Neither Uncle Sam nor John Bull: Canadian English comes of age

Katherine Barber
Oxford University Press

The picture of Canadian English that emerges from The Canadian Oxford Dictionary (1998) is of a language variant that has cast off the yoke of both external and internal colonialism. In its pages, Canadians found an affirmation that they are different from Americans, as the elusive Canadian identity took tangible form in all the words they had been using all their lives without knowing they were Canadianisms. But the vocabulary recorded in the dictionary also reflected an assertion of non-anglophone cultural identities within Canada. The numbers of words borrowed into English from immigrant languages such as Ukrainian and Italian demonstrated a recognition of those cultures by Canadian society which would have been unimaginable two generations ago. The increasing influence of Canadian French, especially in Quebec, coincided with the growing rejection of perceived Anglo colonialism in that province, while the Native peoples' cultural renaissance and rejection of definition by the colonializing culture has resulted in a wave of new self-designations and words designating Native cultural realities. But some remnants of colonialism linger, as demonstrated by the reluctance of some users, often virulently expressed, to accept some of the facts about Canadian English recorded in the dictionary.

Sounding Canadian from Coast to Coast: Regional accents in Canadian English

Charles Boberg
McGill University

From a continental perspective, Canadian English exhibits two remarkable phonetic patterns. Canadian Raising (Chambers 1973), the non-low articulation of low diphthongs before voiceless consonants, has been the subject of extensive discussion in theoretical phonology. The Canadian Shift (Clarke, Elms, and Youssef 1995), the lowering and retraction of the short front vowels as a consequence of the low-back merger, has reshaped our view of the phonetic taxonomy of North American dialects. Together, these variables help to define what it is to sound Canadian. Yet until recently, neither has been studied with a national set of acoustic data: observations have generally been limited to auditory impressions and to certain regions of the country. The exact phonetic character and regional distribution of these key variables are therefore not well understood.

This paper presents the results of a new study of regional and social variation in the phonetics of Canadian English. The data are from acoustic analyses of the speech of undergraduate students who grew up in communities from coast to coast. They offer a first view of regional phonetic variation on a nationwide basis. While all Canadian regions exhibit raising of /au/ to some degree, the precise articulation of the raised vowel is an important regional indicator, ranging from front of center in Ontario to back of center on the Prairies. Region interacts with gender: where the vowel is front, men have the most advanced tokens; where it is back, men have the most retracted tokens. The Canadian Shift is also variably implemented: Ontarians and women are more advanced in the retraction of /æ/ than Prairie or Atlantic Canadians and men.

Some of the strongest regional and gender indicators in Canadian English concern neither of the well-known variables just mentioned. The fronting of /u:/, for example, is led by women and by Ontario and British Columbia; the Prairies and the Maritimes are more resistant to it. The raising of /æ/ before nasals is well advanced in Ontario and the Maritimes, but strongly resisted in Quebec, together with the tensing of /æ/ before /g/. Finally, the Maritimes and, to a lesser extent, Ontario share a relatively front articulation of /ar/ with New England and the Northern United States, which differentiates them markedly from Western Canada, where this vowel is articulated much further back. The fronting of /ar/ is strongest among Maritime men.

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Linguistic resistance on the New Brunswick-Maine border

Wendy Burnett
Mount Allison University

Comparison of New Brunswick data from Scargill and Warkentin's 1972 survey of Canadian English and from the Dialect Topography Project (1994-present) reveals a significant convergence over the past 30 years towards American English forms in seventy-eight percent of the items studied. This is noteworthy in itself, given that there is little evidence of sufficient contact to determine any pattern of linguistic diffusion. Still more remarkable, however, are the data from responses to the Dialect Topography questionnaire by younger speakers along one section of the New Brunswick-Maine border. There, in an area where there is significant social contact with Americans, the evidence indicates that Canadian youth are using fewer American forms than their peers in the rest of the province. This paper considers the border effect in the responses of 14-19 year-olds living in St. Stephen, New Brunswick, and in the adjacent town of Calais, Maine. It examines 17 items of the DTP questionnaire that were determined to be Canadian/U.S. shibboleths after Chambers' original Golden Horseshoe Study in 1994, and discusses the results in relation to the conclusions of Boberg's examination of geolinguistic diffusion.

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Nooz or nyooz? The complex construction of Canadian identity

Sandra Clarke
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Though Canadian English is historically closely related to American English, the politics of national identity have led to its construction as a distinct linguistic variety. This construction relies on a number of salient markers, among them "Canadian Raising," as well as espousal of British-like as opposed to American-like variants, particularly with respect to lexicon and orthography.

Among the pronunciation features occasionally cited as emblematic of Canadian linguistic identity is the retention of the palatal glide in words like *new*s and *student* – a feature which, paradoxically, today represents a low frequency variant in the casual style of many Canadians, particularly younger generations of speakers (see e.g. Chambers 1998). Using self-reported dialect topography data, Chambers (1997, 1998) concludes that the glided variant no longer holds symbolic value for the vast majority of Canadians. Yet other studies, based on both self-reporting (Owens and Baker 1984) and actual speech (Woods 1999) data, suggest that glided variants are more highly valued by Canadians than glideless pronunciations, and more characteristic of formal styles.

This paper attempts to resolve the apparent paradox through examination of glide usage in several recent Canadian corpora. These include a corpus of self-reported data assembled in 2003 from over 1000 respondents, along with a media corpus containing more than 2000 speech tokens. Analysis reveals a complex situation in which conservative glided and innovative glideless variants index different social values for different segments of the population (on this point, see e.g. Boberg 2000, Wassink and Dyer 2004). These values are interpreted within a framework of linguistic globalization (cf. Meyerhoff and Niedzielski 2003).

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Specialization of deontic modality in Canadian English

Alex D'Arcy
University of Toronto

Canadian English (CE) is a major variety of World English, and its lack of representation within the grammaticalization literature denotes a significant gap in our understanding of the determinants of change. The current study begins to redress this situation by systematically examining expressions of obligation and necessity (i.e., deontic modality), as in (1), in a large corpus of contemporary CE (Tagliamonte 2003-2005).

(1) a. It's pretty understood what one ***must*** do to get the other's attention.
b. We'***ve got to*** keep going, we ***have to*** make it.
c. There comes an age when parents ***got to*** let go of their kids.

The modal system provides an ideal window for viewing processes of grammaticalization because this component of the morphosyntax has been in a constant state of flux since the Old English period (Denison 1993; Lightfoot 1979). However, the late 19th and early 20th centuries in particular were critical periods in the development of HAVE TO and HAVE GOT TO in British English (BE) (Krug 2000). By this time, the roots of CE were already firmly entrenched (Chambers to appear). Thus, the major upheavals in deontic modality in BE occurred after the development of CE. As a result, it is entirely possible that the deontic system of CE will differ from that of other varieties and of BE specifically.

Drawing on data from 93 speakers between the ages of 10 and 92, this paper outlines the trajectory of change in deontic modality and highlights the points where it differs from the paths found in other varieties. Remarkably, HAVE TO accounts for a full 85% of the CE data (N = 965), suggesting that this form is specializing across the deontic domain. This result contrasts starkly with previous research from the U.K. (Jankowski 2003; Krug 1998, 2000; Tagliamonte 2004) and the U.S. (Myhill 1995; Jankowski 2003), where either 1) HAVE GOT TO has become the most frequent form or 2) HAVE GOT TO and HAVE TO are equally frequent. The apparent time construct provides further insight into the CE system: while HAVE TO increases dramatically from oldest to youngest speakers in the sample, the frequencies of MUST, HAVE GOT TO and GOT TO concomitantly decrease. At the same time, these forms appear to interact with sex in interesting ways. MUST, the oldest form, displays no sex effect. HAVE TO and HAVE GOT TO, on the other hand, are clearly associated with female speech, while males of all ages strongly favor GOT TO over females.

I discuss the relevance of these findings for situating CE within the global context of World English, as well as their implications for the mechanisms of change more generally.

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Sociophonetic variation of Canadian English: Why the local context matters too

Paul De Decker
New York University/Haskins Laboratories

This paper investigates sociophonetic variation in Canadian English at the level of local communities of practice. By focusing our attention on emically-defined social networks, significant sociolinguistic patterns emerge which are typically overlooked by macro-level studies. To demonstrate, we look at the progress of the Canadian Vowel Shift (CVS) (Clarke et al. 1995) within the speech of 15 female high school students living in a small Southern Ontario town. We show that patterns of vowel shifting may be accounted for by social practices associated with peer-based networks, using both quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis.

Vowel data were elicited using word-lists and were recorded to digital media. Using Praat 4.2.21, acoustic analyses of the first three formant values and the fundamental frequency of each vowel token were conducted. To assess degrees of shifting among this sample, distance scores between each vowel (i.e. /ɪ/, /ɛ/, and /æ/) and the low back vowel /ɑ/ were calculated for all speakers. The low back vowel was chosen for its relative stability (i.e. it is not involved in any phonetic changes). These distance scores were tested for statistically significant differences using ANOVA in SPSS.

Results indicate that the CVS is divided along the lines of membership within based social networks. No significant differences with respect to the (ɪ) were found for the speakers examined. This supports previous studies that have also found negligible patterns of shifting. (ɛ) showed significant differences with respect to the second formant (F(5,17)=4.343, p=.01) but not the first formant. This suggests that (ɛ)-lowering may not be socially significant in this town; however, (ɛ)-retraction is. Finally, significant sociolinguistic differences were also found for (æ)-retraction (F(5,17)=4.913, p=.006). Post-hoc tests (LSD) revealed three levels of variation: the first level consists of a group (the "OACs") who were in their senior year of high school at the time of the study. They exhibited the highest degrees of retraction within the sample. The second, intermediate level is another network, referred to as the "Smart Kids" who were also in their senior year. The third level includes four other groups, including the “Adult” sample of the population who show the lowest degrees of (æ) retraction. Why might we find these particular patterns? Results from the ethnographic component of the study point towards engagement in different forms of network-based social practices. Following (Eckert 2000), these practices have social and linguistic consequences. Two factors which strongly divide the networks are 1) the students’ goals after completing high school and 2) the level of participation in adult-centered activities.

The results from this study show: 1) the presence of the CVS outside of larger urban Canadian centers; 2) how distance scores can be used to measure sociolinguistic differences between speakers; and 3) that social phenomena associated with the lives of speakers can offer significant insights into the sociolinguistic profile of a particular community. While this paper demonstrates a method for micro-level investigation, the future success of studies in Canadian sociophonetics undoubtedly requires an ear for both local and global contexts.

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Conservative Early Canadian English?
The modal auxiliaries in the
Corpus of Early Ontario English, pre-Confederation section,
compared to American and British data

Stefan Dollinger
University of Vienna

This paper will explore two areas of the early development of Ontarian English between 1776 and 1850 with the help of the pre-Confederation section of the *Corpus of Early Ontario English (CEOntE)*, a machine-readable, three genre, stratified corpus. On the basis of the *CEOntE*'s three genres – newspapers, diaries, and sociolinguistically most interesting, letters – and its two social classes, we will not only add a systematic diachronic dimension to the study of Canadian English by way of corpus linguistics, but provide new data to assess one of its most prominent, general features: its conservatism.

The first part, the presentation of venerable Canadian variables in a diachronic dimesnsion, will be dealt with qualitatively, e.g. *chesterfield* vs. *sofa*, or select past tense morphemes. The main focus will lie, however, on a tentative assessment of the development of members of the modal auxiliary class over the 74 year period under investigation in a quantiative framework. As recent studies have shown, this period is a perfect testing ground for what Krug (2000) called "emerging English modals", i.e. peripheral modals such as *have to*, *have got to* or *want to*.

The figures gleaned from the *CEOntE* are compared with those from *ARCHER-1*, *A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers, Version 1*, thus enabling us to relate the Early Canadian data to appopriate American and British data. After considering some irregularities of period division between the corpora, a real-time comparison of these three varieties allows us to shed more light on two questions:

- In which respect did mainland Canadian English reflect the changes in the modal auxiliary system since the mid-1700s in relation to British and American data? Do apparently American innovations such as *have got to* occur in the Canadian data and if so, how are they distributed?
- How conservative was late 18th, and early 19th century Canadian English? Was it really, as one would expect, the most conservative colonial variety of English (Chambers 1998: 253), i.e. in our case more conservative than American English? If so, to which extent?

While preliminary historical studies have produced internal evidence for this assessment in relation to British English (Dollinger 2003), the more comprehensive data set will allow a comparison with data from 'south of the line' and, more generally, add more weight to the argument from a morphosyntactic point of view.

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Canadian English?

Beat Glauser
University of Heidelberg

Varieties must be constituted by more than just ‘Canadian Raising’ and a ‘peculiar’ name for a piece of furniture. What then are further characteristics of ‘Canadian English’ and where is it to be placed in the continuum of World Englishes?

Investigations covering a wide variety of Englishes are still rare; I want to pick out two such studies and look at them in some detail. Petra Pongratz (1997) analyzed self-reference and partner-reference in the ‘Lonely Hearts’ section of five national quality newspapers. Caroline Mazaud (2004) deals with complex premodifiers in twelve national newspapers (among them ‘The Globe and Mail’). The two studies suggest that the Canadian newspaper in located at the ‘innovative’ end of the continuum. Whereas New Zealand women are ‘ladies’ and tend to look for a ‘gentleman’, the two terms are getting progressively rarer in the Australian, British, American and Canadian papers. Canadian women tend to be ‘females’, and they look for a ‘male’. Similarly, complex premodifiers (‘a get-rich-quick scheme’) are comparatively rare in the United Kingdom papers as against the Australian ‘Age’ and the Toronto ‘Globe and Mail.’

Canadian English, *Eh?* Canadian french, *Hein?*

Elaine Gold & Mireille Tremblay
University of Toronto & Queen's University

Eh is widely considered to be a shibboleth of Canadian English, yet there has been surprisingly little recent research into *eh*'s functions and use. There has been even less interest in the Canadian French *hein,* nor has their been research into the comparative use of *eh* in Canadian English and *hein* in Canadian French. The similarity in their use and possible influence of *hein* on Canadian *eh* has not, however, gone unnoticed. Avis (1972:102) 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."

This paper presents a comparison of the results of two surveys: one surveying the use of and attitudes towards *eh* among a group of anglophone students at the University of Toronto (Gold 2004) and the second surveying the use of and attitudes towards *hein* (and its alternate pronunciation *han*) among francophone students at Université Laval. The surveys presents the respondent with ten different constructions with *eh* or *hein* - opinions, statements of fact, exclamations, accusations, etc. These questions are based on categories developed by Gibson (1977) and used in two surveys in 1980, the Ottawa Survey of Canadian English (Woods 1980) and the Survey of Vancouver English (Dodds de Wolff 2004).

Preliminary results suggest minor differences in usage and larger differences in attitudes between the two tags. While *hein* can be used in most of the same contexts as *eh*, it cannot be used with commands. On the other hand *hein* can be used to introduce an expression of surprise where *eh* cannot.

With respect to attitude, Canadian English speakers show a wide range of responses to the different constructions, from very positive for *eh* with opinions to overwhelmingly negative for narrative *eh*? We expect a smaller range for the francophone respondents with none of the constructions with *hein* stigmatized to the same extent+. We further note a difference between *eh* and *hein* in their function as in-group markers and so expect different comments from the two groups of students. *Eh* is strongly associated with Canadian identity and marks speakers of Canadian English as distinct from speakers of other English dialects. *Hein* doesn't perform the same function in marking Canadian French speakers.

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How ‘general’ is General Canadian? Vowel production in Winnipeg

Robert Hagiwara
University of Manitoba

In this paper, I address the apparent homogeneity of Canadian English (cf. Chambers, 1998) through an acoustic characterization of Winnipeg English vowels, and by contrasting the Winnipeg vowel production norms with previous descriptions of “general” phonetic and phonological features of Canadian English (notably Canadian Shift and Canadian Raising). Despite differences between the Winnipeg sample and other reports of Canadian English, comparison of these data with acoustic data from other North American English dialects reveals the essential ‘Canadian’ character of the Winnipeg vowel space. Most descriptions of Canadian English vowels are based on impressionistic (and especially transcription-based) analyses of stylistically diverse underlying data. It is difficult to compare the results of different studies under these conditions. Previous acoustic work has either been secondary to transcriptional reporting (e.g. Clarke et al, 1995; Meechan, 1999) or has focused on a particular sociolinguistic variable without offering a general characterization of the vowel space (e.g. Esling and Warkentyne, 1993). The acoustic model of vowel production among anglophone Winnipeggers was developed following common experimental-acoustic procedures (e.g. Peterson & Barney, 1952; Hillenbrand et al., 1994). Native monolingual English speakers were recorded reading from a randomized script containing multiple repetitions of keywords presented in a frame. Keywords were selected to illustrate 15 ‘basic’ vowel phonemes of English (/i, ɪ, e, ɛ, æ, ɑ, ɔ, o, ʊ, u, ʌ, ɹ̩, aɪ, aʊ, ɔɪ/). When possible, real words of the “hVd” and “hVt” shape were used. The goal was to produce a dataset which could be directly compared with available acoustic studies, and which would allow for investigation of vowel duration and other dynamic aspects of Canadian English vowels. Examination of the Winnipeg vowels suggests that Canadian Shift (CS, as proposed by Clarke et al, 1995) is not occurring in Winnipeg. Though Winnipeg speakers show complete merger of ɑ/ɔ (suggested as the trigger of CS), as yet neither the retraction of the /æ/ vowel (which Esling & Warkentyne, 1993, offer as typical of the Vancouver vowel system) nor the concomitant lowering of the front lax vowels seems to have followed as a result. Comparison of the Winnipeg data with comparable data from southern California (remeasured from data collected for Hagiwara, 1995, 1997) reveal that the ɑ/ɔ merger, while complete in both dialects, results in a different configuration of vowels—as traditionally described, the Canadian vowel in ‘hot and ‘odd’ is typically a low back round vowel (IPA [ɒ]), which is both more rounded (and/or more back) and slightly higher than low back unround [ɑ] typical of the southern Californians. While very slight lowering of lax vowels and (among women) retraction of /æ/ both occur in southern California (as suggested by Hinton et al, 1987; and Luthin, 1987), these are absent from the Winnipeg sample. Based on these results and the presence of Canadian Raising, I argue that Winnipeg English is a variety of Canadian English, but distinct from better described varieties. Differences between reported production norms in others areas and those observed in Winnipeg suggest it may be necessary to refine the notion of “General Canadian” away from the relatively extreme (and distinctive) form of the language spoken in Toronto and Vancouver.

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Canadian Raising revisited: Evidence for a gradient, lexicon-based approach

Kathleen Currie Hall
Ohio State University

Canadian Raising (CR) has played a central role as evidence in the development of various phonological theories. In such theories, it is generally assumed both that CR is categorical and that it applies uniformly to all words having the same phonological environment (see, e.g., Chambers 1973, Paradis 1980, Halle and Bromberg 1989, Mielke et al. 2003). The production study presented in this paper, however, shows that CR is in fact a gradient phenomenon that does not apply uniformly across the lexicon.

CR is usually characterized as a phonological process in which the distribution of the vowels [ai] and [ʌi] can be predicted by a rule such as in (1). Phonological rules like these rest on two assumptions: first, that there is a categorical difference between the segment that the rule applies to and the segment that is the outcome of the rule (i.e., that there are in fact two and only two discrete variants of the vowel /ai/); and second, that the rule applies in all words where its phonological environment is met. In practice, it is taken for granted that such rules abstract away from phonetic variation across individual productions. Under such an analysis, however, we would expect that measurements of formant values of actual productions of different words containing /ai/ would resemble the hypothetical graph shown in (2). This graph shows two distinct clusters, representing [ai] (high F1) and [ʌi] (low F1), each of which shows variation across the words within its cluster.

In the experiment reported on here, an intensive production study was carried out with 20 native speakers of Canadian English from Meaford, ON. Each speaker was recorded reading a wordlist containing 299 words with /ai/, controlled for factors such as syllabification, voicing of the following segment, stress, and token frequency. In stark contrast to the expected results given a standard phonological rule, the formants of the recorded vowels are distributed gradiently along a continuum of F1 and F2 values, as shown for one speaker in (3).

Even if we arbitrarily impose some form of categoricality on the data by assigning the datapoints with the highest 25% of the F1 values to an [ai] category and those with the lowest 25% to an [ʌi] category (as indicated by the horizontal lines on the graph in (3)), a further problem emerges. Some words that we would expect, given the rule in (1), to have a low F1 (a high vowel) actually fall in the 25% of words with the highest F1s, and vice versa. This is shown in the graphs in (2) and (3) by the word "hype," which (1) predicts will have the [ʌi] variant, as shown in (2), but which appears in the lowest quadrant of the actual data in (3).

I suggest that this unexpected distribution can be explained by appealing to factors in addition to the traditional phonological factors of voicing, syllabification, and stress. We must also consider lexical characteristics of particular words, including token frequency, familiarity, and lexical neighbourhood. For example, the word "hype" is relatively transparently related to words such as "hypothesis" and "hypotenuse," which are not predicted to have the high variant based on phonological factors. I suggest that the vowel of a low-frequency word (like "hype," which does not occur at all in the CELEX corpus) is influenced by the quality of the vowel in higher frequency words ("hypothesis" occurs 245 times in CELEX), violating the predictions of the straightforward phonological rule.

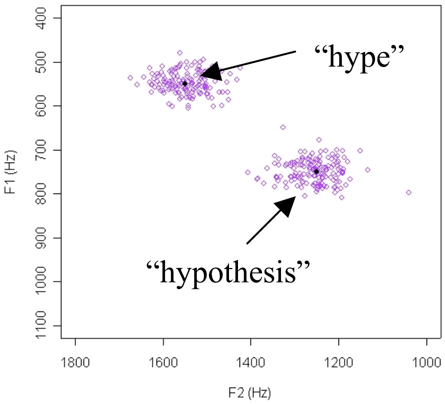
Based on the data analyzed so far, I argue that CR can be better characterized by a "rule" that is gradient rather than categorical and that allows each of a series of factors to contribute to the final outcome. This rule can best be expressed as a multiple regression equation of the form given in (4), in which the phonetic formant value of a particular token is the sum of various weighted factors, which include both traditional phonological attributes as well as other lexical characteristics. Such an account fits in well with recent approaches in phonological theory that model the grammar and the lexicon as a field of finely-grained exemplars, with regularity emerging as abstractions over these exemplars.

(1) Chambers (1973): Canadian Raising Rule

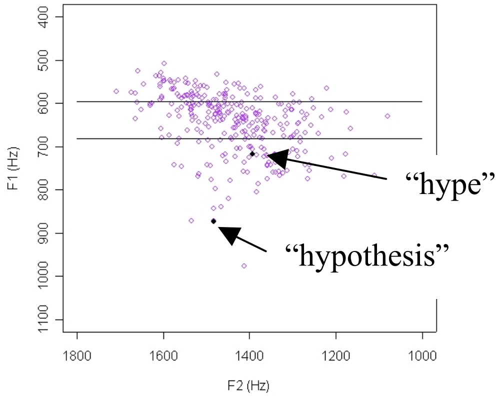
V → [-low] / ___ glide C
[+tense] [-voice]

Conditions: The CR rule can't apply if V is less than [1 stress] AND V' = [+stress] where V' is the following nucleus.

(2) Hypothetical graph showing predicted vowel formants in 300 different words containing /ai/, for one speaker, given the rule in (1):



(3) Actual graph showing vowel formants in 296 different words, for one speaker, with upper and lower F1 quartiles marked:



(4) New proposed "rule" for determining vowel quality:

Formants = A + Phonological Parameters (voicing, syllabification, stress) + Talker Parameters (sex, age, education) + Lexical Parameters (frequency, familiarity, neighbourhood) + . . .

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Language shift in Canada: CCR in Japanese-Canadian English?

Junko Hibiya
International Christian University

'Canada is as rich in varieties of English as a second language (ESL) as in first-language varieties' (Chambers 1991: 95). However, 'in the bilingual situations where immigrant languages and English come together, the research (…) is sparse, and most of it has been directed at the immigrant languages rather than English' (Chambers 1991: 96). To set out to remedy this gap, the present investigation examines the tape-recorded speech of ten Japanese-Canadian (JC) individuals for the simplification of word-final consonant clusters ending in /-t, d/. The paper's goals are to characterize the status of JC English in relation to other contact-induced varieties and to assess the changes it undergoes.

/-t, d/ deletion is a phonological process that results in the loss of a final apical stop (/-t/ or /-d/) when it is the last member of a consonant cluster. It has been extensively studied in a wide variety of English dialects (Fasold 1972, Guy 1980, Labov 1972, Labov et al. 1968, Neu 1980, Wolfram 1969, Wolfram and Fasold 1974) including those that have experienced language contact (Bayley 1994, Bailey and Thomas 1998, Holmes and Bell 1994, Kahn 1991, Patrick 1991, Santa Ana 1992, Schreier 2003, Torbert 2001, Wolfram and Christian 1976, Wolfram, Christian and Hatfield 1986, Wolfram, Childs and Torbert 2000).

The present study examines data recorded from nine second-generation and one third-generation adult JC English speaker (seven males and three females). They are located and recruited by means of the "friend of a friend" method (Milroy 1980). Except the third-generation speaker who has been speaking only English at home, these speakers grew up as bilinguals, speaking Japanese with their parents at home. At the time of data collection, all use English as their main home language. The data for the quantitative analyses were obtained from sociolinguistic interviews. Data entry and variable rule analysis were conducted using GOLDVARB 2001, a multivariate analysis application for Windows developed at York University.

The results indicate that the ten speakers approximate the general pattern: vowel < pause < obstruent with respect to the effect of the following phonetic environment. The effect of the morphological status of /-t, d/, however, demonstrates substantial interspeaker variation among old second-generation speakers. A large variety of individual patterns among them suggests that they possess different internal grammars that have been affected by the substratum language in varying degrees.

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The Canadian Shift in the English of St. John's, Newfoundland

Pauline Hollett
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Recent trends in the study of language change in dialects of English include investigating vowel shifting, based on the relative degree of tongue height and advancement. These are reflected in the first two vowel formant measurements respectively, i.e. F1 and F2 (Labov & Boberg 1995). Although Clarke et al's (1995) study of southern Ontario English was not primarily acoustic, they found that for the lax vowels (ɪ,ɛ,æ,ɑ), there is a 'Canadian English Shift' in progress whereby the front lax vowels are retracting and lowering. Boberg's (2003) acoustic analysis of the lax vowels (ɪ,ɛ,æ,ɑ,ʊ) in Montreal English concluded that the front lax vowels in Canadian English are undergoing more retraction than lowering.

My study applies acoustic analysis (via the Praat program) to the vowels of St. John's English. It uses both a diachronic and a synchronic time approach. The variables investigated are the lax vowel sub-system (ɪ,ɛ,æ,ɑ,ʊ), as well as two tense vowels, (ow) and (uw). Twelve participants are equally divided among three generational groups: (1) younger females recorded in 1982-1983; (2) younger females recorded in 2003; and (3) older females recorded in 2003. This approach offers both real- and apparent-time evidence as to whether the Canadian Shift is attested in St. John's English. Furthermore, this approach provides a test for the validity of apparent-time evidence as a surrogate for real-time data in sociolinguistic studies (Bailey 2002).

Both real-time and apparent-time evidence suggests that some of the features of the Canadian English Shift, as outlined by Clarke et al (1995) and Boberg (2003), are found in St. John's English. My results point to a parallel lowering process of both (ɪ) and (ɛ). Yet for some of the variables examined, evidence shows that the two younger generation groups have similar productions, while the older female generation group differs: for example, the two younger generation groups have a significantly lower pronunciation of (ɑ). This variable, then, appears to be age-graded.

Age-grading among the informants is also supported by the tense variable (uw), which is more fronted for the two younger female cohorts. This real-time/apparent-time dichotomy highlights a major limitation of apparent-time studies. As Eckert (1997) and others point out, reliance solely on apparent-time evidence can make it difficult to determine whether generational differences are actual diachronic developments or whether they exist because speakers' patterns of variation change over time (i.e. age-grading). Alternatively, as my study confirms, both language change and age-grading may enter into play.

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Canadian Raising, Opacity and Rephonemicization

Bill Idsardi
University of Delaware

It is entirely appropriate that the *Canadian English in the Global Context* conference should be held exactly 30 years following the publication of Jack's book Canadian English: Origins and Structures. I will offer here a small contribution on the suprisingly long-lived debate on The “Raised” Diphthongs. I will argue that recent efforts by Mielke, Armstrong and Hume 2003 (MAH) to revive Joos's 1942 phonemic splitting analysis and to deny the existence of allophonic opacity are incorrect, and I will offer new evidence of active alternation which also exhibits typical “poverty of the stimulus” characteristics.

Joos 1942 describes the basic pattern of raised diphthongs before voiceless consonants leading to the familiar alternations in (1).

(1) a. knife [nʌyf] b. knives [nayvz]

Joos goes on to describe two dialects of Canadian English, A and B, which differ in their pronunciation of the word “writer.” Chomsky 1964: 73-74 and Chomsky and Halle 1968: 342 famously analyze the dialect difference as a matter of rule ordering. Chambers 1975: 89-90 shows the derivations for the two dialects for “writer” and “rider”, repeated in (2).

(2)	Dialect A	/rayt-ɚ/	/rayd-ɚ/	Dialect B	/rayt-ɚ/	/rayd-ɚ/
	Raising	rʌytɚ	-----	Voicing	raydɚ	(vacuous)
	Voicing	rʌydɚ	----	Raising	-----	----
		[rʌydɚ]	[raydɚ]		[raydɚ]	[raydɚ]

Dialect A maintains a distinction in surface pronunciation through the opaque application of Raising, whose environment is obscured by the later application of Voicing. MAH see the matter differently, however, it “can be described transparently” (p. 130) by phonemicizing the raised dipthong, “outputs such as riding/writing show the 'opaque' vowel quality forms a minimal contrast in the language.” (p. 131) Alternations such as those in (1) are then lexically listed as morphological relics, parallel to the fricative voicing also displayed in (1). Thus, following Lexicon Optimization, the concept KNIFE then has two allomorphs, /nʌyf/ and /nayv/. They further claim that Raising is being limited, for instance Bermudez-Otero (2003) contrasts Eiffel [ʌy] with eyeful [ay]. I think this is better explained by residual secondary stress on the suffix -ful; such stress would block raising, as noted by Chambers 1975: 94. Their account relies crucially on the non-existence of active phonological alternations involving Raising. However, such alternations do exist, even though they are difficult to construct. One example is the ordinal suffix -th, as in ninth [nʌynθ] which is pronounced with raising. Of course one could argue from cases such as five/fifth that small ordinals are morphologically irregular. However, productive use of -th can be found in mathematical contexts when referring to arbitrary sequences of elements. Phrases such as “the ith element” (> 9400 hits on Google) or even “the yth element” (17 hits on Google) are commonplace in computer science texts. The pronunciations of these words do exhibit raising: [ʌyθ], [wʌyθ]. Clearly such words do not form part of the “primary linguistic experience” of the child, forming a classic poverty of the stimulus argument.

It is also possible to construct further opaque cases involving phrasal degemination. I have a clear contrast between the sentences in (3) when spoken in a casual style at a conversational rate.

(3) a. He lied to me. [hilayɾəmi] b. Don't lie to me. [dõlʌyɾəmi]

The past tense -d prevents the application of raising in (3a) but this is subsequently merged with the following /t/, ultimately pronounced as a flap. When the -d is not present, raising does occur, (3b). Such syntactic constructions cannot be handled by MAH, demonstrating conclusively that Canadian Raising is alive and well, just as Chambers documented 30 years ago.

Perceptions of Durham Region English

Mary S. MacKeracher
University of Toronto

“Perceptions of the Greater Toronto Area’s Multilingualism” is an ongoing dialectology project conducted by undergraduate geography students at the University of Toronto. As the name suggests, this study uses folk or perceptual dialectology.

This type of dialectology, most often associated with Dennis Preston, polls respondents for their dialect impressions. Preston’s first experiments had participants outline regional dialects on maps, rate regional dialects along pleasantness, correctness, and linguistic distance / intelligibility scales, and determine the residence location of prerecorded speakers, much in the vein of George Bernard Shaw’s Professor Henry Higgins. Students in this new GTA project can also ask other perception questions, such as their participants’ impressions of the number of speakers of different language communities in a specific locality.

The first phase of the project, conducted in October 2004, focuses on the easternmost part of the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), the Region of Durham. This paper is a summary of the findings of those students who elected to work with either participants whose first language is Canadian English or who focused their inquiries on the Canadian English spoken by Durham Region residents. In a past pilot project, factors such as sex, age, length of regional residence, and first language have shown to be correlates with people’s language impressions of this reputedly multicultural and multilingual area. Many findings are compared to actual Statistics Canada data.

Beyond the Isogloss: The Isograph in Dialect Topography

Tony Pi
Simon Fraser University

Isoglosses do not accurately reflect the patterns of linguistic use in a geographical region, because the isolated conservative forms they are based on fail to represent the actual variants extant in the population. I have developed a new dialect atlas tool, the isograph, that will enable researchers to quickly find dialect trends in more representative data sets. Using Canadian and American data from the Dialect Topography database, I show how isographs can illuminate our understanding of linguistic boundaries at the provincial, national, and cross-border levels.

Unlike dialect geography, dialect topography collects data from people of all ages and backgrounds, and provides a multidimensional picture of how variants are used in a community (Chambers 1994, 1998). Because variants occur in different proportions in each community, analysis is necessarily quantitative, which necessitates abandoning the traditional isogloss, as discrete datum points common to dialect geography are no longer available.

The isograph maps similarities between regions by comparing adjacent regions and plotting potential channels for language spread between the regions (Figure 1). For each region, percentage differences from its neighbours are calculated, and a line is drawn between it and its neighbour(s) with the least difference. When all lines of minimum distance have been drawn for all regions, the result is a constellation-like pattern that clearly groups together the most similar regions (e.g., zee/zed, Figure 2). While statistical analyses remain the most reliable way to group together similar regions, the isograph method will provide a rapid picture of gross linguistic differences.

I analyze the isographs of 29 phonological and pronunciation variables from the Dialect Topography of Canada using the on-line database and atlas and an isograph program. From the 4007 records across six Canadian regions (Golden Horseshoe Canada, Ottawa Valley, Montreal, Quebec City, Eastern Townships, New Brunswick) and three U.S. regions (Golden Horseshoe New York, Vermont, Maine-New Hampshire-Massachussets), I have selected representative patterns of isographic distribution.

Patterns include general types of phonological and pronunciation variations, including provincial, national and cross-border distributions.

Figure 1

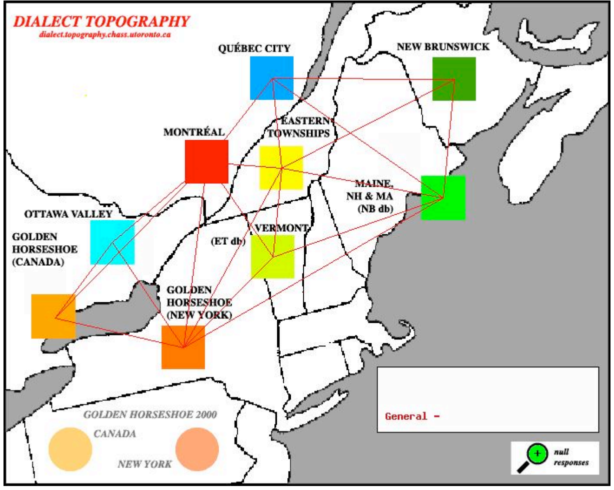
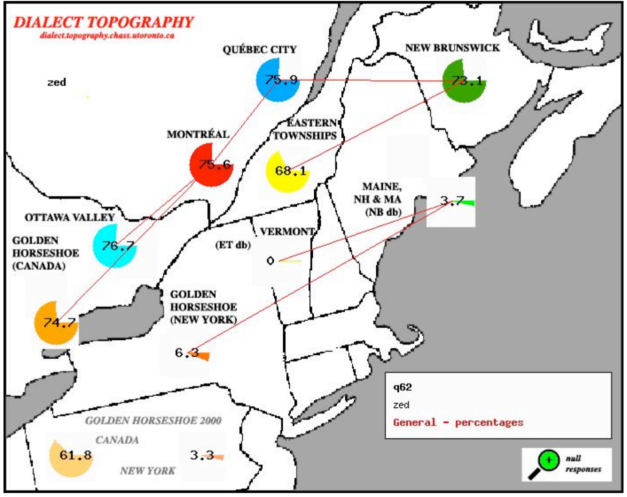

DIALECT TOPOGRAPHY
dialect.topography.chass.utoronto.ca
QUÉBEC CITY
NEW BRUNSWICK
MONTRÉAL
EASTERN TOWNSHIPS
MAINE, NH & MA (NB db)
OTTAWA VALLEY
GOLDEN HORSESHOE (CANADA)
(ET db)
VERMONT
GOLDEN HORSESHOE (NEW YORK)
GOLDEN HORSESHOE 2000
CANADA
NEW YORK
General -
null responses

Figure 2


DIALECT TOPOGRAPHY
dialect.topography.chass.utoronto.ca
zed
QUÉBEC CITY
75.9
NEW BRUNSWICK
73.1
MONTRÉAL
75.6
EASTERN TOWNSHIPS
68.1
MAINE, NH & MA (NB db)
3.7
OTTAWA VALLEY
76.7
GOLDEN HORSESHOE (CANADA)
74.7
(ET db)
VERMONT
0
GOLDEN HORSESHOE (NEW YORK)
6.3
GOLDEN HORSESHOE 2000
CANADA
61.8
NEW YORK
3.3
q62
zed
General - percentages
null responses

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Canadian English *qua* Minority Language

Shana Poplack
University of Ottawa

This paper describes a large-scale research project, inspired by Chambers' characterization of Quebec English as "distinctive" due to convergence with French (Chambers 1986, 1991; Chambers & Heisler 1999), whose objective is to determine the existence and extent of convergence in this variety. Our approach is three-pronged. We investigate the inference of change 1) over time (by comparing the speech of anglophones who acquired English prior to the Quiet Revolution with that of the post- Bill 101 generation), 2) according to intensity of contact (by comparing locales with varying ratios of anglophones to francophones), and 3), with the presumed source (by comparing variable linguistic structure first amongst the putative contact varieties, and then with French).

Analysis shows that the morphosyntax of Quebec English, instantiated to date by the variable expression of future and past temporal reference, owes nothing to the structure of its superficially similar French counterparts. Even the lexicon, contra widespread anecdotal reports, features vanishingly few French lexical incorporations.These results add to a growing body of evidence that even in situations most propitious to contact-induced change —i.e. where linguistic forms are analogous and contact is intense —core features of the grammar tend to remain impervious to external influence.

Towards a second edition of
A Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles

The speakers are Terry Pratt, UPEI, lexicographer and General Editor of the Gage Canadian Reference Series; John Considine, U of Alberta, who has written extensively on the *DCHP*; David Friend, Reference Publisher for Thomson Nelson; and Katherine Barber, Editor-in-Chief of the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary..*

The *Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles*, edited by Walter S. Avis et al., was published by W.J. Gage in 1967. It is an indispensable reference tool for anyone working on Canadian vocabulary, but it is badly out of date, and some of its initial collecting methods can also be questioned.

This presentation offers a panel discussion of four speakers with extensive knowledge of the present *DCHP,* who will address such questions as:

- What are the strengths and weaknesses of the first edition?
- Are there any basic principles that a second edition would change?
- What can be learned from other national dictionaries of "-isms"?
- What would be the logical stages through which the necessary new research and editing would proceed?
- What would be the funding prospects?
- Should the project attempt to access materials not used from the first edition?
- What would be the best role for the current copyright holder, Nelson Canada?

It is hoped that the panel's answers to these questions will spark discussion from the audience that would help decide some directions for a second edition, if any. The first edition, similarly, sprang from a conference, the founding meeting of the Canadian Linguistic Association in 1954.

The Big Neighbor to the North:
US Perceptions of Canadian English

Dennis R. Preston
Michigan State University

In folk linguistic and perceptual dialectological investigations, many conducted in Michigan and some in western New York, Canada is often referred to by linguistically naïve respondents. The data reported on here are gleaned from hand-drawn maps of North American speech areas but most prominently from the interview data which formed the primary input to Folk Linguistics (Niedzielski and Preston 1999).

This presentation will focus on a considerable range of topics covered in these data sets, including, but not limited to, pronunciation, lexicon, grammar, and discoursal practices and touching on the unfortunate linguistic ignoring of Canada by US respondents.

It's like "So cool, right?"
Canadian English entering the 21st century

Sali Tagliamonte
University of Toronto

What changes have been taking place in Canadian English over the last century and how are they reflected in Canadian English today? Who uses innovative forms and who lags behind? Further, how does Canadian English figure amongst the world's major varieties of English?

In this paper I introduce a new research program on linguistic variation and change in contemporary Canadian English. The goal is to investigate the origin of 'new' features, their origin, diffusion and current state of development. The data come from a 3/4 million word corpus of Canadian English as spoken by people born and raised in Toronto, and stratified by age, sex, and education. If, as Chambers (1995:5; 2004) argues, Canadian English focussed in the early 20th century**,** then this corpus gives us the opportunity to tap in to the first century of change.

Indeed, the corpus reveals remarkable differentiation in apparent time. The standard Canadian English form for quotation, *say***,** is virtually non-existent amongst the under 40 year olds (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2004), as is the intensifier *very*. 'New' features such as quotative *be like*, as in (1), intensifier *really* and *so*, as in (2), and extension particles such as *stuff* and *right*, are incoming.

(1) I'***m like***, "I'm going to blend in today." I ***was like,*** "But I won't." (2/c)
(2) It was ***so*** bad 'cause I was ***really*** nervous. (2/x)
(3) It's about like, animals ***and stuff, right***? (2/d)

However, these salient, and often high profile, features are not the only linguistic features undergoing change. There are also ongoing adjustments in core areas of grammar, e.g. future temporal reference, (3), the modal auxiliary system, (4), and relativization, (5).

(3) I'***ll*** show it in one sec… but I'***m gonna tell*** you something … (TOV/H)
(4) ...you ***must*** apply, but you always get over-ruled … you'***ve got to*** understand from my point of view. (TOV/ ~)
(5) …a woman ***who*** runs a exercise place to a guy ***that*** works in a nursery. (TOV/j)

Put into a broad social and historical context, these changes should not be surprising. The changes in Canadian English mirror changes that are ongoing in other varieties of English. However, precisely how these changes are evolving in the Canadian context is the next step for our research project. Perhaps more surprising given the received wisdom, the use of *be like, really*, *so, right* and '*stuff like that',* are embedded in the evolution of the language too, just like all the other changes. Taken together, these findings interesting and exciting developments for Canadian English in the 21st century.

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The inevitability of Canadian English

Peter Trudgill
University of Fribourg

If we attempt to explain why colonial Englishes are different from the English of Britain, whence they originally came, it is reasonably clear what explanatory factors should be proposed.

1) The new Englishes adapted to new topographical and biological features unknown in Britain.
2) Since the departure of English for the colonies, linguistic changes have occurred in Britain which have not occurred in the colonies.
3) Since the arrival of English from Britain, linguistic changes have taken place in the colonies which have not occurred in Britain.
4) Most Colonial Englishes experienced forms of language contact with indigenous languages which were not experienced by British English.
5) Many colonial Englishes experienced forms of language contact with other European languages in the colonial situation which were not experienced by British English.
6) Nearly all colonial Englishes were subject to processes associated with dialect contact –in most cases, anglophone colonies were not settled from a single location in the British Isles.

In this paper I concentrate on factor 6, and examine the extent to which outcomes of dialect mixture are deterministic.

Stuck in the past? Change, stability and contact in Québec English

Gerard Van Herk
York University

What accounts for variation in Canadian English: participation in worldwide changes in progress, contact with French, or other processes? The past temporal reference system of the English of Montreal and Quebec City is an ideal venue to investigate these issues. Past temporal reference is implicated in described mainstream change processes, such as the growth of the progressive (1) and variation in the present perfect (2), as well as being a potential locus of French influences, such as levelling of the present perfect and the preterite (3), or expansion of the progressive into contexts usually expressed by preterites or habitual markers (4, 5).

(1) Sometimes our school beat Saint Pat's at whatever the game they **were playing** at the time. (Québec City 013)
(2) I**'ve gone** shopping in Paris and **I've had** no trouble at all. (Québec City 005)
(3) So he **showed** up at school and he had decorated the whole car with balloons. (Québec City 021)
(4) We **would go** over and lyke, steal their underwear and stuff. (Montréal 023)
(5) As a kid I **used to work** in Ogilvy's. (Montréal 006)

To test who participates in which changes, we stratified 48 sociolinguistic interviews selected from the Quebec English Corpus (Poplack & Walker 2002) according to both city of origin (reflecting both degree of contact with French and participation in mainstream English) and informant age (reflecting apparent time differences and, again, French contact). From these, 6399 past-referring tensed verb tokens were extracted and coded for linguistic factors often claimed to determine verb form (subject type, aspect, adverbial, temporal relation, and temporal distance).

Findings shed substantial light on the relative roles of contact and participation in wider change in these communities. Present perfects show no sign of contact-induced levelling, despite a low overall rate of use (common to sociolinguistic interview corpora everywhere). The constraints on the use of the perfect remain identical to those described for other varieties of English, with the more isolated Quebec City community patterning not unlike 19th-century English. Habitual markers, such as *would* and *used to*, likewise continue to pattern as in English elsewhere. A remarkably high rate of use of *would* also resembles 19th-century English, while temporal relation constraints encourage further investigation of discourse factors (Torres Cacoullos & Walker 2004).

Perhaps most interesting is the behaviour of the past progressive. In Montreal, younger informants have begun to use the progressive as a habitual marker, superficially analogous to the behaviour of the corresponding French form, the *imparfait*. Does this reflect contact-induced change, or the world-wide expansion of the progressive into new contexts? The answer is suggested by the absence of such a finding in Quebec City, more isolated from mainstream change while also in greater contact with French: the change among Montreal anglophones probably reflects changes in mainstream English.

Taken together, and in concert with recent phonetic work (Boberg 2004), these findings suggest that Quebec English (especially Quebec City English) can best be described as a conservative variety of Canadian English, participating variably in mainstream changes in English, rather than a variety undergoing contact-induced change.

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Canadian English in a francophone family

Douglas C. Walker
University of Calgary

The Peace River region in north west Alberta contains the largest concentration of francophones in a province where a nineteenth century francophone majority has now been reduced to less than 2% of the provincial population. Nonetheless, French remains the “langue du foyer” for many families in this close-knit set of agricultural communities, despite continual assimilatory pressures from English. Fieldwork for a separate phonologically-oriented study of the area has serendipitously resulted in data from three generations of the same family, data that allows us to trace the progressive impact of English through time. In this report, I will illustrate differing degrees of the phonetic adaptation of loan words, of calquing and of code switching as they occur in spontaneous conversations from one generation to the next. To the extent that the preservation of a minority language in this region is seen as desirable, then the impact of Canadian English on the French language in Alberta, while completely typical in its various effects, can be seen as less than beneficial.

On the role of the (lexical) individual in grammatical variation: The future in Canadian English

James Walker & Rena Torres Cacoullos
York University & University of New Mexico

Reference to future time in English is expressed by a variety of morphosyntactic constructions: the modal construction with will (1a), the periphrastic go-future (1b), the simple present (1c) and the present progressive (1d).

(1) a. I said, "I'll get in touch with Madame and see if I'll get them."(QEP.QC/006)
b. "You wanted honesty, I'm gonna give you honesty."(QEP.QC/021)
c. 'Cause when I have the baby, I'm planning on braiding her hair.(QEP.QC/023)
d. And I said, "If things don't change around here, I'm getting out of here."(QEP.QC/037)

Opinion is divided on whether these constructions are interchangeable (e.g. Binnick 1971;Palmer 1987) or whether each form expresses different nuances of meaning (e.g. Leech 1971; Wekker 1976), with a plethora of explanations offered for the choice of variant. However, since most of these explanations rely on speaker intent or attitude towards the realization of the future eventuality, they do not readily lend themselves to empirical testing. Moreover, the choice of variant may be determined by a combination of factors, making it difficult to assess the contribution of each explanation on a one-by-one basis.

This paper reports on a multivariate analysis of the expression of future time in a corpus of contemporary Canadian English (Poplack & Walker 2002, 2003). From transcribed sociolinguistic interviews with 74 speakers from Quebec City and Montreal, we extracted every reference to the future, yielding a dataset of 3,235 tokens. We classified each token according to distinctions that could be reliably operationalized and subjected the data to multiple regression using GoldVarb 2.1 (Rand & Sankoff 1991).

Results show that will and going to are roughly equally divided in these data, together occupying over 80% of future temporal reference, with the remainder occupied by the present progressive and, to a lesser extent, the simple present. The will future is preferred with stative and transitive verbs, first-person and non-agentive subjects, indefinite temporal adverbials, and in the apodoses of conditional if-clauses. The going to future is preferred with negative and interrogative sentences, second-person subjects, and subordinate clauses, and dispreferred with verbs of motion. The present-tense forms are preferred with motion and other intransitive verbs, interrogative sentences, agentive and second-person subjects, definite temporal adverbials and main clauses. We find no straightforward correlation between temporal distance and any one of the four variants. However, a closer examination of the results reveals a great deal of interaction between factors. Most importantly, many of the putative semantic distinctions can in fact be attributed to the effect of individual lexical verbs and/or frequent subject-verb collocations. These findings suggest that the lexicon plays a greater role in grammatical variation than is generally acknowledged.

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Anglophone, Peewee, Two-four…:
Can Canadianisms be Acquired by Learners of English in Canada?

Hai Xu & Janice McAlpine
Guangdong University of Foreign Studies & Queen's University

This paper examines how learners of English studying in Ontario acquire Canadianisms. Canadianisms refer to the lexical items that are peculiar to the variety of English in Canada, such as *Anglophone, peewee* and *two-four*. There are at least four variables that affect the acquisition of Canadian English: (1) the relevance of Canadianisms to the life of learners; (2) their length of stay in Canada; (3) their level of English; and (4) the resources they use to study English. Accordingly, we propose four respective hypotheses. Firstly, the more generally relevant a Canadianism is to life in Canada, the more likely it is that a learner will acquire it. In other words, degrees of usefulness exist in Canadianisms, and we expect learners to acquire them in a sequential order. Secondly, the longer a learner stays in Canada, the more likely he or she is to be exposed to a larger number of Canadianisms and to acquire them. Thirdly, the factor of the learner's English level will somewhat affect the acquisition of Canadianisms although the two variables are not expected to correlate perfectly. Last but not least, we think it possible that English learners in Canada do not have adequate resources for a systematic exposure to Canadianisms. These hypotheses will be tested by means of a lexical survey on over 100 learners of English in Kingston, Ontario. The results we have obtained partly substantiate our hypotheses, and also indicate the role of another factor in the process: the motivations of ESL learners for learning Canadianisms. This study is significant in that it sheds some light on the acquisition of culture-specific words by ESL learners, and offers insight into ESL vocabulary teaching design and dictionary compilation.