slowly dialectologists are finding out the Canadian choices.

Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader

Canadian *Eh?* From *Eh* to Zed[1]

Elaine Gold

The discourse tag *eh* is widely considered to be a marker of Canadian speech, and, by extension, of Canadian identity. Ask any group of Canadian students to list the features of Canadian English and *eh* will inevitably be included. Go beyond the realm of speech and ask students to list the traits that make Canadians unique, and *eh* is listed alongside multiculturalism, bilingualism and cultural acceptance (Richardson 2004). This strong association of *eh* with Canadian identity has become very evident in print, as illustrated in this recent headline describing July 1, 2007 "An unforgettable Canada Day, eh?" (Toronto Star).

But what exactly is the Canadian *eh*? There are so many questions associated with this tiny word: How long has it been considered a marker of Canadian Speech? Is it really a Canadianism? How does it differ from *eh* in other English dialects? How is it used? What does it mean? Who uses it, and how frequently? What does the future hold for *eh* in Canada? This article attempts to shed some light on these questions.

1. A Short History of Canadian *Eh*

Eh had been noted as a characteristic of Canadian speech at least as early as the 1950's. In 1957, Walter Avis wrote: "An American … might observe that many of us have a habit of saying *eh?* instead of *what?* when asking for something to be repeated" (quoted in Avis 1972: 91) Soon after, Harold B. Allen (1959:20) claimed "And only in Canada is found the interrogative *eh?* /ey/, used in asking for a repetition of what is not understood or heard clearly. This is so exclusively a Canadian feature that immigration officials use it as an identifying clue." In 1967 Mavor Moore, claimed that "both the English and the Americans can spot a Canadian from his 'eh?' at the end of a sentence: It's hot, eh?" (1967:54).

By the 1980's *eh* was well ensconced as a trait of Canadian speech. Howard B. Woods (1980:187) observed that "*Eh* is one of the most characteristic markers of Canadian English." It was also in the 1980's that a TV skit lampooning Canadian stereotypes became very popular, starring the two (fictional) characters, Bob and Doug McKenzie.

As well as drinking beer, eating back bacon and wearing lumber jackets, Bob and Doug liberally sprinkled their dialogue with *eh*'s. Here are the opening lines of 'The Great White North' sketch:

> Bob: *I'm Bob McKenzie, this is my brother Doug.*
> Doug: *How's it goin', eh?*

The McKenize Brother skits both reflected a widely held attitude that *eh* was a marker of Canadian speech, and contributed to the spread of this status. Today *eh* is used so frequently as a hallmark of Canadian identity that no one questions whether it is Canadian or used by Canadians.

2.   But Is *Eh* a Canadianism?

Although it is widely acknowledged as a feature of Canadian speech, *eh* is not unique to Canada. Allen (1959:20) noted that "It is also frequently heard in England, where the expression doubtless comes from." In 1967 Avis published *A Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles* and, surprisingly to many readers, did not include *eh.* Avis defended this omission in a 1972 article entitled 'So *eh?* is Canadian, eh?' He argued that *eh* isn't a Canadianism since *eh* can be found in the speech and literature of many English-speaking countries, and provided examples from the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, and South Africa.

Does this mean that *eh* is not Canadian after all? No, for while *eh* is not unique to Canada it is apparently used more frequently and in a wider range of contexts than in any other English dialect. Avis himself notes that *eh* is used very frequently throughout Canada and provides evidence that certain uses of *eh* are unique to Canada. He states (1972:103), "Although eh? is no Canadianism, there can be little doubt that the interjection is well entrenched. Its frequency of occurrence is high generally -- among some individuals so high as to pose a threat to communication. Its presence seems to be evident throughout the country at all levels of society." Later in the same article he again remarks on the frequent use of *eh* and on unique Canadian usages (1972:95): "There can be no doubt that *eh?* has a remarkably high incidence in the conversation of many Canadians these days. Moreover, it seems certain that in Canada *eh?* has been pressed into service in contexts where it would be unfamiliar elsewhere." Two examples of contexts that would be "unfamiliar elsewhere" are illustrated in (1) and (2) below; Avis could find only Canadian examples for these types of *eh*. Avis referred to the use of *eh* in (1) as 'the narrative *eh?* and noted that this type was found primarily in Canadian oral speech. He included the example in (2) in a category he labeled 'miscellaneous' which included only Canadian examples; these could all be described as exclamations.

(1) "He's holding on to a firehose, eh? The thing is jumping all over the place, eh, and he can hardly hold onto it eh? Well, he finally loses control of it, eh, and the water knocks down half a dozen bystanders." (Avis 1972: 103)

(2) "How about that, eh?" (Avis 1972: 99)

It is interesting to note that by Avis's own definition of a Canadianism, *eh* would qualify as a Canadianism. He writes in the introduction to the *Dictionary of Canadianisms*: "A Canadianism, then, is a word, expression, or meaning which is native to Canada or which is distinctively characteristic of Canadian usage though not necessarily exclusive to Canada" (1967: xiii). Therefore, given *eh's* frequent use " throughout the country at all levels of society", and the two constructions Avis found unique to Canada, *eh* can certainly be considered "distinctively characteristic of Canadian usage though not necessarily exclusive to Canada ".

The debate as to whether *eh* is Canadian seems to have ended in the 1970's. Sandra Schecter's 1979 article 'Eh? Revisited: Is it or is it not Canadian?' argues for the Canadianness of *eh* and appears to mark the end of the debate.

3. **What does *eh* mean?**

Attitudes can affect research , and it is possible that Avis' negative attitude to *eh* as "virtually meaningless spacers" (1972:101) discouraged him from claiming *eh* for Canada. However, *eh* is not meaningless: it performs distinct discourse functions, and an utterance is not the same with *eh* as without it. Several researchers have tried to pin down *eh's* meaning and describe how it is used in conversation.

Johnson (1976) describes in some detail the different speech acts with which *eh* can co-occur, such as statements of fact, questions, commands, insults, and accusations. Her discussion includes a thoughtful consideration of the 'situational assumptions' that accompany every speech act. For example, the situational assumptions of a command include that the speaker is in a position to issue the command, and the hearer disposed to comply. She explains that when *eh* is added to a command, the speaker is recognizing that both of these assumptions are weak: the speaker may not be in a position to command, and the hearer may not be disposed to comply. Johnson argues that the addition of *eh* changes a command to a request, and allows the hearer the choice of complying. This distinguishes the command *Wash the dishes!* from the request *Wash the dishes, eh?* Her analysis helps explain the humour in an order like *Forward march, eh?*: an officer normally wouldn't allow his troops the option of obeying.

Johnson applies this approach to several different speech acts and concludes (1976, 158):

> The general conversational function of *eh*, therefore, is to question the situational assumptions associated with different speech acts, thereby showing that these assumptions are held in a weak rather than a strong form. In this way, a speaker can avoid an attitude of officiousness and at the same time avoid unfriendly formality.

Johnson ties this function of *eh* to the Canadian national character as she continues:

> This interpretation of *eh* fits well with Canadians' general conception of themselves as a rather cautious, rather retiring, but basically good-hearted nation. We are not afraid to form and express our own point of view, we just don't like to force it too much on other people. *Eh*?

It is tempting to associate Canadians' frequent use of *eh* with national personality traits. Casselman (1996) describes the different discourse functions of the repeated use of *eh* in a narrative as follows:

> That example shows the speaker trying to involve the person being spoken to, trying to seek agreement, trying to make sure the listener is not offended. That quality might be called a residual, pioneer bashfulness, a Canadian conversational deference. So using our fear-of-rejection interjection is a way of being nice, eh?

Schecter (1979) also argues for the meaningfulness of *eh* and takes issue with Avis's approach: "He ascribes to eh? the status of a delaying tactic or, even worse, a pathological stutter" (42). Schecter discusses the different meanings that can attach to *eh?* depending on context and tone of voice, a consideration that is too often overlooked in discussions of *eh*. She analyzes several of Avis's examples to show the meaning that *eh* adds, including example (3) below.

(3) The purpose is to take four or five million people off the taxroll, eh? (Prime Minister Trudeau, CBC-TV)

She writes, "Here Trudeau is using eh? to indicate that he has answered the listener's question and that the issue is closed ... this use of 'eh?' can also convey the idea that the listener's question was a stupid one to begin with." (1979:43). As this quote from Trudeau shows, *eh* is often used with sarcastic or ironic overtones, uses of *eh* that might belie the stereotypical unassuming Canadian personality.

Schecter points out another function of *eh*, to emphasize a key phrase in a sentence. In example (4) *eh* emphasizes the player's stoicism and in example (5) it emphasizes the significance of the wealth.

(4)   I'd have to say he takes more physical punishment than anyone else on the team, but he's quiet about it, eh?

(5)   You look around you, right? and you see, in Quebec here, slums, and right alongside them, wealth, eh? And you figure there's something wrong.

Gibson's research (1976, 1977) looked at the many different ways in which *eh* can be used. Building both upon the categories set out in Avis's 1972 article and on her own research in Vancouver, she proposed the eight types of *eh* listed in **Table 1**.

Table 1: Gibson's Eight Types of *Eh*

Type of *Eh*	Sample Sentence
1. Reversed polarity	*That should be okay, eh?*
2. Constant polarity	*A: He said "eh" twice.* *B: Oh, he said "eh," eh?*
3. Imperative	*Look at that, eh!*
4. Exclamation	*What a drag, eh?*
5. Polar Interrogative	*(Did) you see the game last night, eh?*
6. Wh Question	*What are you trying to say, eh?*
7. Pardon	*Eh?*
8. Anecdotal	*He went from building, eh, to building.*

The use of the term 'polarity' in the first two types appears to require replacing *eh* in the example with an equivalent tag question, such as *shouldn't it?* in example (1) and *did he?* in example (2).   If the main utterance is positive and the tag is negative, it is considered 'reversed polarity' as in Type 1. If the utterance is positive and the tag is also positive, it is described as constant polarity, as in Type 2. The term 'polar interrogative' in Type 5 refers to *yes-no* questions. Gibson/s categories proved very useful for later research, in particular for the surveys described in the following section.

4. What do surveys tell us about *eh*?

Informal usages like *eh* are very challenging to study and quantify. Gibson originally attempted to study *eh* through personal interviews, but she found this approach unsatisfactory: although a few informants used *eh* frequently during the interviews, most used it rarely, and Gibson felt she was missing the way *eh* was used in natural speech. She resorted to carrying a notebook and noting down every instance of *eh* she heard. However, this method is not practical for gathering large amounts of

information and many researchers have relied upon surveys for this purpose. These survey rely on informants reporting on their own use, and self reporting about the use of *eh* is problematic for several reasons. First, speakers are often not conscious of how they use *eh* or whether they use it at all. Gibson quotes a conversation she had with an informant who had claimed never to use *eh* (1976:14):

Gibson: *We had religious roofers.*
Informant: *They probably do their work, eh?*
Gibson: *Ha! (writing down utterance)*
Informant: *No! No! No, but they probably do, eh?*

Secondly, many speakers feel that *eh* is improper or rude, and so might underreport their own use, or describe sentences with *eh* as ungrammatical, even if they use *eh* themselves. Another consideration is that informants might interpret survey questions in different ways; for example, what is considered frequent use for one informant might not be considered frequent by another. Despite these limitations, surveys provide us with informative insights into Canadians' use of *eh*.

4.1 Survey of Canadian English 1972

Scargill and Warkentyne carried out the first extensive survey of Canadian English, with over 14,000 Canadian born respondents, approximately 8000 students and 6000 parents. Their survey included two questions regarding *eh*, given in (6) and (7) below.

(6)   Do you use *eh* for *What did you say?*

(7)   Do you use *eh* in, e.g., *So that's what he thinks, eh?*

The *eh* in example (6) is Gibson's Type 7, expressing pardon (pardon-*eh*). The sentence in example (7) sums up an observation (observation-*eh*) and would fit best into Gibson's Type 2: it could be rephrased with a constant polarity tag *does he?* The results for the two questions, for the 8000 student respondents, are given in **Table 2**.

Overall, the results are similar across the ten provinces. There is some variation: for example, Quebec respondents report using *eh* for 'pardon' more than do other Canadians. This is the first hint that there might be some influence on Canadian *eh* from French; more on this possible influence in Section 5 below.

Table 2:   The Survey of Canadian English -   Student Results

	Do you use *eh* for *What did you say?* % Yes		**Do you use *eh* in, e.g., *So that's what he thinks, eh?* % Yes**	
	M	**F**	**M**	**F**
Nfld	30	24	68	79
PEI	25	28	72	84
NS	21	17	71	76
NB	25	27	74	83
Que	37	39	65	77
Ont	27	24	66	76
Man	30	19	76	80
Sask	27	19	74	78
Alta	28	16	70	78
BC	22	22	70	81
Total	**27**	**24**	**70**	**79**

There is minor variation between the usage reported by men and women: overall men report using pardon-*eh* slightly more than women, and women report using observation-*eh* somewhat more than men.   There is a prevalent stereotype that men use *eh* more than women (Gold 2005), but these results suggest that men and women have quite similar patterns of use.

What is most striking about these results is that pardon-*eh* is used much less than observation-*eh*: only one quarter of the respondents report using pardon-*eh*, whereas three quarters of the respondents report using the observation-*eh*.   This was the first evidence of the importance of considering the different types of *eh* when investigating Canadian usage.   Different types can have different patterns of use by men and women and different frequencies of use overall.

4.2 Love 1973

Love's 1973 thesis from Edmonton included a survey of 35 urban respondents, using sample sentences drawn from Avis's 1972 article. Her categories, with a selection of the sample sentences and results are shown in **Table 3**.

Love's results illustrate, again, that different types of *eh* have different levels of acceptance for speakers. Three types of *eh* are accepted by at least 80 percent of the respondents, while only about half of the respondents accept the other three types.   It

Canadian *Eh?* Elaine Gold

Table 3: Love 1973

Type of *eh*	Example	% Accepted
yes-no question (rhetorical)	*Isn't that a corker, eh?*	88
declarative	*The sun is too hot, eh?*	80
wh-question (rhetorical)	*What an admission, eh? How about that, eh?*	80
wh-question	*What have you got to say for yourself, eh?*	54
imperative	*Listen to me eh?*	49
yes-no question	*Did that seem all right eh?*	42

is not simple to compare Love's results with the results of the other surveys. Love asked her informants whether they 'accept' the sentences with *eh,* while most of the other surveys ask if the informants 'use' the sentences. Further, Love used different sample sentences and categories than the other surveys. For purposes of comparison the sentences she categorizes as 'yes-no question (rhetorical)' and as 'wh-question (rhetorical)' can both be described as exclamations, and the sentence she calls 'declarative' can be described as an opinion. We will see that the patterns found by Love, of high rates with opinions and exclamations, are found in the later surveys from other parts of the country.

4.3 Vancouver and Ottawa Surveys 1980

The Survey of Vancouver English and the Ottawa Survey of Canadian English 1980 were carried out at about the same time, had similar methodologies, and used, for the most part, the same sample sentences. The sample questions used and the results for the 300 Vancouver informants and 100 Ottawa informants are shown in **Table 4**. The sample sentences used were based on Gibson's eight categories; the Vancouver survey added one further sentence, *Thanks, eh?*

A comparison of the results for Ottawa (in Ontario) and Vancouver (in British Columbia) show regional variation that didn't appear in the earlier Survey of Canadian English. The Survey of Canadian English (Table 2) showed no significant difference between the results from Ontario and British Columbia. However Table 4 shows Ottawa reporting significantly higher usage that Vancouver.

Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader

Table 4: Results for the Ottawa and Vancouver Surveys

	Ottawa	Vancouver
	%	**%**
What a game, eh?	73	45
Nice day, eh?	72	39
Oh, you're still here, eh?	64	45
It goes over here, eh?	58	29
Think about it, eh?	52	34
Eh? What did you say?	43	13
What are they trying to do, eh?	15	15
This guy is up on the 27th floor, eh, then he gets out on the ledge, eh…	6	13
Thanks, eh?	n/a	9
Average (8 questions in both surveys)	**48**	**29**

Table 5 compares the results from the Ottawa and Vancouver surveys with the results for the two questions asked in the Survey of Canadian English (SCE). For pardon-*eh*, in the Survey of Canadian English, Ontario had 25% for men and women together, and British Columbia had 22%. However the Ottawa survey reported a higher response of 43% and Vancouver lower, at 13%. One might expect the urban centres to have lower results than the provinces as a whole, which could account for the Vancouver result being lower that the score for British Columbia in the earlier survey. It is the higher Ottawa score which is surprising.

Table 5: Regional Comparisons

	SCE: Ontario	SCE: British Columbia	Ottawa	Vancouver
	%	**%**	**%**	**%**
observation-eh	71	76	64	45
pardon-eh	25	22	43	13

The observation-*eh* sentence in the Vancouver and Ottawa surveys, *Oh you're still here, eh?* is not the same as the Survey of Canadian English's sentence *So that's what he thinks, eh?* but they are similar enough to be compared. The Ottawa results are just slightly lower than the earlier survey's results for Ontario; Vancouver again shows lower results than the earlier British Columbia scores. However both the Vancouver and

Ottawa surveys show the same pattern as was observed with the Survey of Canadian English: there is a substantially higher reported use for *eh* with observations than for *eh* expressing pardon.

The Ottawa and Vancouver surveys also show similar patterns to Love's Edmonton survey, with relatively high reported use of *eh* with sentences that can be described as opinions, *Nice day, eh?* and exclamations, *What a game, eh?*

Vancouver's results are surprisingly low overall given the results for Ottawa, Edmonton and British Columbia in the other surveys. Gregg noted these low results and commented:

> This supposedly typical marker of Canadian speakers as distinct from American was rejected by almost three-quarters of our representative selection of urban-dwelling Canadians: in response to nine utterances involving EH? 73% of our total population said no and only 27% accepted them. (Gregg et al. 2004:100)

It is possible that Vancouverites use *eh* less than Canadians living further east, but it is also possible that the method of collection in the Vancouver survey lowered the results. The Vancouver survey treated *eh* like the other survey questions about grammar and asked both whether the expression was correct and whether the respondent used it. The percentages given for 'acceptance' apparently combine usage with a grammaticality judgement; this doubtless lowered the rates, since there are many speakers who use *eh* but consider it ungrammatical.

The Ottawa and Vancouver surveys considered factors of socio-economic status and education as well as age and sex. As mentioned earlier, popular stereotypes link the use of *eh* with male speakers, and also with low social class and low levels of educations (Gold 2005). The Vancouver survey found slightly higher acceptance rates overall by men than by women. The Ottawa survey found some variation according to social class, with narrative-*eh* use decreasing with an increase in social economic status. However, the Vancouver survey found no such correlation. Further, the Vancouver survey did not find the expected correlation of the use of *eh* with lower education. Teachers reported higher use than the rest of the population, with, for example, 51% of teachers reporting acceptance of *Nice day, eh?* compared to 39% for the general population.

4.4 University of Toronto Survey

I undertook a survey of University of Toronto students in 2004 to investigate whether there had been changes in the use of *eh* in the almost 25 years since the Ottawa and Vancouver surveys and the over 30 years since the Survey of Canadian English. The

sample sentences used for this survey are listed in **Table 6**. For ease of comparison I included most of the sample sentences used in the Ottawa and Vancouver surveys, but added several more to reflect categories mentioned in Johnson (1976) as well as expressions suggested by the students themselves.

Table 6: Sample Sentences, University of Toronto Survey 2004

	Type of Eh	Sample Sentence
1	Statements of opinion	*Nice day, eh?*
2	Statements of fact	*It goes over here, eh?*
3	Commands	*i. *Open the window, eh?*
		ii.*Think about it, eh?*
4	Exclamations	*What a game, eh?*
5	Questions	*What are they trying to do, eh?*
6	To mean 'pardon'	*Eh? What did you say?*
7	In fixed expressions	*i. *Thanks, eh?*
		*ii. *I know, eh?*
8	Insults	* *You're a real snob, eh?*
9	Accusations	* *You took the last piece, eh?*
10	Telling a story	*This guy is up on the 27th floor, eh? then he gets out on the ledge, eh …*

(*new to this survey)

The survey asked whether the respondents had heard the expression, and whether they used it themselves – never, sometimes or often. The results shown in **Table 7** below are for 91 Canadian-born students under the age of 30 with English as their first language.

One might expect the expressions that are heard the most to also be the expressions that are used the most. This is not completely the case: while the opinion *Nice day, eh?* is reported as heard the most, it is the expression *I know, eh?* that is reported as used the most by students. As well, *I know, eh?* has almost twice the reported rate of frequent use compared to opinion-*eh* and exclamation-*eh*. The difference between recognition and use can be explained if the expression *I know, eh?* is used primarily by young speakers, and opinion-*eh* is used by speakers of all ages. If so, then opinion-*eh* would indeed be heard the most, but these young students would report using *I know, eh?* more.

Table 7: Results for the Toronto Survey

	Heard %	Use %	Use Often %
Nice day, eh?	99	78	26
What a game, eh?	97	73	28
I know, eh?	93	85	53
Thanks, eh?	77	53	13
You're a real snob, eh?	74	36	9
Think about it, eh?	73	46	9
You took the last piece, eh?	73	47	8
Eh? What did you say?	71	39	12
It goes over here, eh?	67	34	4
This guy is up on the 27th floor, eh? then . . .	67	16	2
Open the window, eh?	56	23	1
What are they trying to do, eh?	56	26	2

Putting aside *I know, eh?*, the Toronto results follow the patterns found in the Ottawa and Vancouver surveys: opinion-*eh* and exclamation-*eh* are used the most; pardon-*eh*, falls in the lower half and narrative-*eh* (telling a story) is at the bottom. This can be seen in the comparison of the three surveys in **Table 8**. A comparison of the four urban surveys for four types of *eh* is presented in **Table 9**.   I have used Love's 'declarative' to represent the opinion category, and the 'wh-question (rhetorical)' to represent the exclamations.

Table 8: Comparison of Ottawa, Vancouver and Toronto Surveys

	Toronto %	Ottawa %	Vancouver %
Nice day, eh?	78	72	39
What a game, eh?	73	73	45
Oh, you're still here, eh?	n/a	64	45
Thanks, eh?	53	n/a	9
Think about it, eh?	46	52	34
Eh? What did you say?	39	43	13
It goes over here, eh?	34	58	29
What are they trying to do, eh?	26	15	15
This guy is up on the 27th floor, eh?...	16	6	13
Average (7 questions in common)	**45**	**46**	**27**

The results for Edmonton, Toronto and Ottawa are quite similar, even across three decades; Vancouver's lower results, as discussed above, may be a result of the

Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader

collection method, or may reflect lower use in Vancouver.

Table 9: Comparison of 4 Urban Surveys

	Edmonton	Toronto	Ottawa	Vancouver
opinion	80	78	72	39
exclamation	80	73	73	45
pardon	--	39	43	13
narrative	--	16	6	13

These results indicate that in cities across the country *eh* is used most frequently with opinions and exclamations, with about three-quarters of the respondents in three cities claiming to use them.   The similarity of the Toronto results to the Ottawa and Edmonton results suggests that the use of *eh* has not changed significantly over the past 25 years. In fact the Toronto students reported a higher percentage of use of the pardon-*eh* (39%) than did the Ontario students in the Survey of Canadian English (25%) more than 30 years earlier.

5.   Why is *eh?* used more in Canada than elsewhere?

Avis's 1972 paper provides strong evidence that *eh* has been present in British English for centuries. *Eh* doubtless arrived in Canada along with its first English-speaking settlers, whether immigrants from Britain or Loyalists arriving from the United States. But why, then, is it used more frequently in Canada than in Britain or the United States, and in a wider variety of contexts? Why has it become so salient in Canadian speech as to be singled out as a marker of both Canadian English and of Canadian identity?

One factor that differentiates Canadian English from Englishes of the world is the bilingual nature of Canada and the possibilities for French influence on Canadian English. The Canadian French *hein?* sounds similar to a nasalized *eh* and has very similar functions to those of Canadian English *eh*. Is it possible that the increased use of *eh?* in Canada has been encouraged by the frequent use of *hein* in Canadian French? The similarity in the functions of *eh?* and *hein?*, and the possible influence of *hein* on Canadian *eh*, have not gone unnoticed. In a discussion of the Canadian English *eh?* Avis comments:

> *Eh?* is a common contour-carrier among French Canadians (along with *eh bien* and *hein?*), as it has been in the French language for centuries. This circumstance may have contributed to the high popularity of the interjection in Canada generally. (1972:102)

In order to establish whether *hein* does indeed have similar functions to the Canadian English *eh?* I undertook a survey of francophone students at Université Laval in Quebec similar to the one administered to the English-speaking students in Toronto. There were 93 Canadian born respondents under the age of 30 with French as their first language. On advice from Canadian French speakers, the orthographic variant *han* was used in the sample sentences rather than *hein*. The translator suggested further changes that in themselves indicate some differences in the use of the two particles: the English sentences *Open the window, eh?* and *I know, eh?* were omitted and two others were substituted, *Han, t'as pas encore fini?* and *Han? Qu'est-ce que c'est que ça?*

Table 10 compares the results for the reported use of the Canadian English (CEng) *eh* and Canadian French (CFr) *hein.*

Table 10: Do you use it yourself? yes = sometimes/often
Employez-vous *han?* de cette façon? oui = parfois/souvent

	% CEng	% CFr
Nice day, eh? *Il fait beau, han?*	78	99
What a game, eh? *C'était tout un match, han*	73	92
Thanks, eh*? Merci bien, han?*	53	26
You took the last piece, eh? *T'as pris le dernier morceau, han?*	47	77
Think about it, eh? *Penses-y, han?*	46	51
Eh? What did you say? *Han? Qu'est-ce que vous avez dit?*	39	89
You're a real snob, eh? *T'es vraiment snob, han?*	36	55
It goes over here, eh? *C'est là qu'on le place, han?*	34	83
What are they trying to do, eh? *Mais qu'est-ce qu'ils essaient de faire, han?*	26	51
This guy is up on the 27th floor, eh? then … *Alors le gars est au 27ᵉ étage, han? Pis là, il se met sur le rebord de la fenêtre, han?…*	16	26
Average	**45**	**65**

There are both similarities and differences in the usage patterns. Both groups of speakers use the opinions and exclamations most frequently and the narratives least. The French students have a much higher reported usage overall, an average of 65%

compared to 45% for the anglophones. The francophones report almost 100% usage of *han* with opinions, compared to 78% for the English students; they also have a very high reported use of *han* for pardon, 89% compared to the English speakers' 39%. This echoes the findings of the Survey of Canadian English in Table 2, where English-speaking Quebecers reported a higher use than other provinces for pardon-*eh*. Since the similar sounding *hein* is used very commonly in Quebec French, it is quite possible that the English use is higher in Quebec than in the other provinces because of influence from French.

These results show that *hein* is used very frequently in Canadian French and might indeed have contributed to the frequent use of *eh* in Canadian English. However, the wide range of usage of Canadian *eh* cannot be attributed to French influence, for there are constructions, such as *I know eh*, that have no equivalent in French. While French influence is part of the answer to *eh's* increased use over the centuries since its first arrival in Canada, it cannot fully account for it. *Eh* is a home-grown phenomenon.

6.   *Eh* in print

There has been a recent surge in the use of *eh* in the written media. *Eh* has a very different use in print than it has in speech, for in print it is used primarily to signify 'Canadian'. The website names in **Table 11** were culled from a Google search of *eh* (Gold and Tremblay 2006); the names all include *eh* to indicate that site has a Canadian connection. *Eh* is frequently used in print to replace the initial ***A*** or the determiner ***a***, as in the example *www.rentehtent.com* below.

Table 11: Website Names with 'eh'

Site	Description
www.canadianeh.com	a Canadian Search Engine
www.kapn.net/scouteh/	a group of Scouts Canada members
www.ehdesign.ca	a Canadian company creating websites
www.shopping-eh.ca	a Canadian online shopping site
www.florida-eh.com	a Canadian guide to Florida
www.rentehtent.com	Canadian tent rentals
www.breakalegeh.com	plays and writings by a Canadian playwright
www.gambling-eh.com	online Canadian gambling site

The Canadian identity function of *eh* has been exploited on packaging as well. For example, a Canadian themed package of Smarties candies, was labelled *SMARTIES eh?* and *eh* was added to the familiar logo: *Eat the red ones last, eh?* The candies in the box were red and white with an outline of a maple leaf in the contrasting colour; for this product, the word *eh* performed the same function in evoking Canadian identity as

the colours of the flag and the maple leaf symbol. This role in writing is a newer function for *eh*, in addition to its discourse uses. Meaningless? Not at all!

7.   What does the future hold for *eh*?

Will *eh* continue to show the same frequency and variety in Canadian speech in the future? Three factors that could contribute to *eh*'s future are speakers' attitudes to *eh*, the possible replacement of *eh* by other tags in young people's speech and new Canadians' adoption of   *eh*.

Canadians' attitudes towards *eh* are complex. As mentioned above, many speakers consider *eh* to be ungrammatical or even rude. Only two surveys, the Toronto and Ottawa surveys, collected attitudes toward *eh*. The Ottawa survey reported only one attitude, abhorrence (a rather strong negative attitude), and that for only three expressions, as shown in **Table 12**. It is not at all clear how these attitudes were collected, but respondents evidently expressed much higher negative attitudes towards narrative-*eh* than to any other *eh* construction.

Table 12: Ottawa Survey - Attitudes

	Abhorrence
This guy is up on the 27th floor, eh? then …	47
Eh? What did you say?	16
What are they trying to do, eh?	12

Positive, negative and neutral attitudes were collected by the Toronto survey; the positive and negative scores are shown in **Table 13**.   The table is ordered with respect to negative attitudes, from highest to lowest; in most cases this correlates to an ordering of positive attitudes from lowest to highest. As in Ottawa, the narrative-*eh* in the Toronto survey was ranked the most negatively; the most positively viewed expression, is, not surprisingly, the one that the students use the most, *I know, eh?*, with exclamation-*eh* and opinion-*eh* close behind.

Respondents to the Toronto survey were asked to describe the speaker of the narrative-*eh* example. A consistent picture emerged: the speaker was described as uneducated, lower class, rural and male - very much like the McKenzie brothers mentioned earlier. It is interesting that narrative-*eh* is associated with characteristics

Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader

Table 13: University of Toronto Survey - Attitudes

Your attitude to this usage is:	Negative	Positive
	%	%
This guy is up on the 27th floor, eh? then...	49	2
Open the window, eh?	48	4
It goes over here, eh?	40	9
You're a real snob, eh?	36	8
What are they trying to do, eh?	31	4
Eh? What did you say?	31	10
You took the last piece, eh?	29	9
Think about it, eh?	20	11
Thanks, eh?	17	29
Nice day, eh?	9	42
I know, eh?	8	49
What a game, eh?	6	44

not shared by the student respondents themselves, who are educated, mostly middle class and urban. As shown in Table 6, students report using narrative-*eh* the least, and it is narrative-*eh* that elicits the most negative attitudes. We might predict that the most stigmatized varieties of *eh* will decrease even more in use in the future, while the highly positively viewed constructions, now with fairly high reported rates of use, will continue to be used.

The second consideration is whether *eh* is being replaced by other tags in young peoples' speech.   Anecdotal evidence has suggested to some researchers that *eh* is used less by young speakers than by middle-aged and older speakers. Sali Tagliamonte, at the University of Toronto, has collected a large corpus of young people's speech, and finds that *eh* is not as frequent or salient as other expressions (personal communication). However, this is not necessarily evidence that *eh* is decreasing. Unfortunately, we have no earlier corpus to compare with the recently collected material. As noted earlier, *eh* is difficult to collect in interview setting which might not provide the appropriate setting for certain types of exclamations and observations. For example, Tagliamonte's corpus has no examples of the expression *I know, eh* which University of Toronto students report to use frequently. Therefore, while current research shows that there are other expressions that are much more frequent in young Canadians' speech, this does not necessarily indicate that the use of *eh* is decreasing, and the University of Toronto research suggests otherwise.

Canada takes in large number of immigrants from around the world. Are these new immigrants picking up *eh* in their speech? The results given in **Table 14** are for eighteen University of Toronto students who had been in Canada for less than five years; they were all under 30 years of age, and English was not their first language. As

the results show, these immigrants had high rates of recognition for most types of *eh,* with opinion-*eh* and exclamation-*eh* at the top. Evidently, they are hearing *eh* from sources other than their fellow students alone: 61% of them had heard narrative-*eh* even though the Canadian born students rarely claim to use it.

One would expect immigrants' use of *eh* to follow the patterns of the Canadian-born students, but at lower rates. This prediction turned out to be incorrect on both counts. **Table 15** shows the new Canadians' use of *eh* compared to that of the native Canadian speakers. For the immigrants, opinion-*eh* is securely at the top unlike the top expression for the native speakers *I know, eh?* It is followed by pardon-*eh* at 56% reported use; this is more highly ranked than for the Canadian-born students, and is also reportedly used by a larger percentage of the respondents.   Conversely, the immigrants' use of *I know, eh?* at 28% is surprising low, given that 85% of their Canadian-born colleagues claim to use it. There are other differences in the orderings between the immigrants and native speakers, some of which might result from the small number of immigrant respondents. However, the differences between the immigrant and native use might also result from immigrant speakers interpreting *eh*

Table 14: Recent Immigrants' Recognition

	% Heard
Nice day, eh?	94
What a game, eh?	89
Eh? What did you say?	83
You took the last piece, eh?	83
It goes over here, eh?	72
Think about it, eh?	72
You're a real snob, eh?	67
This guy is up on the 27th floor, eh? then …	61
What are they trying to do, eh?	50
I know, eh?	50
Thanks, eh?	28
Open the window, eh?	17

fairly strictly as a question particle; it would then not be compatible with commands or with set expressions like *Thanks* and *I know.* Perhaps longer exposure to Canadian uses of *eh* will broaden immigrants' usage patterns.

Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader

Table 15: Compare Usage: Immigrant & Native Speakers

Do you use it yourself? Yes (sometimes/often)	immigrants %	native %
Nice day, eh?	67	78
Eh? What did you say?	56	39
You took the last piece, eh?	50	47
What a game, eh?	44	73
You're a real snob, eh?	39	36
It goes over here, eh?	39	34
Think about it, eh?	33	46
What are they trying to do, eh?	33	26
I know, eh?	28	85
This guy is up on the 27th floor, eh? then	22	16
Thanks, eh?	11	53
Open the window, eh?	6	23
Average	**36**	**46**

The Toronto survey provides evidence that new Canadians adopt *eh* quickly and value it as an expression of their Canadian identity. One student who had been in Canada less than two years commented, "I was kind of proud when it slipped out of my mouth the first time."

I conclude that *eh* will continue to be a feature of Canadian English well into the future. Young speakers are using *eh*: the Toronto survey shows that virtually all students report using at least some type of *eh,* and expressions like *I know, eh?* are reported to be used frequently. There is no decrease in reported use from surveys done 25 years earlier, and, for some constructions, even a slight increase. Furthermore, immigrants to Canada are acquiring *eh* along with Canadian English. Finally, *eh*'s recent increased use in print will contribute to *eh*'s continued presence in the Canadian psyche as a marker of Canadian identity.

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Part Two: *A mari usque ad mare*—Regional Variation Across Canada

NEWFOUNDLAND & LABRADOR

The Role of Irish English in the Formation of New World Englishes: The Case of Newfoundland[a]

Sandra Clarke

1. The Irish in Canada — an overview

Irish immigration formed a very substantial element in the European settlement of Canada. As Houston and Smyth (1990: 6) point out, "English-speaking Canada was largely the result of nineteenth-century popular mass emigration from England, Ireland, and Scotland, which submerged a small eighteenth-century population base". During this period (the principal phase of Irish immigration being from 1815-1855), the Irish — from both Ulster and the south of Ireland — comprised Canada's largest immigrant group. Thus in Upper Canada (the present-day province of Ontario) the Irish represented in 1871 a full 40% of the population of the five major cities, in spite of the fact that at that time only some 10% of Irish immigrants were urban dwellers (Akenson 1984: 47). Despite their considerable numbers, the Irish appear to have had little effect on the overall development of Canadian English; rather, this variety traces its roots to the speech of the 'United Empire Loyalists' who came to Canada from the northeastern United States towards the end of the 18th century, after the war which gained the U.S. its independence from Britain (see Chambers 1991).

The reason for the lack of Irish influence is perhaps not surprising. The Irish were one of many immigrant groups to Canada and, in most areas that they settled, came into close contact with immigrants from a number of different backgrounds. For example, in

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his detailed investigation of early 19th century immigration patterns from Cork, Tipperary, and other southeastern counties of Ireland to the two Canadian destinations of Peterborough (in present-day Ontario) and northeastern New Brunswick, Mannion (1974) shows this to be the case: in the Peterborough region, Cork Irish immigrants lived in close proximity to immigrants from Ulster, Scotland, Yorkshire, and other parts of England, as well as descendants of American-born Loyalists, and French Canadians. From present-day Quebec west, it was only in enclaves like the Ottawa valley on the Ontario/Quebec border that the Irish formed the obvious majority of the local population; and even in the Ottawa valley — where as recently as 50 years ago up to 95% of the English-speaking inhabitants of some townships claimed Irish ethnicity — immigrants from both the southern and northern counties of Ireland came into contact with more than half a dozen other groups, including Poles and Germans (Pringle and Padolsky 1981).

The absorption of the Irish into the general population of Canada undoubtedly explains why the literature makes almost no mention of the effects of Irish English (IrE) on the development of Canadian English, outside Atlantic Canada and such enclaves as the Ottawa valley. Yet in such areas, the effects of IrE are highly apparent. Pringle and Padolsky (1981: 344-347) list a number of phonological, lexical, and morphosyntactic characteristics of rural Ottawa valley speech that are of obvious IrE origin, including monophthongal pronunciations of the mid tense vowels /e/ (as in *late*) and /o/ (as in *go*), a clear variant of postvocalic /l/ (as in *feel* and *fell*), some palatalization of /k/ and /g/ before front vowels (so that *car* is pronounced like 'kyar'), and use of nonconcord -*s* in the present tense (as in *I gets* or *they goes*). Although other Irish enclaves exist in central Canada (Chambers 1991: 94 mentions three such areas in present-day Ontario), their dialects unfortunately remain undocumented.

In parts at least of Atlantic Canada, IrE has had a considerable effect in shaping local varieties. For example, approximately 16% of the lexical items in Pratt's 1988 *Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English* are of Irish origin, and this work contains reference to several phonological and grammatical features that likewise have their roots in IrE. Nowhere in Canada, however, are the linguistic effects of Irish settlement more obvious than in Newfoundland (see for example Kirwin 1993). The Irish presence in Newfoundland goes back to the early 17th century, although the majority of Irish settlers did not arrive until the first four decades of the 19th century (Mannion 1977: 6-7). By the mid 18th century, if not earlier, the Irish outnumbered the English in most larger Newfoundland communities — that is, in communities in the southeastern section of the island, most notably the Avalon peninsula, including the largest urban area of the island, St. John's (the dialect of which has remained to this day decidedly Anglo-Irish in character). Some of these early Irish would have been monolingual Irish Gaelic speakers (see Kirwin 1993: 68). Today, the entire southern Avalon peninsula, south of St. John's, is populated almost exclusively by descendants of these Irish settlers. Much of the rest of the island — that is, the major part of its coastline — was settled by immigrants from southwest England, whose presence in Newfoundland likewise goes

back to the early 17th century. In the more northerly sections of the Avalon peninsula, and to the immediate west of it, there is much mixed Irish/southwest English settlement. As Mannion (1977: 8) points out, during the 17th and 18th centuries there would have been considerable contact between Irish and English migrant fishery workers and settlers in Newfoundland, as the Irish came to the island almost exclusively on English ships owned by West Country merchants, and as both groups at that time were concentrated in the southeastern part of the island. Since then, while the traditional economy (e.g. the Labrador and Grand Banks fisheries, and to a lesser extent the annual seal hunt) would have continued to foster interaction even among areas of different settler origin, the geographical separation of the English and Irish in most of the island, in addition to the religious animosity that prevailed until well into the present century between the Roman Catholic Irish and the largely Protestant English settler group, have combined to ensure a considerable degree of linguistic separation.

Within Ireland and southwest England, the source of immigrants to Newfoundland was highly localized. The English came principally from the hinterland of the major ports of Dorset and Devon; this involved, in addition to these two counties, south Somerset and west Hampshire. The Irish Newfoundland settlers originated to a very high degree "within thirty miles of Waterford city, specifically from southwest Wexford, south Kilkenny, southeast Tipperary, southeast Cork, and County Waterford" (Mannion 1977: 8). Thus Irish immigration patterns to Newfoundland do not echo those found in most of mainland Canada: the Irish who settled what today constitutes the provinces of Quebec and Ontario displayed a considerably more heterogeneous background, and originated in both southern and northern counties of Ireland (see for example Houston and Smyth 1990: 8, 36, 67 ff.).

Newfoundland English, then, would have emerged from a 17th and 18th century base of southwestern English and southeastern Irish settlement. After the middle of the 19th century, in-migration fell off considerably, and the local variety seems to have been relatively stable since that period, at least until the last several decades (see, for example, Clarke 1991).

2. Irish English In Newfoundland

This paper investigates the effect of IrE on the formation of present-day nonstandard Newfoundland English. Newfoundland constitutes a unique case with respect to the role of IrE on the development of New World Englishes, since its settlement history over the past almost 400 years is well documented, and since its settler origins are narrowly circumscribed and homogeneous to a degree perhaps unparalleled elsewhere in North America. Newfoundland offers, then, an extremely well-defined situation of dialect contact, one in which the blending of southeastern Irish and southwestern English settlement provides a rich testing ground for hypotheses concerning language change in contact situations — in particular those in which IrE may have played an important role, such as certain Caribbean varieties, or those in which IrE came into close contact

with southwestern British dialects, as in Barbados (see Rickford 1986). As will be shown in this paper, the coexistence of two settler groups in an area such as Newfoundland provides no guarantee that characteristic features will be diffused from one dialect to another in the absence of independent social or structural (i.e. linguistic) motivation.

Within Newfoundland there continue to exist many small outport communities, the relative isolation of which, coupled with a fairly homogeneous settler source, has led to a large measure of retention of the features of the original source dialects. Thus the dialect of the area of the island settled almost exclusively by the Irish, the southern Avalon peninsula, (here referred to as NVIE [Newfoundland Vernacular Irish English]) has preserved, as will be seen, a number of IrE features which do not characterize other Newfoundland varieties. Over the course of the past 200 years of Newfoundland settlement there has none the less emerged a more 'fused' or 'focused' vernacular variety (referred to here as NVE [Newfoundland Vernacular English]) — a variety in increasing competition with a standard superstratal variety, the English of mainland Canada, particularly since Newfoundland's union with Canada in 1949.[b] NVE today is represented by lower middle and working class speech in the major urban areas of the province of Newfoundland and Labrador (particularly outside the Avalon peninsula, where the effect of IrE is strongest), although each exhibits to some degree its own particular features; it also characterizes the speech of many residents of rural Newfoundland. An important aim of this paper is to delimit as far as possible the extent to which IrE features have become part of this more widespread, focused variety.

When comparing the features of late 20th-century NVE and NVIE, one is struck by the degree of linguistic similarity between the two, particularly with respect to phonology and morphosyntax. One explanation for this is of course dialect contact in the Newfoundland context; in spite of considerable geographical and ethnic separation, many descendants of the original Irish and English settlers would have experienced some measure of interaction in the normal course of their lives. An alternative explanation, however, is a 'retentionist' one (see Kallen 1994); that is, that the source dialects themselves, from the period of initial settlement, possessed a number of shared structural properties. Such an explanation is analogous to one that has been invoked to suggest, for example, that present-day features of the English spoken in Ireland are less the result of an Irish Gaelic substratum than of preservation of the characteristics of the English of an earlier historical period. Indeed, many of the features that characterize IrE are also found in the dialects of southwest England. Yet with several exceptions (e.g. Brooks 1972, Harris 1984, Rickford 1986, Bailey and Ross 1988), the literature has for the most part been silent on the possible role of Southwestern British English in the development of New World Englishes.
The following sections outline some of the major phonological and morphosyntactic

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[b] *Superstratal* influences are those from supplanting and higher prestige dialects or languages.—Eds.

(particularly verbal) features of NVE. Observations on NVE made in this paper have been drawn in part from two databases representing communities of mixed Irish/English settlement. The first of these contains recorded speech from 120 residents of the capital and largest city of Newfoundland, St. John's; though the Irish presence in St. John's has always outweighed the English, since the Second World War there has been a very large in-migration to the city of rural Newfoundlanders of southwest English ancestry. The second corpus consists of sociolinguistic interviews conducted by Catherine Lanari (see Lanari 1994 for details) with 24 residents of Burin, a south coast Newfoundland town of approximately 4000 inhabited by descendants of both Irish and southwest English settlers. These two databases have been supplemented with examples drawn from the naturally-occurring speech of a number of NVE speakers from all parts of the province. Data on NVIE have been collected from residents of several Irish-settled rural communities of the southern Avalon, as well as the northeast coast community of Tilting, a tiny Irish enclave in an area otherwise settled by immigrants from southwest England. Reference is also made to three previous rural Newfoundland linguistic studies: one deals with the Irish-settled southern Avalon (Dillon 1968), the second with the mixed English/Irish Avalon peninsula community of Carbonear (Paddock 1981), and the third with an area on the northeast coast, the dialect of which is exclusively SWE in origin (Colbourne 1982). **Figure 1** shows the location of some of these communities.

Figure 1: Areas of Irish settlement in Newfoundland
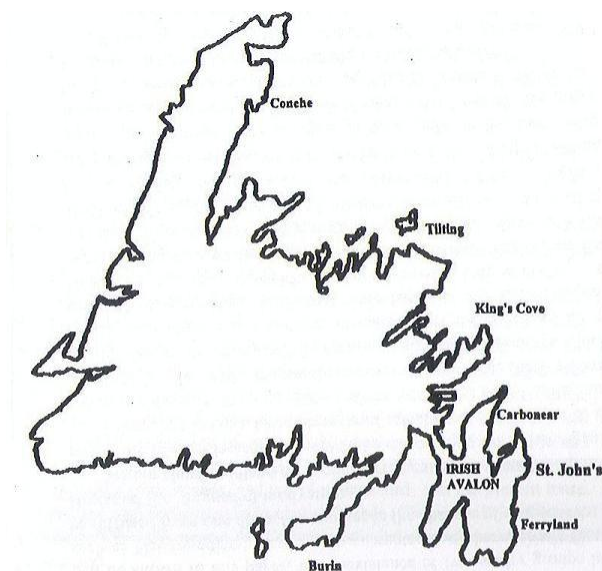
Treatment of the Irish legacy in the lexicon of NVE is beyond the scope of this paper. Kirwin (1993: 76-77) lists approximately 30 lexical items from Irish which are said to be "an expressive part of the active vocabulary of greater or lesser numbers of speakers"; that is, these items have presumably become part of general NVE vocabulary. Many of these items, however, are no longer known by younger speakers, and may possibly never have formed part of the active vocabulary of older residents of exclusively

English-settled areas at some remove from the Irish Avalon.

The following section provides an overview of possible effects of IrE on the phonological system of NVE. Section 4 examines some of the morphosyntactic relationships between IrE and NVE.

3. Phonological features

The phonological system of many older speakers of NVE shares a number of features with varieties spoken in Irish-settled communities of the southern Avalon peninsula, as well as parts of Ireland. These include monophthongal pronunciations of /e/ and /o/ (as in *late* or *go*)[c]; unrounding of the /ɔi/ in such words as *toy*, with possible merger with /ai/ (although often the latter undergoes some rounding and retraction in NVE);[d] retention of the older mid /e/-like nucleus — that is, non-raising to /i/ — in words like *beat*;[e] a non-rounded, fronted pronunciation of /o/ or /ɔ/, as in *cot/caught* (which would be pronounced identically);[f] and a non-rounded or weakly rounded pronunciation of /ɔ/ before /r/ plus consonant, as in *port*.[g] All of these vocalic features, however, are also found in SWE (e.g. Wakelin 1986). They also occurred in the mixed dialect spoken by British sailors of the 17th century, as Matthews (1935) clearly indicates. These features are also to be found today in areas of Newfoundland settled exclusively by the southwest English, the residents of which have had minimal if any contact with descendants of the original Irish settlers. For example, in the rural northeast coast community investigated by Colbourne (1982), monophthongal variants of /e/ proved to be the norm among the most conservative speakers. Even the well-known NVE feature of stop realizations of the interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/,[h] often attributed to an IrE source dialect (e.g. Trudgill 1986: 129), is not unknown in SWE, where it appears to display phonological and lexical conditioning (see for example Wakelin 1986: 29). Such articulations, likewise, may well have been more common in earlier vernacular dialects of English, as Matthews (1935: 244-245) would suggest.

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[c] For most *non-Irish* English speakers, these vowels tail off into another vowel sound; that is, they are the diphthongs: [ei] and [ou].—Eds.

[d] Thus, for some speakers, *boy* and *by* or *toy* and *tie* may be indistinguishable, for the diphthongs in these words ([ɔi] vs. [ai]) are merged. –Eds.

[e] In other words, *beat* is pronounced *bait*, as it would have been in pre-Elizabethan England.— Eds.

[f] In other words, both *caught* and *cot* are pronounced something like *cut*.—Eds.

[g] Thus *port* is pronounced something like *part*.—Eds.

[h] The *th* sound in *them* and *think*, for example, is pronounced **d**em and **t**ink.—Eds.

The NVIE dialect of the southern Avalon, however (as well as the speech of such Irish enclaves as Tilting on the northeast coast), differs from that of much of the rest of the island when it comes to several consonantal features, as well as the vocalic feature of /ʌ/ rounding[i] (see Harris 1990).[1] Two of the most striking consonantal features of NVIE are the use of an Irish-like clear or fronted /l/ in all postvocalic environments,[j] and the Irish tendency to articulate postvocalic /t/ as a slit fricative.[k] Both of these consonant features also characterize the heavily IrE-influenced dialect of St John's, where they have obvious social correlates (see Clarke 1991; these include age, in the form of declining use among younger speakers). The two variants, however, are not usually found in the NVE spoken outside the Avalon peninsula — in spite of considerable dialect contact, and the prestige which would have been associated with the urban St. John's variety. Even in mixed English-Irish communities their survival is not guaranteed. In the Burin corpus, for example, clear /l/ and slit fricative /t/ occur very rarely (Lanari 1994: 31, 69); in Carbonear, these two features tend to survive only among some speakers of Irish descent (Paddock 1981: 23).

In short, phonological features that are exclusively IrE in origin appear not to have permeated NVE at large, and there appears to have been a minimal amount of phonological transfer between Newfoundland dialects of IrE vs. SWE origin. Lack of superstratal reinforcement may well have played some role in this.[2]

4. Morphological and syntactic features

Several well-documented IrE syntactic features are clearly part of the traditional dialects of the Irish Avalon (NVIE), but appear restricted to these, as well as to areas with a high concentration of Irish settlement. These include clefting (*e.g. It's sorry you will be* [rather than *You'll be sorry*]); and the 'subordinating *and*' construction as in *He come in Sunday morning and ye goin' to Mass* (the latter from Dillon 1968: 130) or *I was down fishing ... and the fog rolling across the water* (Lanari's 1994 Burin corpus). The same may be true of the 'extended present' perfect (i.e. the representation of an event that began in the past but is not complete in the present) that in IrE takes the present tense. In NVIE, such examples as *I'm going to school since January* are not uncommon; Lanari's Burin corpus contained a number of sentences of the type *She's six years dead*.

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[i] *Luck*, for example, sounds something like *look*.—Eds.

[j] Most English speakers use one type of [l] sound at the beginning of a word and another in other positions. Irish-influenced speakers use the word-initial [l] in all positions, for example, in both *luck* and *help*.—Eds.

[k] For Irish English speakers, *Italy* may sound something like *Issaly*.—Eds.

This section examines in greater detail four verbal features which characterize NVE. Two of these are perfect constructions which are well-documented features of IrE, although (see Harris 1984, 1986; Kallen 1994) their exclusive link to IrE, as opposed to Early Modern English (EModE) dialects in general, is questionable. These are the *have it Xed* construction (e.g. *I have it eaten*), and the *after* perfect (as in *I'm already after doin' it*). The existence of fairly detailed investigations (Harris 1984, 1986; Kallen 1989) into the semantic and syntactic constraints on these constructions in IrE facilitates comparison with their usage in extraterritorial varieties. The remaining two NVE features — present-tense concord and habitual marking — are examined with respect to their source dialect origins. As present-day patterns of NVE habitual marking demonstrate, the outcome of dialect contact may be considerably more complex than selection of one of several competing input systems, and may well involve a levelling and simplification process (cf. Trudgill 1986), the results of which are not necessarily predictable.

4.1. The 'have it eaten' construction

Many speakers of NVE are regular users of a feature highly prevalent in IrE, one which Kallen (1989) refers to as the 'Accomplishment Perfect' (AP). This perfect, found only with transitive verbs, differs from the usual English perfect in that the object NP occurs before rather than after the past participle, as in *I already have it done*. In IrE (see Harris 1984, Kallen 1989), the AP construction focuses primarily on the statal result of a past event that itself is dynamic rather than stative, and often involves a change in the semantic goal or object.[1] Should it co-occur with a temporal adverbial, this adverb (e.g. *already, now*) usually —though not always — involves proximate rather than remote time (see Kallen 1989: 18).

In NVE, likewise, the AP construction is found only with dynamic verbs; NVE speakers appear to reject the possibility of using this construction with such transitive stative verbs as *see*, *know*, or *love*. In NVE, the usual AP auxiliary is *got* rather than *have*. Of the 30 AP tokens which were noted in a small recently-collected corpus of naturally-occurring NVE speech, all involved such dynamic verbs as *eat*, *sell*, *buy*, *find*, *lose*, *do*, and *make*. Only six co-occurred with a temporal adverbial, half of which represented present time reference (*yet, now*). As a resultative, the AP form in NVE can also be used to represent a state of affairs in existence at a time other than the present of speech, whether past (*She didn't have it* [i.e. her house] *sold when she left)* or future (*Do you need to have anything made for them*? [i.e. when they come in at some future point]); it can also be found in a generic sense (*You'd have them* [i.e. cookies] *eaten before you got home*).

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[1] For example, "She has them hemmed already": her past action of hemming resulted in the pants being altered.—Eds.

In short, NVE usage patterns for the AP construction are remarkably similar to those documented for IrE. One obvious interpretation is adstratal dialect transfer, whereby the IrE system has diffused to Newfoundland vernacular dialects of SWE origin.[m] Yet, as Harris (1984) points out, this construction — far from being an innovation in IrE — is actually a retention of an older English pattern. The Newfoundland evidence suggests, indeed, that the AP construction was brought to the island from southwest England as well as Ireland. It occurs with great frequency throughout NVE, including the traditional dialects of areas settled exclusively by the West Country English. For several speakers in the corpus who display few if any IrE features, including no use of the *after* perfect, the AP construction is in fact the sole type of perfect formation which occurs for the subclass of transitive verbs outlined above.[3]

4.2. The 'after' perfect.

Newfoundland is one of the few areas outside of Ireland which regularly display a perfect of the type I'm *after doing it already*. According to Harris (1984), this perfect has a 'hot news' meaning in IrE, that is, it represents the recency of a past event rather than its present results; indeed, some researchers (e.g. Harris 1984: 319; Trudgill 1986: 152) have suggested that its use in Newfoundland with a greater range of meanings represents an innovation relative to IrE. Kallen (1989, 1991), however, demonstrates that in IrE itself the range of perfect meanings associated with the form is much broader than mere hot news; for example, it may be used to represent a 'universal' event, or a present state. In Kallen's Dublin corpus, the *after* perfect does display certain restrictions: it tends to occur with a small set of dynamic verbs, including *get*, *take*, and *come*, and is almost never found in a negative or future context. Further, relatively few tokens occur with the past tense.

In Newfoundland, the *after* perfect is not restricted to the predominantly Irish settlements of the southern Avalon; rather, it has passed into more general use, and is found in virtually all communities, crosscutting a number of social levels. Following the methodology adopted by Kallen (1991), 62 tokens of this construction were recently collected from the naturally-occurring speech of Newfoundlanders from various areas of the island, but most predominantly St. John's. Of these tokens, a full 51, or 82%, represented affirmatives with present tense *be*, as in the following examples: *I'm after walkin' down the hall twice* [to try and find an office] (20-year old female student, east coast); *She understands. She's after having children herself* (35-year old female, originally resident of west coast, now living in St. John's); *I'm after having eleven rabbits eaten* [i.e. by dogs] *this last three months* (older male, west coast). Nine tokens, or 15%, contained past tenses, as in *They seemed pretty cool, for what they were after goin' through* (male, St. John's area). No examples were found with a future

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[m] *Adstratal* transfer occurs between dialects or languages of roughly equal prestige.—Eds.

tense, although there was one co-occurrence with a modal auxiliary: *[Mrs. X] must be after makin' all kinds of money* [n] (45 year old east coast female, currently resident of St. John's).

While these examples demonstrate that the *after* perfect in NVE is by no means restricted to a 'hot news' function, they do suggest some degree of shared constraints between NVE and IrE *after* perfect usage. As did Kallen's Dublin corpus, the NVE examples contained predominantly present rather than past or future reference, and occurred in the affirmative rather than the negative.

The 62-token NVE corpus was supplemented by examination of Lanari's 1994 Burin corpus, the short transcribed conversational sections of which yielded 29 tokens of the *after* perfect. These occurred with 21 different verbs, including *call*, *die*, *drown*, *explode*, *get*, and *say*, as well as such normally stative verbs as *forget* and *see* (e.g., *I'm after seein' a lot nicer ones*). Of the 29 tokens, 18 (62%) contained a present tense, and 10 (35%) a past (one token containing a non-finite form); only one involved a negative *([It's a] wonder he's not after callin' you)*. The considerably higher ratio of past forms in this corpus might suggest that Burin residents do not share the same constraints on the use of *after* as do the speakers in either the NVE data base outlined above, or Kallen's Dublin corpus. However, a more likely explanation for the apparent discrepancy is that it derives from differences in these data bases: unlike the other two, the Burin corpus contains a large percentage of past narrative. It is tempting to speculate that IrE past narrative data might yield similar results; however, in the absence of such data from current usage in Ireland, it is difficult to draw any real generalizations.

Lanari's Burin corpus does suggest, none the less, that there may be considerable interpersonal variation in the use of the *after* perfect, even in relatively small Newfoundland communities. Of the 12 residents of Burin who used a perfect form in their brief transcribed conversational segments, five used no standard perfects whatsoever, but regularly selected the after form, supplemented with the AP construction (e.g., *I haves all the ol' curtains closed*),[4] the 'extended present' perfect (e.g., *They're 54 year married)*, and, with verbs of movement, a perfect with auxiliary *be* (e.g., *They're gone down to St. Mary's this weekend)*. Three alternated — in no apparently linguistically constrained manner, although the number of tokens is too small to generalize — between *after* and standard perfect forms; and the remaining four speakers used only the standard perfect. The five 'deeper vernacular' or more basilectal Burin residents were all members of the working class, ranging in age from 35 to 82; all were of Irish descent. The three speakers who used only the standard perfect, to the exclusion of the *after* form, were all middle class, and of southwest English origin. Those who used both forms were mixed as to social class and ethnicity. The community

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[n] In mainland English, "Mrs X must have made all kinds of money."—Eds.

of Burin thus demonstrates a kind of continuum of perfect construction usage in which selection of a perfect variant in large measure correlates with social class and ethnic group membership.

In terms of its spread throughout Newfoundland, the *after* perfect has been probably the most successful of the IrE features brought to the area. Further study is obviously in order to determine the semantic and syntactic constraints on present-day usage of this and other competing perfect variants; in some areas, it seems to be used to stress the (often undesirable) consequences of a past action, somewhat analogous to Kalien's (1991) 'giving out' meaning, and thus may have filled a particular semantic slot in the more focused variety that has emerged as NVE. However, one likely reason for its success is that it received linguistic reinforcement in the SWE variety with which it came into contact in Newfoundland. As Paddock (1991: 76) points out, the Dorset dialects brought to Newfoundland would have contained an identical form, but one which conveyed a purely prospective meaning (i.e. 'subject in hot pursuit of the deed'); in adopting the IrE *after* perfect, SWE-based dialects would merely have had to undergo a semantic shift. Indeed, in at least one other area of Atlantic Canada, Prince Edward Island (see Pratt 1988: 4), the *after* form seems today to be used not only as a perfect, but also with the sense of 'be likely to', as in *She'd be after slipping and break a leg*. Interestingly, a number of researchers have suggested that in earlier IrE itself the *after* form with future or non-actual meaning may have been the more usual one (see Kallen 1990: 129-30).

4.3. Present-tense marking

In current NVE, the present-tense concord system differs markedly from that found in Standard English (StE). Unlike its StE counterpart, the *-s* suffix in NVE does not mark agreement with a 3rd person singular subject of any verb, whether full (lexical) or auxiliary.[o] Rather, NVE draws a distinction between lexical and auxiliary verbs, the former exhibiting *-s* marking on all subjects (e.g., *She/they likes you*) and the latter (at least for *do* and *have*) displaying zero marking throughout the paradigm, including the 3rd singular form (e.g., *Have she/they seen him?* or *Do he/you need a ride?*)

Comparison of the NVE present-tense concord system with those of its two source dialects suggests that NVE parallels the present-tense concord system found in vernacular dialects of southwest England, where *-s* likewise today marks a present-tense lexical verb, irrespective of subject (see for example Cheshire 1982). This

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[o] In Standard English, speakers add an *–s* to present-tense verbs with a third person singular *(he, she, it)* subject: "I talk a lot, you talk a lot, but John talk**s** nonstop." NVE speakers add-*s* to a main verb present tense *regardless* of the subject: "I/you/he/we/they talks a lot."—Eds.

present-tense marking system was probably variable rather than categorical in the southwestern dialects brought to Newfoundland several centuries ago; Weltens (1983) gives some idea of its geographical distribution in SWE. Generalized *-s* present marking in NVE was possibly reinforced by the present-tense concord system of IrE. In a number of vernacular dialects of southern and western IrE, as various researchers have indicated (e.g. Joyce 1910: 81; Henry 1958: 143; as well as Bliss 1979: 291, who deals with the period from 1600 to 1740), the *-s* suffix marks agreement with all subjects *except* for the 3rd singular, for both full and auxiliary verbs.

This IrE present-tense marking system appears to have left some trace in Newfoundland, although it appears to have been preserved intact by at least some speakers in the Ottawa valley of Ontario: see Pringle and Padolsky (1981: 347). In the NVIE dialect of the totally Irish-settled communities of the southern Avalon, zero marking in the 3rd sg. occurs variably only for a single lexical verb, *have*, as in *He have a lot of money, he do* (from Ferryland, on the Irish Avalon) or *There's hardly a day but he have a different complaint* (Dillon 1968: 140).[5] All other NVIE full verbs take *-s* marking throughout the paradigm, just as they do in NVE in general. The marking of a 3rd sg. subject by *-s* in the superstratal variety that present-day speakers of NVIE would regularly encounter — coupled with the structural pressure obvious in an IrE-type present tense paradigm in which all subjects of full verbs would be marked with *-s*, with the exception of the 3rd sg — undoubtedly explains why 3rd sg. zero marking may today be a recessive feature in NVIE.

4.4. Present-tense habitual marking

IrE is well known for its use of two generic/habitual constructions that do not occur in present-day StE. As Harris (1984: 306) points out, for the verb *be*, a habitual meaning is realized by either finite *be(s)* or (unstressed) *do(es)* + nonfinite *be*. (While a number of writers have suggested that the former variant is a predominantly northern Irish form and the latter a southern one, such a generalization may not be warranted — see for example Kallen 1989: 4.) For verbs other than be, the habitual is marked by either the (unstressed) *do* + infinitive construction (in Harris's terms, an 'iterative perfective,' as in *He does help us*) or by *be* + verb + *-ing* participle (an 'iterative imperfective', as in *They be shooting and fishing*) (Harris 1986: 176).[P]

In SWE, the unstressed periphrastic *do* form is also common, at least outside of Devon and Cornwall. As Harris (1986: 188) indicates, the link between this form and habitual meaning in southwest England is clear, if today recessive (compare Ihalainen 1976 and

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[P] Standard English speakers use "He does help us" emphatically, for example, to counter a false impression. In Irish English the sentence means that he regularly or habitually helps. Similarly, "They be shooting and fishing" means that they shoot and fish regularly *not* that they are doing so at the moment.—Eds.

Weltens 1983).

For the verb *be*, a historical link exists between the *be* stem and habitual meaning. However, the only EModE varieties for which such a link appears to have been claimed are Scots and the related variety of Northern IrE (see for example Harris 1986: 187) — in spite of the regular occurrence of finite *be* in such dialects as those of southwest England (e.g. Bailey and Ross 1988).

As to NVE, a logical expectation would be the regular use of habitual *do*, since this construction would have existed in both IrE and SWE varieties. This, however, is not the case. Apart from its use with non-finite *be*, no NVE or NVIE examples have been uncovered of a *do* + infinitive construction to express habitual meaning. *Do* + *be*, though common in NVE, is restricted to negative and interrogative contexts, usually with habitual meaning (e.g.*, I get that, but I don't be out of breath* [said of recurrent angina]; *Do he be sick a lot?* [as opposed to 'Is he sick now?']). Affirmative (unstressed) *do* + *be*, however, is regularly used as a habitual in Irish-settled areas of the province, as the following examples indicate: *I do be so hungry I don't know what I'm at* (Dillon 1968: 131); *He do be around a lot* (Ferryland example); *That do be broke in a lot, his do* (said of a cabin; Lanari's Burin corpus); *That place do be really busy* (20-year old female from the southwestern Avalon peninsula). Affirmative *do be* also occurs in Prince Edward Island (Pratt 1988: 175).[6]

In areas of the island settled by the West Country English, a separate habitual construction exists only for the verb *be*, which assumes categorically the form *bees* throughout the present paradigm, as in: *Yvonne, I guess she bees down every day*, or *In the winter time, we sits down every night and watches a couple of movies bees on, right?* (both from Lanari's Burin corpus). Even in the Irish Avalon, *bees* is a competing variant of *do be*, as in *What are them little things the buds bees on*? (Dillon 1968: 131). In both NVE and NVIE, the alternative stem (*is/am/are*) is used only outside of habitual contexts.

The lack of a separate habitual construction in either NVE or NVIE for any verb but *be*, as well as the lack of habitual *do be* in NVE (outside of negatives and interrogatives), has produced a verb system in which the representation of habitual aspect is not identical to that of either of the NVE source dialects. Even with respect to the NVE habitual form *bees*, the literature gives no indication as to an identical usage in SWE; and, as seen, *bees* is not the usual form in Irish-settled areas of the province, and hence was unlikely to have had IrE as its source. Rather, the most likely development is that the form *bees* results from structural pressure in NVE: the *be* stem was incorporated into the regular NVE present-tense lexical verb paradigm, in which *-s* plays the role of a generalized present-tense marker. [7]

The link in NVE of the *be* stem to habitual or non-punctual meaning provides evidence that in EModE this relationship may have been more widespread than is often

documented. Indeed, the same link is found in dialects as far afield as modern Australian English, as the following Sydney example shows: *If she ever wants anythink* [sic] *of mine, she always bees nice to me but I just be mean back to her when she bees nice* (Eisikovits 1987: 21).**[8]** It should be noted that such evidence does not support the position of Rickford (1986: 263ff.) that the habitual *be* stem could only have been diffused to Caribbean and AAVE varieties through contact with Scots and Northern IrE — a point crucial to Rickford's argument that in fact, in the absence of such contact, decreolization is a more likely source of habitual *be* in these varieties.

5. Conclusion

This paper has provided an overview of the role of IrE in shaping the vernacular dialects of present-day Newfoundland. It also provides some insight into the speech of the southeastern counties of Ireland some 200 or more years ago since, in rural communities on the southern Avalon peninsula, the descendants of Irish settlers remained relatively isolated until at least the middle of the 20th century.

The paper has demonstrated that, in the dialect contact situation that prevailed in Newfoundland, adstratal phonological and morphosyntactic transfer, in the form of diffusion of features between dialects of IrE and SWE origin, was not overwhelming. Of the four verbal features examined, only one that was specifically IrE in origin can be said to have been adopted by NVE at large — and this, the *after* perfect, apparently because it received structural reinforcement through the existence of an identical construction, though not an identical meaning, in SWE. Indeed, the Newfoundland situation suggests a general lack of adstratal phonological and morphosyntactic transfer in the absence of independent linguistic, and to a lesser extent social, motivation; that is, only a multi-causal explanation can clarify the results of dialect contact in Newfoundland. The development of NVE also confirms that the results of dialect contact can be somewhat unpredictable. For example, while the *do* + infinitive habitual con-struction was brought to Newfoundland by settlers from both southeast Ireland and southwest England, it is not a feature of NVE, and has survived only in part in exclusively Irish-settled areas of the island. Results of this nature raise questions for those who adopt a view of linguistic contact such as that advocated by Poplack and Tagliamonte (1993: 124), who suggest that the only way in which the precise historical origin of a dialect may be established is through demonstration of the existence not only of particular linguistic features which exhibit the same rates of occurrence as in one putative source dialect rather than others, but also of the same "*distribution* in the language, as determined by the hierarchy of constraints conditioning [their] appearance". If this test of historical provenance is applied to the dialect contact situation in Newfoundland, a number of features of NVE would offer little linguistic evidence in support of the historical record.

Acknowledgements

NOTES

1. It should be added that the well-known IrE feature of palatalization of /k/ and /g/ before front vowels has not been noted in Newfoundland, although it does occur in the Irish en-clave of the Ottawa valley of Ontario (Pringle and Padolsky 1981). This undoubtedly has to do with difference in settler origins, as such palatalization is more of a northerly than a southerly feature in Ireland (Henry 1958: 115). Interestingly, a feature of IrE associated with northern rather than southern IrE varieties — the fronting of /u/ (e.g. *school*) — regularly occurs in Irish-settled areas of Newfoundland. (Pringle and Padolsky 1981: 347, for example, use this as a diagnostic feature to distinguish Ottawa valley dialects of Ulster origin.) The almost total lack of Ulster input in the Newfoundland context, however, sug-gests a northern Irish origin for this feature to be impossible in NVIE. While /u/ fronting occurs in Devon, and while Devon settlers formed an important early component of the population base, postulation of a Devon source would not in any way explain why this feature does not appear lo be maintained in any Newfoundland communities of primarily SWE origin.

2. Conversely, there exist NVE features of SWE origin that arc not reinforced by the super-stratal variety, and have not been adopted by the Irish dialects of the southern Avalon. Most obvious among these is the non-standard /h/ patterning of NVE, whereby the ap-pearance of word-initial [h]in words such as *hair* or *air* is phonologically rather than lexi-cally conditioned. In NVIE, only the name of the letter 'h' (*haitch*) exhibits non-standard [h]-insertion, just as it does in IrE and in other Irish-influenced Canadian English varieties, such as the speech of Prince Edward Island (Pratt 1988: 177).

3. Although the AP construction also occurs in American English (e.g. Harris 1984), this could hardly be its source for such Newfoundland speakers, as their frequency of usage of the construction is much greater than that in more standard mainland varieties, and since the AP pattern is the favoured one for transitive verbs among many older speakers whose contact with the North American English superstratum would be minimal.

Role of Irish English in Newfoundland, Sandra Clarke

4. This example, arguably, is not a case of the AP proper, since it appears to involve a present-tense representation of an existing state (i.e., of the curtains being closed); indeed, the *-s* suffix shows that *have* in this example is functioning as a full or lexical verb rather than an auxiliary (see Section 4.3). NVE examples such as *I('ve) got it gone (cf. *I've gone it*) are common, in which the past participle carries a purely adjectival function. These lend some support to Harris's suggestion (1984: 311) that the AP construction is best analysed as a "complex construction consisting of a main *have* clause and a subjoined clause containing an EN-participle."

5. For at least some residents of the Irish Avalon, there exists a distinction between *He haves/has a lot of money* and *He have a lot of money*; the former designates a habitual event, and the latter a non-habitual, i.e. a state true at the present of speech. Since the IrE literature does not appear to note such a distinction, this may well be a Newfoundland development, perhaps by analogy to NVE habitual forms like *bees* (see Section 4.4).

6. In both NVE and NVIE, a past habitual is formed not with the auxiliary *did*, but with *used to*, just as in IrE (on the latter, see Harris 1986: 175).

7. The suggestion has been made (e.g. Paddock 1991) that the *-s* marker itself carries habitual meaning in NVE. While this marker is frequently used to evoke the habitual, verbal *-s* is none the less associated in NVE with a full range of present-tense meanings, Including punctual and durative. Incidentally, habitual *be* behaves differently from *do* and *have* in NVE, in that it is marked with *-s* even when functioning as an auxiliary, as demonstrated by the sentence I *don't know what they bees thinkin' about*, from Lanari's Burin corpus.

8. Of course, appeal might be made to an IrE substratum as the source of this form in Australian English.

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A Note on Newfoundland Frankum[1]

John Hewson

There is a well-known Newfoundland folk song, sung to the tune of the equally well-known English folk song *Ladies of Spain* with a rousing chorus that begins "We'll rant and we'll roar like true Newfoundlanders, we'll rant and we'll roar on deck and below." Known in Newfoundland as *The Ryans and the Pittmans*, the song has a variety of interesting and amusing verses about courting the local girls at various places on Newfoundland's South Coast and in Placentia Bay. One of the verses concerns a dance at Fox Harbour, where "there was one pretty maiden a-chawing on frankum / Just like a young kitten a-gnawing fresh fish".

There is no reference to **frankum** in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), in the *Dictionary of Americanisms* (DA) or the *Dictionary of Canadianisms* (DC). There is an entry in the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* (DNE) on **frankum**, however, and until evidence is presented of its occurrence elsewhere, we must presume that its usage is restricted to Newfoundland, that it is a purely Newfoundland word. Frankum is the resinous gum secreted by spruce trees, that forms in drops on the bark and may be picked off and collected by the passer-by.

Frankum is also chewed, as the reference in the song indicates, and a brief survey indicates that most Newfoundlanders are familiar with the practice. though radically divided in their opinions on the pleasure to be derived from it: some claim that it is most enjoyable, others complain that the stuff is powdery, tacky, and unpleasant in taste.

The habit of chewing the natural gums of trees was apparently learned by the Europeans from the North American Indians, and it is this habit that lies behind the common North-American practice, now spread to the rest of the world, of "chewing gum". The article on this topic in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* which indicates that spruce gum was marketed in the United States in the early 1800's as the first commercial chewing gum, mentions that sales of chewing gum soar at times of national stress, and ends with the comment "Second to the United States in per capita consumption is Canada".

What is the etymology of **frankum**? The word certainly does not, come from the Algonkian languages of North East North America where the Europeans acquired the habit. Father Sebastian Rasles, who began his work as a missionary among the Abenaki of New England in 1691, wrote in his dictionary: **GOUME** [Fr.] **pek8** (the missionaries used

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the character "8" to represent both [u] and [w]) and we find Micmac **pku** "gum", "balsam", "incense", "pitch"; Cree **pikiw** "gum", "pitch", "tar", "resin"; Ojibwa **pikiw** "resin", "pitch"; and Menomini **pekew** "gum of a tree", "resin", "pitch". All point to a common Algonkian term for which we may reconstruct Proto-Algonkian **pekiwa** "gum", "resin" (animate gender), a word that clearly has nothing to do with **frankum**.

An interesting clue as to the possible origins of **frankum**, however, does occur in *La Sagouine*, one of Atlantic Canada's great literary achievements, the work of Antonine Maillet, who won the prestigious French *Prix Goncourt* for her more recent *Pelagie-la-Charette* (the first time the *Goncourt* has been awarded outside of France). In the very first paragraph of *La Sagouine* where the old cleaning-lady is talking ruefully about her work, she complains of having to scrape off the floor "des tchas d'encens", Acadian dialect for "des tas de gomme (a mâcher)" - piles of chewing gum. This meaning of **encens** (= English **incense**) is, of course, not found in *Larousse* where the traditional meaning of "resinous gum to be burnt for its fragrance" is given (which is also the etymological meaning since **incense** stems ultimately from the past participle of Latin **incendo** "I burn"). Nor, curiously enough, is this meaning of **encens** to be found in the *Glossaire du parler français au Canada*, the reason perhaps being that Acadian usage is not as well represented in the *Glossaire* as is Quebecois usage. Certainly this use of **encens** for chewing gum obviously relates to the habit, acquired from the Indians, of chewing the resinous gum of the spruce, a gum which will also produce a strong fragrance when burnt: it is doubtful that one would burn modern chewing gum, made from chicle from South and Central America, for its fragrance. One concludes that if the word **encens** is used in Acadia for **chewing gum**, it can only be because that which was originally chewed was indeed incense - the fragrant natural gum of the spruce that Newfoundlanders call **frankum**.

The word **incense** in English was borrowed from French during the Middle English period and the early spellings **ancens** and **encense** reflect the French form of the word. The *OED* indicates that the spelling was "etymologized" in the seventeenth century to reflect the Latin spelling. Along with this simple form of the word, there occurs the less common **frankincense** with the element **frank** being from French **franc** which, in this collocation, according to the *OED*, had the meaning "fine, special", Since **incense** and **gum** have been to some extent interchangeable, being used as glosses for each other in the dictionaries, for example, the probability emerges that Newfoundland **frankum** is a formation from **frank-gum** which in turn would be a regular variant of ***frankincense***. In fact, the *DNE* cites *frankgum* as an alternative spelling of the word. In spite of this, however, the *DNE* suggests that the word is a shortening of *frankumcense* (for **frankincense**), without offering any corroborating evidence. The double change (of both second and third syllables) appears unlikely.

The Indians used frankum for sealing the seams of their birch bark canoes, so that the entry under gum in the *DC* reads "a resinous substance exuded from certain evergreen trees, especially the spruce, as used for waterproofing the seams of birch bark canoes"

and a verbal usage is also illustrated (from 1857): "the voyageurs gummed the canoes, an operation necessary at almost every encampment."

The Europeans, in turn, used other forms of latex derived from trees for waterproofing, most notably rubber, and the word **gum** was also used for rubber and its compounds. The *DC,* for example, gives **gumboot** "a rubber boot reaching to just below the knee", an item that the British would call a **Wellington**, after the great general of the Napoleonic wars. Whether the Cree term **pikiwaskisin** is a calque on the Canadian term **gumboot**, or an aboriginal comment on the waterproof quality of a galosh or rubber boot, it would be hard to tell. The word is transparent, however, since the deverbal **-askisin** relates to the full noun **maskisin**, cognate with Ojibwa **makkisin**, the word that has been borrowed into English as **moccasin**. A **pikiwaskisin** is not an "incense shoe" but an overshoe or rubber boot, a gumboot or gum-shoe, and a reference to the waterproofing quality of gum which was known to the Indians long before the coming of the Europeans.

From all these considerations it appears that **gum** is the generic word for the secretions, both resinous and otherwise, from certain trees. It is clear that **gum** is also a common English word of high frequency, whereas **incense** is rare, being ecclesiastical and scholarly, and also of restricted reference: it refers to gums that may be burnt for their fragrance. The *OED* quotes Jordan, writing in 1631: "We use the word Gum in a more general sense, comprehending under it all Rosins, Turpentines, Pitches, etc."

There is no doubt, therefore, that frankum, or spruce gum. is a gum in the ordinary sense of the term, and that if **frankum** comes from **frank-gum**, then it is probable that the purpose of the element **frank**- is to distinguish a gum that is fragrant and pleasant to the taste from those gums that are foul-smelling and unpleasant to the taste, such as turpentine, which is normally considered poisonous. As the *OED* comments of the collocation **frank-incense**. "The special meaning of the adjective in this combination seems to be 'of high quality'."
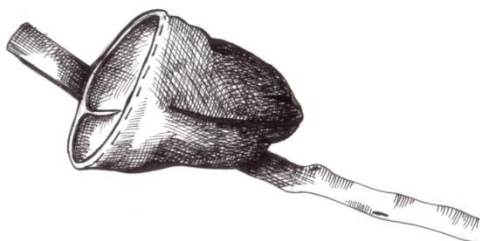
A tool for gathering frankum

GALORE[1]
A short excerpt from the opening pages of the novel

by Michael Crummey

She was not much above a child when she first laid eyes him, a lifetime past. End of April and the ice only just gone from the bay. Most of the shore's meagre population—the Irish and West Country English and the **bushborns** of uncertain provenance—were camped on the gray sand, waiting to butcher a whale that had beached itself in the shallows on the feast day of St. Mark.

This during a time of scarcity when the ocean was barren and wet weather ruined the gardens and each winter threatened to bury them all. They weren't whalers and no one knew how to go about killing the Leviathan. But there was something sacrificial in the humpback's unexpected appearance that prevented the starving fishermen from hacking away while the fish still breathed. As if that would be a desecration of the gift.

They'd scaled the whale's back to drive a stake with a maul, hoping to strike some vital organ, and managed to set it bleeding steadily. They saw nothing for it then but to wait for God to do His work and they sat with their **splitting knives** and **fish prongs**, with **their dip-nets** and axes and saws and barrels. The wind was wet and razor sharp. Mary Tryphena lost all feeling in her hands and feet and her little arse went **dunch** on the sand while the whale expired in imperceptible increments. Jabez Trim waded out at intervals to prod at the saucer of an eye and report back on God's progress.

> **BUSHBORN**—resident of Newfoundland born and bred on the island; countryborn; native
> *A term of contempt for one born in Newfoundland, used when the majority of the population was Irish and English born. When the 'bushborns' became the majority they silenced the immigrants and made them respect the new name, 'Native'* (1937).

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[1] These paragraphs from the first pages of Michael Crummey's award-winning 2009 novel *Galore* (Toronto: Doubleday, pp. 1-2) attest to the vitality of Newfoundland's distinctive lexicon. Glosses for the bolded words (our highlighting) are drawn from the entries of the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* (2nd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).— Eds.

SPLITTING KNIFE—knife with a short, curved blade used to cut around the backbone of a cod-fish

SPLITTING—in processing cod-fish, slicing of the backbone between nape and vent, opening the fish for salting and drying

FISH PRONG—a long-handled implement with one or sometimes two sharp tines used to transfer fish from one place to another

DIP-NET—a circular net with a long handle used to scoop up caplin, herring, etc., in shallow water; a net used to transfer fish from a . . . cod-trap into a boat or to handle it in a **fishing stage.**

FISHING STAGE—an elevated platform on the shore with working tables, sheds, etc., at which fish are landed and processed for salting and drying

DUNCH—stiff; cramped or numb from sitting in one position

Galore, Michael Crummey
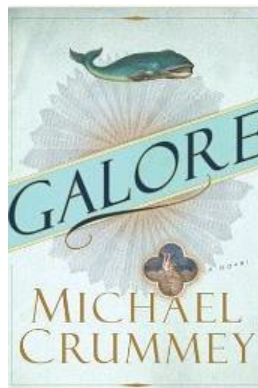
Identity marking and affiliation in an urbanizing Newfoundland community[1]

Gerard Van Herk, Becky Childs, and Jennifer Thorburn

1. Introduction

The English of Newfoundland offers intriguing opportunities for the study of salience, identity, and rapid sociolinguistic change. The province is linguistically homogenous; nearly all inhabitants speak only English, a distinct local variety derived from dialects spoken by migrants from southwest England and southeast Ireland. Some residents still identify as having English or Irish roots, despite virtually no immigration since the 1830s. Newfoundland was relatively isolated until the mid-20th century, when World War II brought an influx of Canadian and American troops, and, in 1949, Newfoundland became part of Canada. These events began a period of resettlement and urbanization that included an overhauling of the school system and the development of offshore oil resources. Perhaps the most significant event in recent years has been the cod moratorium of 1992; its imposition forced many Newfoundlanders to abandon their traditional ways of life, causing outport communities to decline.

Today, traditional linguistic variables compete with newer linguistic forms, and linguistic choices figure prominently in residents' representations of self and place. In these situations, locally salient variables become vital evidence for understanding the ways in which speakers' orientations reflect changing social norms. To determine how locally salient variables function as indicators of linguistic change, we investigate one phonological and one syntactic variable, both of which are stereotypical of Newfoundland English: the stopping of interdentals (e.g. *this thing* as *dis ting*) and non-standard verbal s-marking (e.g. *You knows it).* These features are regarded as indexers of affiliation with Newfoundland and also remain an active part of traditional rural speech.

In this paper, we offer a preliminary analysis of these two totemic variables in a dialect of NE spoken in Petty Harbour, a community 15 km southeast of St. John's that has undergone drastic social and economic change. Petty Harbour was first settled by West Country (English) migrants in the 1600s. Initially a seasonal site, it eventually grew into a year-round settlement with clear religious divisions, with Anglicans living on the south

and Catholics on the north side of the harbour. The community was fairly isolated until the construction of the first road in 1932, which connected Petty Harbour to the St. John's area; prior to this, people travelled to the capital either by sea or overland (on foot or in carts). As recently as twenty years ago, the town was still a thriving fishing community maintaining a traditional way of life; however, the cod moratorium forced residents to turn to other sources of income and employment and now many residents commute to St. John's for work. Petty Harbour is now a bedroom community of fewer than 1,000 people, with an economy partially based on tourism and film and television production.

2. Methodology

Starting in 2006, data were gathered in sociolinguistic interviews in Petty Harbour. We began by working from a list of informants developed in conjunction with a local organization, the Petty Harbour/Maddox Cove town council; later contacts were made using the friend-of-a-friend method (Milroy 1987). All interviews were conducted by at least one native Newfoundlander, and when possible, interviews were conducted by Petty Harbour/Maddox Cove residents. Recordings were made using digital recorders and were catalogued and transcribed in the Memorial University Sociolinguistics Lab. Statistical analysis was performed using Goldvarb program (Sankoff, Tagliamonte, and Smith 2005), a variable rule program designed for sociolinguistic research.

The sample for this analysis consists of data from 24 native residents of the community, which are stratified according to sex and age (under 30, 30-59, over 60). Although religion has been noted as a significant social variable in Newfoundland (Clarke 1991) it was not considered in this analysis, as informant responses about the plethora of mixed religion relationships and their widespread acceptance in the community indicated the diminishing role of religion as an absolute social marker.

3. The Stopping of Interdentals

Variable production of θ and ð are longstanding features of NE. Work by Clarke (1991, 1997b, 2004b) has shown that the stopping of interdentals appears in the casual speech of all social classes in urban and rural centres throughout the province. Previous studies (Clarke 1991, 1997b; Colbourne 1982) have primarily examined the effects of speaker sex and age on production, with results indicating that men and older participants are most likely to use non-standard variants. Perhaps most interestingly, though, there is not one social hierarchy that can account for interdental production for all speakers of Newfoundland English. While all studies concur that older males are the most vernacular, there is little agreement on the place of other social groups in the hierarchy. In addition previous studies have not considered lexical effects on the production of interdentals in NE.

For the analysis of interdentals type-token ratios were controlled, with only the first five tokens of each word included in the analysis. Contracted forms are included in the analysis, but they are included as one of the five possible tokens of a word (e.g., *they'd* counted as one of the five tokens of *they*). The data were also coded for age and sex, as well as syllable position and function word status.

Analysis of ð (seen in **Table 1**) indicates that age and sex figure prominently into the patterns of stopping: males across all age groups have the most non-standard productions. However interestingly, women tend to level out at rates of stopping around 30% in the middle age and younger groups, while the men show a steady decline in use of the stopped variant. Overall, these results indicate a difference in the progression of ð stopping among men and women in the community. Female residents of Petty Harbour have never maintained rates of stopped ð as high as those of the male residents, and the female residents levelled their stopping of ð at 30%, while the male members continue to show a steady decline in stopping only reaching levels of stopped variants in the 30% range among the young men. The results of this analysis indicate that the women moved to more standard productions much sooner than the men.

Table 1:   Rates of non-standard ð across social groups in Petty Harbour.

Group	Total ð (N)	Non-std ð (N)	Non-std ð (%)
Older women (60+)	256	144	56.2
Older men (60+)	237	216	91.1
Middle women (30-60)	251	76	30.2
Middle men (30-60)	264	190	72.0
Younger women (under 30)	265	83	31.3
Younger men (under 30)	251	88	35.0
Total	1524	792	51.9

As previously mentioned, function words were coded in the data. Function words for this analysis were defined as words that have little to no lexical meaning and serve a grammatical function, indicating a relationship between other items in a sentence. Another requirement imposed was that the words chosen had to be present in every interview. The function words included in the analysis were *the*, *this*, *that*, *these*, *those*, *them*, *there*, and *their* and contracted forms of these words.

Table 2 below provides the data on the effect of function word status on the realization of ð. In all groups, except the old men, there is a notable difference in the rates of non-standard production in function words (+Function) vs. non-function words (-Function). Also, for women, there have always been significant differences in the production of function and non-function words; while for the men, we do not see these marked differences.

Table 2:   *Rates of non-standard ð in function words in Petty Harbour.*

Group	Total [+*Function*] (N)	Non-std [+*Function*] (%)	Total [- *Function*] (N)	Non-std [- *Function*] (%)
Older women (60+)	163	80.3	93	13.9
Older men (60+)	146	88.3	91	95.6
Middle women (30-60)	165	38.8	86	15.1
Middle men (30-60)	141	74.5	123	69.1
Younger women (under 30)	175	42.8	90	8.9
Younger men (under 30)	156	38.5	95	29.4
Total	946	60.5	578	38.7

Indeed, women primarily stop ð in function words, highlighting the use of only the totemic productions of *dis*, *dat*, *dese*, and *dose.* Goldvarb analysis of the data seen in **Table 3** below provides evidence of the significance of the age, sex, and function word status in the non-standard production of eth. Although syllable position was coded for in the data, it was not selected as significant.

Table 3: Factors contributing to the occurrence of non-standard ð in Petty Harbour.

Total N: 1524		Corrected mean:	.050		
Sex		**Age**		**Function**	
Male	**.66**	Old	**.75**	+Function	**.60**
Female	.33	Middle	.48	-Function	.34
		Young	.23		
Range:	46	*Range:*	.52	*Range:*	.26

Not selected as significant: syllable position

Data for θ is given in **Table 4** below. Again, similar to ð, older men have the highest non-standard rates, and young men maintain higher rates of stopping than the middle aged and young women. Again, women move toward the standard productions faster than the men, as they did for ð. The Goldvarb results seen in **Table 5** indicate a favouring effect for male and old age groups in non-standard production. Statistical analysis did not indicate significance for word position or function word status for θ.

Table 4:   Rates of non-standard θ across social groups in Petty Harbour.

Group	Total θ (N)	Non-std θ (N)	Non-std θ (%)
Older women (60+)	174	70	40.2
Older men (60+)	135	110	81.5
Middle women (30-60)	203	34	16.7
Middle men (30-60)	161	95	59.0
Younger women (under 30)	231	20	8.7
Younger men (under 30)	237	77	32.5
Total	1141	406	35.5

To summarize the findings for interdentals; we find that age and sex exert a significant effect, while syllable position does not. Looking at each of the variables, the analysis of ð showed females levelling to around 30% non-standard production, starting in the middle age group. Likewise, the analysis showed the status of ð function words, namely that function words maintain high levels of stopped variants when compared to non-function words.   /θ/ does not exhibit the levelling pattern found for /ð/, but stratification still exists among the age/sex groups.

Table 5: Factors contributing to the occurrence of non-standard θ in Petty Harbour.

Total N:	1141	Corrected mean:	.30
Sex		**Age**	
Male	**.76**	Old	**.81**
Female	.29	Middle	**.55**
		Young	.20
Range:	*47*	*Range:*	*.61*

Not selected as significant: syllable position.
Bolded figures are highly significant.

In sum, the distribution of non-standard variants here suggests that θ stopping in all linguistic contexts is totemic – that is, the nonstandard variant acts as a salient (though perhaps not fully consciously deployed) marker of traditional Newfoundland identity. This is further supported by the fact that ð stopping has been tied to lexical items; and the stopping of ð remains relatively high compared to θ.   In Petty Harbour the production of *thing* as *ting* remains much more marked and serves as a more salient totem of local identity than the production of *those* as *dose*, which with its widespread and levelled status is present in the speech of nearly every person in the community.

4. Verbal *s*-marking

Like interdental stopping, non-standard s-marking of simple present tense verbs is a salient marker of Newfoundland English. It is a mainstay of performed dialect (jokes, songs, t-shirt slogans) and is still found in traditional rural varieties at rates as high as 43% to 85% (Clarke 1997). As example (1) illustrates, our Petty Harbour informants also s-mark present tense verbs across the person and number paradigm.

(1)　　a. *First person singular:* I **likes** having fun with the kids. (*Petty Harbour speaker* f)
　　　　b. *First person plural:* Because we **knows** a lot of people out there. (o)
　　　　c. *Second person:* When you **goes** down around the wharf you'll always end up doing something. (o)
　　　　d. *Third person plural (NP):* But people **pictures** a Newfie as the dumbest person alive. (f)
　　　　e. *Third person plural (pronoun):* Then they **deserves** to be called Newfies. (f)

In the current analysis, we extracted all sentences containing simple present verbs from recordings of the same informants tapped for the study of interdental stopping. We then reduced the data set by excluding tokens that did not speak to the issue of variation in s-marking (2). Third singular is s-marked in the standard; there is little (if any) variation in s-marking for present-reference *got, have, be,* and *do*, or with sentence filler collocations (see Torres Cacoullos and Walker forthcoming), and habitual *be(es)* seems to follow rules of its own (and is rare in this data set).

(2) Excluded tokens
　　　a. 3rd singular: *the alcohol really **brings** out the ah the drunk in her eyes* (Petty harbor speaker b)
　　　b. auxiliary <u>*do*</u>*: but I **do remember** pretty well everybody* (E)
　　　c. <u>*have*</u>*: We have concerts.* (i)
　　　d. <u>*be*</u>*: For the most part, people in Petty Harbour **are** nice.* (t)
　　　e. invariant <u>*got*</u>*: Lots of time you **got** no cream in the house.* (e)
　　　f. invariant <u>*be*</u>*: I **be** like my mom.* (d)
　　　g. "sentence filler" collocations: *I mean, you know, I think, I believe, I guess*

The remaining 1090 tokens were coded for the social factors of sex and age, to permit study of change, and for linguistic factor groups proposed in the literature to condition s-marking (Montgomery et al. 1993, Poplack & Tagliamonte 2001, Van Herk & Walker 2005, Walker 2001). These included subject type (see 101 above) and adjacency (3), to test for persistence of the British-origin (Northern) Subject Rule (Murray 1873); overt habituality markers (4), to more finely define aspectual conditioning (Clarke 1997, Singler 1999); and verb semantics (5), to investigate an anecdotal sense that young urban speakers are limiting non-standard s-marking to mental stance verbs in first person contexts (e.g., the popular local expression *Loves it!*). We did not test the oft-described distinction between habitual/durative and punctual verb uses (Clarke 1997, Walker 2001), as present-referring punctuals were too rare in our data (6).

Identity Marking and affiliation, Van Herk, Childs & Thorburn

(3)   a. *Subject adjacent to verb:* I **hate** those cell phones that ring like that.
        b. *Subject not adjacent:* I also kinda **want** a pair of Adidas ones.

(4)   a. *Adverbial habitual marker:* I always **goes** up to Mick's cabin on the weekends.
        b. *When(ever) clause habitual:* When I **go** visit, I go for two-three months.
        c. *Other:* But people **pictures** a Newfie as the dumbest person alive.

(5)   a. *Mental stance verb:* I **like** Grey's Anatomy.
        b. *Other stative verb:* My niece, I **see** her every single day.
        c. *Non-stative verb:* They **make** a pudding out of it, right.

(6)   *Punctual:* I **smell** peanut butter.

A first finding is that overall rates of use of non-standard s-marking are far lower than those described in previous studies of Newfoundland English, at only 5.6%. This does not appear to be due to the nature of the interview or recording process; note that rates of equally non-standard interdental stopping are far higher. A more likely explanation is that morphosyntactic variables are highly salient and subject to a greater degree of conscious control than phonetic variables. A multivariate analysis of social factors found both age and sex to be statistically significant, in the direction typical of declining vernacular features: non-standard s-marking is favoured by men, and declines in use over three generations. **Table 6** shows that s-marking is distributed socially much like its salient phonetic counterpart, with males and older generations showing higher rates of s-marking.

Table 6:   **Rates of non-standard s-marking across social groups in Petty Harbour.**

Group	Total (N)	s-marked (N)	s-marked (%)
Older women (60+)	43	3	7.0
Older men (60+)	51	6	11.8
Middle women (30-60)	173	6	3.5
Middle men (30-60)	126	16	12.7
Younger women (under 30)	478	14	2.9
Younger men (under 30)	219	16	7.3
Total	1090	61	5.6

Turning to linguistic constraints on s-marking (**Table 7**), we see a strong conditioning effect of habituality, but not exactly that predicted in the literature. Habituality *per se* does not favour s-marking; rather, habitual sentences marked by adverbials like *always* actually disfavour s-marking, while those that occur with *when*-type constructions favour it.

Table 7: *Linguistic factors contributing to the occurrence of s-marking in Petty Harbour.*

Total N:	1090		Corrected mean:	.049	
Expression of habituality		%	**Verb semantics**		%
when(ever) construction	**.74**	11.5	Statives	**.75**	13.1
no overt marker	.50	5.3	Mental stance	**.56**	6.4
adverb	.28	1.7	Non-stative	.43	4.3
Range:	*46*		*Range:*	*32*	

Not selected as significant: subject type, subject adjacency

We also see a significant effect for verb semantics, but it is other statives, rather than mental stance verbs, that favour s-marking. (A separate analysis, not reported here, revealed that even in first person contexts, mental stance verbs did not significantly favour s-marking.) The remaining factor groups, subject type and adjacency, exerted no significant effect. . . .

To summarize our findings for s-marking, we see a decline in the use of this non-standard feature, led by women. In terms of linguistic conditioning, we see some similarities to earlier findings for traditional Newfoundland English, with respect to the absence of the NSR and a habituality finding; but we also note some differences, in that stative verbs favour s-marking, rather than disfavour, and the habitual effect may be more complex and more syntactically constrained than previously thought. Some of these mixed findings may be an artifact of considering data from all age and sex cohorts in a single Goldvarb run. With more data for each subset, we may be able to better track changes in rate (and perhaps function) of this linguistic feature.

5. Conclusion

The linguistic and social distributions of these two salient features, when considered in tandem, provide useful insights into the process of linguistic change in Petty Harbour. Both features are in rapid decline, but the rate of decline is linked to salience and degree of control – voiced and function-word interdentals are less salient and thus less suppressed, and the phonetic variable appears to be less sensitive to speaker control than the morphosyntactic one. Women lead the change for both features in three ways: their overall rates of use are lower all along, they show a rapid decline a generation sooner than men, and for interdentals, they show a greater sensitivity to saliency.

Our long-term goal is to situate these salient features within the full matrix of non-standard features, salient and otherwise, available in an urbanizing context in Newfoundland. Newfoundlanders have access to a huge sociolinguistic repertoire; it is possible to find features that differ in degree of control, saliency, and the indexing of identity components like gender, local orientation, tradition, and education. Exploratory

work looking at individual younger speakers is promising. Young women seem to be orienting toward education and the standard, reflecting their limited opportunities within rural traditional roles since the decline of the fishery. While some young men match the women in their social and linguistic orientation, others maintain high rates of local traditional forms, showing an orientation toward vernacular culture and working class occupations. This split, paralleled in our work with rural communities elsewhere (Childs, Van Herk & Assiri 2008), may be a result of the social and economic capital that labour and strong local affiliation can still provide to men. By carefully choosing linguistic features to study, accurately identifying the social work they do, and considering changes in function as well as rate of use, we hope to provide a more nuanced view of how the community responds linguistically to urbanization and other rapid social changes.

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Petty Harbour
Courtesy of Petty Harbour House

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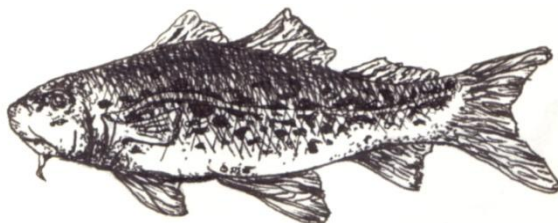
African Nova Scotian English in an Enclave

Shana Poplack and Sali Tagliamonte

This piece comprises excerpts from a book entitled African American English in the Diaspora (Oxford & Malden MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2001) by Shana Poplack (University of Ottawa) and Sali Tagliamonte (University of Toronto). These excerpts (pp. 1, 3, 39-42, 44-45, 52-55, 63- 66) focus specifically on one of Nova Scotia's relatively isolated African Canadian communities, Guysborough. [1]

The research we report in these chapters was originally prompted by one of the oldest and as yet unsolved questions in modern sociolinguistics -- that of the origins of contemporary African American Vernacular English (AAVE). Is AAVE the descendant of some creole widespread across the southern colonies of British North America, converging over two or three centuries towards mainstream American English varieties, while conserving some traces of the original creole grammar? Or did the ancestors of today's AAVE speakers in fact learn to speak in much the same way as colonists from various regions of the British Isles? In this case, modern AAVE has actually diverged from mainstream varieties under conditions of community cohesion and segregation from the dominant society. These questions are extremely important for sociolinguistics. According to the first scenario, the evolutionary history of AAVE is a prime example of the process of decreolization, well studied throughout the Caribbean and elsewhere. But if the second scenario is more accurate, then AAVE exemplifies instead the process of divergence of related language varieties through internal evolution, but does not provide data appropriate to the study of decreolization. Perhaps even more important are the social and cultural implications of questions. The theme of a prior creole arose partly in response to generations of stereotyping and stigmatization of African American varieties as ungrammatical and inferior deformations of Standard English by educators and other elements of the White establishment, and

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[1] These passages from Poplack and Tagliamonte's book provide some historical context for their rigorous study of diaspora dialect features. For a linguistic analysis of African Nova Scotian English and theoretical implications, see their article "African American English in the diaspora: Evidence from old-line Nova Scotians," *Language Variation and Change* 3 (1991): 301-339 http://queensu.ca/strathy/apps/Poplack-Tagliamonte1991.pdf as well as their ANSE bibliography http://queensu.ca/strathy/apps/ANSE-bib.pdf —Eds.

partly as a component of a unifying heritage of an African American community distinct from the surrounding mainstream....

The African American Diaspora

Partly as a response to the dearth of suitable records of an earlier stage of AAVE, some researchers (DeBose 1983; 1988; Hannah 1997; Poplack and Sankoff 1987; Poplack and Tagliamonte 1989; Singler 1989; 1991a; Tagliamonte and Poplack 1988; Vigo 1986) have focused on the language of what may be termed the African American Diaspora. Prompted by conditions in the United States in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, tens of thousands of African Americans dispersed, at various periods and in various waves, to such far-flung locations as Liberia, Sierra Leone, the Caribbean, South America and Canada, where small enclaves of their descendants have maintained their own communities to this day. This book focuses on three such settlements, one on the Samana peninsula of the Dominican Republic (Poplack and Sankoff 1987) and two on the eastern coast of Nova Scotia, Canada (Poplack and Tagliamonte 1991a). Residents of these communities continue to speak a distinctive, and to all appearances archaic, variety of English. We describe [below] the circumstances of linguistic isolation which have contributed to the maintenance of their vernaculars for nearly two centuries, and which are also responsible for the resistance of their grammatical structures to contact-induced change postdating the dispersal. Allowing for independent internal evolution, such circumstances should qualify them as bona fide descendants of AAE spoken in the early ninteenth century. . .

African Americans in Nova Scotia: Immigration Settlement and Data

At approximately the same time as the "Americans" were settling Samana, other African Americans were heading to other destinations. By some accounts (Landon 1920: 22), the majority of those who left the United States during, and just after, the period of slavery -- as many as 60,000 -- went to Canada (Clairmont and Magill 1970; Grant 1973; Hill 1981; Walker 1980; Winks 1968; 1971). The bulk of this immigration took place in three major waves into two different areas: Black Loyalist immigration into the Maritimes after the American Revolutionary War (ca. 1783-5), refugee slave immigration into the Maritimes following the War of 1812, and fugitive slave immigration into southwestern Ontario between 1815 and 1861.

Although the influx into Ontario, a well-publicized terminus of the underground railroad, was numerically greatest as well as historically most prominent, we focus here on the Canadian Maritimes, and in particular, the province of Nova Scotia, to which the majority of both the Black Loyalists and refugees were sent (Cassell 1972: 153). In the late eighteenth century, in fact, Nova Scotia was said to have contained "the largest free black settlements anywhere in the world outside Africa" (Walker 1980: 31). Although many of the first immigrants made their way to Africa, Nova Scotia for many years remained home to perhaps the largest population of former African American slaves outside of the United States.

From the outset, their settlements were rural, remote or urban-fringe (Clairmont and Wien 1978: 143; Clark 1942: 265; Winks 1968; 1971), reinforcing the segregation later imposed by institutionalized racism in education, religion and employment (Abucar 1988: 3 Walker 1985: 44). The African Americans were forced to develop independent churches and schools, which were under-funded and lacked materials. These were served by local Black preachers and teachers, mostly community-trained and appointed (Moreau 1987; Pate 1976; Rawlyk 1968; Winks 1968). Infertile land allotments, small acreages (when land titles were granted) and skills that were unappreciated in the White community prevented the immigrants from attaining self-sufficiency or financial success. From the time of their arrival in Nova Scotia, former slaves and their descendants have been characterized by a low degree of participation in mainstream political, economic and social life (Clairmont and Magill 1970). Their history of separation, if not the driving force behind it, is comparable to that experienced by the "Americans" who settled Samana at approximately the same time. This led to the hypothesis, investigated in this volume, that African Nova Scotian English should retain conservative linguistic features as well.

Diaspora Settlements

Despite diminishing numbers in recent years, due in large part to the search for material advancement in less economically-depressed provinces (Clairmont and Magill 1970; Clairmont and Wien 1978; Rawlyk 1968), there remain some communities in Nova Scotia which are almost entirely populated by the descendants of these two waves of immigrants. We study two of them here: North Preston, located in the eastern central portion of the province outside of the Halifax-Dartmouth urban area, and a cluster of hamlets in the vicinity of the small town of Guysborough, located on the northeastern corner of peninsular Nova Scotia, approximately 250 kilometers from Halifax. . . . (See **Map 1** below.)

Guysborough: The Black Loyalists are particularly well documented. Early in the American Revolutionary War, British generals had begun to promise protection to slaves who would desert their rebel masters. This policy was codified in 1779 when Sir Henry Clinton, the British commander-in-chief, issued the Philipsburg Proclamation, which promised "to every Negro who shall desert the Rebel Standard...full security to follow within these lines, any Occupation which he shall think proper" (Eno 1983: 103). This policy, intended to destabilize the rebel economy and affect morale, was astoundingly successful. As the British armies moved up and down the eastern half of the United States, African Americans would join in, as soldiers or support staff (Hodges 1996: xiv). Estimates of the total number of Black Loyalists range to over 100,000, some one-fifth of the total slave population (Eno 1983: 103). American colonists were mortified -- one wrote, "Hell itself could not have vomited anything more black than this design of emancipating our slaves" (p. 103).
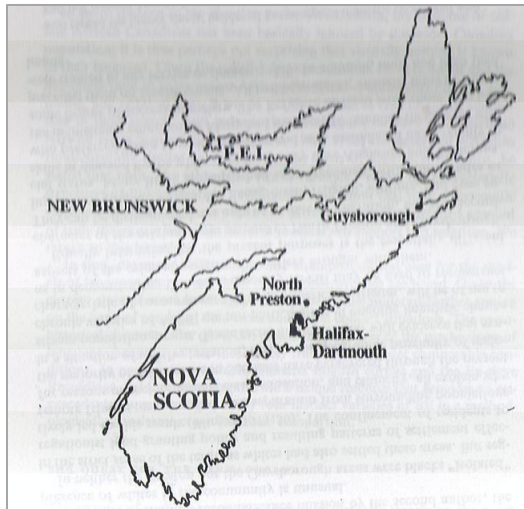
Map 1 Communities sampled in the African Nova Scotian Project

When the tides of war turned against the British, Black Loyalists were evacuated along with soldiers and White Loyalists. The great majority went to the Bahamas, Jamaica, and East Florida, or escaped to the American hinterlands. The number of Black Loyalists evacuated from Charleston, South Carolina, and Savannah, Georgia, has been estimated at between 5,000 (Eno 1983: l03) and 10,000 (Frey 1991, cited in Hodges 1996). Many went to the Caribbean, but a "few thousand [southern African Americans] made their way to New York by way of Savannah or Charleston" (Eno 1983: 104).

When plans were made to evacuate the last British stronghold of New York, governor Sir Guy Carleton's generous reading of the Philipsburg Proclamation saved many Black Loyalists from a return to slavery. American general George Washington demanded the return of all former slaves. Carleton refused, and revealed that he had already begun to send Black Loyalists to Halifax (Eno 1983: 105). The resulting agreement involved a cutoff date for evacuation, and required that detailed records be kept in the event that future reparations were to be paid to the Black Loyalists' former owners. Between May and November 1783, a Book of Negroes was set up. The book (edited and reprinted as Hodges 1996) names all "1336 men, 914 women, 339 boys, 335 girls, and 76 children of unidentified gender" (p. xix) permitted to sail from New York, including their ages, former owners, place of origin, and general physical condition. . . .

Nova Scotia was completely unprepared for the flood of Loyalists, Black or White. Land was distributed based on assumed losses during the war, so the best and biggest properties went to wealthy White Loyalists, and much of the remainder to ex-soldiers. Bureaucracy was difficult, and ex-slaves were not skilled in navigating it. Blacks were segregated from Whites upon their arrival in Shelburne, and were forced to perform public labor to get land that Whites got free (Eno 1983: 106). Blacks from Birchtown began moving into Shelburne; their acceptance of low wages (in competition with poor White ex-soldiers) led to North America's first race riot. In 1784, most Shelburne

slave owners freed their slaves to avoid the inconvenience of feeding them through the long winter. They were taken in by Birchtown free Blacks (Eno 1983: 107).

Disaffection was understandably high, and when an opportunity to emigrate to Sierra Leone was offered in 1791, some 1,196 of the original settlers chose to leave (Walker 1976/1992: 137), about one-third of the free Black population (p. 128). Included in this group were many of the community's leaders, including David George, Moses Wilkinson, and Boston King. . . . Thus the bulk of Black Loyalists, despite the rather large remaining population, were unable to form a strong single community. The exception was Guysborough County's Little Tracadie -- due to its remote location in eastern Nova Scotia, it had not been visited by recruiters for the Sierra Leone project (Walker 1976). Guysborough was the first of the Nova Scotian isolate communities. Tracadie was one of the few places where a large land grant was made to African Americans, in 1787, albeit on land of extremely poor quality (Muise and Corbett 1971). . . .

African American Enclaves in Nova Scotia
At the time of data collection, Guysborough County was considered the most economically disadvantaged county of Nova Scotia, and the African Nova Scotians who resided there, "the poorest of the poor" (Clairmont and Magill 1970: 64). The "settlements" we sampled in 1990 were simply clusters of between 8 and 40 homes aligned along back roads. Stores, services and recreational facilities were sparse in the county in general, but completely absent in these rural, non-agricultural areas. With the closing of the last public school, churches were the only remaining public institutions at the time of data collection. The scattered houses were surrounded by wilderness, and not served by public transportation. Conversations with residents of adjacent White hamlets revealed that only one had ever visited an African Nova Scotia community, despite the geographic proximity. The homogeneity of both the original input settler cohort and their descendants over the duration is a key feature of Guysborough Enclave: in contrast to most other Black Loyalist communities, it remained unaffected both by the mass exodus to Sierra Leone, and the subsequent influx of refugees. Study of its speech patterns is thus particularly relevant to this research. . . .

The quest for the vernacular
In sharp contrast to the situation in the United States, the existence of old-line African Canadians has been basically ignored by the wider Canadian population; it is thus perhaps not surprising that prior to the research reported in Poplack and Tagliamonte (1991a), virtually nothing was known of their language. The sole linguist to have considered an African Nova Scotian dialect (Dillard 1971b; 1973) characterized it as fundamentally similar to AAVE. Both African Nova Scotian English and AAVE, according to him (1973: 508), "reveal the characteristic structures of Pidgin English," Gaining access to the vernacular speech data necessary to assess Dillard's (anecdotal) claim was perhaps the greatest challenge in this project. In the African Nova Scotian context,

as in many other situations of asymmetrical status or power, the vernacular, or what members refer to as "slang," is restricted to intimate interaction with fellow community members (Poplack 1980, 1981; Rickford and McNair-Knox 1993) as can be observed in (2).

(2) **Interviewer**: But there's a lot that speak broken English too. Like, we do speak slang. That is no word of lie. There is ways-- there is some times when we speak slang, I find.
Informant: Yeah. And sometime we talk like they don't even under- stand what we're saying.
Interviewer: Yeah, like, we can have a conversation going and nobody would ever know what the conversation was about.
Informant: Mhm.
Interviewer: Like you and I could have a conversation and- and there could be a White person sitting there and they wouldn't understand a word we were saying. (NPR/O06/2123-33):

Community members are keenly aware of (real and perceived) differences between their vernacular and those of surrounding populations, as can be seen in (3a-c), and take pride in the distinctiveness of their variety (4).

(3) a. **Interviewer**: Did you find that- like, even in Nova Scotia? You know, like, people from Hammond's Plains and North Preston?
Informant: Yeah. Some have a different a-- ...
Interviewer: Sunnyville? [an African American hamlet adjacent to Guysborough Enclave]
Informant: ...Oh God, yeah. A different accents altogether. (GYE/045/1524-30)
b. **Interviewer**: Did- did- have you ever heard the Blacks from United States talk?
Informant: They got a wang to their talk. ...It's different than ours. Different altogether, yeah. (GYE/056/ 1846- 8)
c. **Interviewer**: What about White people talking like Black people?
Informant: They doesn't. I never heard. ..not a White person talking like a Black person.
Interviewer: In your life, eh?
Informant: No, they always got different accents. (NPR/OI6/ 1072-5)

(4) **Interviewer**: Have you ever heard a Black person talking like a White person?
Informant: Yes. I did. Trying to. But couldn't come near of it. And we should try to be our own self. (NPR/OI6/1067-70)

Indeed (somewhat contradictorily, in view of the psychological and real segregation that has persisted until recently), virtually all African Nova Scotians also have at their disposal a variety of English that is very close, if not identical, to generalized standard Canadian or Nova Scotian English, a fact of which informants are well aware (5).

(5) **Informant:** And that's why we're in two language really, when you look at it. 'Cause we can go both ways when you look at it. When we're around each others we can speak a certain way. But when we're around Whites, we-
Interviewer: Our voice change.
Informant: Change. Our attitude, everything change.
Participant: Voices change. (NPR/OO7/1031-4)

The diglossic partitioning is so extreme that observers had assured us that African Nova Scotian English had no distinguishing features (e.g., Donald Clairmont, personal communication). To ensure representation of at least some vernacular features, we adopted participant observation techniques of data collection, requiring that field workers be community members, and that the informants be participants in the fieldworkers' social networks. Under Tagliamonte's direction, local interviewers were trained in the administration of the Sociolinguistic Interview (Labov 1984), the use of high-quality digital audio, tape recorders and microphones, and elicitation of demographic information. Virtually all of the African Nova Scotian interviews were conducted by a single individual native to each locale among members of her extended social network during the summer of 1991. . . .

Nature of the data
The result of our fieldwork in Nova Scotia is a corpus of 159 hours of informal taped conversations, ranging from approximately one to five hours in length. In addition to dozens of narratives of personal experience, it contains a cornucopia of stories (16), home remedies (17) and ghost lore, as in (18), many of which were part of group interaction, as in (19).

(16) **Interviewer**: How did - where did your clothing come- how did you get your clothing? You- know, you were small? Did your mother buy-
Informant: No. Somebody give her something, we had it. Or else she took the flour bag. Used to buy the flour bag and white bags with the Robin Hood on it. And she boiled it on the stove 'til she got the Robin Hood out of it. And then she would uh- make us a pair of pants.

(17). We ever got a goose, they would catch every bit of grease and save it and put it in a bottle. Warm it into a little dish on the stove and dip your fingers in, rub your chest. They said, do -that twice you got no cold. . .
And you could take a spoonful of it, eh? Never had no cold. Come down with a bad cold, she'd give you that twice, your cold was better. (GYE/066/1068-76)

(18) And once me and Lily seen all kind of gros-- ghosts: . . .
Steal on Aunt Sue's- stealing on Aunt Sue's uhm- trees out there. Me and Lily were coming
up the road this night, walking so good. Seen this great big old white thing. "
I said, "God, Lily, look."
Lily said, "What? I don't see nothing."
I said, "Yeah," I said, "look, there- there."
Had just got off the tree.
Then we seen this great big white ghost.
And all- all of a sudden it just disappeart from us.
Just fade right away from us.
And was- was I scared! (NPR/020/98-1l1)

(19) **Interviewer 2**: Yeah, but I was saying like back when you guys was coming
along, to see a ghost, everyone was like-
Interviewer 1: It was common.
Participant: Oh, [incomprehensible] you couldn't run!
Interviewer 1: And they said that they can't turn
corners. That's what I- that's all I been hearing. Uh- if you are
running from a ghost-
Interviewer 2: And you take a k-
Interviewer 1: Don't keep going straight. Turn. And if you turn,
that ghost got to keep going straight, 'cause they can't turn.
Informant: If- if you run from a ghost?
Interviewer 1: Mhm.
Informant: If who run?
Interviewer 1: If anybody. If you see and ghost and you running,
if a ghost is chasing you, that's what they told me.
Said you- if you take a turn, the ghost got to keep
going straight 'cause they can't turn.
Informant: Well nobody can't- ... run from no-ghost.
Interviewer 1: No? .
Informant: How you gonna run from a ghost? What are you
talking about?
Interviewer 1: I'm gonna run from him!
Informant: No. You can't run from him!
Interviewer 1: No?
Informant: They beat you all the time! How you gonna run
from- ? I-
Interviewer 2: Like a- like a spirit, eh? (NPR/030/4397-417)

Summary
This is a singular documentation of African Nova Scotian speech, of which only
one other taped record is known to exist (Jones 1988), and this has never to our
knowledge been exploited for linguistic purposes. Thanks to the skill and dedication of

the fieldworkers, these data are fully representative of vernacular African Nova Scotian English.

The remarkably detailed records pertaining to the Black Loyalists allow us to trace the origins of individual founders of Guysborough Enclave down to the specific plantation. Coastal South Carolina and Virginia are by far the most frequent regions of origin. We can confidently state that almost all members of the founder population of North Preston were from the Chesapeake area or coastal Georgia. Here again, their sociodemographic characteristics differ little from those of the general population of African American English speakers in nineteenth-century United States. The African Americans who migrated to these diaspora locales clearly included representatives of each of the major population elements presumed to have contributed to the development of contemporary AAVE (i.e., slaves and freedmen, northerners and southerners, house and field slaves). If anything, the balance is weighted in favor of southern field slaves, whose language many consider to represent the precursor of AAVE.

The physical and social isolation of the diaspora communities in both Samana and Nova Scotia explain how their residents maintained the linguistic norms brought there by their ancestors. Each of the diaspora communities was shown to feature a lengthy settlement history (dating back approximately two centuries), minimal in-migration of non-members, historical continuity of current informants with the original input settlers, geographic remoteness from the mainstream, physical and psychological separation from adjacent populations, and a strong sense of group identity. The potential for any of the Early AAE varieties to have undergone structural change due to contact with other varieties of English was extremely limited—by linguistic, social, religious and physical distance in Samana, and by social, racial, and, to a lesser extent, physical distance in the Nova Scotia communities. (Indeed, such barriers to outside influence are considerably stronger than those typically found in dialect relic areas, where speakers may identify linguistically or ethnically with contiguous communities and dialect boundaries are often gradual, rather than discrete.) But while these characteristics are helpful in explaining the developments that resulted in Early AAE, it is the linguistic evidence that is primary. Exploited within a proper context, these diaspora data can be taken to represent the precursor(s) of contemporary AAVE.

Africville, Halifax
Nova Scotia Archives

African American English in Nova Scotia, Poplack & Tagliamonte

"Elizabethan English" on Nova Scotia's South Shore[*]

Lewis J. Poteet

A popular generalization about the language spoken on Nova Scotia's South Shore [see **Map 1**] and elsewhere in the Maritimes is that it is somehow old, the implication being that an early dialect of English was separated from the mainstream of the language and here preserved. A similar assertion is often made about the varieties of French used among Acadians in Clare, or on the Iles de la Madeleine, or in the novels of Antoinine Maillet.

Map 1. South Shore region
(Wikimedia Commons)

For ten years now I have been compiling a small dictionary of South Shore phrases and expressions, and as I sought to establish the etymologies of these colloquialisms, I naturally looked for evidence bearing on this assertion. A colleague who did all his graduate work in linguistics was scornful: "It's simply not true," he said; "the language of North America is fairly uniform and homogeneous in its changes across the continent."

In fact, among the linguists opinion is divided. T.K. Pratt, the linguistic geographer of Prince Edward Island, considers the question in an essay "Island English: The Case of the Disappearing Dialect":[1]

> It would be a pleasant fillip to the Island sense of heritage to
> discover that there have been many words coined here in
> days gone by, and many others preserved here that have
> died out elsewhere. Unfortunately this is not the case. Prince
> Edward Island has been too long a part of the mainstream
> of Maritime and Canadian life for many words to be thus
> isolated. However there appear to be some.

Rex Wilson, the scholar in charge of the Maritime Dialect Survey, is less equivocal: "We must not expect to find 'pure Elizabethan English' in even the most conservative, remote speech area of this continent."[2] On the other hand, Henry Alexander, the first

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[*] Lewis J. Poteet is retired from the English Department of Concordia University. This article appeared in *The Nova Scotia Historical Review*, Volume 4, Number 1 (1984) and also in successive editions (1983, 2004) of Poteet's dictionary: *The South Shore Phrase Book* (Hantsport NS: Lancelot Press). The numbered endnotes are the author's.—Eds.

linguist to attempt a systematic survey of Nova Scotian speech, wrote: "Glib statements about the uniform pattern of North American life are not supported by an examination of the speech of this continent. The amount of variation between different communities and even between different individuals in each community is astonishing."[3] Further, he found that "many interesting survivals of older English usage ... can be detected."[4] Nova Scotian speech, he wrote, "is probably less uniform, less influenced by the general North American type, than other parts of Canada."[5] He further argued that it "ought to show great variety, because of the varied strains in the population of the Province."[6]

My own work, in fact, has isolated a number of words and phrases spoken by people now living on the South Shore and used in much the same sense as in Renaissance or earlier colloquial English. The expressions are fairly common, having to do with a wide range of ordinary human activities and objects, from fishing to little girls' clothing. Moreover, some typical metaphorical formations and certain verb forms are either distinctly Elizabethan in shape, or suggestive of original versions of more familiar clichéd expressions.

First, here are eight "Elizabethan" items:

aboard or **board** - to "go aboard of" someone is to be aggressively angry with him. "I'll fly aboard o'ye and dance a jig on yer palate" is an elaborate Cape Sable Island use of this phrase. Ruth C. Lewis, in "Why Did You Say That?"[7] an essay on the antiquity of Barrington English, defines it as "scolding" and cites its use in nineteenth-century New England and in Shakespeare: "for I will board her, though she chide as loud as thunder" (The Taming of the Shrew, I, ii, 95-96).[8] In the lines from Shakespeare, I suspect a multiple pun on the word, with sexual connotations, but the meaning is the same; In Blanche, Shelburne County, a man said to me, "I gave the dog a bone, and in a couple of, seconds he was going aboard of that," thus using it to mean any vigorous, aggressive behavior. This expression has, of course, had wide nautical use for a long time, in the phrase "to go aboard" a ship, but its old meaning seems to derive from the pirate or man-of-war crew's "boarding" an attacked vessel.

forelaying - expecting, preparing for, way-laying. "I'll be forelaying for you" is a common usage on Cape Sable Island. The *Oxford English Dictionary* calls these meanings (which it dates from 1548 and 1605) obsolete, but in the South Shore usage the meaning is the same as it was in F. Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody* (1619): "Privy snares my foes forelay" (II, 361).[9]

hove - to tarry, stay, or dwell in a place. "I hove to" or "I hove up" means "I stopped," and is used both on land and at sea. The *Oxford English Dictionary* reveals that the source of this word and meaning is not "heave" as might be expected, but an old word much closer to the modern "hover"; in 1220, "hove" meant "to remain in a suspended or floating condition, as a boat in water, to lie at anchor," although this was superseded in general usage by the word "hover" by the sixteenth century. A line from Edmund

Spenser's The *Faerie Queene* illustrates its old use: "A little bote lay hoving her before" (III, vii, 27).

pleasance - a small rose-garden. The novelist Thomas Raddall, planting a few rosebushes in his Liverpool yard during the 1940s, was greeted by his neighbour with, "I see ye're making a pleasance."[10] The *Oxford English Dictionary* finds its first use in 1585, with the meaning "a pleasure-ground, ... secluded part of a garden." T. Washington, translating Nicolay's *Voyages* in 1585, uses it: "diuers gardens and pleasances, planted with orange trees" (IV, xxiii, 139).

rout or **rote** - the noise of the waves on the shore, used to determine position in the fog. Helen Creighton, in *A Life in Folklore*, reports the conversation of a fisherman from Cape Sable Island: "I'm listening for the *rote*. The surf breaks with a different sound all along the shore."[11] Originally from the Old Norse *rauta* ("to roar"), in Chaucer's time this word was used of the sea, winds, thunder - "to roar, make a loud noise." In *Troilus and Criseyde*, for example, "the sterne wind so loude gan to route / That no wight other noyse mighte here" (III, 107, 743-4). The most striking set of Elizabethan usage similar to the modern Cape Island use occurs, however, in Samuel Purchas' accounts of the Henry Hudson voyages in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625). The word is used by Henry Hudson himself, by his mate Robert Iuet, and by Abacuk Pricket, one of the seamen who put Hudson adrift in a small boat. From Hudson's diary: "Wee heard a great *rutte* or noise with the Ice and Sea ... We heaved out our Boat, and rowed to towe out our Ship farther from the danger." And again, "at this time to windward we heard the *rutte* of Land." From Iuet's diary: "And at ten of the clock we heard a great *Rut*, like the *Rut* of the shoare." Finally, from Pricket's diary: "on which we fell in a fogge, hearing the *Rut* of the Sea ashoare, but saw not the Land, whereupon our Master came to an Anchor."[12]

savoury meat - Thomas Raddall says that someone in Liverpool used to go out to the horse-drawn meat cart and ask, "Do you have any savoury meat today'?" This phrase is most familiar in that popular Elizabethan vernacular translation of the Bible, the King James Version, in the account of the tasks set by Isaac and Esau and Jacob, that they might gain his blessing, in Genesis 27:3, 4: "Now therefore take, I pray thee, thy weapons, thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field, and take me some venison, / And make me savoury meat, such as I love." The phrase, meaning treated and aged venison, occurs in this exact form no less than five times in the chapter. That this phrase is peculiarly Elizabethan is clear from a comparison with the more recent translations, where the original appears as "the kind of savoury I like" (Jerusalem), "a savoury dish of the kind that I like" (New English Bible), and "cook me some of that tasty food" (Good News Bible).

tire - used in Blanche, to describe a cotton cover for a dress, worn by young girls to keep the dress clean. The *Oxford English Dictionary* lists this use as dating from 1425: "a pinafore or apron to protect a dress." Many examples occur in Shakespeare's plays

and sonnets, with the word used to mean outer clothing of various kinds, including headdresses, costumes, and coverlets: "If I had such a tire, this face of mine / were full as lovely as this of hers" (*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, IV, iv, 190-191); "Then put my tires and mantles on him whilst / I wore this sword Philippan" (*Anthony and Cleopatra* II, v, 22-23); " And you in Grecian tires are painted new" (Sonnet 53, line 8).

Tibbs Day, Tibbs Eve - the day after Resurrection (Judgement Day), "I'll pay you Tibbs Day" is an expression sometimes heard in Chester, The exact antiquity of this phrase is hard to establish, but the name "Tibb" appears in the title of an early Renaissance play, "John-John, Tibb, his Wyf, and Sir John the Priest." C.L. Apperson, in *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, calls it "a day neither before nor after Christmas," and "the evening of Judgement Day" and therefore a euphemism for "never."[13] The 1811 *Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* identifies it as Irish in origin.[14] I suspect it to be either a Renaissance or late medieval coinage, because of its slightly irreverent use of the Judgement Day concept, and for other reasons which I shall set forth in the last section of this study, on metaphor.

In addition to those old words and phrases with special meanings, I have discovered that in the experience of older people now living, certain archaic forms of Anglo-Saxon strong verbs are still used. A man on Blanche said, "I wed the garden" rather than "I weeded the garden"; a woman from Barrington remembers hearing her mother say, "When they passed they wove at us"; and the lighthouse keeper at the Half-Moons, describing an incident during duck-hunting, said, "I crupp him but he div" ("I crippled him but he dove or dived"). Each of these odd forms follows the sound changes recorded for the transition between Old and Middle English for a specific listed similar strong verb:[15]

Part of Speech	South Shore Word	OE/ME analogy
Present Indicative Singular	wave (OE *wafian*)	stave
Preterit Indicative Singular	wove*	stove
Present Indicative Singular	weed (OE *weod*)	creep (*creopan*)
Preterit Indicative Singular	wed	crep(t) (*creap*)
Present Indicative Singular	cripple (OE *crypel*)	creep (*creopan*)
Preterit Indicative Singular	crupp	var. *crupe*
	(OED lists Scots *crupp up*)	
Present Indicative Singular	dive (OE *dyfan*)	bite (*biten*) and drive
Preterit Indicative Singular	div**	bit driv***

* compare *save, sove* in Harold Paddock, "Folk Grammar of Carbonear, Nfld.," *Canadian English* (Toronto, 1975), p. 27.
** compare *ride, rid* in Paddock.
*** Listed as "quite common" in southern New Hampshire, its ultimate source is given as Ulster and East Anglia, by Alan Crozier, "The Scotch-Irish influence on American English," *American Speech* (winter, 1984), p. 321.

Though it is hard to say when the old inflections of the Anglo-Saxon strong verbs began to disappear in standard spoken usage, Morton Bloomfield and Leonard Newmark describe the process as a gradually increasing distinction between written and spoken English which lasted quite a long time:

> [After the Norman Conquest] the elaborate inflections of the
> OE standard began to break down; that is, they no longer
> appeared in writing. The scribes were almost all Frenchmen
> and cared little and knew nothing about "correct" OE ... The
> Norman Conquest destroyed the Anglo-Saxon scribal class,
> and with this destruction went the care for the preservation
> of outmoded forms ... Suddenly, OE became colloquial.[16]

Moreover, Bloomfield and Newmark offer a clue to the preservation of these forms in ordinary speech within isolated dialects: "Nonstandard dialects are not debased versions of a standard dialect, as many people think, but dialects which have not happened to gain prestige in the society. They often preserve forms and features of the language which have been lost in the evolution of the standard dialects."[17] And Harvard historian Louis Hartz explains the same phenomenon in more general terms: "When a part of a European nation is detached from the whole of it, and hurled outward onto new soil, it loses the stimulus toward change that the whole provides. It lapses into a kind of immobility."[18]

Finally, in certain ways of forming metaphorical expressions on the South Shore, I find evidence of the persistence of old language habits. One of the most popular forms of metaphor is the curse. On the South Shore, particularly around St. Margaret's Bay and Chester, I found in common use a number of sacrilegious curses of a particular virulence, curses which I associate with the elaborate sacrilegious imprecations of the Renaissance, as found in various period plays. "By the holy old twist" is one such, a reference, I take it, to the twisted body of Christ on the cross; "Dyin' holy dyin'" is another. While these exact curses do not occur in Shakespeare, "'sblood" and "'sbody" ("God's blood" and "God's body") are good examples of the genre: in *Othello*, Iago opens the play with "'Sblood, but you will not hear me" (I, i, 4), and in *I Henry IV* it occurs no less than eight times, the most elaborate of these to introduce Falstaff's memorable, "'Sblood, you starveling, you elf skin, you dried neat's tongue, you bull's pizzle, you stock-fish!" (II, iv, 270-272).

Moreover, in a number of other common metaphorical expressions in use on the South Shore, a more familiar clichéd old metaphor is illuminated by the freshness of the South Shore version, as if we were hearing the old original. "That dog can bark a blue breeze," says a woman from Liverpool; "That bolt'll hold till the last blue smoke," says the mechanic from Pubnico; "blue" in both expressions is comparable with "curse a blue streak," and seems to be associated with hell, anger and violence. "He's pulling my mouth," says a Cape Islander - "he's trying to get me to say something," and the

Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader

expression recalls "He's pulling my leg" or "twisting my arm," both familiar but trite from long overuse in vague contexts.

While it may not be strictly true that on the South Shore, the people speak a sort of Elizabethan English, there must be a way to account for the particular flavour of the language and for the hard evidence I have found for the survival of old forms. The English Renaissance was characterized by an extraordinary inventiveness in language; in fact, most students of the history of ideas find its beginnings in the Middle Ages, in the openness of English to French loanwords, in the playfulness of Chaucer's language, and so on. This quality is to be found in modern Nova Scotian speech, with its lively oral tradition. We must, I think, push back the lines of boundary in our awareness of language, to see the language as an ocean, with tides, currents, shores, maybe even a *rout* of its own.

As I trust my annotated collection of words and expressions from St. Margaret's Bay to Pubnico, the *South Shore Phrase Book* (Hantsport, N.S.: Lancelot, 1983, fourth printing, 1985) shows, English on the South Shore of Nova Scotia mirrors the maritime/migration history of the area, adapting freely from North England roots, Cape Cod, northern and southern Loyalist strains, eighteenth-century German (in the Lunenburg area), and Irish. The surviving "Elizabethan" influence is found mainly in the Cape Sable Island/Barrington, Liverpool and Chester areas, but its style and spirit may be felt throughout.

Notes

[1] In *The Garden Transformed: Prince Edward Island 1945-1980*. Charlottetown: Ragweed, 1982.

[2] "The Geography of Language," *69th Yearbook* of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II (Chicago, 1970), p. 77.

[3] "Linguistic Geography," *Queen's Quarterly*, 47, (1940), 47.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[5] "Charting Canadian Speech," *Journal of Education* (N.S.), 10 (1939), 457.

[6] *Ibid.*,

[7] Ruth C. Lewis, "Why Did You Say That?" *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*, X (December 1980), 273.

[8] References to the plays of Shakespeare in this article will be made within parentheses in the text and are to the edition by G.B. Harrison (New York, 1948).

[9] Citation in *Oxford English Dictionary*.

[10] Personal interview, 14 July 1976.

[11] Helen Creighton, *A Life in Folklore* (Toronto, 1975), p. 160.

[12] "Henry Hudson's Voyages," in *Purchas his Pilgrimes,* Book III, Chapter 14 (1625; reprinted in facsimile Ann Arbor, 1966), pp. 573, 589, 597.

[13] C.L. Apperson, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases* (Toronto, 1929), p. 633.

[14] *Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (1811; reprinted Northfield, Ill., 1971), n.p. Entry: "Tib of the Buttery."

"Elizabethan English" on Nova Scotia's South Shore, Lewis J. Poteet

[15] Examples of Old English/Middle English strong verb forms are taken from Samuel Moore, *Historical Outlines of English Sounds and Inflections*, revised by Albert H. Marckwardt (Ann Arbor, 1964).
[16] Morton Bloomfield and Leonard Newmark, *A Linguistic Introduction to the History of English* (New York, 1964), pp.177-178.
[17] *Ibid.,* p. 188.
[18] Louis Hartz, *The Founding of New Societies* (New York, 1961), p. 3.

Nova Scotia Museum Image Collection

Dictionary of Cape Breton English: Regional Vocabulary[*]

William Davey and Richard MacKinnon

Introduction

In the *Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*, David Crystal comments on two competing pressures in twentieth-century English, one toward a 'uniform World Standard English' that strives for one international variety of English, and the other towards 'Regional Standard Englishes' that value and preserve the individual and idiosyncratic (1995: 113). In answer to the question of which of these impulses will dominate, he predicts that, rather than one variety replacing the other, people will become more self-consciously bi-dialectal, using an international dialect for the professional work and a local dialect for social occasions and for local business. For those interested in the study of Atlantic Canada, a bi-dialectal approach is clearly beneficial. Knowledge of a variety of English used in a particular region is a valuable resource for better understanding an area and its people, yet to convey this understanding to a geographically diverse audience, Standard English is also needed. Thus, we hope we can make a contribution to regional studies in Atlantic Canada by creating a dictionary of English of Cape Breton Island. In this paper we will report on our project to gather and define the regional lexicon of Cape Breton Island and to discuss some of the art and science involved in selecting the words for this regional dictionary.

Background

An obvious but none-the-less important question is this: Why is the version of English spoken on Cape Breton Island different from that used in other areas of Canada and North America? The simplest answer is that Cape Breton is an island. Like Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton has a settlement history, a geography, and occupations that have shaped a regional vocabulary worth collecting and studying. It is not accidental that the two celebrated regional dictionaries from Atlantic Canada, the

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[*]William Davey, Department of Language and Letters, and Richard MacKinnon, Centre for Cape Breton Studies, Cape Breton University, are compiling a dictionary of Cape Breton English. This paper is a revision of material presented to the Atlantic Canada Studies Conference, XI, 10 May 1996, at the Université de Moncton and of the introduction to 'A Plan for a Dictionary of Cape Breton English' (Davey and MacKinnon 1993: 1-3). See also an update in "The Making of a Regional Dictionary: Defining the Process" *Papers from the 31st Annual Meeting of the Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association (PAMAPLA/ACALPA 31)* 2007, 3-12. The authors' numbered notes are endnotes.

Dictionary of Newfoundland English (*DNE* 1982, 1990) and the *Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English* (*DPEIE* 1988), have come from island communities. Although the Canso Strait that separates peninsular Nova Scotia from Cape Breton Island is little more than one kilometer wide, the water is deep and the cultural distance is broad. There may never be a Separatist Party on Cape Breton Island, yet a fierce pride and strong sense of island identity are alive and well. For nearly forty years, from 1784 to 1820, Cape Breton was an independent colony of Britain. For another twenty-five years after 1820 many residents on the eastern side of the island actively protested the decision made by the British Colonial Office to annex the island to Nova Scotia.[1] This loss of political independence is one factor that has encouraged a desire in Islanders to be distinctive and to preserve local language and cultural traditions.

Settlement history is another factor in creating a regional dialect. The aboriginal presence has influenced the Island with Mi'kmaq people living for centuries along the Bras d'Or Lake and waterways. Today, the Mi'kmaq people live in five first nations communities: Eskasoni, Membertou, Potlotek (Chapel Island), Waqmatcook (Nyanza), and Waycobah (Wycocomagh). The dictionary files have roughly 100 citations for Mi'kmaq words, and many place names reflect the Mi'kmaq presence. The earliest European contact was along the coast to exploit the cod fishery. For the first two hundred years of European involvement in Cape Breton (1500 to 1700), an international community used the coves and harbours for a seasonal fishery (Clark 1967: 283). The first successful European settlement began in 1713 when Cape Breton became the French colony of Isle Royale. The settlement developed primarily along the east coast, with the Fortress of Louisbourg as the military and commercial centre. In addition to the political and economic motives, the geography of Cape Breton influenced this perimeter settlement. The rugged 'backlands' and dense forest resulted in sparse settlement inland except along river valleys and lakes. Consequently, the French built few roads as the sea gave ready access to all towns and villages.[2]

The perimeter settlement continued after 1784 when Cape Breton became an independent British colony in the aftermath of American Revolution (1775-1783). This second wave of immigrants - the Loyalists, the Scots, the English, and the Irish - gathered in ethnic communities and continued the pattern of settling along the coasts. Coming from the Highlands of Scotland and the western islands, the largest group were Scottish settlers who were for the most part Gaelic speakers (see Hornsby 1992). Place names like New Ross, Iona, Barra, Skye Glen, Mull River, Gencoe Mills and Inverness are memorials of this migration. Many of these settlers tended to come in family or religious groups, or to settle in places where friends and relatives were already living.[3] These early settlers clustered around the coast and waterways where they combined farming and fishing.[4] Even today, all Cape Breton communities with a population of over two thousand people are within three miles of a river, a lake, or the ocean.

In the late. nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a third major shift in population occurred as the coal and steel industries drew many rural Cape Bretoners and European

immigrants to the industrial towns on the Island.[5] As workers and families moved to the Industrial Area on the east coast (primarily from Sydney Harbour to Glace Bay) and Inverness on the west side of the Island, they settled where friends and family lived. One example of this pattern is the Acadia Street area of New Waterford where French-speaking families moved and where their descendants still live. Scotchtown is another ethnic community that developed during the coal mining boom. Areas of Whitney Pier, Sydney, were home to many of the Newfoundlanders who lived seasonally in Cape Breton or moved permanently to work at the steel mill. The unmarried Newfoundlanders without family in Sydney would live in the 'shacks' or company constructed bunkhouses near the steel mill.[6] Oral evidence indicates many of these Newfoundlanders settled in the Pier, on or near Broadway Street.

Thus, these three major shifts in settlement history, the economy and geography have fostered closely knit communities that have strong cultural traditions and internal loyalties. Rather than being concentrated in urban areas, this pattern of perimeter settlement has in many instances created insular communities on the island. Even in a larger centre such as Sydney, the over twenty ethnic groups in the city are drawn together by special churches, social clubs, or community centres. These regions within a region encourage language customs that are valued for their distinctiveness. Again, this is a pattern that is repeated in much of Atlantic Canada, but it is one reason why the region is so interesting linguistically.

Selection of Words

Having briefly surveyed some of the factors influencing the formation of Cape Breton English, we will now consider the types of words that the dictionary will include. In other words, what are the principles of inclusion and exclusion that will be applied to the collection?[7] This vexing question has been asked, tacitly, if not explicitly, since regional dictionaries were first published. The principles for inclusion have gradually evolved in Britain and in North America. In England, one of the first regional dictionaries (*A Collection of English Words,* 1674) answered the question by providing 'two alphabetical lists of words, one for the North and one for the South of England' (McArthur 1992: 857). These early efforts to collect distinctive varieties of British English culminated in Joseph Wright's comprehensive six-volume *English Dialect Dictionary* (Wright 1898-1905). To compile this dictionary, Wright drew upon his own research as well as various county glossaries and word lists. It remains a fascinating and useful work.

In North America Noah Webster's *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828) was perhaps the most influential nineteenth-century attempt to record the American variety of English.[8] This and other regional works prepared the way for *A Dictionary of American English* (1938-1944), a four volume dictionary based on historical principles. It embodies the selection principles of regional dictionaries that have been most prevalent in North America.[9] In the preface to this dictionary, Sir William Craigie and James Hulbert identify three categories of regional words found in the work. They explain that the

dictionary includes 'not only words and phrases which are clearly or apparently of **American origin**, or have **greater currency** here than elsewhere, but also every word denoting something which has a real **connection** with the development of the country and the history of its people' ('Preface' v, Vol. I; bolding added by writers). This succinct statement emphasizes the three categories of words that a regional dictionary might contain. At its core are the words, senses, and phrases that originate in the region. These words are coinages and new senses, the *–ism-* words, which many people expect in a regional dictionary. Although there are roughly a dozen ways in which new vocabulary can be created (for example, see Pyles and Algeo 1993, 258-311), this paper considers only a few of these neologism. The word *Americanism* itself was first coined in 1781 by Dr. John Witherspoon (Baugh and Cable 1993, 351), and *American* used as an adjective accounts for seven columns in Craigie's and Hulbert's *Dictionary*. (e.g., *American beauty*, *coot*, and *widgeon*). Some old words are given new senses (*corn, senate, congress*, and *grapevine* meaning 'rumour,') or placed in new combinations (*best seller, electric chair,* and *state house*). Others are borrowed and naturalized from foreign languages such as *moron* (Greek), *mortician* (Latin), *halitosis* (New Latin), *squash* (Algonquian), and *bronco* (Spanish).[10]

It is often difficult to find convincing evidence that a given word originated in a particular region, given the oral transmission of the majority of language and the haphazard survival of written documents. The need for caution is reflected in Craigie's and Hulbert's explanatory notes to their *Dictionary* where they state the plus sign before a headword 'indicates that the. word or sense clearly or to all appearance originated within the present limits of the United States' (vol. I, xiv). Similarly, Mitford Mathews' *A Dictionary of Americanisms* (1951) seeks to collect only words or expressions that originated in the United States (Mathews 1951: v). However, as Walter Avis notes: 'Yet in his [Mathews'] dictionary he uses a wide variety of Canadian source materials as evidence for a substantial number of 'Americanisms,' a practice which, to say the least, weakens his definition' (Avis 1967: xii).

While the general reader may assume that a regional dictionary will contain only words that originate in a region or country, in fact, Craigie and Hulbert's second and third categories of regional words have a broader scope, those with greater currency in and those with an important connection to the region. The words *back yard, cattle range, football, thistle,* and *undertaker* briefly illustrate these two categories. Here, the art of dictionary making must be employed to determine the levels of currency and the degree of importance that a word might have in a region.

These three categories - origin, greater currency, and connection to the region - also describe the three classes of words found in recent regional Canadian dictionaries. Thus, Avis's introduction to *A Dictionary of Canadianism on Historical Principles* (*DC* 1967) defines Canadianism less exclusively than does Mathews', *A Dictionary of Americanisms* (1951):

A Canadianism, then, is a word, expression, or meaning which
is native to Canada or which is distinctively characteristic of
Canadian usage though not necessarily exclusive to Canada:
Winnipeg couch falls into the first category, *chesterfield* ('sofa')
in the second. (Avis 1967: xiii)

Some of these Canadianisms come from pioneer days such as *store* (instead of the British 'shop') and *spider*, a frying pan with long metal legs to raise it above the surface of the fire (*DC*); here again, old words are given new meanings. Some Canadianisms are limited to regions such as the Newfoundlandism a *tongue-banging*, meaning a severe scolding or tongue lashing (*DNE*). On Prince Edward Island diarrhea is humorously described as the *flying axehandles* (*DPEIE*). Katherine Barber, editor of the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary* (1998), lists *Arborite* and the verb *skidoo* as Canadianisms derived from brand names, and the new combination *seat sale* as three of over 2,000 Canadianisms included in her recent dictionary.

In addition to words and senses of Canadian origin, *The Canadian Dictionary,* like Craigie and Hulbert's, includes words that are distinctive and characteristic of regional usage. In a sense these two criteria for inclusion emphasize opposite tendencies: *distintive* implies individuality and singularity, while *characteristic* suggests a longstanding connection to a larger community. Hence, a word such as *snowboarder* that is part of Standard English is not regionally distinctive and would therefore be excluded. Transient words and phrases, on the other hand, which are short-lived and confined to a small group are distinctive but may not be characteristic of the region. For example, at a Cape Breton ski hill some of the younger snowboarders call those over forty who take up snowboarding *greys on trays.* Despite the humorous image created by the phrase, it is too limited and fleeting to be considered a regionalism. Regional editors, then, look for words and senses within these two borders in addition to Canadianisms. The editors of two Atlantic regional dictionaries, the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* and the *Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English*, use this principle of broader inclusion for their dictionaries. It is this direction that the Dictionary of Cape Breton English will follow.

With this perspective of some of the principles for selecting words for a regional dictionary, we now consider some of the words and senses that we have been collecting for the Cape Breton dictionary. In this paper we will touch briefly on words of Cape Breton origin but will emphasize words in Craigie's and Hulbert's second and third categories - those with greater regional currency and those with an important connection to the region.

Before, we begin the analysis of these words, however, two qualifications are necessary. First, although Craigie's and Hulbert's three categories help clarify the types of words regional dictionaries seek to collect and define, there is no clear boundary between these categories of words. For example, a Cape Bretonism is also likely to have greater currency in the region, and a word with greater currency may be also be important in the

development of the region. Second, our research is ongoing. What we believe is a Cape Bretonism at the moment may turn out to have other origins by the time our research draws to a close.

Cape Bretonism

An obvious example of these words of local origin is the word *Caper* to designate a native of Cape Breton. The word itself is, of course, not unique to Cape Breton as it is used in Standard English for several things such as the condiment, a playful leap, a prank, or a crime. Informally, *caper* also refers to a type of fishing boat and a style of home common on Cape Cod, and probably has several other meanings. However, in the limited sense of designating a native of Cape Breton, it is unique and has originated in Cape Breton, just as *Newfie* has developed in Newfoundland (*DNE*).[11]

Other words that we are investigating as originating in Cape Breton are associated with the lives of miners and their work.[12] For example, *tar paper boots* is a disparaging term to describe the boots miners used to wear before safety regulations required boots with a steel toecap (Smith 1995). These boots with thin uppers offered some protection against water, but none at all from falling objects. Another pejorative term is the *Pluck-me Store*, designating the Company Story that sold goods on credit and deducted payment from the miner's pay.

Yahie miners and *Yahies* is a term of derision used for newly hired workers, presumably rural Gaelic speakers, who sought seasonal employment in the mines. The word appears in an anonymous song which Frank believes 'may have dated from the strikes of the early 1860s in the Sydney Mines district when English miners resisted the use of Cape Breton Scots as seasonal workers or strikebreakers' (Frank 1979: 112). The first verse and chorus indicate the resentment for these miners:

> 1.   Early in the month of May
>   When all ice is gone away,
>   The Yahies, they come down to work
>   With their white bags and dirty shirts,
>   The dirty Yahie miners.
> *Chorus*
>   Bonnie boys, oh won't you gang,
>   Bonnie boys, oh won't you gang,
>   Bonnie boys, oh won't you gang
>   To beat the Yahie miners.
>
> (O'Donnell 1992: 115)

O'Donnell suggests that *Yahie* 'derives from the Gaelic word for homeward: "dhachaidh' and adds that 'Because many of the immigrants constantly spoke of home and the better life there, they were castigated as the "(g)acky' or Yahie miners' (O'Donnell 1992: 116-17).

Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader

Finally, *Cape Breton Silver*, coined by Allister MacGillivary (O'Donnell 1992: 164), is a humorous term referring to moonshine - a term similar to the US drink celebrated in the well-known song, that 'good old mountain dew'. A word associated with the illegal production of liquor is *hanks* (Currie 1979: 110; Mellor 1983: 285), gallon vinegar jugs used to hold the moonshine.

Atlantic Lexicon

In addition to these examples of Cape Bretonisms, the other group of words we will discuss are the words which belong to Craigie's second two categories of regional words: those with greater currency in a region and those with important connection to a region and its people. In order to limit the focus of this paper, we have started with the words that appear in both the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* and the *Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English.* We have selected these words in particular because during our reading program we have noticed that some of the words used distinctively on Cape Breton Island are also used in one or both of these dictionaries. Our hypothesis is that many of these words that appear in all three regions are part of what might be called an Atlantic lexicon[13] that is shared by many parts of Atlantic Canada. These words are distinctive in the sense that they are used more frequently in the Atlantic Region than in other varieties of English. For the purpose of this presentation, then, we have concentrated only on those words and senses that are used in Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and Cape Breton, and we will leave the numerous other examples of parallel pairs for another study.[14]

In order to make a thorough comparison, we began by listing the head words (i.e., the words, often in bold print, that begin a dictionary entry) and combinations (i.e., compound words with separate definitions) from both of these regional dictionaries. This resulted in a list of 157 pages, with approximately 8,300 words, illustrating once again the true but sad adage, that life is short but scholarship is long. From this list of head words, we culled 185 groups of words with identical spellings. These words are called homographs by some linguists (Pyles and Algeo 1993: 346): although the spelling of the words is identical, the meaning and pronunciation may differ. A well known example of a homograph in Standard English is the word *wind* which differs in meaning and pronunciation when used as a noun ("the wind blows") and as a verb ("country roads wind"). The differences in meaning of various homographs are even greater in non-standard English. For example, the homograph *fiddler* appears in both Atlantic dictionaries and would seem straightforward enough, but in fact the dialectal meaning varies on both islands. On Prince Edward Island, *fiddler* designates any small fish. In Newfoundland, a *fiddler* is a 'musician who performs for a dance (on an accordion)' (*DNE*). Similarly, in Newfoundland *snotty* is used in the phrase *snotty var* to identify the balsam fir, whereas in Prince Edward Island *snotty* is an adjective describing damp or drizzly weather. Newfoundlanders use *posy* for any single flower, but in the less-politically-correct Prince Edward Island, it is a term designating an attractive woman.

We next determined which of these 185 groups of homographs had similar meanings. Approximately half the groups fell into this category, resulting in 79 pairs of words with identical meaning and another ten pairs close in meaning. An example from the first group is *bakeapple* - the amber coloured berry that resembles a raspberry in shape and grows in boggy areas.[15] One example of pairs of words that are close in meaning is the verb *snig*, meaning to haul a log out of the woods. The editors of the Newfoundland dictionary define the action as being done by hand, whereas the *Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English* defines it as '[dragging] logs out of the woods by horse. ' To facilitate the discussion of these terms we have combined the two groups, resulting in 89 pairs of words with shared meanings.

Our next step was to determine how many of these pairs of words are also used on Cape Breton Island. To do this, we checked our citations files and conducted interviews with natives of Cape Breton to see if they used or knew any of the 89 words and meanings. Of these nearly ninety pairs of words, all but four are also used on Cape Breton Island, and many of these are probably also found elsewhere in the Atlantic Region. In some ways, this is not surprising, given the similar (but certainly not identical) occupations, geography, weather, customs, and settlement patterns of the Atlantic Region.

Even a cursory glance at the list of 85 words found in all three regions reveals that the largest group, thirty of the words, are related to the occupations of fishing and lobster fishing. Again, several of these words will be familiar to those from peninsular Nova Scotia and New Brunswick: *hangashore* (a fisherman too lazy to fish),[16] *bait box, bait shed, flake* (a wooden frame for drying fish), *stage* (an elevated platform near the shore where fish are unloaded), *kellick* or *killic* (an anchor made of a stone and framed in pieces of flexible wood), and *one lunger* (a boat with a single-cylinder engine or the engine itself). The lobster terms are *button* (a wooden device used to lock the door of the lobster trap), *parlour* (inner chamber of the lobster trap), *kitchen* (the baited chamber of a lobster trap [*DPEIE*] or *kitchen parlour*, a lobster trap with three compartments [*DNE*]), *head* (the funnel-shaped netting through which the lobster enters the trap [*DNE*] or twine mesh for a lobster trap [*DPEIE*]), and *twine needle* (a flat tool used for knitting nets or the mesh pieces for a lobster trap).

Another large group (sixteen) refer to farming and rural activities. A *barrack* is a square structure with a movable roof and open sides, used to protect hay, a *double sled* is a heavy sled drawn by two horses (or two sleighs joined together), a *sloven* is a low, horse-drawn wagon, used to haul heavy loads, a *longer* is a long, unfinished wooden pole used especially for fencing or other structures, and a *longer fence* is a fence made with unfinished poles. Other examples are verbs: to *stog* or fill the cracks of a log cabin or any opening, to *swinge* or to cut wood (or meat [*DNE*]) into workable sizes, and to *swinge* or scorch the feathers off a bird, and to *snig* logs out of the woods (defined above).

In the third group of words are seven references to different kinds of ice. *Field ice* is a large, flat area of floating ice, *lolly* is soft ice floating in the water, *running ice* is the pans

of sea ice carried by the current, *shore ice* is sea ice attached to the shore, and *slob ice* is a slushy mass of densely packed ice fragments on the surface of the sea. The adjective *slobby* describes the sea when covered with a dense, slushy mass of ice fragments, snow and freezing water, and the verb *raft* refers to the piling up of sheets of ice.[17]

A smaller group of words (six) are associated with food or eating, two of which are also used throughout the Atlantic Provinces, such as *bakeapples* and *scoff* (a large meal). Other food terms may be less widely spread: *baker's fog* (or *fog* [DPEI]) is a disparaging term for commercially produced bread, and *dipper* is a sauce pan which is used for cooking.

Other words seem to be relics recalling the ethnic speech patterns of earlier immigrants. The so-called *after-perfect* indicates the completion of an action and is used in expressions like, 'I was after closing the door, when the phone rang.' It is no doubt common where Celtic immigrants have settled. Similarly, *omadan/omadhaun*, designating a fool, is derived from either Irish or Scotch Gaelic (Maclennan 1979; MacNeil 1996).

The smallest group of words may in fact be in general usage outside of the Atlantic Region and may have been included in the two dictionaries before these words were widely established. *Ignorant* referring to someone who is rude or ill-mannered (*Concise Oxford English Dictionary* 1995) and *bar harbour* for a harbour protected by a sand bar are words that we suspect are widely used in the Eastern United States and in Canada.

Conclusion

The strength of any dictionary, be it regional or broader in scope, rests on its citation files. Consequently, we will continue the reading program of published and archival sources, and will conduct interviews with people knowledgeable about occupations and traditions important to the development of Cape Breton Island. In addition, we will send surveys to test the distribution of usage, to discover words that we have not yet encountered, and to find further evidence for words for which we have insufficient evidence. *Cape Breton Silver*, for instance, is attested in only one source; more evidence is necessary before it can be considered as characteristic and therefore be included in the dictionary.[18]

As the citation files grow, it is possible to refine the principles for selection for the three types of words discussed in this paper. While there is general agreement on the broad principles for inclusion and the types of words we will collect, the selection of words along the boundaries will continue to be debated, and our selection process refined. The group of words that we have identified as belonging to an Atlantic lexicon may seem at first to be an odd choice for a regional dictionary that is designated as Cape Breton English. Indeed, these words would be excluded if the aim of the dictionary were to record only those words originating in Cape Breton. The purpose of this dictionary, however, is to represent the lexicon that is distinctively characteristic of Cape Breton in contrast to other varieties of English, such as General American and Southern British English (Millward

1989: 302). Once dictionaries similar to the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* and the *Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English* are completed for all the provinces and each linguistically distinctive area in the Atlantic Provinces (such as the Miramichi River valley in New Brunswick), then it will be possible to create a comprehensive dictionary, like Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* (1898-1905). Then, it might be possible to document distribution of a word like *skiff* (a light even fall of snow) that is used in Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton, and may be used in parts of peninsular Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but not apparently in Newfoundland. The Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island dictionaries have taken important steps in that direction. We hope the Dictionary of Cape Breton English will be another such step.

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Notes

[1] Robert Morgan notes that the reaction to the annexation varied: 'In eastern areas, around Sydney and Louisbourg which had been long-settled, vested interests and a sense of island identity led to a persistent separatist movement. Areas far from the former colonial capital at Sydney showed far less concern. In Isle Madame, fishing interests, who felt threatened by mainland competition and office-holders who had lost their jobs, flirted with the idea but the newly-arrived Gaelic-speaking Scots showed little interest, if indeed many of them even knew about it' (Morgan 1985: 42).

[2] For instance, an anonymous map dated 1751, nearly forty years after the island became a French colony, shows only four roads on the island, and these are either portages or rough links between two bodies of water (Dawson 1988: 144).

[3] One of the best known and perhaps most extreme examples of this 'community migration' is connected with the Rev. Norman McLeod (1780-1866). He and his followers moved from Sutherlandshire, Scotland, to Pictou, N.S., then to St. Anns in Cape Breton in the 1820's, and finally in 1851 to New Zealand at the height of the potato famine in Cape Breton (McPherson 1962, rpt. 1993). Rosemary Ommer's detailed study of the Highlands Scots migration to the Broad Cove and Margaree area of Cape Breton (and eventually to the Codroy Valley, Newfoundland) emphasizes that kinship and place of origin were crucial factors in the settlement patterns of this group (Ommer 1977). She also cautions that this pattern of Highland migration was not always followed because of factors such as various places of origin and different methods of recruitment and passage (Ommer 1977: 220).

[4] Under the rules of surrender after the second fall of Louisbourg in 1758, the French inhabitants were forced to leave the island. Some returned to France, others remained in hiding in secluded areas on the Island, and some moved to French islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon. After 1784, French settlers gradually returned to the Cheticamp area on the north western coast, and in and around Isle Madame on the eastern coast. These settlers were primarily engaged in fishing and worked for the Robin's family from the Jersey Islands, a British possession off the coast of France (see Clark 1968).

[5] Stephen Hornsby's *Nineteenth Century Cape Breton* (1992) provides detailed analysis of this movement.

[6] See Crawley 1988: 44-47 for a detailed analysis of the emigration of Newfoundlanders to Cape Breton for seasonal work. The example cited in the text refers to those working in the steal mill, but miners from Newfoundland lived in areas of North Sydney, Sydney Mines, and Glace Bay.

[7] We began the collection stage in 1993 by reading published material and since then have extended the collection to the unpublished archival material and tapes in the Beaton Institute of the University College of Cape Breton. We are also engaged in using surveys and taped interviews with people that have a specialized knowledge of Cape Breton occupations and cultural activities.

[8] As David Crystal notes, Webster stated 'there were not fifty words in all which were used in America and not in England,' yet Crystal rightly notes: 'On the other hand, nearly half the words he did include are not to be found in Johnson's *Dictionary* [1755], which added considerable force to his claim that he was giving lexicography a fresh direction' (Crystal 1995, 81).

[9] See McArthur (1992: 858-59) for a useful discussion of different types of regional dictionaries.

[10] A few other familiar examples of Americanism come from Mathews' two volume work *A Dictionary of Americanism* (1951) which defines the coinage *blurb* and several that are derived from proper nouns: the *Bronx cheer, Mormon* and *fedora hat* (named after the title of

a play), and the *Ferris wheel* (named after the engineer who designed it) - among many others.

[11] In its plural form, the word *Capers* designates one or more of the athletic varsity teams at the University College of Cape Breton, but before this sense can be included, surveys and interviews will have to test whether this sense goes beyond the campus, and whether it is therefore characteristic of the region.

[12] In an earlier study of Cape Breton mining terms, we discovered that the social lives of the miners and their families were a more productive source for regional words than were the informal words for mining machines, procedures and tools (Davey and MacKinnon 1995).

[13] We are indebted to Terry Pratt who mentioned this term at the annual meeting of Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association at Saint Mary's University, 1993.

[14] There are many more instances where the usage in Cape Breton matches that in only one of the provinces. For example, the word *tachamore* (low stunted evergreen tree) is found on Cape Breton Island and Newfoundland but not Prince Edward Island, while *snood* (the rope that connects a lobster trap to the main fishing line) is found on Cape Breton Island and Prince Edward Island but it is not recorded in the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*.

[15] *A Dictionary of Canadianism* identifies this with the usage label '*Esp. Atlantic Provinces.*'

[16] The following definitions are either taken directly or paraphrased from one or both of *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* and *Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English*.

[17] We are exploring the use of *red ice* as a Cape Bretonism. Coming from the Northumberland Strait, this reddish sea ice is blown into the coastal harbours; it is a sign of spring as it signals the last of the drift ice.

[18] At this stage it may be wise to consider Svensén's precautionary remark that 'Compiling a dictionary is a long and laborious undertaking which demands a great capacity for work and good health' (1993: 236).

Resources for Further Study: The Maritimes

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QUEBEC

English Usage in Contemporary Quebec
Reflections of the Local[1]

Pamela Grant

Does English usage in contemporary Quebec differ from standard Canadian English usage? This paper will describe some of the distinctive ways in which English is used in contemporary Quebec, specifically with regard to the lexicon, and will demonstrate that many of these distinctive usages reflect the linguistic, social, and cultural realities of life in Quebec today, characterized largely, but not entirely, by the influence of French.

1. Background

1.1. Historical context

Language contact and influence between English and French has been going on for centuries, since the first large-scale contact between the two languages during the Norman Conquest in the 11th century, when French made a lasting impact on the English language, introducing extensive vocabulary related to war, politics, government, religion, and law. Since that time, numerous words and expressions originally borrowed from French have been thoroughly integrated into standard English. Henriette Walter writes: "L'anglais ressemble … étrangement au français car des masses de mots français avaient si bien pénétré en anglais qu'ils font aujourd'hui encore de l'anglais la plus latine des langues germaniques" (13).

In North America, French became marked by English starting in the 18th century, with the level of borrowing higher in Canadian French than it was in French in France. Isolated from France and surrounded by English-speaking communities, Canadian French was strongly influenced by English through the 19th and 20th centuries (as it continues to be in the 21st century). Concern about English contamination grew at the same time as negative views of Canadian French developed, and thus fear of English encroaching was fuelled by linguistic

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[1] Pamela Grant is a professor in the Départment des lettres et communications of the Université de Sherbrooke. Note that some of her previous scholarly studies are published under the name Pamela Russell or Pamela Grant-Russell-—Eds.

insecurity. The influence of English on the French language in Canada continues to be seen as a threat as Quebec struggles to ensure its survival as a French-speaking community in North America.

Canadian English has been marked by French over the years, to a much lesser degree than the reverse. Examples of French borrowings that have been integrated into Canadian English in the past include *mush, shanty, voyageur, courreur du bois,* and *seigneurie*. Although the borrowing of French-Canadian words into Canadian English had been observed since colonial times (Avis 1978), studies of English in Quebec prior to the 1970s focused mainly on the influence of British and American Englishes. For example, Hamilton's 1958 article "Notes on Montreal English" explores whether English in that city bears a closer resemblance to North American English or to British English. Similarly, although Orkin (1971) mentions a few words borrowed from French into Canadian English, he has little to say about the influence of French on Canadian English and, like Hamilton, concentrates on the influences of British and American Englishes on English usage in Quebec.

1.2. Political context

On the federal level, Canada has two official languages, English and French, established by the Official Languages Act of 1969 as the official languages of Parliament and federal government services. However, French has been and remains the language of the minority, other than in Quebec, the one predominantly French province; thus the French language has for centuries been on the defensive against domination by English as the language of prestige, business, and economic advancement. But the linguistic balance of power in Quebec has changed radically in the past forty-odd years. Within Quebec itself, the advances for French have been impressive. Modernization of Quebec society in the 1960s led to the rise of the Québécois nationalist movement based largely on the protection and promotion of French within Quebec as a means to ensure the survival of the French-speaking community. The early 1960s saw the beginning of language planning in Quebec, with the creation of the *Office de la langue française*. In 1974, the *Loi sur la langue officielle* made French the only official language of Quebec. The dominant position of French was firmly established by Bill 101, the *Charte de la langue française*, in 1977. Since then, Quebec has seen concerted efforts and aggressive language policies ensuring the use of French in Quebec in all walks of life.

These language policies have been remarkably effective and have resulted not only in increased vitality, recognition and use of French as compared to English, but also in Quebec French being increasingly recognized as a legitimate and standard variety of French in its own right. The relation between Standard French, or so-called "French French," and Quebec French has been re-evaluated, with the *Office de la langue française* and Québécois academics supporting the

emergence of Quebec French as a reputable standard with as much prestige as Standard French. Richard Bourhis observes, "The general atmosphere in favour of French in Quebec seems to have raised the status of Québécois French relative to both the English language and standard French" (59).

This changing dynamic has influenced English usage in Quebec, for several reasons. First, as **Table 1** illustrates, a growing number of Quebec anglophones are bilingual, with French being the language of the provincial government and the workplace and with the English-language school system promoting bilingualism at all age levels.

Year	Percentage of Bilingual Quebec Anglophones
1971	37%
1996	61.7%
2001	66.1%
2006	68.9%

Table 1. Bilingualism amongst Quebec Anglophones (Mother Tongue)
Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*

Second, Quebec government language policy has entrenched the use of French designations for many provincial, geographic, social, and political realities, and these designations are used by anglophones as well as by francophones. Third, with English assuming the role of a minority language in an increasingly independent Quebec, the decreased prestige and vitality of English within Quebec has left it more susceptible to borrowings from French. As Chantal Bouchard notes, "les peuples ont tendance à emprunter des mots et des expressions aux langues des sociétés dominantes et fortes au plan politique, économique et culturel" (*Obsession nationale* 68).

1.3. Demographic context

Any study of how English is used in Quebec raises the question: Who is a Quebec anglophone? The term "Anglo" has traditionally referred to people of British origin; currently in Canada and especially in Quebec, the term refers to people who are English-speaking, without regard for ethnic background. Quebec's anglophone population is far from monolithic in terms of composition or identity.

> Over the past three decades, not only did the [anglophone] community decrease in size and weight but also it experienced a sort of makeover. The demographic trends reviewed here point to communities that are far more mixed in their composition, characterized by a growing multiethnic and

Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader

multiracial community and, in the regions outside Montreal, by increased blending of English-French backgrounds. (Jedwab, *Going Forward* 55)[2]

Tom McArthur reflected on the complexity of the issue in his survey of Quebec English usage in 1981. In his words—

> In popular belief, a language belongs to its native users, and in a certain sense this is true…. The great cultural-commercial-colonial languages of the world, however, have not been limited to such a traditional situation. Languages like English, French, Spanish, and Arabic do not belong in practice just to their native users;…. They belong not only to those who pontificate and arbitrate in college and academy, but also to the jostling crowds in street and marketplace…. [T]here is no sense in which we can consider QE a homogeneous entity…. The totality of QE includes … a vastly complex social interaction *as much marked by doubt and ignorance as by certainty* about what 'proper English' is. (12-13)

Governments and NGOs use three basic measures to determine membership in a language community:
1. Mother tongue: The language first used and still understood. This measure, used by the Quebec Treasury Board, is less inclusive and represents a less diverse population.
2. Language used most often at home: This measure can include anglophones and francophones in mixed marriages, as well as allophones who adopt English, and therefore represents people who may use English in combination with French and/or other languages.
3. First official language spoken: This measure, used by the Treasury Board Secretariat of the Government of Canada, includes immigrants who adopt English as their "official" second language.

Depending on the criteria used to define who an anglophone is, the anglophone population of Quebec can vary from almost 600,000 to almost 900,000, as the following table shows.

Criteria used	Population
Mother tongue	575,555
Home language	744,430
First official language	885,445
Total population of Quebec	**7,435,905**

Table 2. Anglophones in Quebec – 2006 Census

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[2] For a detailed picture of the make-up of the English-speaking community in Quebec, see *The Vitality of the English-speaking Communities of Quebec: From Community Decline to Revival*, ed. Richard Y. Bourhis, 2008.

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*

Even if one restricts the term Quebec English and the scope of research to the language spoken or written by mother tongue users, or *pure laine* Anglos, the findings will not reflect the reality of the hybrid English usage of the larger and more diverse group who use English regularly.

1.4. Overview of previous research

French-speaking Canada, and Quebec in particular, provides a particularly dynamic and active setting for scholarly research into languages in contact, and research activity has been prolific in the last forty years. An impressive body of linguistic research into contact phenomena and language attitudes has emerged; Wallace Lambert's sociolinguistic studies of attitudes towards language variation, Monica Heller's work on bilingualism and language attitudes, and Shana Poplack's research into aspects of language borrowing are a few examples.

Academic interest in Quebec French in particular has been enormous. "[T]he study of Quebec French has often been as much a matter of ethnic and political self-assertion as it has been of linguistic research" (Orkin 3). A good deal of this interest in Quebec French has encompassed the question of borrowings from English. The *anglicisme* is seen by prescriptivists as something to be avoided, as a threat to the survival of the French language.[3] Dictionaries of anglicisms, such as Colpron's *Le nouveau dictionnaire des anglicismes*, list borrowings from English that are common in French and provide the correct French alternatives. Chantal Bouchard (1989) refers to anglicisms as "une obsession nationale." Although concern for anglicisms is evident as well, to a lesser degree, in France, where the *Dictionnaire des anglicismes* was published in 1982 by Larousse, the attitude there is considerably more permissive.

The strong resistance to borrowings in Quebec French contrasts with the relatively casual attitude toward gallicisms in Quebec English; French interference is selectively viewed as problematic: primarily for learners of English as a second language, where it reflects a lack of competence in English, and in publications written in English or translated into English where French interference is considered inappropriate. With English-speakers in Quebec having easy access to American and English-Canadian media and communities to support their use of standard English, the survival of English is not at risk. In contrast to the strong resistance to anglicisms in Quebec French, gallicisms in Quebec English are seen as relatively benign. The difference in views towards borrowings from other languages is nicely illustrated in the metaphors used in the titles of two books on language by Canadian writers. Chantal Bouchard's *La*

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[3] Interestingly, there is no such resistance to borrowings from Aboriginal languages in Quebec French. Chantal Bouchard explains that resistance to anglicisms is not a form of purism but a struggle against assimilation.

langue et le nombril: Histoire d'une obsession québécoise likens the French language to an umbilical cord, the link to one's ancestral identity; Howard Richler's book *A Bawdy Language: How a Second-Rate Language Slept Its Way to the Top* compares English to a harlot, borrowing indiscriminately from other languages. Yet it is difficult to generalize about individual attitudes towards borrowings among Quebec anglophones, as Crystal points out:

> In an area where language attitudes are strong,… the extent to which Anglophone people are prepared to use words which are perceived to be French in origin varies greatly. (343)

Academic interest in the influence of French on English has been more modest than the reverse. Nevertheless, Quebec English usage has been described, analysed, and questioned by various scholars in the last thirty years. Tom McArthur's 1989 monograph *The English Language As Used in Quebec: A Survey* (1989) investigates the acceptability of 25 expressions identified as gallicisms, focuses on contextual factors and correlates views on each expression with the linguistic background of the speaker, the context in which a term would be used, and the perceived acceptability of the usage. The noted British scholar was also the editor of the *Oxford Companion to the English Language* in 1992, in which he commented that "the most marked feature of local [Quebec] English is the influence of French" (832).

Other scholarly works include an issue of the Quebec Order of Translator's journal *Circuit* (1994) as well as articles by Roda Roberts (1982), Alan Manning and Robert Eatock (1982), Mary Plaice (1984), Joe Palmer and Brigitte Harris (1990), Jack Chambers and Troy Heisler (1999), Charles Boberg (2004, 2004b), Margery Fee (1991, 1995, 2008), and Pamela Russell (1996) and Grant-Russell (1998, 1999). In 1997 the *Guide to Canadian English Usage* called Quebec English a "new Canadian regional dialect" (403).

Add to this the numerous popular and anecdotal writings on Quebec English, including countless newspaper articles and columns, editorials, and letters to the editor, as well as books by Josh Freed and Heather Keith-Ryan and Sharon McCully. Light-hearted takes on English in Quebec include Mark Shainblum and Gabriel Morrissette's comic books *Angloman* and *Angloman 2* and the online *Lexicon of Italian Quebec English: New Official Saint-Leonard Dictionary* at <www.italiandictionary.com>, which gives a sample of how English mixes with French and Italian in the Italian Montreal neighbourhood of St. Leonard.

Yet there has not been consensus amongst scholars concerning the distinctiveness of Quebec English. Specifically, Shana Poplack, in her co-authored article "An English 'like no other'?: Language Contact and Change in Quebec" (2006), concludes that she found no significant impact of the French lexicon on

Quebec English and states that "use of borrowed items is surprisingly rare." This surprising conclusion can be explained in part by the fact that, although her research methodology is rigorous, she deliberately does not consider as borrowed items any of the following: **expressions or compounds**, anything other than "lone French-origin words"; any **proper names**, thus excluding not only governmental and business titles, but political entities, geographical and topographic features, names of events, and a multitude of other cultural references; any "**established loanwords**, here defined as French-origin words attested to in the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary* (Barber 2004) prior to the birth of the informant" (207), thereby excluding those English words whose frequency of usage or whose meaning reflects the influence of French and overlooking many subtle differences between established meanings and local meanings of existing words; any metalinguistic, rhetorical or **special discourse** use indicating speaker awareness of the word's French origin, thereby eliminating the deliberate manipulation of linguistic codes in which Quebec anglophones delight.

My own observations on Quebec English usage are based on the following: an overview of scholarly work on the topic published in recent years; an ongoing analysis of usage as reflected in written texts and the media, including a detailed search of several years of an electronic journalistic corpus from the late 1990s; a study of a number of Anglo-Quebec literary works; and several surveys of English usage in Quebec. As well, I have consulted over the years with professionals who grapple with the challenge of editing and revising English texts as well as translating into English in the province.

2. Types of Distinct Usages in Quebec English

The French literature on anglicisms offers an abundance of typologies for classifying borrowings (Humbley 1974; Colpron 1994; Pergnier 1995; Cardinal 2010). In the following pages, the types of distinct uses of lexical items observed in Quebec English will be classified as follows: direct borrowings; loan-translations; high frequency usage of words rarely used elsewhere; semantic extensions; and orthographic and typographical variants.

2.1. Direct borrowings
The most obvious type of borrowing is the outright transfer of a lexical term – a full lexical borrowing. Such terms include single words (*poutine*), collocations (*vieille souche*), initialisms or acronyms (*cegep*), and proper names. Numerous such borrowings from Quebec French have previously been noted; here is a sampling of some of the most common:

allophone for a person whose mother tongue is not English, French, or a native language (elsewhere, this word refers to the variant sounds of a phoneme)
autoroute for a highway
caisse populaire for a credit union
calèche for a one-horse carriage, popular with tourists in Montreal and Quebec City
cinq à sept (5 à 7) for a party with drinks and snacks held from five to seven, right after work, more common and casual than a cocktail party
dépanneur for a convenience store
garderie for a daycare centre
joual to refer to a working-class colloquial variety of Quebec French (from the word *cheval*)
maître as an honorific that prefaces the name of a Quebec lawyer
métro for a subway
polyvalent for a comprehensive secondary school
poutine for a popular dish consisting of French fries, gravy, and cheese curds
pure laine for old stock, dyed-in-the-wool
régie for an administrative or government office or board
[la] rentrée for the return to school and work after the summer holidays
stage [rhymes with *Raj]* for a work term, internship, or practicum
téléroman for a television serial program or soap opera
tempo for a temporary car shelter erected for the winter months
vélo for a bicycle

There are also borrowings from other languages, through French:
ouaniche [from Montagnais into French] for land-locked salmon
méchoui [from Arabic into French] for a lamb roasted on a spit, and in extension, an outdoor barbeque-style party at which meat, usually a whole animal, is cooked in this way.

One recurring feature is the linguistic playfulness which often marks Quebec English usage. For example, Quebec English borrowings may mix the two languages, may borrow Quebec anglicisms back into English, or may borrow popular *québécismes:*

A **steamie all-dressed** is a steamed hotdog with the works.
A girl's **chum** is her boyfriend; a fellow's *blonde* [pronounced like *honed*] is his girlfriend.
Flyé is Quebec French, and increasingly Quebec English, for scatterbrained or flighty.
Branché is sometimes borrowed from Quebec French for hip or with it.
Kétaine (or **quétaine**) is sometimes borrowed from Quebec French, meaning tacky or kitsch.

2.1.1 Proper names

Contemporary Quebec English Usage, Pamela Grant

Since most institutional, social, and political entities have unilingual French designations, there is a heavy concentration of French proper names of government departments and agencies, businesses, organizations, and events which are far too numerous to list. Suffice it to say that neither the *hôtel de ville* nor the *hôtel-dieu* are hotels, nor is the *palais de justice* a palace.

Not all proper names refer to formal institutions. Some refer to holidays: *the Fête nationale*, or *St. Jean Baptiste Day*, is Quebec's national holiday celebrated on June 24; the *Journée des Patriotes*, also celebrated as Victoria Day or the May 24th weekend, was introduced in Quebec in 2002 as a re-designation of the holiday previously celebrated as the *Fête de Dollard*.[4]

Some proper names have been borrowed and clipped: the *Habs* is the nickname for the Montreal Canadiens hockey team, clipped from the French term *habitant* and used more by anglophones than by francophones; the latter sometimes call the Montreal team *les boys* or *nos glorieux*. The *Van Doos,* a corruption of *vingt-deux,* is derived from the name of the *Royal 22e Regiment*, the most famous francophone regiment of the Canadian Forces, with headquarters in Quebec City.

Also frequent is the use of acronyms and initialisms derived from French-language designations and borrowed directly into English. Acronyms include *CEGEP* or *cegep* (*Collège d'enseignement général et professional,* pronounced SAY zjep), a public post-secondary, pre-university college unique to the Quebec education system. The acronym ZEC (*zone d'exploitation controlee,* pronounced ZECK*)* refers to a territory set apart for controlled use by hunters and fishermen and managed to promote conservation. Initialisms include *CLSC* (*Centre local de services communautaires*), a local community health centre. The *SQ (Sureté du Québec*) is the Quebec provincial police. The *SAQ* is an initialism for the *Société des alcools du Québec*, that is, the liquor store. The OLF (renamed the OQLF in 2003) is the *Office (québécoise) de la langue française*, the Quebec government language agency that oversees use of the French language and francization in Quebec.

2.2. Loan-Translations
Quebec English usage also includes various expressions which are direct translations of French expressions; these are called loan-translations or calques. In some of these expressions, the syntactic construction is borrowed from French: for example, the English term *estates-general* [a special commission] is based on the French form *états-généraux*, reflecting the order of the French syntagm. In other cases, the direct translation of the French expression reflects

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[4] Adam Dollard des Ormaux died in a 17th C battle against the Iroquois; the *Patriotes* of the redesignated holiday rebelled against the colonial administration of Lower Canada (Quebec) in the 1830s.—Eds.

the image of the original French: *square head* for *tête carrée* [a pejorative term for an anglophone]; *welcome class* for *classe d'accueil* [a class for new immigrants]; *welcome tax*, for *la taxe de bienvenue*, a municipal tax one pays when purchasing a new home, informally named after the provincial minister Bienvenue who instituted it. Scheduled days off school for professional development for teachers are referred to as *ped days* (clipped from the translation of *journée pedagogique*). In real estate, apartments are described according to the number of rooms rather than bedrooms; thus a one-bedroom apartment might be called *a two-and-one-half (* in Quebec French*, deux-et-demie).*

2.3. High frequency usage of rarely used words

As Margery Fee (1995) points out, low frequency English words may be found in relatively common use in Quebec English because of the existence of a high-frequency cognate in French. Sometimes there is a slight semantic shift involved, with the English usage reflecting nuances of the French cognate. Below are a few of the more commonly encountered examples, which would perhaps sound formal or unusual in varieties of English elsewhere.

Anglophone and ***francophone****:* These terms are in very common use across Canada, but are restricted to more formal linguistic contexts in the US and Britain (although they are more commonly used in West Africa).

Collaboration and ***to collaborate*** are commonly used in Quebec English in contexts where the terms *cooperation* or *to work together* would be more common elsewhere.

Collectivity is sometimes used to refer to the community.

Dossier is sometimes used in a broader sense than in standard English, to refer to a file, a case, or an issue.

Fête is commonly used as both a noun and verb in Quebec English to refer to a party or gathering at which someone or something is celebrated.

Population can be used to refer to the general public, rather than with reference to demographics.

Vernissage, which refers to an artist's opening reception at a gallery, is in much more common use in Quebec than elsewhere.

Vedette refers to a celebrity.

2.4. Semantic extensions

Semantic extensions are also called false cognates, false friends, faux-amis, or semantic shifts: they are words in English which are used with the meaning of a French word that has a similar form. These are particularly common in English and French because of the intertwined histories of the two languages. Many of these are dubious or simply unacceptable, even in local usage -- rarely used (although understood) by native English speakers, rarely found in writing, broadcasting, or professional contexts, and likely to lead to confusion because the extended meaning of the gallicism clashes with the accepted meaning of an

existing English language term. This type of interference is problematic primarily for learners of English as a second language, where it reflects a lack of competence in English.[5] Below are a few of the more commonly encountered of these *faux-amis*. All should be avoided as they can cause serious confusion.

Actually as an English adverb stresses the truth of a statement ("He actually ate a goldfish!"). In French, *actuellement* means currently, at this time.

Conference in English means a meeting of specialists in a particular field, business or profession It should not be used with its French meaning of lecture or talk.

Delay in English refers to a postponement; it should not be used with its French meaning of a deadline.

Manifestation in English means a showing or revealing; it can be used in French to mean street demonstration or protest.

Militant in English means a radical activist, whereas in French, a *militant* may simply mean a supporter or a member of an organization

Nomination in English usually refers to a proposal of a candidate for election; in French, it refers to an appointment to a position.

Professor in English is used only for a university or college teacher, whereas *professeur* can mean a teacher at any level of school or in any context.

Security in English is a concept distinct from *safety;* in French, *sécurité* is used for both meanings.

Syndicate in English is a commercial or possibly criminal group; in French, it is a labour union.

Reunion in English refers to a social gathering at which people are reunited, whereas a *réunion* in French is simply a meeting.

Yet some semantic extensions, unlike the faux-amis mentioned above, have made inroads into accepted local English usage. The term *animator*, used to refer to a moderator, facilitator, host, group leader or coordinator, has made its way into the ITP Nelson, as Quebec English usage, and is used frequently in English-language administrative contexts. The word *coordinates* is used to mean contact information (address, phone no., etc.) in a variety of English-language contexts.[6] A summer recreational residence might be called either a *cottage* (as elsewhere in North America) or a *chalet* (a semantic extension); but the term *cottage* is also used in real estate to designate a detached two-story single-family dwelling in the city, again a semantic extension, from the use in Quebec French (proscribed by the OQLF) of *cottage* for such a house. Finally, the term *gallery* is frequently used in Quebec English for a verandah – another semantic extension, although this use is also reported in some other areas of North America (*Canadian Oxford Dictionary*).

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[5] Reference material on this topic abounds: there are a number of dictionaries of English-French faux-amis that explain these tricky word pairs, the best-known being the *Dictionnaire des faux-amis: français-anglais* of Jacques van Roey et al.

[6] For example on the website of the English-language John Abbott college.

Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader

2.5. Orthographic and typological variants

French influence on written English can manifest in variations of spelling, capitalization, use of accents, and punctuation that infiltrate English texts in Quebec. French features may be retained in the form of accents on words (such as in *Québécois* and *dépanneur)*, in the retention of hyphens (Ste-Catherine-de-Hatley), or in spelling (for example, both *francisation* and *francization* are used). The well-known street in downtown Montreal can be written as *St. Catherine Street, Ste. Catherine Street, Ste-Catherine Street,* or *Sainte-Catherine Street* (to say nothing of *rue Sainte-Catherine*). English-Quebec writers are frequently faced with choices: Do you spell Montreal or Quebec with an accent? Do you capitalize Anglophone? Should addresses be translated? Is the use of a.m. and p.m. with the 12-hour clock the standard way to indicate time, or is the 24-hour clock acceptable? Variation is the norm.

3. Reflections of the Local

Much of the vocabulary that is distinctive in Quebec English is culturally bound and reflects the social and political landscape of life in the province. Understanding or describing Quebec English usage requires a knowledge of life in Quebec. For example, *moving day* refers to the phenomenon of July 1, the day on which most leases expire and on which people move. The *construction holiday*[7] is the last two weeks of July, when construction workers have traditionally had a holiday. *Nez rouge* is the organization you call if you had too much to drink and need a drive home around Christmas. *Bixi* is Montreal's wildly successful bicycle-sharing service. The *Tam-Tams* refers to a popular drum and dance activity in Montreal in the summer, named after the French word for hand drums. A *Public-sac* is a plastic bag of advertising flyers delivered to homes once a week. The term *Green Onions* is a nickname for the parking enforcement officers of Montreal.

An abundance of culturally marked terms, names, acronyms, and words refer to local ideas, groups, movements, concepts, historical events, and cultural activities that are an intricate part of life in Quebec. Thus a full description of Quebec English would have to include encyclopaedic-type information about words which name objects or concepts distinct to life in Quebec. Three key areas

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[7] This annual two-week holiday was legislated in Quebec in 1970 for the construction industry, and has since become most popular time to take summer holidays in Quebec.

in which Quebec English uses distinct terminology are politics, education, and law.

3.1. Politics

To navigate a discussion of current events in English in Quebec requires an understanding of Quebec political terminology. Margery Fee observes:

> The set of words that has been integrated most thoroughly into Quebec English and even beyond into Canadian and world English is the set of words that deals with Quebec politics, especially linguistic politics. Because much of the debate over these issues has been carried out in the national media and by some of the most important public figures in the country, the words used are quickly disseminated and integrated into the domain of Canadian political discourse. These borrowings are signs of cultural redefinition and the linguistic reconstruction of reality, just as are the new words associated with feminism and anti-racism. These words have a perceptible effect on the relationships in related words in the existing vocabulary because they are sites of struggle for power and are deployed in different ways by different people depending on their sociopolitical context and roles. ("Frenglish" 17)

The words *anglophone, francophone* and *allophone* are some of the most obvious examples. Other distinct terms are used to refer to events and movements in Quebec's history: *la grande noirceur* (the period of Quebec history under the government of Maurice Duplessis in the late thirties and from 1944-1959); *quiet revolution* (the period of intense change and modernisation in Quebec in the 1960s); *sovereignty-association* (the concept of Quebec being politically independent but continuing to have an economic association with Canada, central to the 1980 referendum*); beau risque* (René Lévesque's decision, after losing the 1980 referendum, to support the federal Conservative party in the hope of reforming Canadian federalism); *étapisme* (a step-by-step approach to achieving sovereignty).

Also frequently encountered are the names of political parties and groups: the *Péquistes,* the *Bloqistes*, the *Adéquistes*, the *lucids*, the *autonomists*. The term *national* is particularly tricky: within Quebec, the French term *nation* is used to refer to the province. Thus the provincial body of elected officials is called *the Assemblée nationale*, and in English, the *National Assembly* (previously called the *Legislative Assembly,* it was renamed in 1968). In French, Quebec City is the *Capitale nationale*; the provincial holiday St. Jean Baptiste Day is *la fête nationale;* the provincial library is the *Grande bibliothèque nationale*.

The terms *Québécois* and *Quebecer* are not synonymous, the former referring in particular to French Quebecers. Terms of political discourse referring to ethnic

Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader

origin or language can be emotionally charged: *vieille souche* (and its English translation *old stock*), *pure laine* (and its English translation, *pure wool*), *pur et dur* (for hard-line *sovereignists),* and *language police*. However, the ironic or derisive use of such terms is less common than it was in the 1990s, when linguistic tensions were more acute.[8]

3.2. Education

The educational system in Quebec abounds with terms that describe the Quebec reality. Both primary and secondary classes are divided into cycles; elementary education consists of six years of schooling divided into three cycles of two years each, and secondary school offers five years of general education, divided into two cycles. When a student says he or she is in Secondary Five, this would be equivalent to Grade Eleven outside the province. (Quebec anglophones easily switch from one usage to another.) After grade eleven, or secondary five, students move from secondary school to *CEGEP* (an acronym for *Collège d'enseignement général et professionel),* where they can either take a two-year university preparation program and obtain their *DEC* (*Diplôme d'etudes collegiales),* which is equivalent to the completion of the first year of university elsewhere in Canada or in the United States, or else can follow a three-year vocational program and obtain a DEP (*Diplôme d'etudes professionnelles*). Although the Quebec ministry of education has provided translations for these diplomas -- DCS (diploma of collegial studies) for DEC and DVS (diploma of vocational studies) for DEP -- most English texts and English speakers use the French acronyms.[9]

French-language universities are headed by Rectors rather than Principals or Presidents; departments are chaired by Directors rather than Chairs. Undergraduate studies are sometimes referred to as first cycle, with Master's studies being second cycle and Doctoral studies, third cycle.

3.3. Law

The Quebec legal system is also distinct. Unlike the other Canadian provinces, which draw upon the British common law tradition, the roots of Quebec's private law lie in the civil code, based on the Napoleonic Code from France.   The term "civil law" itself thus has a different meaning in Quebec, and the legal system is full of distinctive uses and terminology. When a Quebec lawyer is addressed professionally, his or her name is prefaced with the word *Maître*, an honorific used by both French and English-speaking lawyers. The term *notary* has a

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[8] For more on the rhetorical use of French borrowings, see Grant-Russell and Beaudet (1999).

[9] For example, the McGill University website uses the French terms, as do most other English-language educational institutions.

distinct meaning, as Quebec notaries have a different status and play a considerably more elevated role than notaries in other provinces.

So complex is the question of English-language civil law terminology in the bilingual and bijuridicial Quebec legal framework that English and French Dictionaries of Private Law have been published to explore and define legal terminology.[10] Some experts consider certain aspects of English-language civil law usage in Quebec controversial, including Anglo-American legal terminology, borrowed despite differences in the legal concepts, and gallicisms, which some jurilinguists think have been unduly relied upon in public usage (Quebec Research Centre of Private and Comparative Law).

4. Innovative Language Use

The playful nature of some Quebec English usage is apparent, as evidenced by the following headlines and titles

- ○ **Changing of the Gardien** (headline from *The Gazette*, April 20, 2010, about a change of goalie during a playoff hockey game)
- ○ **This Spring is Flyé** (headline from *The Gazette*, May 28, 2010, about our crazy spring weather, below a picture of someone playing Frisbee)
- ○ **All we are saying is give piste a chance.** (headline from the *Stanstead Journal*, June 10, 1998, advocating the creation of a bike trail or *piste*)
- ○ **Sacré Blues: An Unsentimental Journey Through Quebec** (title of a book on life in Quebec by Taras Grescoe)

Use of Quebec English can be creatively expressive, and contemporary Quebec English literature shows evidence of code-switching and use of hybrid language. In the 1940s, a precursor of this phenomenon, Jewish poet and essayist A.M. Klein, wrote his experimental mixed-language poem praising Montreal, of which the following is an excerpt:

...Grand port of navigation, multiple
The lexicons uncargo'd at your quays,
Sonnant though strange to me; but chiefest, I,
Auditor of your music, cherish the

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[10] Two volumes of the dictionary are now available: the *Dictionnaire de droit privé de la famille et lexiques bilingues / Private Law Dictionary of the Family and Bilingual Lexicons* and the *Dictionnaire de droit privé et lexiques bilingues - Les obligations / Private Law Dictionary and Bilingual Lexicons - Obligations* were published in 1999 and 2003 respectively. See Quebec Research Centre of Private and Comparative Law at McGill.

> Joined double-melodied vocabulaire
> Where English vocable and roll Ecossic
> Mollified by the parle of French
> Bilinguefact your air. (97)

Today there is a vibrant English-language literary community in Quebec. As Rodgers, Needles and Garber state:

> By the 1990s, a less dramatic parallel narrative began to emerge – the story of English speakers who strongly identified with Quebec and were finding new ways to live and work here, increasingly in French. The Anglophone artistic community has been a trailblazer in the process of transformation from independent solitude to integrated minority. (108)

Indeed, it is often in literature that we find the most innovative and experimental uses of language: contact between language communities has been mined by English-language Quebec writers such as Colleen Curran, David Fennario, and Gail Scott. Sherry Simon's critical work on linguistic and cultural hybridity draws upon Quebec literatures in both languages and in translation. Gregory Reid, a specialist in Anglo-Quebec literature, describes how Anglo-Québécois playwrights "[present] a vernacular, territorial, richly expressive, flexible, and creatively adapted English" (86).

The experimental use of language by members of the literary community in contact situations is not restricted to Quebec. Fee and McAlpine comment on it in their Introduction to the second edition of *Guide to Canadian English Usage*:

> The global movement of peoples has produced what Evelyn Nien-ming Chi'en calls 'weird english', not just as a temporary phenomenon of language learners, but also as a permanent feature of our language environment, including literature and literary theory: 'In the later twentieth century and early twenty-first, literary authors are performing the act of weirding English on a political level; they are daring to transcribe their communities and thus build identities'(4). (2007, viii)

5. A Search for Standards

How can standard English language practices[11] be described in a context where English is spoken by a mixed group of people, where many institutional and

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[11] I use the term "standard" here not to refer to correct usage prescribed or imposed by some group or authority, but rather as the reflection of common and

cultural designations exist only in French, where questions of language use are coloured by the politics of identity, and where there is sometimes uncertainty regarding correct usage?

There exist few official guidelines for language professionals. Usually, writers, copy-editors, proofreaders and translators[12] serve as gatekeepers of language practices, and style guides written by and for them are useful indications of acceptable usage. In the absence of codified norms, we have based many of our findings on usage observed in written publications of social institutions. "Variants which are used in written communication are much more likely to be standardized that those which are used solely in the oral modality" (Bouchard Ryan, Giles and Sebastien 3).

Although some bilingual lexicons exist within Quebec government departments, there is no uniform set of standards. Existing style manuals for English usage include *The Gazette Styleguide*, which addresses questions of usage encountered by writers anywhere in Canada and says little about French influence or distinctive usage. More useful for our purposes is *The City of Montreal Style Guide: A Handbook for Translators, Writers and Editors*, written by Victor Trahan of the Montreal City Clerk's Office, which describes formats and conventions followed by the City of Montreal.

The key to appropriate English usage in written Quebec texts seems to be a sensitivity to audience and to factors such as comprehensibility, readability, and cultural awareness. When writing for an audience that extends beyond the province, does a writer want to evoke a sense of Quebec culture, a sense of otherness? For example, stereotypical fixed expressions such as *joie de vivre* and *la belle province* abound in tourist literature, as does the retention of the acute accent in the spellings of *Montréal* and *Québec*. This value-added use of borrowings from French has traditionally been exploited in the fields of cooking, fashion, and entertainment to endow a reference with the appeal and authenticity of a culturally different, exotic experience.

Brian Mossop, a well-known translation specialist, revisor, teacher, and writer, considers the different impact that variants of proper names can have on readers

conventional usage and overall preferences among fluent speakers of English in Quebec.

[12] Translators in particular are particularly sensitive to the influence of the source language and therefore tend to be especially vigilant, seeking to wrest the text from the stylistic grasp of the original language and avoid showing the influence of its syntax and vocabulary. This applies primarily to pragmatic rather than to literary translation, where a reflection of the foreign is sometimes a deliberate strategy rather than an oversight.

with respect to readability, understanding, and cultural awareness, in his article "Reader Reaction and Workplace Habits in the English Translation of French Proper Names in Canada" (2007). For example, the names *BNQ (Bibliothèque nationale du Québec)* and *Radio-Canada* are familiar institutional terms to Quebec anglophones and are commonly used in Quebec English texts; variants such as *Quebec's provincial library* or *the National Library of Quebec* for the former, and *the French network of the CBC* for the latter, which might be used for a non-local audience, would have very different effects.

The distinctive usage of English in Quebec by fluent English speakers is context-sensitive. Many Quebec anglophones are bi-dialectal, capable of using the local code of English in local situations and yet using a more widely recognized standard form when the situation requires. Indeed, acceptability of usage depends largely on who says what to whom, where, and for what intended purpose. Use of standard Canadian or international English may be suitable for texts designed for an international audience, but Quebec English usage has its place in texts aimed at local audiences, depicting features of the Quebec reality or intended to give the sense of Quebec culture.

But even local usage does not sanction usage that is an impediment to clear communication, for example where it clashes with the accepted meaning of existing English language terms. For those many who speak English in Quebec as a second, or even third, language, perhaps the biggest challenge in this area is being aware of commonly misused terms, such as some of the false cognates previously mentioned. French-flavoured English is best avoided in the context of second-language learning, where it is liable to be viewed as evidence of incomplete mastery of English, and in professional translation, where it may be seen as interference from the French original.

6. Conclusion

This paper has examined features of the Quebec English lexicon, with observations based in particular on written evidence. We have seen that, in addition to a good knowledge of the English language, a good knowledge of Quebec is essential to a full description of the vagaries of English usage in the province. In fact, the term Quebec English can refer to everything from the sophisticated wordplay of bilingual, bi-dialectal individuals, to the unsuccessful struggle of less-than-fluent English speakers to keep separate two different language codes. This fascinating phenomenon merits further study by linguists and lexicographers.

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ONTARIO

The Irish Heritage of the English of the Ottawa Valley[1]

Ian Pringle and Enoch Padolsky

For many years it has been a commonplace among those interested in Canadian English that the Ottawa Valley constitutes a dialect pocket of exceptional interest. Admittedly it has not received the final accolade; no one seems to have alleged that the pure Elizabethan English which popular mythology attributes to Newfoundland can be found in the Ottawa Valley. Instead, the general belief attributes to the Valley a kind of English which is held to be predominantly Irish, or perhaps Irish with some admixture of Scots traits. This belief clearly derives above all from the settlement history of the area. Popular histories of Valley communities refer to the "Ottawa Valley Irish" and to their English as the "Ottawa Valley brogue." In Ralph Connor's Glengarry novels Ottawa Valley characters are made to say such things as: "Shure, and it is a dhry night, and onpolite to kape yez talking here. Come in wid yez." And the brief discussion of Ottawa Valley English in J. K. Chambers' "The Ottawa Valley 'twang'" characterizes it ("tentatively") as a "colonial Irish dialect."[1]

The importance of the Hiberno-English [Irish English] speech types in the Ottawa Valley region is undeniable. Nonetheless, such claims are certainly too simple. The settlement history of the region and the demographic data of the census records suggest that a number of English dialect types might be expected in the Ottawa Valley area, and, while it would be premature to make precise statements about their characteristics and distribution, the preliminary investigations of the Linguistic Survey of the English of the Ottawa Valley Region have revealed that this is indeed the case. In the Ottawa Valley itself, and the adjacent areas which share its settlement history, it is possible to distinguish, in addition to at least three Hiberno-English speech types, no fewer than six other varieties of English - varieties which are often sharply distinguished from each other, especially in their phonology, but also in their morphology, their syntax, and their lexicon.

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[1] This version of this article by Ian Pringle and Enoch Padolsky of Carleton University is highly abridged to highlight the distinctive linguistic features of the Ottawa Valley (cf. Sandra Clarke on Irish influences in Newfoundland English, this volume). Pringle and Padolsky's original publication, in *English Studies in Canada* 7.3 (Fall 1981): 339-352, includes a detailed diachronic mapping of the ethnicity in the counties of the Valley. The authors' notes are endnotes.—Eds.

They include, in the first place, the Loyalist-based dialects of the north shore of the St. Lawrence Valley. These are now the only survivors of the type of English first spoken in the area, for the Loyalist settlement of what was to become the Ottawa-Hull metropolitan area has been completely overcome linguistically by the effect of later settlements. The Loyalist varieties are distinguished from adjacent varieties of English most noticeably by the fact that, unlike "General Canadian" English and the Hiberno-English dialects to the north, they have different vowel sounds in *cot* and *caught*. This is a trait which they share both with much British English and with the American English of much of New England and New York state.[2]

Secondly, there are the dialects of the English-speaking areas of the north of Glengarry County. These represent the kind of English spoken by what was originally a predominantly Gaelic-speaking community which learned its English from the Loyalist settlers to the south and west of them. Preliminary fieldwork, especially that carried out by Mrs. Diane Munier, has revealed the occasional use of Gaelic borrowings in the English of rural informants from this area, such as *gruamach* to describe a gloomy, overcast day. Much more pervasive, however, and just as clearly Gaelic in origin, are various phonological traits, such as the tendency to devoice final and initial voiced sounds, so that *very* sounds like *ferry*, and *zigzag* (in *zigzag fence*) sounds like *sick-sack*. (This trait also is fairly consistently represented in Connor's Glengarry novels.)

Thirdly, there are two quite distinct pockets of Scottish settlement in Lanark County and Renfrew County to the west of Ottawa. The former was predominantly a Lowland Scots settlement, and preliminary fieldwork conducted by Mrs. Daphne Fluck has turned up words in use in this area which are otherwise known to be used only in Scotland: words such as *ben* for what most Canadians call the *living room*, but most older residents of the Valley call the *parlour*, and *rones* for *eavestroughs*. The latter is the McNab settlement. This was predominantly, like the Glengarry settlement, a Highland settlement. However, it is linguistically quite distinct from Glengarry County, partly because the McNab settlers seem to have been English-speaking from the beginning; and partly because they have always been in contact with the Irish, whereas the Glengarry settlers were in contact with the Loyalists.

In addition, there are two areas which are now predominantly English-speaking but where the original settlement was neither anglophone nor francophone. The first is the originally German-sneaking settlement of the areas to the south and west of Pembroke, Ontario, with offshoots in Pontiac County, Quebec. A study of the records of *Geburtsorten* in unpublished early *Kirchenbücher* of Lutheran parishes in these areas has shown that this settlement was overwhelmingly Prussian and Pomeranian in origin. The detailed information available in the 1971 census records on Mother Tongue and Home Language reveal that most of the descendants of, these settlers now claim to have German as their mother tongue, but English as their normal home language. Nonetheless, most of the older residents of these areas who are of German ethnicity still speak *Plattdeutsch* quite fluently, and many also have an active knowledge of *Hochdeutsch*. In effect, then, the

Canadian English: A Linguistic Reader

settlement is still bilingual, and this fact has had a significant influence on the English of these areas: the linguistic interference from the original German dialects is quite marked in the phonology, and has also given rise to certain borrowings, such as *vipple-vopple* (compare German *Wippe*) for *teetertotter*, and *lutsch* for a *milking stool.* Moreover, as the descendants of the original German-speaking settlers have learned English, they have learned it above all from the Irish settlers in the adjacent areas. This has created a unique dialect, albeit an unstable one: it might be described as Irish-English with a Pomeranian-German accent.

Finally, there are six townships in Renfrew County where there are significant numbers of descendants of the original Kashubian Polish settlers. On the whole, the Poles came latest to the area, and settled therefore in the most remote areas and on the poorest land. Today their descendants constitute a community which is still extensively bilingual, with very few of the older generation able to claim a native competence in English. Again the linguistic situation is unstable, with the English of many informants apparently a result of the linguistic effect of their native Kashubian on the English they acquired from the Irish and German settlers nearest to them geographically. Far from being a homogeneous dialect pocket, then, the Ottawa Valley is extraordinarily complex linguistically. Though for very different reasons, it appears superficially to be as highly differentiated as some of the more complex dialect areas of Europe: alpine Switzerland, for example, or the Scottish Lowlands. On a number of occasions, fieldwork has revealed the most striking linguistic differences within a very small area. For example, the Lowland Scots type of dialect spoken in the centre of Lanark Township contrasts in numerous respects with the Southern Irish type of speech of the northern corner of Drummond Township, a mere seven miles away. Similarly, within ten miles of the areas of Kenyon Township in Glengarry County in which the Gaelic influence is most marked can be found areas such as the village of Fournier, where the speech has equally clear Ulster traits.

Yet for all this, the common impression is not wrong. The kind of English that is most widespread in the Ottawa Valley area clearly has close affinities with the English spoken in Ireland. As a matter of fact, dialects of predominantly or entirely Hiberno-English descent are far more widespread in the region than has ever been recognized. References to the "Ottawa Valley Dialect" usually refer to the speech of areas to the west and northwest of the city of Ottawa. In reality, preliminary investigations have shown that dialects with exactly the same linguistic characteristics occur in a much wider area of Eastern Ontario and Western Quebec. In view of the settlement history of the region, this fact is hardly surprising. The demographic data-base created for the Linguistic Survey of the English of the Ottawa Valley Region shows just how important the Irish element in the total population of the region has been. . . .

The consequence of the dominance of the Irish group for the development of the English language in the region is immediately obvious: during the period between the first settlement and the time at which the population peaked (which for most of these areas was 1891 or 1901), the Irish were by far the most important English-speaking group in a

clear majority of the Townships under consideration. In many cases they were too predominant proportionately for there to have been any possibility that their speech would have assimilated to any other norm. Instead, they themselves became the norm for the German and Polish groups, and to some extent even for the, French, as these non English-speaking groups learned English.

It is thus not surprising that the English of so much of the Valley has a marked Hiberno-English cast which is readily apparent even today in the speech of older rural informants. Once again, it is too early to indicate what the exact geographical distribution of the Irish dialect types in the Valley might be. But they are very widespread. . . .

It is above all in the phonology of the English of such areas that the Irish influence is immediately perceptible. The intonation, the lilt, of the speech of many of the older informants we have recorded is unmistakably Irish in origin. Another Irish phonological feature is the preservation of archaic pronunciations of many vowel sounds. Thus the Early Modern English pronunciations of $\bar{\imath}, \bar{e},$ and $\bar{o}$ are preserved relatively unaltered. Like all the tense vowels in these dialects, they tend to be pronounced without any trace of the upglide which is typical of almost all other English dialects. The /ow/ sound in the speech of the area is particularly distinctive: pronounced both higher and further back than the usual Canadian /ow/, and completely devoid of any upglide, it is often mistaken for an /u/ sound by our students. Phonetically it may be represented [o›]. The characteristic, strongly fronted pronunciation of /a/ before /r/ at the end of a word or when followed by another consonant is another archaism typical of many Irish dialects. This is the feature which is sometimes stereotyped in Ottawa newspapers in such spellings as *Kerp* for *Carp*. Actually *Cairp* would indicate more exactly the pronunciation Ottawans give to the place-name when they are mimicking Valley pronunciations, but that is only a very approximate representation of the actual sound, which is typically a low vowel best represented phonetically as [a‹]. Many of the different Irish reflexes of early Modern English short *u* also continue to be preserved in the Valley. One of them, a low central rounded vowel which could be represented phonetically as [ø] or [ö] is suggested by Connor's spelling *onpolite* for *unpolite* in the earlier quotation.

In their consonantism the Hiberno-English dialects of the Valley share a number of features which are uniquely Irish. One of these is the marked tendency to palatalize certain consonants.[3] In Ireland, this is a long-standing consequence of interference on English from the phonological system of Irish. In the Valley it is readily apparent in the pronunciation of /r/, which has a quite different tongue-position from the typical Canadian pronunciation: a high front position which gives an [i]-like quality to the consonant. It is equally apparent in pronunciations of /l/ after vowels and in final position: in Ottawa Valley dialects or Hiberno-English types the velar allophone which is typical of all non-Irish varieties of English is completely absent. Less frequently preserved, but, even more remarkable when it is, is the palatalisation of /k/ and /g/ before front vowels. This is most noticeable before the low front vowel, where its operation changes the pronunciation of such words as *cart* and *guard* in such a way that they might be represented as *kyart* and

gyard. The system of lenitions in the phonology of Irish (Henry, pp. 123 f.) also continues to exert its influence in the Hiberno-English dialects of the Valley. One or the most obvious consequences is the characteristically slow release of final voiceless stops, perhaps most noticeably in the case of /t/. The effect is that a word such as *hat* sounds almost like *hats*.

Of all the characteristically Irish sounds in these dialects, however, probably the most obvious is the peculiarly Irish pronunciation of /t/ and /d/ before /r/ as interdental affricates (Henry, p. 121). The voiced sound is represented as *dh* in Connor's spelling of *dry* in the passage cited earlier; the corresponding voiceless sound is often spelled *tth* in attempting to represent Irish pronunciations of such words as *water*. The two sounds are commonly represented phonetically by Irish dialectologists as [T] and [D].

In the vocabulary the Irish element is often noticeable in words which are little known outside of Ireland, except in other areas of Irish settlement. One of these is the term *weigh-de-buckedy*, once widely used in Irish areas or the Valley for "teeter-totter." This expression is listed in the *English Dialect Dictionary*; it is also known in Newfoundland.[4] Another term which is certainly of Irish provenance in these areas (though elsewhere it could be Scottish) is *byre* or *cow-byre* for "cow-stable." *Coil* for "haycock," though apparently widespread in North America and especially in Canada, is known to be of Irish origin.[5] A much less widespread term for the same thing is *handshake* or *handshaking*, also known to be of Irish origin (Adams, p, 77). So far we have elicited this, term only on the Quebec side of the Ottawa River; it appears to be the normal term in the Gatineau Valley. Another fairly well-known word of Irish origin is *moolie* for a cow without horns. Curiously, Professor Gaston Dulong of Laval has discovered that this term has been borrowed in the French of Eastern Canada,[6] which implies it must have been known to the Loyalist settlers of many parts of Eastern Canada. Among the many lexical archaisms typical of Irish English (Henry, pp. 158 f.), one which continues to be widespread in the Valley is the use of the verb *mind* or *mind of* for "remember," as in "I mind when the first what we called 'two-sleighs' come in," or "You don't mind of a reaper, do you?"
Other words are much less common, but if anything even more interesting. One is *barging*, used in the meaning "abusive scolding" when an informant explained why he had dropped out of school at so young an age: "[the teacher] never hit me. It was the scolding and barging.... It gets on your nerves." Another explanation for failure at school was *mitching*[7] ("playing truant"): "I lost two years mitching. I was afraid my life to go into the school." Another rare word is *footer* "bungle, work awkwardly without accomplishing anything," as in "I'm just going to stay and footer around the house today," A more purposeful activity might be described as *fustling* "hurrying, bustling": one informant, telling of an occasion when he believed he had seen ghosts, said "They fustled around there in the hall and I heard them go down the stairs."

However it is perhaps most obviously in certain aspects of the syntax and morphology of these areas that the Irish background is apparent. Many of these features have become

widespread in the English of other areas of North America where Irish settlement has been important; some are otherwise virtually unknown outside of Ireland.

One of the most obvious of the latter is the peculiarly Irish use of the definite article in contexts where standard Canadian English requires *a* or no article,[8] as in: "One fellow had *the* good shot and he fired at the deer." The related use of the definite article with proper names continues to be an obvious Hiberno-English feature of the Valley: "Let's run down to *the Ottawa* [i.e., the city of Ottawa] after supper...for to see the walking-talkies"; "...unless you sign up to *the Satan*, sign your soul away to *the Satan*"; the references to "*the* Scotch Corners," "*the* Boyd Settlement," and of course "*the* 'Prior" (Arnprior).

Also characteristically and uniquely Irish is the use of a conjoined gerundial construction in a calque on the Irish Gaelic use of the gerund to express what in English would normally be an adverbial clause of time (Henry, p. 135) as in "[the wasp] would come down and sting us there where we were working...*and us not touching him*" (i.e., when we were not even touching him).

Finally, prepositional usage in the Valley frequently shows Irish influence both in the preservation of archaic forms and in uses which would be unidiomatic in standard Canadian English,[9] as in: "I could see *anunder* the horse"; "he could do it *withouten* shouting and waking all the neighbours"; "we didn't hold anything *again* any of them"; "the old woman had a nice supper waiting *at* me on the table"; "he just done it *for* purpose"; "we was lucky we had a milk drawer here and he was wild *for* it"; "you had to take their doctrine, whatever they believed *on*."

In view of the presence of such features, many others which are more widespread may also be attributed to the Irish background. Among these is the almost universal use of *for to* to introduce an adverbial clause of purpose, as in "we just seeded the oats there *for to* cover the alfalfa" and "I got big enough *for to* feed a few head of cattle." Another is the deletion of subject relative pronouns, which is especially frequent in existential sentences: "It was generally the younger kids carried the rake"; "there was not many had money enough for to send them down to college." Also typical of Irish English is the nearly universal use in the Valley of *is* and *was* with plural subjects ("Hens *is* very fond of it"; "His eyes *was* out of his cheeks there with the frost") and the we of singular forms with plural subjects in the case of other verbs[10] ("They *fills* it with stones"; "Horses *hates* it"); the use of *them* as a plural demonstrative ("I didn't like *them* stones"; "in *them* days"); the use of an analogic form [yɪz] as the plural of *you* (or rather *ye*); and many other features.[11]

Such features sometimes reveal that the predominant group of settlers must have come from one part of Ireland. The particular form of the gerundial construction quoted earlier happens to be a northern form; the corresponding southern Irish form would be "and *we* not touching him."[12] One of our respondents from Mount St. Patrick in Admaston Township (Renfrew County, Ontario) systematically reversed standard Canadian verb

morphology, using *-s* forms for plural subjects and forms without inflection for third person singular subjects. This pattern is characteristic of the English of a relatively small area of south-western Ireland (Henry, p. 143). . . .

The common impression that there exists an "Ottawa Valley Dialect" is quite false. There are at least nine distinct forms of English in the area being studied in the Survey. By contrast, the belief that the "Ottawa Valley Dialect" is predominantly Irish, or what J, K, Chambers calls "colonial Irish," is certainly justifiable. The kinds of features of Irish English drawn on by Ralph Connor to suggest the speech of the Ottawa Valley Irish settlers can still be discerned in many areas of the Valley, along with many other features which are also certainly of Irish origin, and this is especially the case in areas where the census data shows that the Irish element has been predominant among the English-speaking population from the time of the earliest records. The Irish elements in the speech of such areas continue to be so marked that it is still possible at times to show their affiliation with the English of a particular part of Ireland.

In the Valley the areas in which such Hiberno-English dialects can be found is much greater than has usually been realized. On the Ontario side of the Ottawa River they extend from the Quebec border to Algonquin Park, and on the Quebec side from the English-speaking areas of Argenteuil County to the westernmost townships of Pontiac County. In the south they extend almost to the St. Lawrence Seaway; to the north they extend up to the limits of English-speaking settlements in the Gatineau Valley. Their geographical dominance is such that, with the exception of the Loyalist dialects which form their southern boundary, all other dialect types, like the major towns and cities, appear as isolated islands in the sea of Hiberno-English dialects.[13]

Notes

[1] Ralph Connor, *The Man from Glengarry*, with an Introduction by S. Ross Beharriell (Toronto, 1965), p. 3; J. K. Chambers, "The Ottawa Valley 'twang,'" In *Canadian English: Origins and Structures*, ed. J, K, Chambers (Toronto, 1975), p. 58.

[2] For descriptions of what is sometimes called "General Canadian" English, cf. W. S. Avis, "The Phonemic Segments of an Edmonton Idiolect" in *Studies in Linguistics: In Honor of Raven I. McDavid Jr.*, ed. L. M. Davis (Alabama 1972), pp. 239-50, and "The English Language in Canada: A Report" in *Current Trends in Linguistics* vol. 10, pt. I, 40-70. For the cot/caught distinction in New England and New York State, cf. Hans Kurath and R. I. McDavid Jr., *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States* (Ann Arbor, 1961), Synopses 5, 6, 11, 25 27, 30, 32, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 44, 45, 48, 53, etc. The distinction noted in our field records in the Canadian Loyalist dialects of the St. Lawrence Valley is phonetically most like that in Synopsis 44 (p. 50) for Fort Edward, N.Y.

[3] P. L. Henry, "A Linguistic Survey of Ireland. Preliminary Report," *Lochlann*, I (1958), 113 ff.

[4] *LANE*, vol. 3, maps 77, 180.I. This is confirmed by Harold Paddock, personal communication.

[5] J. J. Mannion, *Irish Settlement in Eastern Canada* (Toronto, 1974), p. 176; G. B. Adams, "The Words and Work or Haymaking," *Ulster Folk Life,* 12 (1966), 77; H. B. Allen, *Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest,* vol I (Minneapolis, 1973), 185.

Irish Heritage of the English of the Ottawa Valley, Pringle & Padolsky

[6] Personal communication.

[7] Mentioned by Henry, p. 158.

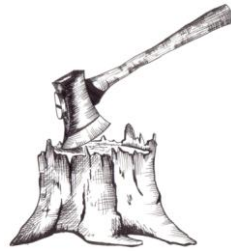[8] Henry, p. 131; P. W. Joyce, *English as we Speak it in Ireland* (London, 1919), p. 83.

[9] Henry, pp. 134 ff., 144 ff.; Joyce, *passim*.

[10] Henry, pp. 130, 143.

[11] Henry, pp. 130, ff., 142; Joyce, p. 88, etc.

[12] R. J. Gregg, personal communication.

Resources for Further Study: Ontario

The Ottawa Valley along with other rural enclaves in Ontario may lose its highly distinctive speech patterns, as its population becomes more mobile and as more of its young people head to urban centres for education or employment.

The studies below look, in part, at Ontario's densely populated urban hub, tracing the effects of population mobility and continuous and diverse immigration in the English spoken there.

Chambers, J.K. "Region and Language Variation." *English World-Wide* 21 (2000): 169-199.

Hoffman, Michol F. and James A. Walker. "Ethnolects and the city: Ethnic orientation and linguistic variation in Toronto English." *Language Variation and Change* 22 (2010): 37-67.

Chinese New Year, Toronto, 2008
(Canadiana Backpackers Blog)

The Dialect Called Bungi[1]

Margaret Stobie

What is Bungi?[2]

It's a rhythm, it's a cadence, it's a lilt; it's the sound of part of our history. It can be recognized at a distance before any words are distinguishable, and it makes a Scot from the highlands or the islands--or indeed a Welshman--think of his home village and the speech he knew there, for it has a Gaelic fall.

The echo is not surprising, for Bungi is the English dialect that arose from the inter-relationships of Scot and Cree that began three hundred years ago in the tiny forts on Hudson Bay.

The interaction of Scots and Cree speakers can be traced to the earliest days of the Hudson Bay Company's activities in Manitoba. Joseph Robson in his *Account of Six Years' Residence in Hudson's Bay* notes that during the 1730's, and 40's there were severe restrictions on HBC servants; among them "the learning the Indian language, or keeping up any correspondence with the people, is severely prohibited under penalty of loss of wages and bodily correction" (p. 64). Yet in spite of the limitations of numbers and of regulations, as Jean Legasse pointed out in "The Métis of Manitoba," there were "by the Middle of the 18th century . . . enough mixed bloods in the neighborhood of the Bay for J. Isham, himself married to an Indian girl, to refer to them as a separate group, distinct from the White and the Indian."[3] By 1769 when Samuel Hearne started on his northern journeys, one of this group, Moses Norton, was Governor of Fort Prince of Wales. But like J. Isham, most of the men at the forts were Highlanders from the mainland of Scotland or from the Western Isles [i.e., were men from the more remote areas of Scotland, who still spoke Gaelic rather than Scottish English as their first language]. As Isaac Cowie says, "Not until 1740 did the H.B.C. regularly employ Orkneymen [men from the most northerly Scottish islands, accustomed to a harsh climate]," though of course they would add only another nuance to the predominantly

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[1] Dr. Margaret Stobie (1909-1990) spent the last decades of her career teaching English at the University of Manitoba. This article blends two versions of "Backgrounds of the Dialect Called Bungi," a lecture she published in *Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions* Series 3, Number 24, 1967-68.—Eds.

[2] *Bungi* is pronounced BUN gee (*g* as in *get*).—Eds.

[3] Jean Legasse, "The Métis of Manitoba," 1958 (Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Papers Published and Unpublished, Public Archives of Manitoba) p. 2.

Scotch sounds to be heard around Hudson's Bay in the 18th century. Most of the Company's men would have Gaelic as their native language, and it would be the English that they spoke that the Indians first became acquainted with. And here we have the basic roots of the dialect called Bungi.

As the Company began to open up posts in the west, more and more Indians learned Scots-English, and more and more Scots were recruited to man the posts. By 1821, children of mixed blood were so numerous as to engage the serious attention of the Company's Northern Council, with its headquarters at Norway House. Not only did the Council issue directives about their financial support and their education, but also about their speech. This directive is in the Minutes of the Council for 1823: "that mother and children be always addressed and habituated to converse in the vernacular dialect...of the Father." Difficulties attended the Council's directive, though, as the harried tone of a letter from R.F. Harding at Churchill shows: "Our residence is a mere Babel as far as language is concerned, altho I have likewise told them that it is against the company's orders for the women and children to be addressed in any other than the English *or what passes for it*."[4] (The italics are mine.)

The complex of languages within the area fascinated the American Consul, James W. Taylor, and in later years he often recounted the experiences of his first month in the Red River Settlement in 1859. On one Sunday he heard Latin and French at St. Boniface; the next Sunday "at St. Peter's, Indian Settlement, a full-blooded Indian, Rev. Henry Cochrane delivered an eloquent discourse in Cree"; the third Sunday in Kildonan the sermon was in Gaelic; and on the fourth Sunday he heard the first Bishop of Rupert's Land, Bishop Anderson.[5] During the 1860's there are several indications of this state of affairs. For instance, *The Nor'-Wester*, which began in 1859, occasionally gives a column in French, once a column in Gaelic, and once quotes two paragraphs in Ojibwa from an eastern paper "for our Red River readers many of whom can speak the language as well as English." *The Nor-Wester* also makes direct comments: "And if you suddenly find yourself among fifteen or twenty, you must faithfully go the round with "How do you do," "*Comment vous portez-vous*," or "*Caimmer hah shui ndiuth*," as the case may be." Another article comments, "As to languages, we have English, French, Gaelic, Chippewa and Cree, and we do not enumerate all, but only those spoken by large sections of the community.[6]

Thus, Bungi grew up out of the interaction between the speech of the native peoples and that of the new settlers, and it can be shown that a continuous and constantly refreshed element of the speech of many communities throughout this province and further west, from the 18th century down to the 20th, has been the English spoken by

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[4] Manuscript diary of Duncan Urquhart Campbell, March 2, 1870 (Public Archives of Manitoba).
[5] Manuscript diaries of William Coldwell, Jan. 15, 1893.
[6] The entries from *The Nor'Wester* are, in order, July 15, 1861; July 1, 1861; Dec. 14, 1861.

The Dialect Called Bungi, Margaret Stobie

Scots and particularly by those who had Gaelic as their first language. It was their English that was the English learned by the majority of the Indians of the region, among whom they lived, traded, and inter-married. And so we have the fascinating background of Bungi as an English dialect arising from the union of two peoples, with the unusual circumstance that, for both the Indians and for most of the Scots, English was a second language.

Today, this speech can still be heard along the old trade routes as well as in the area from Lower Fort Garry to the mouth of the Red. In both the phonology and in the syntax, one can hear the voice of the Scot at one moment, that of the Cree the next. The most distinctive characteristic to be heard in this speech is its rhythm, the "lilting cadence."

This distinction comes in part from syllable stress-–both syllables of "canoe" or "bannock", for instance have equal stress-–and in part from a marked pause between syllables as in "sum-mer," "win-ter," a pause that is also characteristic of Cree. One writer, trying to show this quality of Bungi, spelled the word "bung-gee."

There are also variations in consonants and vowels, though some of them shift with the variations in Cree dialects, as between Swampy Cree and Plains Cree. In Swampy Cree, for instance, affricative sounds are quite natural: (sh) as in "shawl," (ch) as in "picture," and (j) as in "judge." But these sounds are not common in Plains Cree, and so in southern Bungi the words come out as "sawl," "pitser," and "dzudz."

In other sounds there is a strong co-incidence between Cree and Gaelic or Scots-English. Cree does not distinguish between the pairs p/b, t/d, k/g; and Shakespeare's Sir Hugh Evans with his "Got pless you!" testifies to a similar trait in the Gaelic-English speaker enduring well over three hundred years. It is not surprising then that at Berens River, Norway House, Cross Lake and so forth, a "dock" may mean either a dog or a place to tie up a boat.

Scot and Cree also agree on the vowel sound in words like "lake," and "plate." It is close enough to the *e* in "pepper" that paper/pepper have been rhymed. Again, neither Scot nor Cree has a flat, front vowel in "man," but a sound further back, which is commonly represented as "mon." Everywhere Bungi has the latter sound, everywhere "bo-at" has two syllables, and everywhere there are "wullows along the ruvver."

In syntax, a generation ago there were constructions that revealed sometimes a Scots, sometimes a Cree turn of speech, but today there are few differences from general English syntax. Apart from a freer use of demonstratives--'That beer shouldn't come first; that education should come first." The difference that catches the ear most quickly is the use of the pronoun *he.* It is used of corporate bodies--"the government, he" or "the Hudson Bay, he"--which has the merit of eliminating our general uneasy shifting between "the government, they" and "the government, it." But it is also used of

women: "my daughter he is coming," or "my wife he didn't hit me once!" This use of the pronoun comes from a significant difference between English and Cree. Whereas English divides the universe into three parts--masculine, feminine, and mostly neuter-–Cree divides it into two; the living and the unliving, or animate and inanimate. A river is one gender, a rock is the other. Then surely, simply and logically, since people are living, one pronoun should do for either species.

There is no special vocabulary today, though not so long ago there were particular words and phrases that were associated with the dialect. For the most part, these were Scots dialect words or expressions: "to think long," meaning to yearn for; "whatever" as a common interjection; and "slock" (Scots for slacken) meaning to put out a light or a fire. When I travelled through the province a few years ago making tapes of the dialect, I came across only two men, both in their nineties, one from York Factory and one from Berens River, who spoke quite naturally of slocking the fire. Otherwise the expression had disappeared. On the other side, a few Indian words came into common use. One was the Cree greeting "Wachiyi!" which was mistaken for "What cheer!" and so logically enough a variant "new chee!" was created to greet the New Year.

Today, the rhythm of Bungi is its most distinctive feature, or perhaps its most enduring one. If a way can be found to analyse the patterns of pitch and stress and intonation in Bungi so that they can be compared with those of Cree, of Gaelic, and of Scots-English, we may learn something more of what happens when languages come in contact, and thereby see a little further into the nature of language itself. In the meantime, the dialect called Bungi remains an intimate part of our history, that can still be heard.

The Dialect Called Bungi, Margaret Stobie

This is What I'm Thinkin: A Bungi Tale Transcribed[1]

Francis J. Walters (*Trans.* Eleanor Blain)

It's kinda darty out this marnin', so after feedin' hup at the stable, I was settin' along the stove havin' a warm and dunin' mi siken' plate of bustin and thick cream. It's a little on the barnt side, I thought. I hope see has better luck with 'er nets batch an' not to barn it so muts.

It's kind of dirty out this morning, so after feeding up at the stable, I was setting along the stove having a warm and downing my second plate of bustin and thick cream. It's a little on the burnt side, I thought. I hope she has better luck with her next batch and not to burn it so much.

This is what I'm **thinkin'** -- when all ass once there comes a knock on the dur, so I says to the Missus, "See who's that." An' this is my neighbour, Jamesie, now, so **I says** to him, "Come, sit in, there's lots of tea." But right away 'e says to me, "**I'm got** no time, **b'y**. I'm got a sick horse an' I can't get him op, b'y." That's 'at 'e said when he said that to me. So I says to him, "**Hol'** on now. I'll git on me hat an' coat **an'** come along with yuh an' take a looksee."

> **thinkin', hol', an'**—*-ing* pronounced *in* and final /d/ dropped from *hold* and *and* are features shared by many relaxed and nonstandard varieties of English
> **I says, b'y**—this *s*-marked verb form and *boy* pronounced *by* are found in Newfoundland dialects as well as Bungi
> **I'm got**—meaning "I've got" (the BE perfect) is a salient marker of Bungi dialect

[1] These are excepts from a story told by a speaker who grew up immersed in Bungi dialect--Francis J. Walters was born in 1898 in England and immigrated in 1904 to the Red River Settlement. Stories told by Bungi speakers were collected in the 1960s, and transcribed phonetically and orthographically by Eleanor Blain (now a professor of Linguistics at Brandon University) in her master's thesis: "The Bungee Dialect of the Red River Settlement," M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, 1989 (phonetic transcriptions, pp.228 & 230; standard English orthographic versions, pp. 238 & 240). Elaine Gold has created a pronunciation-spelling version of the phonetic transcriptions for this volume, to which we have added some glosses.—Eds.

This is what I'm thinking...when all at once there comes a knock on the door, so I says to the Missus, "See who's that." And this is my neighbour, Jamesie, now, so I says to him, "Come, sit in, there's lots of tea." But right away he says to me, "I've got no time, boy. I've got a sick horse and I can't get him up, boy." That's what he said when he said that to me. So I says to him,"Hold on now. I'll get on my hat and coat and come along with you and take a look see."

Now all this is in the late springtime, you'll see. The wind's a-whistlin' an' fairly blowin' us offen our feet and nigh on takin' our brith away out of us. Now we're up to our knees in gutter in places and it's tough goin -- but we keeps to the lee of the bush as best we kun but, till we comes to the gully leadin' op to Jamesie's place and abut op'sit aunt, ol' Aunt Jennock's. An then, as we're passin', see calls out to me to call along on my way back and take a fres bannock for me an' the Missus -- made with hard grease. B'y, that's 'at's gud along with nipi jam.

> **see, fres**—for *she* and *fresh*; in Plains Cree there is no "sh" sound

Now all this is in the late springtime, you see. The wind's a-whistling and fairly blowing us off of our feet and nigh on taking our breath away out of us. Now we're up to our knees in gutter in places and it's tough going but we keep to the lee of the bush as best we can but, till we comes o the gully leading up to Jamesie's place and about opposite aunt, old Aunt Jennock's. And then, as we're passing, she calls out to me to call along on my way back and take a fresh bannock for me and the Missus - made with hard grease. Boy, that's what's good along with nipi jam.

<div align="center">***</div>

Now 'e comes polin across now an' when 'e gits close, I see this is ol' Buru. "Where'd ya git that ol' tub?" I says to 'im. "I expected it t' turn apichekwani an' ya go chimunk into the water." He only says, "Daa," but, an 'e hol's up the back of 'is hand to me and nods 'is head. Well, 'at's a habit 'e's got to say 'e's too smart with a boat for a thing like that to happen. Well, we talks for a little 'boot the catfis 'e's bin catchin lately, -- then 'e puts me straight on the news aroun'. Seems like old Jicup's siken' dorter's been thinkin' on gittin' married, 'e says. 'is fers' doter's man not can git 'head so good since 'is coo died. "Too bad to lose a good animal like that," I says. "Well, 'iz siken' dorter's makin a better match, but," 'e says. "Oredi 'er man has a cow, an' a sack of flour, an a house. An' even, he's got a winda in 'is upstairs.

> **apichekwani**—a Cree borrowing, meaning "upside down"
> **'boot, coo**—for *about* and *cow,* a Scots influence that may elsewhere have resulted in "Canadian raising," the distinctive Canadian pronunciation of *about* and similar words with the diphthong [ʌʊ] (see McConnell, this volume)

This Is What I'm Thinkin', Francis J. Walters

Now he comes poling across now and when he gets close, I see this is old Buru. "Where'd you get that old tub?" I says to him. "I expected it to turn apichekwani and you go chimunk into the water." He only says 'Daa' but, and he holds up the back of his hand to me and nods his head. Well, that's a habit he's got to say he's too smart with a boat for a thing like that to happen. Well we talks for a little about the catfish he's been catching lately. Then he puts me straight on the news around. Seems like old Jacob's second daughter's been thinking on getting married, he says. His first daughter's man can not get ahead so good since his cow died. "Too bad to lose a good animal like that," I says. "Well, his second daughter's making a better match, but," he says. "Already her man has a cow, and a sack of flour, and a house. And even, he's got a window in his upstairs."
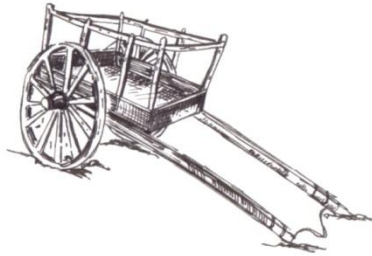
The Land of Open Doors: Being Letters
from Western Canada 1911-13[1]

J. Burgon Bickersteth

It is common knowledge that from 1901 to 1914 (and even in a modified degree until 1916) the population of that vast territory lying between the eastern boundary of Manitoba and the mountains increased on an unprecedented scale. Year by year settlers in their tens of thousands poured into what became known after 1905 as the three prairie provinces when the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta were created, Manitoba having become a province in 1870. The settlers came from the United Kingdom, from the United States, from every part of Canada, and from Europe, intent on acquiring land offered by the federal government on extremely reasonable terms. Moreover, these same years saw a vast network of new railroads spreading through the West and by 1910 two transcontinental lines, the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern, were faced with a long and arduous building program over the Great Divide into British Columbia. The demand for unskilled labour, which had existed for many years, now became formidable indeed and trainloads of foreign-speaking manual workers of many nationalities but mostly from southern Europe flooded into Saskatchewan and Alberta.

This vast migration was nothing less than Canada's 'Great Trek,' the like of which she will probably never see again, and if it created administrative difficulties for the federal government and also for the three provincial governments, it likewise presented problems of great complexity to the various religious communions already operating in these western regions. For some years the Anglican Church had been making gallant efforts to meet this critical situation from her own resources, but by 1909 it became clear that this was no longer possible, and it was then that Dr. Matheson, the Archbishop of Rupert's Land, wrote to Randall Davidson, the Archbishop of Cantebury, appealing for help from the church of the old country. . . .

How was it that in 1910 a young man of twenty-two years of age and in his final year at Oxford became involved in this exciting adventure? . . .

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[1] J. Burgon Bickersteth arrived in Alberta in 1911 as a young missionary recruited from Oxford University by the Anglican Church of Canada. His book, *The Land of Open Doors: Being Letters from Western Canada 1911-13*, was first published in 1914 and republished in 1976 by the University of Toronto Press (Toronto). We quote from Bickersteth's own introduction to the second edition and then provide a brief sampling of his observations of the language and mores of the Canadian "Wild West," specifically, of the homesteads and lumber and railway camps north and west of Edmonton, Alberta. J. Burgon Bickersteth belongs to a long tradition of writers newly from the UK to Canada writing home and documenting frontier life and Canadian/British dialect differences.

As I moved about my district in the first year among the homesteaders and in the second year among the railroad builders, I usually found an opportunity to scribble down the gist of a conversation or the main facts of some striking episode shortly after these occurred. For instance, it was my invariable practice, having spent the night in a camp (it might be on the grade miles beyond the end of steel), to sit down on a log next morning at a discreet distance from the camp and before proceeding on my way to jot down the actual words of the racy back-chat of the camp cook or the details of my encounter with a group of tough, blasphemous but large-hearted men in a filthy hut the night before. Thus these letters were written hot and reflected my actual impressions at the moment. They are now republished intact and the modern reader will find much which will strike him as odd, not least perhaps the slang words and phrases which I found it was necessary to explain in a footnote for the benefit of readers in the old country unfamiliar with Canada and the United States.

WORDS AND PHRASES FROM THE CANADIAN NORTHWEST

stopping place
We struck off northwards some miles beyond St. Albert, and made for Ray. It consists of a school, one or two farms, and one "stopping place" kept by a Dutchman. We watered and fed our horses, and had supper ourselves, it being now about 6 p.m. Twenty-five cents (1*s.*) each for the horses and twenty-five cents each for us – very reasonable, I thought. There is, of course, only one eating-room in these places, and all the family sat down to tea with us (14).

corduroy [regarding a bad trail across a mud hole]
It was useless to try and find a better place to cross, and finally we had to go back to a trail we had passed the evening before, leading off rather more eastward than we wanted. This turned out much more satisfactory, except at one place, where we stayed, I should think, three-quarters of an hour improving and making new "corduroy" (a series of tree trunks placed side by side over swampy ground, thus enabling a wagon to cross in comparative safety) (20).

section
quarter-section
scrip
road allowances
The townships are six miles long and six miles broad. They therefore contain thirty-six square miles. Each square mile is called a section.   Each section is divided up into four quarter sections. The quarter section is the one hundred and sixty acres which you have heard so much about as being given free to the land seeker, and is the usual amount of land a man holds….
There is also the so-called "scrip" – this is land which was granted free to old soldiers who had served in the South African war, or to Indians. It is three hundred and twenty acres…

In time, there will be regular Government roads cut through the bush along the section lines every two miles east and west, and every mile north and south. They are called road allowances and as far as Rivière Qui Barre we had been traveling on them, but farther north-west there are only the old trails which are the sole means of communication between one place and another (21).

poplar
The country north-west of Edmonton is not prairie, such as one finds in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Southern Alberta. Please be clear on this point. It is for the most part covered with bush. Sometimes the timber is fairly heavy, sometimes quite light. The trees are almost all poplars (the poplar of the Canadian West is generally not more than twenty to thirty feet high, and bears little resemblance to the tall thin Lombardy poplar), with thin white trunks and simmering leaves, interspersed with occasional birch, spruce, and tamarac (27).

slicker
the bridge is 'out'
stringers
I left here last Thursday week on Charlie. Charlie is my horse, grey in colour, a good goer and quiet. I had a Mexican saddle; my pack fastened behind and a slicker (oilskin coat) in front. We had difficulty from the first. At the first creek of any size we came to, the bridge was "out," that is, floating on the surface of the water.... The bridge consisted of a number of poplar trunks stretched at right angles across two larger supporting trunks, called "stringers" (28).

slough
... the trail was poor; at times there were bad sloughs (pronounced *slews*) and mud-holes, where one had to wade up to one's knees in mud and water (30).

clearing
I soon caught sight of a tent, and not far off two men, apparently father and son, hard at work "clearing" their land. The younger was cutting down trees, undergrowth and every obstruction, and the elder was gathering it together into huge piles ready for burning; the green logs would have to dry out for months before they would burn, and the stumps would either be left to rot, which takes some years, or else would be pulled out with block and tackle and oxen; it means hard work before bush is converted into prairie (35).

broken
patent
The Government demands that each man should live six months in each year, for three consecutive years, on his homestead, and have a certain number of acres "broken" (ploughed) before the land actually becomes his property and he is granted his "patent" (36).

Land of Open Doors, J. Burgon Bickersteth

preacher
The missionary, or "preacher," as he is almost always called, is received with wonderful hospitality and friendliness, though one could not help noticing that with many there is a feeling that in this rough country, where they have been forced to do without so many of the civilizing influences of life, religion also is a luxury that can be equally well dispensed with (37).

smudge
As the place was not properly covered, and there was rain in the air, I was glad of a piece of old tarpaulin, which stretched from one wall to the other and made a kind of tent. After making a "smudge" – a small fire of green twigs and bark, which only gives off smoke and keeps away the mosquitoes, I crept under the canvas and tried to sleep (39).

muskeg
What happens in scores of cases is this. A man and his family scrape together enough money to come out here. ... The man finds suitable land – often a very expensive job through unscrupulous land-guides. If the man is sensible he will only take a qualified Government land-guide. They arrive at their homestead. It is just a piece of uncleared bush; they even have difficulty in determining its exact boundaries. There is certain to be a good deal of muskeg (a swamp of decayed vegetable matter, which has no foundation. It is often dangerous, and always troublesome to cross) on it, a few bad sloughs and a superfluity of trees. When cleared it will be as good agricultural land as any in Canada (39-40).

prove up
Finally, after many anxieties and hardships, they manage to fulfil the homestead conditions and "prove up" – that is, get their patent. Then the place is theirs, and they can do what they like with it (41).

cotton to
Many of the women, if they had the means, would return to England after a few weeks of this Western country; but it is wonderful to see how soon, in most cases, they "cotton" to the new conditions of life, and become so attached to the West that nothing would tempt them home to stay (41).

dipper [describing a bachelor's shack]
In one corner was an old packing-case, on which stood a tin basin for washing, and a bucket containing drinking water, and in it a "dipper." A dipper is not unlike a small enamel saucepan, and is used as a cup. Everybody as they come in from work takes a long pull at the dipper (43).

meeting [describing a service at la Nonne]
We probably should have had more people but for two reasons: first, the bad trails, and secondly, the general prejudice which most people have against going to a "meeting" (as they call it) at a private house. Very often they imagine they are dire enemies with the person in whose shack the service is to be held, or else they are afraid they will meet some family there with whom they are not on speaking terms. You have no idea of the amount of backbiting and slander there is in many of these country communities, where almost every nationality, social class, and variety of religious belief is represented (46).

grading
right of way
dirt
…to the uninitiated, the whole work of railroad construction in this country is a marvel. First, the small party of experienced engineers, who decide roughly on the best route; then the survey parties, who run the line through the bush, putting in stakes to guide those who come after. Then the right-of-way cutters, who cut down and burn the timber and brush to a width of a hundred feet. Then comes the main work of "grading," "exalting the valleys and bringing low the mountains and hills," on the principle of "cut and fill." This work is let out by the company on contract. The bridging of innumerable creeks and rivers, and the building of long stretches of trestle across particularly low-lying land, take time, money, and skill, and then finally comes the laying of the steel. It is always inspiring suddenly to come out on the "right of way," perhaps after traveling many miles through thickly timbered and sparsely settled country, and to look right up and down the avenue, silent and deserted; no grading has been done, and the ground rises and falls just in its natural state; stumps project out of the long thick grass, while here and there are stretches of muskeg and pools of water. In a few months the whole scene will be changed. The avenue will have become a long level stretch of heaped up "dirt"; bridges will have been constructed and steel laid, while any moment a construction train may come lurching along over the newly laid line (51).

cached
He had "cached" (*i.e.* hidden) half his load in the bush, and the other half made quite a small load for his huge team of oxen (58).
Everything is shipped up on the train straight from Edmonton, and then either "cached" in the warehouse or loaded straight on to the scows and floated down the river to the various camps (187).

twenty-two
He carried a big rifle, and I a "twenty-two." We also had a revolver (69).

chores
Winter is here with a vengeance….Our house here is far from warm. We stoke the heater up with as much wood as it can carry – dry and green – before we turn in, but,

Land of Open Doors, J. Burgon Bickersteth

even so, everything is frozen in the morning. It is not safe to leave water in the kettle or buckets, as it might burst them. The mere "hewing of wood and drawing of water," in other words "chores," under these conditions is a nuisance (75).

chinook
For footwear either moccasins or felt boots are good. If there is an unexpected thaw, which is quite usual so near the mountains when a sudden Chinook (warm wind) comes through from British Columbia, rubbers can be worn over them (76).

jumper
But nothing that I have ever experienced comes up to sleighing. To drive in a "jumper" over a frozen lake covered with snow, well wrapped in furs, behind a fast team of ponies with jingling bells, on a brilliant night with a full moon, is one of the most glorious and exhilarating experiences a man can have (76).
Next morning about ten, Creighton and I started in his jumper (sleigh) for Clive (231).

joy-rags
Stetson hat
The womenkind were all arrayed in their "joy-rags," and all the belles of the district were there. Most of the men had on their Sunday clothes, though some were not so respectably, but far more picturesquely, attired in dark trousers, light shirts and bright-coloured scarves. All wore the inevitable Stetson hat, which always gives a Western impression to any get-up (80).

call out
caller
Red River Jig
[re a square dance]
Soon all is arranged, the fiddler strikes up a merry tune, and one man stands on the platform and "calls out" the dance. A good "caller" is a very popular person at a dance. He does not simply call out each figure, but he keeps up a continuous stream of oratory in a sing-song voice…apparently making some rhythm…
Then came an interesting item – the Red River Jig. It is a difficult thing to dance well, and on this occasion was performed as a kind of exhibition by two half-breeds, a man and a girl, while the rest of us sat round and watched….The jig was a most elaborate concern, which carried the man up and down the room, his feet going like blazes all the while, keeping time with the fiddle. The woman followed him, her feet going so fast that you could hardly see they were moving at all, and yet she did not go into any contortions like the man, but kept her body absolutely rigid. In fact you would almost have thought she was standing still on tiptoe, had you not seen her body just vibrating, like a top at full spin. Such an excellent performance of a dance, which few can now do well, was greeted with tremendous applause (81).

Box Social
lunch
…another very popular form of entertainment is the Box Social. The girls have
prepared the boxes, which are decked out in ribbons. Each one contains a dainty
"lunch" of sandwiches, cake, and pie. The boxes are put up for auction, and the young
men buy them in, amid huge excitement. Of course the authorship of each box is
supposed to be an absolute secret, but it soon leaks out who has made this with the
blue ribbons, or that with the purple bows (82).

snap
The chore llist we find posted on arrival....Bed-making is a "snap" (*i.e.* a soft job), as
there are no sheets but flannelette blankets (101).

bach
I suppose they have got jobs in Edmonton, and want to "bach" in a tent during the
summer (102).

drummer
I remember once asking a drummer (commercial traveler) in Calgary whether there was
anything interesting to see there (104).

boulevard
The Edmonton city motto is "Industry, Energy, and Enterprise," and it certainly lives up
to it....The streets are beautifully laid out in boul-ey-vards (so pronounced). A
boulevard is a street with six feet of grass and a row of trees on each side of the road
between it and the paths (104).

shaps
On one occasion I saw three fellows ride into town [Edmonton] who looked like cow-
boys straight out of the typical Western novel, with sombrero hats, green, red or blue
shirts, big knotted scarves, white sheepskin "shaps," Mexican saddles and ropes, and
splendid horses (105).

doped
rolled
I could tell you of man after man who has been "doped" and "rolled" – in other words,
drugged and robbed. It is impossible to persuade the men of the folly of going into a
saloon with their pockets full of money (158).
What a great thing it would be if some large Institute could be started in Edmonton,
where a man could get a cheap bed, a good meal, and a game of pool, without the fear
of being "doped," and then fleeced (116).

Land of Open Doors, J. Burgon Bickersteth

rooting

But I don't think sport of any kind is too clean out here. There is too much of what is called "rooting" on the part of the crowd – that is, shouting objectionable remarks at the referee and questioning his decision at every point (118).

grips

The long train, with its huge cowcatcher locomotive, was drawn up at the platform. Crowds of people, almost all men, some carrying "grips" (*i.e.* small suit-case or bag), others blankets or packs of various descriptions, were hurrying to find seats or pushing their way towards the booking-office or baggage-room (122).

depot

The C.N.R. are building a steel bridge over the Pembina ... and they are also going to put a depot (*i.e.* station) just north of our church…(123).

head of steel
caches

At Wolf Creek there are a number of deserted houses and barns. It was for many months the head of steel, while these two bridges were being built. The head of steel is the point where, for the time being, the actual steel rails end. Here a kind of temporary town springs up…. The trains bring up provisions, machinery, and all the other requirements for railway construction to this point, and they are then taken the rest of their journey in wagons, and deposited in the camps at various points…. the stores are then put in large "caches" (*i.e.* large tents or specially constructed log shelters) at convenient points along the right of way, and are ready for the arrival of the hosts of men in the spring (126).

caboose
conductor

The last car was a "caboose" – *i.e.* the car on which the train crew live. Every train out here has its train crew, which seems to consist of the conductor (*i.e.* guard), a couple of brakemen, and the train agent, who sells and collects tickets on the train (132).

[eh][2]

"I take a snort (drink) now and again, Parson – any harm, eh (171)?"
"I guess you'll be wanting the cook-shack for a meeting to-night, eh (172)?"

on the drunk [in a lumber camp]

Some drink openly – some secretly – while some try to keep off it out here, but talk perfectly frankly about going "on the drunk" when they reach Edmonton (157).

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[2] These early uses of *eh* leapt out at Elaine Gold (see "Canadian Eh," this volume), but Bickersteth, interestingly, makes no explicit comment on this word.—Eds.

kick
Cooks always say they are the most ungrateful and captious men to feed. A pancake slightly over-cooked, a potato discoloured, the meat a trifle tough, and they "kick" – *i.e.* make a row about it (161).

section gang
blow their money in
One finds numbers of Galicians on the section gangs – platelayers we should call them – who keep the permanent way in repair. The section boss here has two such men who have been with him nearly two years... They board themselves very cheaply, and seldom "blow their money in," their idea being to save a few thousand dollars and then go back to their native country, where such a sum will enable them to live in luxury for the rest of their lives (161).
But it is certainly an interesting sight to see all these great burly men of every nationality, each one, no doubt, with a substantial cheque in his pocket, which he means to cash and then "blow-in" the money. What a harvest for the saloon–keepers of Edmonton is this nightly arrival of men (174)!

O.K. [at the lumber camp]
Cooks are proverbially cantankerous. If everything is not just O.K. (all correct), or if (as they think) they are unduly interfered with, out they go without a moment's warning, however awkward it may be for the boss (167).

tie-camp outfit
"Well, Parson, I tell you, when I opened my stopping-place I had one dollar and twenty cents in my pocket. Me and another fellow we bought out a tie-camp outfit [a camp of men occupied in felling trees and shaping them into ties (sleepers)]--you're eating off one of the tin plates right now – and when we'd got the log-shack up and everything fixed, well, believe me, we hadn't got much left (170)."

packers
"Well I stuck right there, and I worked hard, Parson – worked night and day from October to march – we had packers [men in charge of a train of pack ponies freighting stuff to the front on trails impossible for wagons] through, and there was a right of way bunch staying with me for quite a time..." (171).

flag
Directly the roar of the engine is heard in the distance, the intending passenger goes out into the middle of the track and swings the lantern backwards and forwards to "flag" the train (173).

Land of Open Doors, J. Burgon Bickersteth

round-house
Supper with Mrs. Hamilton, and then across to the round-house (*i.e.* semicircular building with stalls for the locomotives) to see the men (184).

fall
There can be no doubt at all that the glory of the West is the "fall" of the year, when the days are absolutely clear tnat the sun shines brilliantly in an unclouded sky (185).

punky
The ice on the Fraser, however, has the reputation of being rather "punky" (*i.e.* rotten) (188).

break up
As soon as the "break up" comes, and rivers and muskegs thaw out, it is almost impossible for horses or oxen to pull heavy loads over the roads (202).

dudes
At one camp where he was cooking last summer some Englishmen dressed in comparatively good clothes had turned up to work on the grade.
"I tell you it was great," he chuckled, "to see them dudes [dandies] with their swell suits and patent leather boots ridin' on the dump wagons (208)."

pioneer
spikers
On arriving at the end we all tumbled out into the snow, of which there must have been about three feet, and walked along the flat cars. These were now coupled to the "pioneer," which was standing at the head of the long train of material on the very last piece of steel, laid the night before (213).
By this time it was getting light, and it was highly interesting to gain a practical knowledge of the whole process of laying steel. First there is the grade, which is left ready and comparatively level by the contractors although a great deal of ballasting and leveling up is necessary after the steel is laid. The important thing is to get the rails down, no matter how, so that the supplies can be forwarded by train to the nearest point to the camps. About half a mile ahead of the pioneer come the surveyors, who stake out the line, putting in centre stakes, which are the only guide the steel layers have to go by. Then in this case, it being winter, came twenty or thirty men shoveling away the heavy snow. Then the pioneer itself, which looks more like a large crane placed on a truck than anything else. From two long steel arms, placed at an angle of about 45 degrees, hang steel ropes which catch the rails as they come off the tram. Men rush forward, bear them down into place, and join them up to the last two already laid – the exact breadth of the gauge is given by a man with a properly measured rod. No spikes are drive until later. Before this stage, the ties, which fairly hurtle off the tram on the other side of the train, have been caught, each one by two men, and

placed in position far enough for one or two lengths of rail – then the tiemen stand aside, and, as I have described, the railmen place the rails in position. After two or three lengths of rail have been laid in this way, the pioneer gives two short hoots, the two locomotives behind give a few puffs, and the pioneer and the whole train advance some twenty or thirty feet; the pioneer then gives one hoot as a signal for the train to stop....

Some fifty yards behind the train comes the gang of spikers, who drive the spikes into the ties (215).

gets wise

getting there [regarding Englishmen acculturating]

He often picks up Western expressions with surprising rapidity, and even cultivates the intonation of voice, so that in a few years you would put him down as a Westerner born. If he has been familiar with the land in the old country he soon "gets wise" to new conditions out here, and can often, after a short time, give the Canadian or American farmer points. What he lacks is the push and energy of those who have always been used to living in the country where all that counts is "getting there" (244).

CPR train, Calgary 1884
Glenbow Museum

Land of Open Doors, J. Burgon Bickersteth

Coyote Comes to Canada[1]

Katherine Barber

Canadians have a remarkable quirk when it comes to spelling and pronunciation variants: Each Canadian believes that his or her linguistic practice is the "true Canadian" one and anything else must be wrong – and probably American to boot.

So I have had people who pronounce "missile" to rhyme with "missal" tell me outraged, that those other Canadians who rhyme it with "mile" are obviously wrong and have sold out to those nefarious Americans. Of course, the truth is that "missal" is the only pronunciation used by Americans, whereas the other pronunciation is used by the British. But Canadians don't usually like to let the truth interfere with a little zealous anti-Americanism.

The recent flurry of controversy that has arisen in Toronto about how to pronounce the word "coyote," prompted by recent sightings of the animal in the city's High Park, is a classic example of this, with the added fillip of a dash of Western anti-Ontarianism.

Torontonians, whose only previous acquaintance with the animal was seeing it flattened by a cartoon anvil, not surprisingly call it a "ky-OAT-ee." Westerners, who have lived with animal longer and traditionally have more commonly said "KY-oat" or even "KY-oot," (a Northern Alberta variation, my brother assures me) may be prompted to launch into a spate of righteous indignation about Ontarians' supposed ignorance, and, worse, their supposed susceptibility to American influences, whereas Westerners are much more impervious to this and can keep true Canadianness alive.

Being a Westerner myself, I too say "KY-oat." But I like to take a more dispassionate view. Perhaps we should look into the facts of the case. Just who does say "KY-oat" and who does say "ky-OAT-ee"? Is "KY-oat" more "truly Canadian" than "ky-OAT-ee"? (One of my colleagues at the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary* admitted to me that he had always thought that "KY-oat" was the "weird pronunciation," and probably American).

The animal's name is ultimately derived from Nahuatl, the language spoken by the Aztecs, for whom the crafty canine was a "coyotl." Reviving this version of the word might solve all our problems. The fact that it no longer exists can be blamed on the Spanish speakers

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[1] Katherine Barber <**katherinebarber.blogspot.com**>, editor-in-chief of the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary*, was raised in Manitoba, where they say "KYoat". This article first appeared under the title "Pronounced Differences" in the *Globe and Mail*, February 7, 2000, p. A13.

of Mexico, who were totally unable to pronounce the string "tl" at the end of the word and thus transformed it into the three-syllable "coyote," which is what the English speakers in the Southwestern United States borrowed from them in the early 1800s.

It is unclear how the two-syllable variant arose from this, but it is analogous to what happened to the word "chocolate" as it passed into English from the Nahuatl "chocolatl" via Spanish "chocolate." The fact is that for "coyote" all American dictionaries give both pronunciations, some of them with the "KY-oat" version first.

Dear God, this means that *both* pronunciations are American! Now what do we do if we want to be "truly Canadian"? Well, of course they're both American. Where else would we get a Mexican Spanish word for a native animal from? It's hardly likely to have come into Canadian English via Britain, or to have leapfrogged right over the United States to land in Canada untarnished. We could of course also ask the philosophical question as to why it would be better if it *had* come from Britain, but the point is moot.

Now, the coyote does go by other names, such as "prairie wolf" or "brush wolf," which would avoid the pronunciation problem but incur the wrath of zoologists who would point out that it is not a wolf. Perhaps a more uniquely Canadian solution would be to revive the words "mishagunis" and "togony" adapted by English speakers such as the explorer John Palliser from Algonquian names for the animal in the 1800s. Good luck if you wish to try this.

It is hardly the environmentally correct thing to suggest that we must enlist the services of a handy roadrunner to ensure that all of Toronto's coyotes are hoist with their own petard (in the cartoon version it would be Acme Petard Company) and thus spare us the necessity of talking about them at all.

So perhaps we should take the tolerant Canadian view and say "You say Ky-oat and I say ky-OAT-ee; let's call the whole thing ... legitimate pronunciation variation." Try setting that to a Broadway tune.

Coyote Comes to Canada, Katherine Barber

Resources for Further Study: The Prairies

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Photo courtesy of Western Canadian Wheatgrowers Association

BRITISH COLUMBIA & THE NORTH

First Nations English dialects in Canada: Implications for speech-language pathology[1]

Jessica Ball and B. May Bernhardt

Abstract

The current study reports preliminary information gathered about First Nations English dialects in Canada and considers implications for speech-language pathology practice. Information was gathered from literature searches and forums of First Nations and non-First Nations speech-language pathologists, developmentalists, and linguists. The exploratory findings suggest that First Nations English dialects are shaped both by transference of features from the ancestral languages and by cultural patterns of communication. The dialects likely represent late stages of depidginization and decreolization. Examples of phonological and syntactic dialectal features illustrate the importance of recognizing non-standard varieties of English when assessing speakers of First Nations communities and setting up goals and strategies for treatment. Research is urgently needed to identify features of First Nations English dialects both for linguistic documentation and to help speech-language pathologists and other educators to distinguish between language impairments and dialect differences and to develop culturally relevant assessment and intervention practices.

The 700 000 First Nations people in Canada comprise 2.2% of the Canadian population (Statistics Canada, 2006). Approximately 60% of First Nations children live in urban

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[1] Teachers from outside Aboriginal communities are in danger of misinterpreting local dialect features and speech styles (influenced by Aboriginal first or heritage languages) as speech pathology and language learning problems. Jessica Ball, School of Child and Youth Care, University of Victoria <jball@uvic.ca>, and B. May Bernhardt, School of Audiology and Speech Sciences, University of British Columbia <bernharb@interchange.ubc.ca>, synthesize in this article what is known about the genesis, phonology, syntax and pragmatics of Aboriginal English dialects in Canada. Here we present only a few hundred words of their article, but the full text is available online and freely accessible through many university libraries: *Clinical Linguistics and Phonetics* 22.8 (August 2008): 570-588.

settings, 35% live in rural, remote, or on-reserve settings, and 5% live in rural off-reserve communities (Statistics Canada, 2006). . . . First Nations children may be disproportionately diagnosed with speech-language impairments, which in turn may stem in part from misinterpretations of features of children's home English dialects as evidence of speech-language deficits or delays (Ball, Bernhardt, and Deby, 2006). Speech-language pathologists (SLPs) and other practitioners need to be able to distinguish between language difference (dialect) and language impairment in order to provide culturally relevant service where it is needed. Despite the importance of these issues, to date there has been virtually no research on First Nations English dialects in Canada. Because of the lack of systematic research on this topic, the purpose of the current paper is to ask questions, stimulate dialogue, and make initial recommendations . . . . Information for the current paper was gathered from literature searches and two forums of First Nations and non-First Nations SLPs, developmentalists, and linguists in British Columbia. As background, First Nations English dialects are first situated within the overall status of First Nations languages in Canada, referring to the patterns of language loss and processes of pidginization and creolization that appear to have shaped the development of First Nations English dialects. A brief discussion of potential interactions between two First Nations phonologies (Plains Cree and Dene Suline) and English serves to illustrate how the phonology of First Nations languages may influence the speech patterns of First Nations English dialects. . . .

First Nations languages in Canada

First Nations English dialects are situated within an overall context of language loss and language revitalization in Canada. Approximately 50 different First Nations languages from 11 major language families or linguistic isolates are spoken in Canada today. Algonquin, Athapaskan, and Inuktitut are the largest language families, accounting for 93% of the Indigenous languages learned as first languages (Norris and Jantzen, 2002). According to the 2001 Census (Statistics Canada, 2001), Cree, Ojibway, and Inuktitut are the largest and most widespread of the 50 Indigenous languages spoken currently, with 72 885, 21 005, and 29 010 speakers, respectively. British Columbia, home to approximately half of the Indigenous languages spoken in Canada, has the greatest linguistic diversity. However, most Indigenous languages spoken in British Columbia are considered endangered due to the small numbers of (primarily Elder) speakers (Norris and Jantzen, 2002). For instance, there are only 810 remaining speakers of Chilcotin (Athapaskan family), 400 speakers of Thompson (Salish family), 410 speakers of Nootka (Wakashan family), 150 speakers of Haida (a language isolate), 105 speakers of Tlingit (a language isolate), and 125 speakers of Kutenai (a language isolate) (Statistics Canada, 2001).

Language loss, pidgins and creoles and the Canadian context

Language loss can occur for many reasons, including modernization, the pressures exerted by a dominant language, and a historically oral culture (Norris and Jantzen, 2002: 12). In Canada, the loss of First Nations languages is the result of several interacting factors, the greatest of which is a historical policy of assimilation that has

interrupted the intergenerational transmission of language. Indigenous scholars have chronicled the devastating effects of colonial government policies over the last century that were aimed first at segregating Indigenous peoples from colonial society through a land reservation system, and, subsequently, at forcing them either to assimilate into colonial society or to subsist on its margins (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996; Lawrence, 2004). Systems of First Nations tribal community governance and extended family life were broken down and the transmission of cultural knowledge, including language, was disrupted (Chrisjohn, Young & Maraun, 1997; Smolewski and Wesley-Esquimaux, 2003). Colonial efforts to sever ties between children and parents included the Residential Schools, where over half of the Indigenous children in Canada were confined by 1960 (Miller, 1996), and widespread placement and adoption of Indigenous children in English and French speaking families (First Nations Child and Family Caring Society of Canada, 2005). In Residential Schools, use of Indigenous languages was generally prohibited and often punished. Forced relocations of villages and dispersions of clans, along with urbanization, have further disconnected Indigenous people from their heritage language, culture, and clans (York, 1990; Newhouse and Peters, 2003; Jantzen, 2004; Lawrence, 2004; Brown, Higgitt, Wingert, Miller, and Morrissette, 2005).

First Nations English Dialects
Within this context, First Nations English dialects rest on the uneasy margin between language loss and language revitalization. On the one hand, First Nations English dialects reflect a historical situation in which English has been, and remains, a major colonizing language; on the other hand, the dialects are important linguistic markers of Indigenous identity and solidarity. First Nations English dialects likely represent the late stages of a process of depidginization and decreolization. Pidgins develop in situations of language contact, when speakers from two or more mutually unintelligible language groups develop a grammatically simple system of communication that exhibits properties of the substrate languages (Wardhaugh, 2002: 67). Pidgins are necessarily second languages. However, when a new generation learns a pidgin as a first language, the pidgin develops into a creole, a grammatically more complex language that exhibits properties not found in any of the parent languages (Wardhaugh, 2002). First Nations English dialects likely developed as lingua francas following contact between English and Indigenous populations. Over time, the various dialects have increasingly converged with standard English (see Flanigan 1985; 1987, for a discussion of this process in Lakota English).

First Nations English dialects are shaped by cultural patterns of communication, by phenomena associated with languages in contact, and by the linguistic features of Indigenous languages. Dialects are distinguished from the standard variety of a language by a range of phonological, syntactic, lexical, and discourse-based features. It is important to note, however, that not all patterns in a dialect are attributable to transfer from the heritage languages. Leap (1993: 45) states that both Navajo (citing Cook and Sharp, 1966) and Isleta Englishes contain vowels that are present in both

standard English and the Native American language; however, they are rearranged in a novel pattern in the Native American English. Alford (1974) observes that speakers of Cheyenne English replace certain standard English consonants not found in Cheyenne with other consonants not found in Cheyenne or English.

Based on existing research on English dialects among Native Americans (Leap, 1993), it is likely that [disparate] First Nations English dialects share many features, possibly reflecting historical periods in which speakers of the different dialects found themselves forced to live together [on reserves and in residential schools]. . . . .

Students Learn Tlingit
Photo by teacher Daphne Wright

Resources for Further Study: British Columbia and the North

Gregg, R.J. et al. *The Survey of Vancouver English: A Sociolinguistic Study of Urban Canadian English.* Ed. Gaelan Dodds de Wolf, Margery Fee, and Janice McAlpine. Occasional Papers No. 5. Kingston ON: Strathy Language Unit, Queen's University, 2004.

McConnell, R.E. *Our Own Voice: Canadian English and how it is studied.* Toronto: Gage, 1979. See in particular the chapters "English in the Canadian North" (pp. 212-217) and "English in British Columbia" (pp. 218-237).

Ninety per cent of Inuit children in Nunavut still learn Inuktitut from birth, but Inuit adults are very aware that that figure could change rapidly. In Canada's north, will English and Inuktitut co-exist and bilingualism flourish, or will English supplant even this relatively healthy Aboriginal language?

Allen, Shanley. "The future of Inuktitut in the face of majority languages: Bilingualism or language shift?" *Applied Psycholinguistics* 28 (2007): 515-536.

Nunavut stop sign with Inuktitut syllabics
Photo credit: Margaret McLauchlan

General Resources for Further Study

Textbook

Although this textbook is dated, it remains valuable as a concise synthesis of prior research on CE dialects and a rich compendium of reproductions from primary sources.

McConnell, R.E. *Our Own Voice: Canadian English and how it is studied.* Toronto: Gage, 1979.

Special Journal Issues

Anglistik: International Journal of English Studies (special thematic issue: Focus on Canadian English) 19.2 (2008).

Canadian Journal of Linguistics/La revue canadienne de linguistique (special thematic issue: Canadian English in a Global Context) 51.2-3 (2006).

Research Projects

DIALECT TOPOGRAPHY
<http://dialect.topography.chass.utoronto.ca/dt_about.php>
J.K. (Jack) Chambers (University of Toronto) and colleagues have developed new methods in sociolinguistic dialectology, mapping a particular set of dialect variables—<http://dialect.topography.chass.utoronto.ca/dt_questionnaire.php>—across some Canadian and bordering US regions, and sampling people of all ages, classes and ethnicities. These publicly available databases may be interrogated for regional preferences, patterns of language change and diffusion, and border effects.

NORTH AMERICAN REGIONAL VOCABULARY SURVEY
<http://www.arts.mcgill.ca/linguistics/Faculty/boberg/research.htm>
Charles Boberg (McGill University) is studying whether variants in the contemporary vocabulary of everyday life are playing an expanding or contracting role in symbolizing local identity.

ETHNOLINGUISTIC VARIATION IN TORONTO ENGLISH
<http://www.yorku.ca/jamesw/ContactintheCity.htm>
James Walker and Michol Hoffman (York University) are interviewing Toronto residents of different generations within "ethnic enclaves" and systematically examining the effect of language contact on their English. In younger speakers, the linguistic correlatives of greater or lesser perceived orientation to first language group are also being studied.

HERITAGE LANGUAGE VARIATION AND CHANGE IN TORONTO
<http://individual.utoronto.ca/ngn/research/heritage_lgs.htm>
Naomi Nagy (University of Toronto) is studying *not* the English of Toronto but the *other* languages of its multilingual population, looking, in part, at the effects of ambient English on first language (Korean, Russian, Faetar, Italian, Ukrainian, Cantonese) grammar.

DICTIONARY OF CANADIANISMS ON HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES, 2ND ed.
<http://faculty.arts.ubc.ca/sdollinger/dchp2.htm>
Stefan Dollinger, Laurel J. Brinton and Margery Fee (University of British Columbia) are working on a revised and greatly expanded second edition of this fine historical English dictionary of peculiarly Canadian vocabulary, first published in 1967 (Walter S. Avis et al., eds.; Toronto: Gage).

Language Samples

Canajun Eh? A Collection of Canadian Dialects. Compiled by David Ferry. CD-ROM. Recordings of more than 40 speakers of regional dialects across Canada in natural conversation. Produced as a resource for actors and available from Theatrebooks, Toronto.

Language Samples Project, University of Arizona. *Varieties of English: Canadian English*. <http://www.ic.arizona.edu/~lsp/>
Descriptions of various features of Canadian English; includes audio samples of Canadian vowels that differ from American English.

Strathy Corpus of Canadian English. A searchable sample of approximately 50 million words of Canadian English, mostly published writing (newspapers, Internet news, diverse magazines, literary fiction, biographies, history, academic theses and journals), dating from 1985 to present. Includes some unpublished writing and orthographically transcribed speech. Researchers may contact the *Strathy Language Unit, Queen's University*, for access.

International Corpus of English—Canada. A one-million-word sample of spoken and written Canadian English, orthographically transcribed and syntactically annotated. Designed to match corpora from approximately 20 other English-speaking countries, facilitating comparisons across national varieties of English. Researchers may download this corpus from the *Department of Linguistics, University of Alberta*.

Standardization of Canadian English: Reference Works

Barber, Katherine, ed. *Canadian Oxford Dictionary*. 2nd ed. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Fee, Margery, and Janice McAlpine, eds. *Guide to Canadian English Usage*. 2nd ed.
    Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Tasko, Patti, ed. *Canadian Press Stylebook: A Guide for Writers and Editors.* 15th ed.
    Toronto: Canadian Press, 2008.

RCAF roundel
(Wikimedia Commons)