

Dialect Contact and Dialect Transition:

Point Roberts, U.S.A.

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to the required standard

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ABSTRACT

Traditional areal dialectology studies divide dialect areas into one of three types: relic, focal, and transition areas. While the first two types of dialect area have been extensively studied and have a well-developed theoretical base, transition areas have been studied only rarely. This has changed in the past ten years with some preliminary studies by Peter Trudgill in Great Britain, but the lack of study techniques and of a theoretical base remains.

The present work centers on the Canada-United States border transition area, more specifically on the Point Roberts community at the far-Western part of the border, and attempts to develop a theoretical base for dialect transition areas. Many of the study techniques used in the Point Roberts study are borrowed from areal dialectology (e.g. the use of one informant per cell) and sociolinguistics (e.g. the calculation of the frequency of occurrence for an individual informant), but some of the study techniques are original and have been developed specifically for dialect transition areas (e.g. the calculation of the transition path).

Three independent variables traditionally used in linguistic studies to account for the distribution of linguistic variables (i.e. age, sex, and education) are used in the Point Roberts study while the variable of socio-economic status (SES) is discarded because of the nature of the Point Roberts community. In addition, the years of residence variable is introduced specifically to the study of transition areas in order to identify patterns of linguistic change.

The results of the Point Roberts study show that the Canadian informants are retaining their Canadian speech in such features as Canadian Raising and failing to acquire American speech features that occur in the Puget Sound (e.g. the use of the flat adverb). Conversely, among the American informants, the number of Canadian speech features and their frequency of occurrence increases as the years of residence increases (e.g. Canadian Raising) while the occurrence of American speech features (e.g. use of the flat adverb) decreases.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is respectfully dedicated to the people of Point Roberts, who took me into their homes, generously gave me their knowledge and their insights, and fed me several cups of tea.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

1.1 Purpose.

The purpose of this thesis is to study the influence of Canadian and North-western American English respectively on the dialect variation present in the Point Roberts community in the state of Washington, and to discover the forms and patterns that this dialect variation takes. Point Roberts is a peninsula jutting below the 49th parallel with a land mass of 4.8 square miles that is surrounded by the Strait of Georgia (see map 1). Because of the 1846 treaty between Great Britain and the United States that divided Canada and the United States at the 49th parallel, Point Roberts is cut off from the rest of the state of Washington and American territory, and it has land contact only with Canada (see Chapter 2 for further details).

1.2 Background.

Traditional areal dialectology has long recognized three types of speech areas: a focal area where linguistic innovation is constantly taking place and whose surrounding geographic area is under its influence (e.g. London, Charleston, or in a Canadian context, Toronto); a relic area where the unique dialectal features are slowly receding in favour of an expanding focal area and the dialect itself is disap-

pearing (e.g. Appalachia, Newfoundland); and a transition area, which is one that is undergoing or has undergone influence from two or more dialects with the result that competing forms exist side by side. As already mentioned, transition areas have been recognized and vaguely defined since the early days of Areal Dialectology; however, their study has been largely neglected by linguists in favour of the first two types of speech areas¹ and as a result, very few studies of transition areas exist. It is only in the past 20 years that transition areas have started to receive more detailed attention from linguists, both in the theoretical realm and in actual studies (see Map 2 for dialect contact areas in North America). But work done in this area to date has been piecemeal, and as a result, a coherent theory of dialect contact and dialect transition does not exist.

Despite his later preoccupation with Social Dialectology, William Labov in his early work made a start towards defining the parameters of dialect transition areas when he recognized three stages in language (or dialect) change that the linguist must be aware of (Labov 1972:3):

1. Origin of linguistic variation.
2. Spread and propagation of linguistic change.
3. Regularity of linguistic change.

However, Labov's primary concern was the change involved in one particular feature, in this case diphthong raising on the island of Martha's Vinyard. He failed to take it a step further and make the critical realization that his three stages of language change must be extended to include the widest possible range of features

¹ Areal dialectologists have defended their preoccupation with relic areas on the grounds that it is more important at the present time to record the dialect before it disappears. Later social dialectologists such as Labov have concentrated on focal areas in order to document social variation and continuing linguistic innovation.

that are involved in dialect contact situations and dialect change, and not concentrate on one particular feature.

Nearly a decade before Labov, Uriel Weinreich had published his seminal work on language contact (Weinreich 1963). In this book Weinreich arrived at the important insight that the basic theoretical constructs and patterns he was outlining in the realm of lexical interference between languages were equally applicable to the realm of dialect contact. Because he was solely concerned with bilingualism, however, he only briefly noted the equal applicability of bilingualism to bidialectalism in this context and did not explore it further. It was not until ten years later that Harold Allen (1973) applied Weinreich's theoretical constructs to the dialect contact situation he discovered in the Upper Midwestern area of the United States, where the Midland and South Midland dialects had come into contact with the Northern dialect. The crucial part of Allen's article, which relied heavily on Weinreich's theoretical base, was his outline of the five reactions a speaker may have in the realm of the lexicon when living in a dialect contact area. These lexical principles are as follows (Allen 1973:56-66):

1. Two terms are in competition with each other, and one of the terms acquires a new meaning from the meaning of the second term. For example, Northern *bellyflop* means either throwing oneself on a sled in order to get a running start downhill or diving flat on one's belly into a pool. The competing Midland term, *bellybuster*, originally had only the first meaning of throwing oneself onto a sled. As a result of the dialect contact situation, however, the second definition of diving into a pool has been added to the meaning of *bellybuster*.

2. The opposite process, whereby a term with two meanings comes in contact with a competing term with one meaning and drops the second meaning. This is what Allen referred to as "the restriction of the meaning of a term through competition with a partial synonym." He gives as an example the competing terms *stone* and *rock* where, in the Northern dialect, a *stone* is small and can be picked up by hand and a *rock* is a large, non-moveable mass, but in the Midland dialect where the term *stone* does not occur, the term *rock* is used in both contexts. As a result of the dialect contact, the Midland term has restricted its meaning to a large, non-moveable mass.

3. When two competing forms are synonyms, a semantic differentiation occurs. As a result, the terms are no longer synonyms and both are retained by the speakers. In this way, the competing terms *pothole* and *chuckhole* came to mean a *pothole* is a hole on a road and a *chuckhole* is a hole that is not on a road.

4. Hybridization of competing compounds. In Allen's work, he noted that the Northern compound *swill pail* that competed with the Midland *slop bucket* hybridized to form *slop pail* among his informants.

5. The last reaction, and in some senses the most severe, is where one form is labelled by speakers as 'correct' and the other as 'incorrect.' For example, with the competing forms *bundle* and *sheaf* (of wheat), Allen's informants insisted the term *sheaf* was the correct one because it was in the Bible.

These lexical patterns of change resulting from dialect contact are especially important for the present study and in the context of dialect contact between Canadian English and the various dialects of American English because it is primarily the lexicon that sets off Canadian English.

Peter Trudgill, in his 1986 book *Dialects in Contact*, attempted to rectify the paucity of past research by formulating an extensive definition of transition areas. He noted that the dialect contact can be either short-term or long-term, and dialect transition (or dialect accommodation in his terminology; see Chapter 6) can be both regional and social. The present study is concerned only with long-term dialect contact and will ignore Trudgill's discussion of short-term dialect contact. The crucial requirement in long-term dialect contact situations and in dialect transition is face-to-face interaction between the speakers of the two different dialects on a regular basis. Trudgill found that dialect transition first occurs at the individual level, followed by the speech community as a whole where a considerable number of speakers living in the area who speak the two dialects become involved in frequent contact, and the dialect transition is an effort on the part of both groups to understand each other and to be understood (Trudgill 1986:39).

Trudgill's primary claim is that the long-term transition process from one dialect to another follows a fixed route with lexical items being the first to change, followed by morphological differences in languages other than English (because there are no major morphological differences between the various English dialects) and, finally, phonological differences (Trudgill 1986:25). Lexical differences are the most obvious to the dialect speakers because they are non-systematic and can cause obvious comprehension problems. In addition, they can easily be learned one at a time; for these reasons, they are the first to change.

The phonological differences, which are Trudgill's primary focus, are more subtle and systematic. Here variable rule analysis, a tool developed by sociolinguists, has been invaluable in analyzing the patterns of phonological change. This is

because, according to the theory of lexical diffusion (Wang 1969), the transition process tends to be piecemeal and non-systematic with the speaker changing his pronunciation of individual words first and changing his pronunciation of entire classes of words only when the transition process is nearing its end. Or to put it more simply, he learns the pronunciation of the individual word first and later learns the phonological rule (Trudgill, 1986:58).

According to Trudgill's schema, long-term phonological transition for an individual follows three main paths. The first is alternation of the frequency of usage of a particular feature over which the speaker already has control. If, for example, a speaker's original dialect has a low-frequency usage of postvocalic /r/ but the dialect with which he comes into long-term contact has a high-frequency usage, his usage of postvocalic /r/ will increase to the point it may ultimately match the frequency of occurrence of the contact dialect. Or, if his original dialect does not have a particular feature that the contact dialect does, and he has no control over it, he may adopt this new feature, use it at a low frequency at first, and then increasingly use it as he gains control over its use.

However, as Trudgill fails to point out, the opposite process is equally possible whereby a speaker who uses a particular feature at a high frequency comes into long-term contact with a dialect that does not have this feature or has it at a low frequency. As a result of this dialect contact, his high frequency of use for this feature will decrease to a low frequency and may ultimately disappear from his speech.

The second path of phonological transition involves change in a particular feature in a word-by-word manner. For instance, if a particular speaker uses only

/ɔ/ and comes into long-term contact with speakers who use only /a/, he may say [hɔg] [frɔg] [fag] [an] [pa] [ma] for *hog*, *frog*, *fog*, *on*, *pa*, and *ma*. Again, if the transition process continues, he may ultimately use the /a/ in all the contexts the speakers of the second dialect use it.

The third pattern of phonological transition, which Trudgill refers to as the development of an interdialect, is to use pronunciations intermediate between the two competing forms (Trudgill, 1986:62). Trudgill gives the example of the Oslo Norwegian diphthong /øy/ that resulted from the contact between the upper-class use of the monophthong /ø:/ and the lower class use of the diphthong /æu/. As a general rule, this form of transition occurs when the phonological distance between the competing forms is not very great and the resulting compromise vowel already exists in other contexts in the language.

These principles, of course, can be applied equally well to the larger speech community where two dialects have come into contact with each other. Surprisingly, no scholar to date has developed a model of dialect contact, but it can be very simply represented as follows:

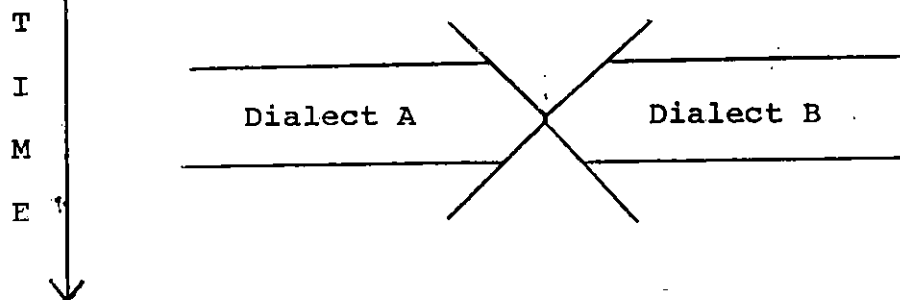


Figure 1.1: Dialect contact model

At this point, the issue is raised of what occurs between the two dialects if they remain in contact with each other over a long period of time, that is, what course of transition will occur. One course of transition that may take place, and by far the one most commonly seen, is that while dialect A and dialect B are initially of equal strength, over a long period of time, one dialect first becomes dominant and then ultimately, with only minor modifications, engulfs the other (see figure 1.2. The uppercase letters represents a degree of greater prominence, the lower case represents a degree of lesser prominence, see Chapter 6 for details):

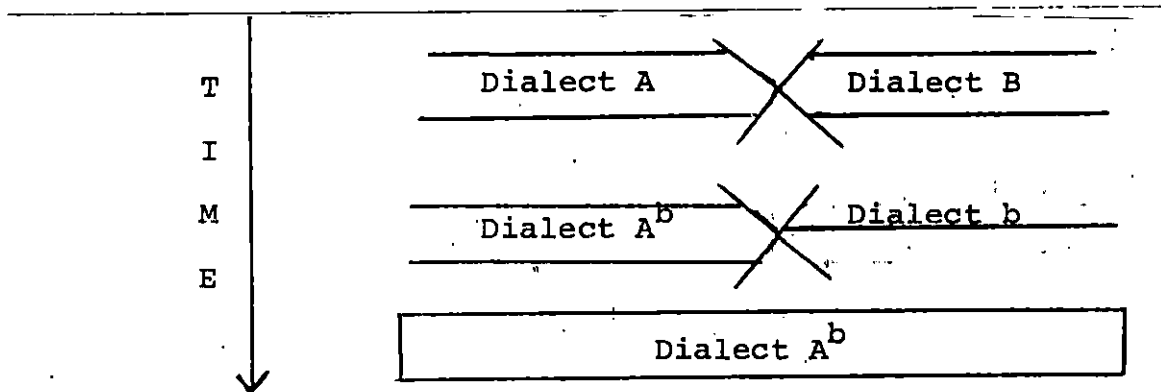


Figure 1.2: Dialect contact model: first transition course

Examples of this path of transition can be found in Northwestern Ohio where the Northern American dialect came into contact with the North Midland dialect and ultimately overtook it, and in South Dakota where these same two dialects again come into contact (see Map 2) and where, to date, the first appears to have again overtaken the second. The primary characteristic of this course of transition is where the speakers from the dominant dialect maintain their speech patterns.

The second, less-common but equally possible transition course is the emergence of a different, third dialect that uses features of both the parent dialects but has developed some unique features of its own:

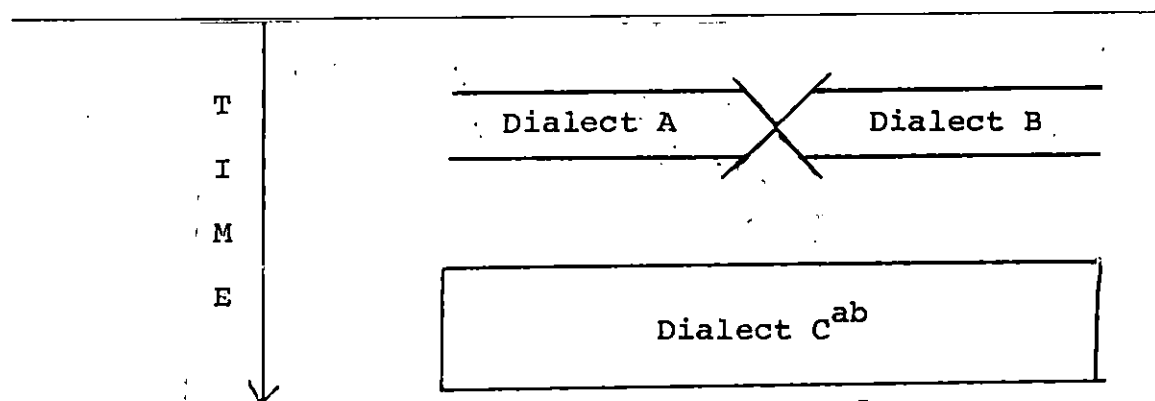


Figure 1.3: Dialect contact model: second transition course

In the context of Canadian English, this second transition course can be seen in the complex speech patterns of the Ottawa Valley where foreign languages such as French and Gaelic, as well as the "Irish English" dialect, came into contact with standard Canadian English. The result has been the emergence of the Ottawa Valley dialect that, although it has several features from each of its parent dialects or languages, has its own unique speech patterns and a separate identity. The third transition course is where the two dialects in contact retain their identity but may borrow features from each other. In a sense, the two dialects remain co-dominant over a long period of time (see figure 1.4).

This latter situation commonly occurs on national borders where the dialects in contact are intimately bound up in the national identity of the speakers. The most obvious example of this case is that found on the Canada-United States bor-

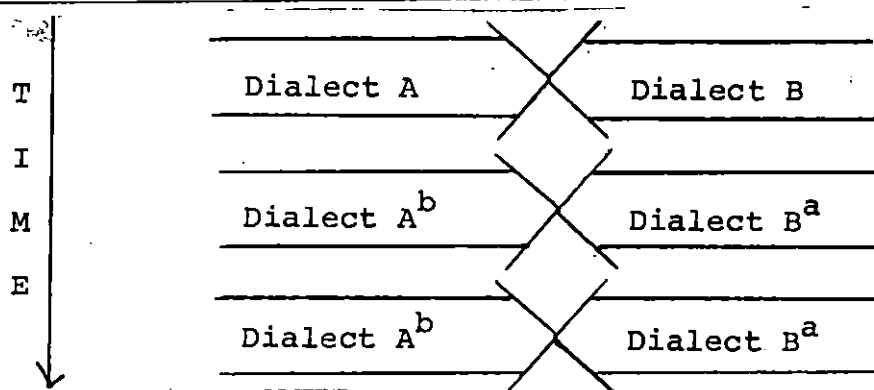


Figure 1.4: Dialect contact model: third transition course

der where Canadian English has been in contact with the various American dialects for over 200 years, and they have all retained their individual identity while freely borrowing from each other. This is the situation in the Point Roberts contact situation and the focus of the present study.

The course of the transition and the ultimate resolution of the dialect contact situation depends upon a number of social and demographic factors, such as whether or not the dialect contact area evolves an independent identity. It is, therefore, especially important that the linguist take close note of the demographic and ethnographic patterns in the transition area under study in order to understand the course the dialect transition is taking. As Labov (1972:3) puts it:

...one cannot understand the development of a language change apart from the social life of the community in which it occurs. Or to put it another way, social pressures are continually operating upon the language, not from some remote point in the past, but as an immanent social force acting in the living present.

1.3 Review of the Literature.

The few articles that have been written specifically concerning dialect transition areas were a resulting outgrowth of the Linguistic Atlas work in North America and the Survey of English Dialects in Great Britain. As a general rule, researchers who have studied transition areas have confined themselves to the study of one particular feature or to a limited number of informants in a limited range of variables. For example, Raven McDavid (1951) confined himself to the realm of the lexicon when he found Canadian and North Midland words among his Northern informants when he was working on the Linguistic Atlas of the North Central States.

Again, in 1950 Davis and McDavid (Davis & McDavid 1950) confined themselves to one realm of Dialectology (certain pronunciations and grammatical occurrences) and one category of informants (informants above the age of 73) when they discovered that Northwestern Ohio was or had been a transition area. They found the same processes of dialect transition that Allen later outlined in the Midwest, but they failed to connect them with Weinreich's theoretical constructs. As a result, they ended up describing their findings in an ad hoc, non-systematic way with no real insight into the processes of dialect contact and dialect transition.

Thirty years later Chambers and Trudgill (1980) used Harold Orton's fieldwork records from *The Survey of English Dialects* in the eighth chapter of their book *Dialectology* to document a transition area in central England. This study was defective for two main reasons. First, it used only one phonological feature, i.e. the spread of the Southern [ʌ] to replace the Northern [u]. Secondly, the infor-

nants interviewed for the SED were of one particular age group and of one socio-economic class.² As a result of these limitations, Chambers and Trudgill could give no indication of the overall dialect situation in the transition area, i.e. the dialectal changes by age, sex, or socio-economic status (SES).

To date, there have been only two studies specifically concerned with the Canada-United States border and the contact between Canadian English and the various American dialect areas (i.e. Avis's study on the Ontario-United States border and Allen's study of the border in the Midwest). No studies have as yet addressed the far-Western part of the border. Over 30 years ago Walter Avis made a preliminary study of the speech differences on the Ontario-United States border, i.e. the states of New York and Michigan (Avis 1955a, 1955b, 1957). He noted that, in the main, Canadian English and the Northern American dialects were close to each other on the dialect continuum and were more similar than dissimilar (Avis, 1957a:14):

The overall similarity between Canadian and American English along the border is not surprising in view of the settlement history of the area and in view of subsequent Canadian-American social and economic intercourse.

Avis' study had an unfortunate bias, however, because it used only Canadian informants in the survey and examined the occurrence of American dialectal forms in Canadian English. As a result, it did not systematically look at the possible occurrence of unique Canadian dialect features among Northern American dialect speakers. The few examples of Canadian forms among the American speakers that he quotes were anecdotal in nature.

² The heavy reliance on NORMs (non-mobile older rural males) for informants has been one of the major criticisms of areal dialectology for several years, and it was one of the impetuses in the development of Social Dialectology, which is careful to use a wide range of informants in its study.

Harold Allen's article "Canadian-American Differences Along the Middle Border" (Allen 1975), originally published in 1959 and later reprinted in 1975, was an outgrowth of his work on the Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest. During the course of his fieldwork for the Atlas, Allen interviewed five Canadian informants who ranged geographically from western Ontario to eastern Saskatchewan, all of whom were middle-aged or above with a high-school education or less. When he compared the results of his interviews with those of his American informants, he found that, while the Canadians showed some usage of American terms, very few Americans used Canadian terms. In other words, despite the two dialects being in contact with each other, the American informants were not using Canadian terms whereas the Canadians were using some of the American terms (Allen 1975:108):

Hence, American English apparently has had a greater influence north of the border than Canadian English has had south of the border.

Both Avis' and Allen's studies can be regarded as being of a preliminary nature because they relied on a limited number of informants in a limited range of variables, and because neither of them was of sufficient depth to give a detailed idea of the systematic nature of the linguistic contact between Canada and the United States along the border. Despite these shortcomings, both studies indicate that there is some degree of dialect contact on the border and a certain degree of "dialect leakage".

To bring the discussion back to the present study, exclave (or enclave) communities, for methodological purposes, are ideal for dialect contact studies. In the words of Uriel Weinreich (Weinreich 1963:90):

In one type of congruent language-and-area division, the inter-group contact is more developed: in isolated enclaves, such as the so-called language "islands" of pre-war Europe or the rural immigrant

settlements of the Americas. There the population is dependent on the surrounding area in proportion to its isolation from its own hinterland or homeland, and interference can accordingly be expected to be more profound.

An exclave is a geographic territory that is politically, linguistically, or culturally noncontiguous with the rest of its territory and is completely surrounded by another political, linguistic, or cultural entity. As a result, it is cut off from its mother territory and comes into frequent contact with the surrounding territory.³ Because there are no intervening land masses between the Point Roberts exclave and the continental United States, and the community is in daily contact with Canada, it is a good area for a detailed dialect contact study.

As already noted, most linguistic diffusion on the border has been in a northward direction, where American dialect terms enter Canadian English but very few Canadian dialect terms enter the various American dialects. However, because of its unique position, this usual direction of diffusion in Point Roberts is more than likely to be reversed, i.e. Canadian dialect terms may well have entered the speech of the American residents of the community. There are very few residents in the community who were born and raised there; many have moved into the community from Canada. In addition, there are many summer residents and weekend visitors from metropolitan Vancouver because a major portion of the local economy is devoted to recreation (see Chapter 2). This situation is analogous in some respects to the one Labov discovered on the island of Martha's Vinyard.

³ There is a frequent terminological confusion between the definitions of enclave and exclave. The first refers to a noncontiguous piece of territory embedded within a second territory, and the second refers to a noncontiguous piece of territory outside its mother territory. Thus, Point Roberts is an American exclave but a Canadian enclave.

Any study of the United States-Canada border has to use as a backdrop the dialect studies that have already been done on Canadian and U.S. dialects in order to fully define the patterns of contact and transition. In the case of Point Roberts, this involves any present and past studies on Canadian English (and more specifically the work that has been done in the province of British Columbia and the Vancouver urban area) and the work that has been done in the state of Washington, more specifically the Puget Sound region of the state.

Looking at the Canadian side of the border, J.K. Chambers (1979) pointed out a decade ago that Canadian studies in the past have relied heavily on postal questionnaires and questionnaires in general as a methodology. Among the studies he cited are the *Survey of Canadian English* (see Warkentyne 1971, Scargill 1974), Polson's survey of British Columbia (see Polson 1969), and Avis' Ontario-United States border survey (Avis, 1955a, 1955b, 1957). In regard to the *Survey of Canadian English*, certain problems appear with making any valid generalizations for British Columbia because the informants were broken down by province, and no notice was taken of any possible intra-provincial dialectal variation.

Polson and Stevenson's master's theses at the University of British Columbia (Polson 1969, Stevenson 1976), while methodologically confining themselves to a postal questionnaire, rectified the second problem because they carefully broke down their informants by geographic area within British Columbia as well as by other social factors such as age. The major drawback to their surveys of British Columbia was that only the phonological results were analyzed and published, and much information in other areas remains as yet unanalyzed.

Thirty years ago R. J. Gregg (1957a, 1957b) did some preliminary phonological studies on the speech of the Vancouver urban area in British Columbia. In more recent years he has conducted the Survey of Vancouver English (SVEN) involving 300 informants broken down by several social variables and involving face-to-face interviews. The survey looked at 33 linguistic variables that were mainly phonological in nature, but there was also some attention paid to the syntactic, morphological, and lexical variation. However, the results are as yet unpublished although there is a forthcoming dissertation (i.e. de Wolf, 1988).

Dialect studies have been skimpier on the other side of the border in the state of Washington. The only major work to date has been the fieldwork conducted between 1953 and 1963 for *The Linguistic Atlas of the Pacific Northwest*. The fieldwork done for the Atlas involved 39 informants scattered over the entire state, and the informants themselves were all middle-aged and of a limited educational background. The Atlas itself is still unpublished, and what little information is available on the fieldwork results has been published on an ad hoc basis by Carroll E. Reed (see Reed 1952, 1956, 1957, 1961, 1983). Fortunately for the present study, F. H. Brengelman used the Atlas files from the Puget Sound region of the state and wrote up the results in his 1957 Ph.D. dissertation, *The Native American English Spoken in the Puget Sound Area*, and in the dissertation he analyzed several different linguistic variables in more than one domain.

1.4 Hypothesis.

There are two main hypotheses for the thesis study:

1. Analysis of the collected data will show that the American citizens living in Point Roberts are using some Canadian dialect features in such areas as phonology, syntax, and especially the lexicon; and in a similar manner, that the Canadian citizens living in Point Roberts are using some of the dialectical features that are associated with the Puget Sound dialect area of Washington State.

2. Analysis of the data by years of residence in the community will reveal that as the number of years of residence increases, the greater is the occurrence of mixed dialect features.

An interesting side issue to any linguistic survey on the Pacific coast on either side of the border, and a minor hypothesis of the study, involves Chinook Jargon, the trade jargon used first among the native Indian tribes and later between the Indian tribes and the European settlers. Traditionally, scholars have held that the Jargon died out around the turn of the century, but R. J. Gregg (1983) discovered during the course of the Survey of Vancouver English that this is a false conclusion to make because the Jargon has not completely died out and still exists in a vague, limited form. Gregg elicited Chinook Jargon words from his informants by direct questioning, and it is possible that the Jargon similarly exists in a limited form among the residents of Point Roberts.

Chapter 2

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF POINT ROBERTS

An important prerequisite for any dialect study is an ethnographic study of the community being surveyed. As noted in the previous chapter, this is especially true for the linguist doing a study in a transition area because the historical background and the present contemporary situation can often offer explanations of and a better understanding for the linguistic patterns that exist. In the present study, it is also important to recognize that the history of Point Roberts is intimately bound up with the history of the Pacific Coast region on both sides of the border and can only be fully understood against this background.

The impetus for the early exploration and settlement of the Pacific Coast region, like so much of the rest of the North American continent, was a result of the continuing search for animal pelts to keep the fur trade commercially viable. Many European powers had an interest in this profitable industry, and by the beginning of the eighteenth century, Spain, Russia, France, Great Britain and later the young United States of America had each laid claim to parts of the region. However, by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the first three nations had relinquished their claims, leaving the region in dispute between Great Britain and the United States. Under the terms of the Treaty of Ghent in 1815, the border between the United States and modern-day Canada was set at the 49th parallel, starting at the Great Lakes in the East and extending as far west as the

Rocky Mountains. All the land to the west, i.e. the Rocky Mountains themselves and the the Pacific Coast region, was to be jointly occupied by the two nations, and this joint occupancy was temporally extended in 1827 (Minghi 1964:37-52).

In terms of the actual settlement in the region, the vast territory was controlled by Britain through the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company; the two companies merged in 1821 to form the Hudson's Bay Company, which had set up a network of fur-trading posts and forts (see map 3). Actual American involvement and settlement in the region during the first 30 years of the nineteenth century was minimal because the Americans were unable to compete commercially with the Hudson's Bay Company in the fur trade. This situation changed quite dramatically with the discovery of an overland route through the Rocky Mountains (the celebrated Oregon Trail) as well as an economic depression on the East coast and in the Missouri Valley. Both of these factors combined to create a mass migration of American permanent settlers and homesteaders to the Willamette Valley in Oregon during the 1840's. As a result of this permanent settlement, the viability of the fur trade decreased dramatically because it depended upon vast tracts of unsettled wilderness for its supply of pelts. This decrease in the fur trade further resulted in a decline of British influence in the region.

In response to the American migration, Great Britain encouraged English homesteaders to emigrate to the Puget Sound region, but these settlers quickly became attracted to the better farming land in the Willamette Valley. The Hudson's Bay Company, outnumbered and disliked by the American settlers, withdrew north of the Columbia River (Minghi 1964:39-40).

The final border settlement between the United States and Great Britain was reached when both nations signed the Treaty of 1846. Prior to the settlement, Britain had originally wanted the border to be drawn along the Columbia River, and the United States, under the administration of President Polk, was agitating for the border to be drawn at the 54th parallel. As a compromise, the border along the 49th parallel that had been drawn in 1815 to the Rocky Mountains was geographically extended to the Pacific Ocean.

It was at this juncture that the Point Roberts situation was created, because the Roberts peninsula jutted below the 49th parallel and thus became a part of the United States, although the situation had no immediate impact because there were no settlers at the Point. Before the boundary was drawn and the treaty was signed, Great Britain had been aware of the geographic anomaly represented by Point Roberts, and their diplomats had sought to draw the line in such a way that the entire peninsula came under British control. However, after the negotiations had begun, a heated diplomatic dispute arose over where to draw the boundary through the San Juan Islands, and in the subsequent furor Point Roberts was forgotten.

As Minghi (1964:49) has pointed out, despite the political division along the 49th parallel, the entire territory continued to fluctuate socially, and the border, for all intents and purposes, was non-functional:

During the period from 1859 to 1885, Vancouver Island and the Mainland, linked into the single colony of British Columbia in 1866, were functionally a part of the United States' West Coast. Sea links with Britain had never been strong, and the continuing barrier effect of the Rockies isolated British Columbia from its colonial power; it took on the character of an enclave of British territory within the United States.

Canadian and American settlers frequently crossed the line, and their primary means of travel was not overland but by sea and river. For example, the Hudson's Bay Company continued to operate its forts north of the Columbia River for thirteen years following the border settlement. Another prime example of this fluidity across the border is that when the Fraser gold rush began in 1858, over 30,000 people emigrated to British Columbia, and many of them were Americans coming from the California gold fields. Settlers from the Puget Sound region emigrated to British Columbia with the subsequent gold finds in the Cariboo, the Upper Columbia, and the Kootenay (Robinson 1972:14-5). It was not until the opening of the Canadian Pacific Railway (C.P.R.) in 1885 that an overland route across Canada was established, and the territory of British Columbia experienced an influx of settlers who were primarily Canadian or British in origin. It was at this time that the two sides of the border began to differentiate culturally and linguistically.

Point Roberts experienced its first, albeit brief, period of settlement during the Fraser Gold rush when miners, on their way to the gold fields, would stop off at "Roberts Town", a small settlement facing the Pacific Ocean that consisted of half a dozen log-huts, one or two hotels, and a few stores. Because the local economy was built on being a stopover for the miners, when the gold rush died out, the town began to decline. The end came during a series of fires in 1859 that burned, among other buildings, the general store. By early 1860 Roberts Town was a ghost town (Clark 1980:12-17).

The next stage of Point Roberts' history was a direct result of the dispute between the British and the Americans over the San Juan Islands and the Georgia Strait. The 1846 treaty had not drawn the boundary through the island straits but

had agreed to leave the matter to future negotiations. Thirteen years later the area was still in dispute, and the two countries almost went to war when an American settler on San Juan Island shot a hog, owned by the Hudson's Bay Company, which was invading his potato patch (the infamous "Pig War"). As a result of this heated international atmosphere, the U. S. Department of the Interior thought Point Roberts would have a strategic value if the two countries went to war, and it declared the area a military reserve, "off limits" to settlers, on September 13, 1859 (Clark 1980:23-4).

When the boundary was finally drawn through the Strait of Georgia and Haro Strait in 1872, the international situation calmed down. Despite Point Roberts having been declared a military reserve, it was never actually occupied by the military and remained an empty spit of land. And despite being declared "off limits" to settlement, some squatters, who were American in origin, did homestead in Point Roberts. By 1877 two families were in possession of farm plots, those of John Harris and John Waller. Over the next decade, squatters continued to arrive from the United States in small numbers, and the Point, because it was not directly connected with the Washington State mainland, became the refuge of lawbreakers and smugglers. Exasperation with this state of affairs led one man to write a local newspaper (Clark 1980:41, quoted from the Blaine Journal):

The Ottawa Telegram of the 17th says that the dominion government has received the resolution passed by the British Columbia legislature asking the former to acquire Point Roberts, W.T., by purchase or otherwise. The place is described as a veritable "no mans land;" it is a hot bed of smugglers and toughs, and no laws are observed, greatly to the detriment of settlers. Point Roberts wouldn't be very much missed if the British were to acquire it...

In the early 1890's what is perhaps the most important group of settlers, the Icelanders, came to Point Roberts. These Icelanders had originally emigrated to the city of Victoria in British Columbia, where there was a population of two hundred of them, and they had learned to speak English there. In 1893, however, Canada experienced an economic depression. Many of the Icelandic immigrants were unemployed and looking for better opportunities elsewhere. Point Roberts offered opportunities for employment at the fish canneries, and land was available for farming, so many of these Icelanders left Victoria and became squatters at the Point. By 1904, the Icelandic community at the Point had ninety-three members, which accounted for fully one half of the permanent population. (Clark 1980:44, Thordarson 1975:14-5).

While the population at Point Roberts was increasing, the same was true elsewhere in the Pacific region. On the British Columbia side of the border in the Lower Mainland region, the first settlement period came with the Fraser gold rush when 30,000 Americans, mainly from the states of California, Washington, Utah, and Minnesota passed through on their way to the gold fields. Many of the early permanent residents, however, were middle-class Canadians from the Eastern provinces of Ontario and Nova Scotia.

When the C.P.R. was completed in 1885, Vancouver was chosen as its terminus, and the city became the focus of commercial activity for the province. A flood of immigrants from many different backgrounds came to Vancouver in the last decades of the nineteenth century as this commercial activity increased; by far the most numerous group was Canadians from the eastern provinces and the prairie provinces, followed by Americans from the Midwest and San Francisco, and

foreign immigrants from England, Ireland, and the Far East. The Delta area, which was immediately adjacent to Point Roberts, became an agricultural centre for the province. By the turn of the century, there were at least 300 families with thriving farms who were primarily Canadian in origin (Robinson 1972:19).

On the other side of the border in Washington, surprisingly, there were many Canadian settlers in the Puget Sound region in the last decades of the nineteenth century, and they were second in number only to those Americans who had come from the states of Indiana, Illinois, New York, and Missouri. In Whatcom County specifically, the Canadians accounted for twenty-five percent of the settlers, and the greatest group of American settlers from a single state had immigrated from New York. Brengelman (1957) has pointed out that the period between 1880 and 1910 was the most important in establishing the dialect of the Puget Sound region. In Whatcom county, the American settlers from the Great Lakes Area, New York to Minnesota, comprised the greatest percentage of the population. As a result, the dialect of the area most closely resembles that of the Northern dialect area of the eastern United States (Brengelmen 1957:32-48).

Point Roberts, even in its early days of permanent settlement, had contacts with both sides of the border. The first post office for the community was just over the border in Ladner before the motor launch from Blaine was established. Later a daily boat that carried mail, freight, and passengers came from Bellingham. An early settler speaks of "working in the hay for an Englishman", presumably a Canadian farmer in the Ladner area. A doctor came from Ladner to perform tonsillectomies on the community's children, and in 1913 the Icelandic community of Winnipeg sent a minister to start Lutheran congregations in Seattle, Blaine, Vancouver, and Point Roberts. (Thordarson 1975:16, 20-1, 25).

The status of the squatters at Point Roberts was not regularized until 1884 when a Congressional act was signed into law that allowed the President to put useless military reserves under the control of the Secretary of the Interior. In turn, the Secretary was allowed to sell the land at a public auction, with the first chance going to people who had built houses and made improvements on the land. In the case of the Point, this chance to buy the land was open to the original two families, the Wallers and the HARRISES, who promptly took advantage of it (Clark 1980:45-8).

The Department of the Interior did not sell the rest of the land at public auction because of a fear of British speculators from the Canadian side of the border, and the subsequent buildings put up at the Point were a result of subdivisions that the Wallers and the HARRISES had sold off. The squatters who had come to the Point at a later time, the Icelanders, for example, were not allowed property titles to their land, and it was not until 1908 that the Department of the Interior relented and Point Roberts was officially opened to homesteaders. In 1911 the township was formally organized and incorporated (Thordarson 1975:25).

It is important to emphasize at this juncture that, despite its close and frequent contacts with Canadians, the residents of Point Roberts strongly felt they were an American community. Runa Thordarson's reminiscences in "Echoes of the Past" makes this point very clearly. All of the Icelandic immigrants took out American citizenship as soon as possible, even before they were allowed their property titles. The community had daily contact with the Washington mainland, either Blaine or Bellingham, by boat. Many of the farming residents bought their supplies on the Washington side of the border. Many of the children had their

higher education in the United States, and after the local economy declined, the residents who left went mainly to other parts of the United States.

Point Roberts saw its economic zenith in the period 1878-1934. The major employers during this time were the two fish canneries: the Alaska Packers Association, which was one of the largest concerns operating on the Puget Sound, and the George and Barker Packing Company. Added to this, many of the local residents supplemented their income from privately-owned fish traps in Boundary Bay.

The canneries had all gone out of business by 1934, which in large part reflected the decreasing salmon runs and the decline of the fishing industry on the entire West coast. This decrease in the salmon runs was due to three main causes: American trap fishing techniques that resulted in indiscriminate waste; damage inflicted by Canadian river dams and the disastrous Hell's Gate rock slide in 1913; and foreign-born purse seine fishermen who were absorbing 75 percent of the catch in Washington waters by 1917. The first cannery at the Point that closed and started the economic decline was the Alaska Packers Association in 1917. The firm owned another cannery at Semiahmoo spit on the Washington mainland and felt that the company would be more efficiently run if they moved the equipment and the operation from Point Roberts to Semiahmoo (Clark 1980:61-9).

The story behind the closure of the George and Barker Company is more colourful and in many ways reflects upon the unique, often ambiguous nature of the community. For the majority of its corporate history, the company was buying most of the fish it processed from Canadian fishermen who had contractual agreements with Canadian canneries in British Columbia. Because George and Barker was paying more for the fish, the Canadian fishermen were illegally bringing it to

Point Roberts for sale while George and Barker was successfully evading U.S. customs. Eventually, however, U.S. customs caught up with the company and forced it to pay a \$15,000 fine. More importantly, George and Barker could no longer buy fish from Canadian fishermen, and the company lapsed into a state of unprofitability. In 1929 the cannery was sold to the British Columbia Packers Association, which quietly shut it down. The fishing industry at Point Roberts ceased altogether in 1934 when the Washington State Fisheries Board declared fish trapping illegal, and all the privately-owned fish traps in Boundary Bay were forced to shut down (Clark 1980:94-7).

The decline of the agricultural industry at Point Roberts went hand-in-hand with the demise of the fishing industry. Fishing at Point Roberts had always been closely bound up with farming since many of the farmers owned the fish traps as a sideline. The majority of the residents at the Point owned small, mixed farms with some concentration on dairy farming, the best of which were owned by the Icelandic population. However, agriculture was never able to support the population fully because the land was ill-suited for intensive cultivation. As a result, many of the farmers had other jobs to supplement their income. When the canneries closed and the fish traps were shut down, many of the farmers could no longer break even. Two additional factors, the prohibitive costs of haulage through Canada to the Washington mainland and the growing competition from larger farms elsewhere on the mainland, added to governmental regulations, guaranteed the death of agriculture at the Point. Gradually, the farms started to disappear after the canneries closed, and the last cow was sold in 1954 (Clark 1980:69-70, 96).

During prohibition in the United States (1920-1933), Point Roberts was involved in a second period of smuggling, this time rumrunning from Canada to the Washington mainland. However, most of the residents of the Point were not directly involved in the smuggling, and the community derived little economic benefit from it.

The decline of the community economy meant a decline in the population, as many residents left to make a better life elsewhere. This population decline was reflected in the local school enrollment, which had dropped to eighty-eight pupils by 1931. Seven years later there were fewer than fifty pupils; in 1941 the Point Roberts school district was merged with the Blaine school district, and the children from grades seven to twelve were bused to school in Blaine while the local grade school carried on. The attendance continued to drop, and in 1963 the school was closed. In 1969 Whatcom county voted to dissolve its townships, and Point Roberts became unincorporated (Clark 1980:98-9).

Economic revival for Point Roberts came, not from the American side of the border as might be expected, but from the Canadian side, and this economic revival resulted in the unique situation the community faces today. There were two important events that led to the development of Point Roberts' present-day Canadian orientation. In 1953 the state of Washington gave Canadians the right to own or lease land within the state, and a large number of Canadians started to buy housing plots at Point Roberts. The second event was the opening of the Deas Island tunnel (since renamed the George Massey tunnel) which connected the city of Vancouver with Delta Municipality. People could now drive from downtown Vancouver to Point Roberts in less than 45 minutes. By 1970 more than half of

the permanent residents in the community were Canadian, and this trend has continued so that at the present time approximately 65 percent of the permanent population is Canadian in origin (Clark 1980:100).

Not only has the population of Point Roberts changed in nationality in the last thirty years, it has also changed in character. Many of the new Canadian residents are retirees, and the community has developed substantially as a retirement community as well as a recreational and vacation area. The summer months and the weekends see a dramatic increase in the population (nearly double the usual) because many people own summer or weekend cottages at the Point. As a result of this continued increase in the Canadian population, the American residents of the community have been culturally as well as geographically and politically isolated.

The immense increase in the Canadian population of the Point is due only indirectly to the change in the Washington state laws and the opening of the George Massey tunnel; the more direct cause is the continued expansion of the Vancouver urban complex. From the time the city of Vancouver became the terminus of the C.P.R. and the leading Canadian west coast seaport, this urban expansion has progressed at a steady rate and continues to do so at the present time (see map 4). At the turn of this century, the city had a two-mile radius; in 1920 this had increased to a six-mile radius, in 1950 to a ten-mile radius, in 1960 to a twenty-mile radius, and most recently it has reached out to embrace the Georgia Strait region. In the process, the Vancouver urban region has come to touch upon the border of Point Roberts, as the present-day suburb of Tsawwassen amply testifies. In the modern era, the urban expansion of Vancouver and Victoria has reached

such a point that the two metropolitan areas, for all intents and purposes, touch each other, and geographers speak of "the Georgia Strait urban region" (Robinson 1972:119).

The Georgia Strait urban region in 1972 can be described as a dispersed city, a galaxy of subcommunities, of which the inner city of Vancouver is clearly the focus...The separation of management of the private sector of the provincial government in Victoria created complementary activities which made interaction inevitable.

As map 5 clearly shows, Point Roberts is in the centre of this metropolitan complex.

Examination of the *B.C. Regional Index* for the years 1978 and 1986 clearly shows the growth of the Vancouver urban area in the Delta Municipality among the other lower mainland municipalities, and it indirectly indicates the increasing urban pressure on Point Roberts. Between 1976 and 1985 the population of Delta went from 64,492 to 75,405, an increase of approximately 10,000 people in ten years, or roughly 1,000 people per year. The economy has shifted from being agrarian to being residential, and most of this residential development has been concentrated in the Tsawwassen area, which directly borders on Point Roberts. This development trend shows no signs of abating.

As the Vancouver urban area has reached out to touch Point Roberts and the daily boat service from Blaine has been discontinued, the community, not surprisingly, has experienced a growing degree of integration with Canada and a decreasing degree of interaction with the United States. Fifteen years ago Minghi (1972) did a survey of the community, studying such variables as where the residents shopped and worked, which newspaper they read, and on which side of the border their relatives lived. He found that the vast majority of the residents read Cana-

dian newspapers and shopped in British Columbia, and this did not appear to vary with citizenship. His conclusion was that the community is becoming increasingly integrated with Canada, and among the American residents there has been a perceptible erosion of the sense of Point Roberts belonging to the United States. Minghi (1974:220) speculates, not unreasonably:

As communications with Point Roberts improve, and the area further develops its recreational function, it inevitably will become increasingly integrated into the Vancouver urban region as the demand for space and recreation increases with the increasing population of the metropolis.

Because the population of Point Roberts has increased and become more of a Canadian community while still politically a part of the United States, unique problems have arisen and have turned even such simple matters as water into raging political issues. By the early 1970's these problems had reached such a point that Canada and the United States formed an international joint commission to study them and to formulate potential solutions. The commission outlined six main problems (Supplemental Report of the International...1974:11):

1. The transportation of U.S. goods from the Washington state mainland to the Point through Canadian territory.
2. The employment regulations of both countries for Point Roberts residents.
3. The supplying of health and medical services; under existing regulations, Canadian physicians cannot practice in Point Roberts.
4. The existing arrangements for electric power and telephone service.
5. The existing law enforcement regulations that forbid the transportation of a U.S. prisoner through Canadian territory.
6. An inadequate water supply.

As is usual with political commissions, recommendations were made but little action was taken, and solutions have been very slow to come to Point Roberts. The most critical problem facing the community over the past fifteen years has been the inadequate water supply, since the groundwater cannot supply drinking water for the entire community, especially during the summer months, and the sewage treatment consists of septic tanks. Whatcom county officials have been reluctant to supply the water, citing the obvious impracticability of building a twenty-mile water main from the Washington mainland, and Canadian officials have been equally reluctant to supply the water, fearing that if they supplied the water, the population of the Point would grow to unmanageable levels.

For years the issue has been at a political deadlock, and Whatcom County responded to the water problem by putting a building moratorium on the Point. This has caused economic hardship for some of the permanent residents because they cannot sell their extra acreage to developers for building lots. Community residents have coped by importing bottled water and living with the septic tanks. The political deadlock has only recently broken with Delta Municipality agreeing to build a water main to supply the community with the Americans supplying the funding. The pipe is scheduled to be connected within the next three years.

Ad hoc, unofficial solutions abound. With the transportation of U.S. goods through Canadian territory, Canadian customs regulations require that they be sealed and a detailed manifest be made out. The usual (and quite unofficial) practice of the Blaine and Point Roberts customs officers, however, has been to exempt the known residents of Point Roberts, and this situation is likely to continue. The employment regulations of both countries remain unchanged, and many of

the year-round Canadian residents in Point Roberts have responded by taking out a U.S. "green card", which allows them to work in the U.S. and be eligible for U.S. benefits without losing their Canadian citizenship.

Under the terms of the Medical Services Plan of B.C. (B.C. Med), permanent Canadian residents of Point Roberts are ineligible to join. As well, no American residents are eligible to join, and Canadian physicians cannot supply health services to the Point. However, the local Chamber of Commerce has a group medical plan, the Whatcom Medical Borrow Plan, that is available to many members of the community, and the medical plan has a reciprocal agreement with the B.C. medical plan. In this way, many residents can have Canadian medical care. However, this does not completely solve the problem. Because Point Roberts does not have its own hospital, many American children have been born in Vancouver hospitals, and this later causes bureaucratic difficulties with their citizenship status.

The business arrangements for supplying electric power and telephone service to Point Roberts remain quite complex. The electric power is supplied by B.C. Hydro, but because a Canadian utility cannot directly supply an American community under existing regulations, the utility is financially reimbursed by the Puget Sound Power and Light Company. The telephone situation is similar with the B.C. Tel corporation providing telephone service to the Point with a Washington State telephone franchise reimbursing them.⁴

⁴ The telephone situation at times descends into the bizarre. The residents of Point Roberts are listed in the Vancouver telephone book and not the Whatcom County telephone book. However, while Vancouver residents can telephone to the Point without using the long-distance area code for the Puget Sound region and without incurring long-distance rates, anyone outside Vancouver is required to use the long-distance area code and incurs the long-distance rates.

More than once in the 140 years following the creation of the United States-Canada border on the West coast, the suggestion has been put forward that Point Roberts should be turned over to Canada. The most serious occasion was fifteen years ago when the International Joint Commission considered this as a solution to the community's problems. This solution was rejected by the permanent American residents of the community. The commission's final solution was to make the community the locus of an international marine park, but this solution was again rejected by the community because under present U.S. and Canadian regulations, residents of national or international parks are not able to pass on their property to their heirs when they die, and the property reverts instead to the government.

In the meantime, the community's immediate future seems bound up in becoming a major recreational center for the Vancouver metropolitan area. When the water main is connected, Whatcom County plans to lift the building moratorium, which would make way for further development. Plans are already afoot to build a 500-room hotel and a 600-berth marina in addition to an unspecified number of condominiums and townhouses (Vancouver Sun, February 6, 1988). Once again, Point Roberts is poised for a major change.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

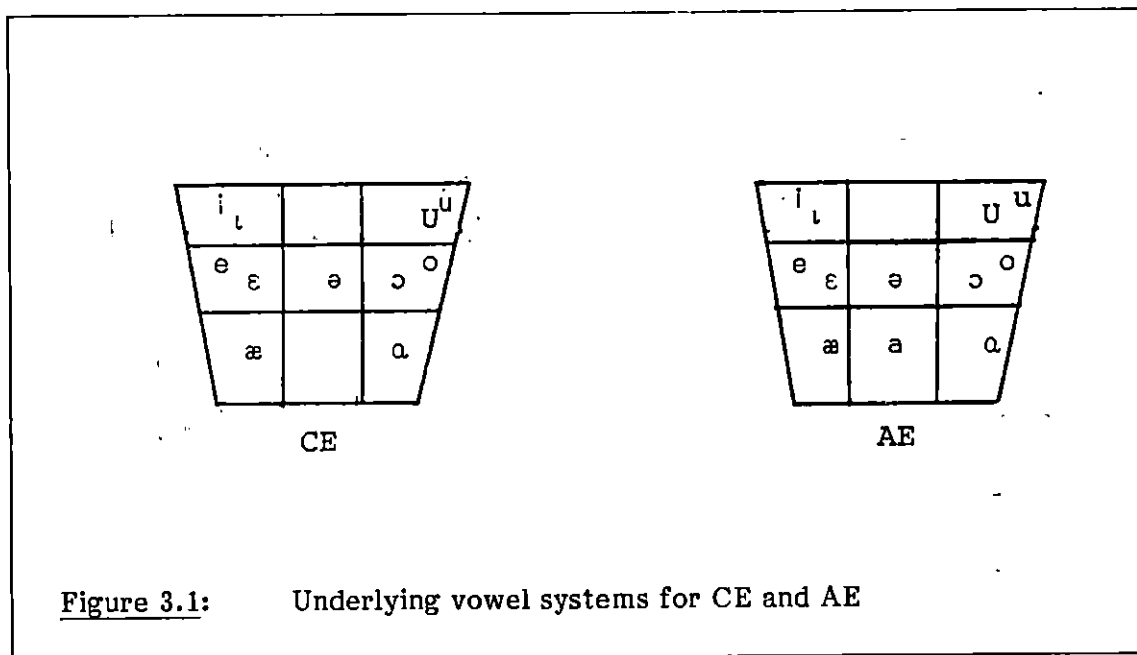
3.1 Introduction

In conducting this study of Point Roberts, a community that is a part of the Canada-United States transition area, a mixture of techniques that were originally developed in areal dialectology and sociolinguistics was used. In addition, because no major studies have been done in transition areas, new techniques were devised in order to account more accurately for the patterns of dialectal variation that were discovered. This chapter describes (in order); the system of transcription used in the analysis of the collected data, the study design for the project, the independent variables that were or were not used, the selection of informants, and the analysis of the collected data,

3.2 Note on Transcription

In the Point Roberts study, phonemic transcriptions rather than phonetic transcriptions were used in the analysis of the data. The single exception to this was in the case of Canadian Raising since the rule involves an allophonic variation rather than a phonemic variation. Also, the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) was used in the phonemic transcriptions rather than the American system of phonological transcription, mainly for reasons of convenience in transcribing the data on the computer.

The underlying vowel systems for Canadian English (CE) and American English (AE) are shown in the following figure:



3.3 Study Design

The Point Roberts study was divided into two major phases in order to create a linguistic data base; the first phase was a written questionnaire that was distributed throughout the community over a three-month period (October, November, and December 1987), and the second was a series of tape-recorded interviews carried out during the months of January and February 1988.

The written questionnaire consisted of three sections. Section one asked for such demographic information as age, sex, nationality, occupation, and place of birth, while sections two and three were strictly concerned with linguistic information. Section two concentrated on phonological variables (e.g. the pronuncia-

tion of *apricot*) and comprised a total of forty-one multiple choice questions that asked how the informant pronounced such words as *bury* or whether or not certain word pairs (e.g. *whine* and *wine*) rhymed. The lexical and morpho-syntactic variables in the study were tested in section three, which had a total of forty-four questions and relied on a fill-in-the-blank format; a sentence was given, and the informant was asked to fill in the missing word (e.g. *It's _____ hot today*). In both sections two and three, a series of choices was given for each question, but the informants were encouraged to fill in a word of their own choosing if none of the suggested choices reflected their actual usage. This frequently resulted in an unsuspected semantic or phonological differentiation being brought to light when the data was later analyzed (see the analysis for *palm* in Chapter 5).

The questionnaire and tape-recorded interviews were based on variables found in both Canadian English and in the American English spoken in the Puget Sound (e.g. Gregg 1957b, Brengelman 1957). For Canadian English, the questions on the written questionnaire could sometimes be based on those previous questionnaires with little change (e.g. Polson 1969, Nylvek 1982) or modified to fit the needs of the Point Roberts community (e.g. question 21b, section three in regards to the use of *frying pan* vs. *fry pan* in Canadian English and *frying pan* vs. *skillet* vs. *spider* in American English). Some studies of Canadian English, however, did not include a copy of the questionnaire used for the distribution of some variables (e.g. Avis 1955a, 1955b, 1957), and for these variables, as well as other variables present in Canadian English that have come to the researcher's attention but have not been tested, the questions used to test them were original.

For American English as spoken in the Puget Sound, the linguistic variables tested in the Point Roberts study were based on the work of Brengelman (1957) and Reed (1952, 1956, 1957, 1961, 1983). Neither researcher has published a copy of the questionnaire used in his Washington study; as a result, the questions that tested for these variables were original.

Farming terms were eliminated from the Point Roberts study, principally because the population of the community is no longer rural but urban. Brengelman (1957:84) noted the beginning of this urbanization thirty years ago:

Urban residents, younger ones in particular, have no names at all for such things as the singletree, the hay cock, the barnyard, calls to animals and calls of animals, farm machinery including the stone boat and the harrow, kinds of fences, and the like.

For Point Roberts, this urbanization was completed in the mid-1940's when the last farm went out of business and the community economy began to become recreational in nature.

Like the written questionnaire, the tape-recorded interview was divided into three sections. In the first section of the interview, the informants were asked to read thirty sentences aloud and were encouraged as well to read them at their natural speaking pace. The purpose of these thirty questions was, in some cases, to confirm the information the informant gave on the written questionnaires; the main purpose of this part of the interviews, however, was to test for the presence or absence of six phonological rules and the degree of their presence or absence. These six rules were: /hw/ vs. /w/, /yu/ vs. /u/, /nd/ vs. /n/ in final clusters, neutralization of non-high central vowels (e.g. /o/ ~ /ɔ/), merging of /a/ with /ɔ/, and Canadian Raising.

The merging of the /a/ phoneme was extensively tested for in a total of twenty-eight words culled from Brengelman's work in the Puget Sound area (see Brengelman 1957:143-6). The words that were chosen for the Point Roberts study were based upon the researcher's judgement of which ranged from more common (e.g. *on*) to less common (e.g. *mothball*).

Section two of the tape-recorded interviews dealt exclusively with Chinook Jargon. A unique feature of the English spoken on the West coast of North America is the use of some lexical items from Chinook Jargon, the colorful trade language that was widely used in the nineteenth century by both the settlers and the native tribes of the region. At its height, probably during the 1870's, the Jargon was spoken on a daily basis by more than 100,000 people in the Pacific Northwest and had a vocabulary of more than 500 words (Grant:1945). However, its use declined as English became the dominant language of the region, to such a point that many scholars claim it has completely died out (Grant 1945:227):

In certain sections of British Columbia, at the present time, the Jargon is still used to some extent by the Indians...To the white population in general, however, and to the younger Indians, it is to all intents and purposes a dead language.

However, while the Jargon may no longer be in active use, a few words have remained in common usage (e.g. *chinook*), and others have become local geographic names. In Victoria, for example, there is a *Tillicum* Mall, and in Vancouver there is a *Siwash* Rock. In Point Roberts, the focus of the present study, the main street in the community is *Tyee* Drive.

But has the Jargon completely died out from common usage, or does it survive in a restricted form? When R.J. Gregg conducted the *Survey of Vancouver English* (SVEN), he included twenty-six questions about the Jargon in his questionnaire in

an attempt to answer this question, and he concentrated on the usage of the common terms that have survived both in the media and in everyday life (Gregg 1983). The present study, at least in spirit, reduplicates this part of Gregg's study to a minor extent by including ten questions in the second section of the tape-recorded interviews that deal specifically with Chinook Jargon survivals (i.e. *chinook wind*, *potlatch*, *skookum*, *oolichan*, *siwash*, *chuck*, *saltchuck*, *klahowya*, *tillicum*, and *tyee*). The purpose of this part of the Point Roberts study was to see which words survived among the community residents, to what degree, whether these words had retained their original meanings, and if not, what meanings had replaced the original ones.

Section three of the tape-recorded interviews consisted of eleven questions consisting of word sets (e.g. *pail*, *bucket*), one question asking what the meals of the day are, one question asking the definition of the term *chesterfield*, and one question that directly asked the informant what language differences he or she had noted in the community. With the exception of this last question, the purpose of this section of the interviews was to see what patterns of lexical transition were present (see Chapters One and Six), whether, for example, the individual informant used both *pail* and *bucket* but in different contexts.

The technique of direct questioning of the informants was used in both sections two and three. In section two the informants were asked to define, if they could, the ten words from Chinook Jargon; in section three they were asked if they used all of the words in the word sets, (and if so, in what contexts) or if they did not use the word, what word they did use. By and large, direct questioning has been avoided by twentieth-century dialectologists, mainly on the grounds that the

informant will tell the fieldworker what he thinks the fieldworker wants to hear. However, Pratt (1983) has successfully argued that direct questioning is a valid technique when testing for lexical data. He points out that some dialectal words are often of low frequency (Pratt 1983:153):

People do use them, but they are not likely to think of them first when asked a general question in the semantic field.

It is critical to note at this point that direct questioning is an especially important technique to use in the study of transition areas because indirect questioning can elicit only one answer whereas direct questioning can elicit more than one answer. Frequently, in transition areas it happens that two or more lexical items that were originally synonymous or partially synonymous in their original dialects have come into contact with each other and can co-occur among the informants over a very long period of time. Direct questioning can elicit whether the informants use more than one term, whether or not they use them in different contexts, and other sociolinguistic information such as "only Canadians (or Americans) use this term."

There were a total of 104 linguistic variables tested in order to discover the distribution of their variants among the informant population. They are broken down as follows:

1. 10 lexical variables from Chinook Jargon (e.g. *chinook wind*).
2. 29 lexical variables from both Canadian and American English (e.g. *pail* vs. *bucket*).
3. 12 morpho-syntactic variables from Canadian and American English (e.g. *real* vs. *really*).
4. 47 phonological variables from individual words (e.g. *either*).

5. 6 phonological variables represented by a general phonological rule (e.g. Canadian Raising).

3.4 Independent variables

As stated in section 3.3, the informants were asked to supply certain demographic information, and this information was later used in the determination of the following independent variables:

Sex.

Age. The informants' ages were broken down into the following four age groupings: 15 - 25 26 - 45 46 - 65 66 -

Socioeconomic Status and Education. These variables were later eliminated and were not taken into account when analyzing the data. In common with the West Coast Islands and Martha's Vinyard on the East Coast, Point Roberts is what might colloquially be called a get-away- from-the-ratrace community. Many residents of the community are early retirees, while others, by choice, have jobs that do not reflect their high degree of education (the old cliché of a Ph.D. pumping gas appropriately fits this context). This was sometimes true of the informants in the present study. Of the thirty informants, only one did not complete high school, and four completed (or are in the process of completing) high school but did not have any degree of post-secondary education. The remaining twenty-five informants had completed high school and had had varying degrees of post-secondary education.

The Blishen scale (Blishen 1976), which is used to determine the SES of informants in many linguistic studies, failed to reflect the SES of the informants in the

Point Roberts community accurately. The scale uses the occupation of an informant in determining the SES; an occupation rated at under thirty-nine points is considered lower class, forty to fifty-nine points is considered middle class, and anything above sixty points is considered upper class. However, these criteria failed to classify many of the informants for two main reasons.

First, some informants had more than one SES rating. Three of the informants had more than one part-time job, and thus had more than one rating on the Blishen scale, which ratings did not fall into the same SES. For example, one informant had the ratings 61.87 and 40.42, which fall into the SES's of upper class and middle class respectively. Among the informants who were students, the SES of the parents was used, but each of the parents had a widely-different rating and would, then, fall into a separate SES, and as a result, the student informant would have two SES ratings.

As previously alluded to, because of the nature of the Point Roberts community, the SES as determined by the Blishen scale was not reflective of the high degree of education of some of the informants. For example, one informant had completed high school and had more than one year of post-secondary education but had a rating on the Blishen scale of 18.63. Three informants, not including those with more than one SES rating, fell into this category.

For the foregoing reasons, SES was eliminated as an independent variable. However, the informant population was remarkably uniform when their education was taken into account because twenty-five of the twenty-eight informants (two of the informants are still in high school) have some degree of post-secondary education, and would thus fall into the Type III of traditional dialectology (i.e. high school education and above).

Nationality. The informants were asked to state their nationality, Canadian or American, on the written questionnaire. However, later investigation revealed a change in citizenship; one female informant, for example, was born and reared in Canada but later married an American citizen and changed her citizenship status. Conversely, another female informant was born and reared in the United States but later married a Canadian and became a Canadian citizen. Therefore, the country in which the informants spent their formative years was used to determine their nationality.

Years of Residence. It is important to realize that in a study of transition areas the informants do not necessarily have to have been born and have spent most of their lives in the community. This is because such a study is looking for patterns of dialectal change instead of what makes up a particular dialect. However, it is important that the informants have spent their formative years living in either of the two dialects that have come into contact with each other in the transition area, in this case the province of British Columbia and the state of Washington. Therefore, the *years of residence* of the informant in the community was introduced in the Point Roberts study as a means of discovering the patterns of dialectal change (see Chapter 6 for a more detailed discussion).

Although the informants were asked to state their place of work on the questionnaire in order to see what effect, if any, this has on dialectal change or dialectal retention, this was later eliminated from the list of independent variables and from the analysis of the data because the majority of informants do not work outside the community, no matter what their nationality.

3.5 Selection of Informants

Areal dialectology has traditionally relied on the selection of one informant for each community to be studied within a geographic area, and the informant usually chosen is one who has lived all of his or her life in the community, has a low level of education (type I informant) or is between the ages of thirty and fifty and has completed high school (type II informant). However, as Rona (1976:11) has pointed out, such an informant is not representative of the community as a whole but is representative of the most conservative elements in the community, and the only possible solution to this problem is to select a greater number of informants who represent a cross-section of the community and who represent a statistical universe.

On the other hand, sociological and sociolinguistic studies rely on a large number of informants chosen by a random sampling. But as Wolck and Linn have pointed out, it is not necessary in linguistic studies to have a strictly random sample when choosing the informants. Wolck (1976) notes that the primary considerations are that the sample be adequate for the hypothesis or the purpose of the study, and that the informant sample is representative for the community under study. He also emphasizes the need for a profile of the community in order to help select the type of informants needed for the linguistic study.

In his 1983 article, Michael Linn makes a convincing case for the validity of quota sampling in sociolinguistic and dialectical studies. Quota sampling is a type of systematic sampling that is not strictly random but one that often leads to greater precision because all of the different types of subjects needed for the study are represented. The necessary strata with the needed number of infor-

mants for each strata are set out ahead of time, and the informants are then pre-selected and placed in their respective cells.

As discussed in the previous section, the primary independent variables that were tested were sex (two cells), age (four cells), and nationality (two cells), which resulted in a total of sixteen primary informant cells (two x four x two). After the data was analyzed on these dimensions, it was analyzed again on the secondary dimension of years of residence.

In line with traditional areal dialectology, the decision was made to have a minimum of one informant per cell, and this informant must have participated in the tape-recorded interview as well as filling out the written questionnaire; the major criterion in the selection of the informants was that they must have been born either in Washington (including Point Roberts itself) or British Columbia, or if not, then have spent their formative years and the majority of their lives in either area. As well, they must have resided in the Point Roberts community for a minimum of five years. A further criterion was to eliminate informants who were over the age of sixty-five and who had retired to Point Roberts after this age. Early retirees, i.e. those who had retired and who had moved into the community before reaching the age of sixty-five, were not eliminated from the study provided that they met the other criteria.

The first step in the informant search for the Point Roberts study was an interview with the local Chamber of Commerce in order to discover which groups in the community would be willing to participate in the study and which local businesses might be willing to act as primary contacts. On the suggestion of the Chamber of Commerce, the Point Roberts library and Ben's Store, a local grocery,

were contacted, and both were willing to distribute the questionnaires as well as to collect the completed questionnaires. A notice was then placed in the local newspaper, the *All Point Bulletin*, stating the aims of the study and inviting the members of the community to participate by filling out a written questionnaire. On the questionnaire, the informants were asked if they were willing to participate in a tape-recorded interview.

A total of twenty-three written questionnaires were returned after a three month period (October to December 1987). Three were eliminated because the informants had spent the majority of their lives outside Washington or British Columbia, in this case Scotland (two informants) and Australia (one informant). A further three informants were eliminated because they had been residing in the Point Roberts community for fewer than five years. Of the remaining seventeen informants, eight were willing to participate in the tape-recorded interviews.

The remainder of the informants were located by direct referral; in the course of conducting the tape-recorded interviews with the eight informants originally willing to participate in this phase of the study, the informant was asked if he or she knew someone else who might be willing to participate in the study. As a result, a further thirteen informants who met all the criteria were contacted and were willing to both fill out the questionnaire and participate in a tape-recorded interview. The total number of informants was, thus, thirty for the written questionnaires and twenty-one for the tape-recorded interviews. They were distributed in the sixteen informant cells as seen on tables 3.1 and 3.2.

No Canadian residents between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five could be located by direct referral or otherwise. Further investigation revealed that,

Table 3.1: Breakdown of Informants by Written Questionnaires

<u>Age</u>	<u>Can. Male</u>	<u>Can. Female</u>	<u>Am. Male</u>	<u>Am. Female</u>
15 - 25	0	0	2	3
26 - 45	2	2	1	7
46 - 65	1	1	2	2
66 -	1	1	4	1

Table 3.2: Breakdown of Informants by Tape-Recorded Interviews

<u>Age</u>	<u>Can. Male</u>	<u>Can. Female</u>	<u>Am. Male</u>	<u>Am. Female</u>
15 - 25	0	0	1	2
26 - 45	1	1	1	6
46 - 65	1	1	2	1
66 -	1	1	1	1

demographically, there are very few Canadian residents in the community who are in this age range. Accordingly, these two informant cells were eliminated from the study, resulting in a total of fourteen (16 - 2) primary informant cells. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 clearly show that the overwhelming response to the study was among the twenty-six to forty-five American females. However, none of these informants was eliminated from the study because all had been resident in the community over a wide range of years, and this cell contained the group of informants who were used when analyzing the linguistic data in the dimension of *years of residence*.

3.6 Analysis of the Data

Statistical analysis was kept to a primitive level in the Point Roberts study for two reasons. The main reason was that the advanced statistical techniques that were developed for sociolinguistic studies require a large number of informants born and raised in the community, or more than one informant (usually at least four informants) for each of the informant cells. This was not feasible for the Point Roberts study because, in many cases, it was possible to find only one informant per informant cell, and thus, an advanced statistical analysis could not be carried out.

The second reason for not carrying out an extensive statistical analysis in the Point Roberts study is the lack of more advanced analytical tools for transition areas. Reed & Spicer (1952:48) pointed out this lack over thirty years ago; they themselves developed a statistical technique that analyzes the responses of the individual informant, but this technique cannot apply to the community as a whole. Also, this technique can apply only to the individual informant who has lived his or her entire life in the community, and this can give insight into the process of dialect mixture but not dialect change (or dialect transition).

It is important at this juncture to point out that variable usage is an important characteristic of a transition area. Thus, in the Point Roberts study, in both the written questionnaire and the tape-recorded interviews, the informants were encouraged to make note of their "either" responses because such responses indicate a variable usage. In the written questionnaire, "either" was frequently given as a choice in the multiple-choice questions, and during the tape-recorded interviews, the informants would frequently state that they used both words (if it was a

lexical item in question) or that they said a particular word more than one way (if it was a phonological item in question).

In the analysis of the results in chapters 4 and 5, if "either" was given as a choice on the questionnaire but was never chosen by the informants, "either" was eliminated from the table columns that listed the variants and the informants' responses. In a similar manner, if a particular lexical or phonological variant was never chosen by the informants, it, too, was eliminated from the table columns. Also, if a particular variant (e.g. *pancakes*) was universally chosen by the informants, the variable and its possible variants were not put in a table at all.

On the tables that list the breakdown of the informant responses, the total figure for the number of informants does not always add up to thirty, if the analysis was based on the questionnaire results, or twenty-one, if the analysis was based on the results from the tape-recorded interviews. In the former case, an informant would sometimes leave an item blank on the questionnaire, so the informant was eliminated from the analysis of the particular item left blank. In the latter case, the informant's response sometimes could not be transcribed from the tape due to such factors as a fast rate of talking or slurred pronunciations. Again, the informant was eliminated from the analysis for the particular item.

One item on the questionnaire (i.e. *hospital* vs. *the hospital*) was later eliminated from the analysis of the data because the question was poorly worded; the use of the *hospital* variant appears to require the preposition *in*; this preposition was not included in the question, and as a result, none of the informants chose this variant.

For the six phonological rules that were extensively tested in the Point Roberts study (see section 5.3, Chapter 5), a frequency analysis was done. Frequency analysis, which is the first step in a variable rule analysis, is based on the assumption that an informant uses a particular variant not all of the time but some of the time. It is calculated by dividing the number of times a particular variant is actually used by the informant by the total number of time it is possible for the variant to occur in order to arrive at a percentage of occurrence, i.e. an informant's frequency of occurrence.

In one of the six phonological rules mentioned above, that is, Canadian Raising, a total of twelve words were tested for the occurrence of the two raised diphthongs. Three judges independently listened to the informant responses in these twelve words to decide if the raised or the lowered diphthongs were used, and their judgements were later compared. If there was disagreement among the judgements for a particular item, the majority judgement was used as the informant's response in the analysis of the data.

Chapter 4

RESULTS: LEXICAL & MORPHOLOGICAL

4.1 Introduction

Brengelman's study (1957) proved that, because the original settlers came from a variety of dialect areas, both in the United States and elsewhere, the Puget Sound region in Washington has been a transition area from the time of its settlement. The resolution of this dialect contact situation since the beginning of this century has been in the direction of leveling in favour of a tenuous national standard (Brengelman 1957:69) , at least in vocabulary:

...the combination of such factors as public education, urbanization, convenient transportation, and the mixture of settlement from Northern and Midland areas of the East has resulted in the rather general adoption of a standard and national rather than regional and local vocabulary.

On the Canadian side of the border, Canadian English is not a uniform dialect of English as is often assumed among non-linguists; instead, it has a considerable range of variation across the country. Recent research (i.e. de Wolf 1988) has shown, however, that while there is some degree of intra-Canadian speech variation, the degree of variation is considerably less than the variation among the American dialects. The resulting situation along the western part of the Canada-United States border, thus, can be described as something along the lines of a dialect transition area that has come into contact with another, more uniform dialect to form a second dialect transition area.

In the present study, careful attention has been paid to the possible intra-dialect variations on both sides of the border in order to account more fully for the patterns of transition that might emerge in the Point Roberts contact situation.

4.2 Lexical: Chinook Jargon

In this section, the original meaning of each of the ten words tested is given, followed by the analysis of the responses. The original definitions are based on *Chinook Jargon and How to Use It* (Shaw 1909). There were twenty-one informants for this part of the study whose ages ranged from fifteen years to over eighty and who had lived in the community anywhere from five to sixty years. Often the informant would give more than one meaning to the word requested and would comment on how commonly it was used in his or her everyday usage.

Chinook wind. This word received the strongest response in the sense that all of the 21 informants responded to it to some degree and gave the original meaning of the word. Shaw (1909:3) defined a Chinook wind as:

...a strong, steady southerly wind, never from any other point of the compass, unless it be slightly southwesterly. It is distinctly peculiar to the Northwest Pacific coast and its source is far out in the nasty storm centre of the Pacific ocean, emanating from the famed Japan current, which is the source of the remarkable humidity of the North Pacific coast.

The most common definition given by 52 percent of the informants was the basic one of a warm wind while one informant gave the equally basic definition of a soft wind. One informant knew it was a type of wind but could not be more specific. Thirty-three percent of the informants gave more specific meanings that made mention of the Winter season or its geographic origins. These included: a

warm and drying wind, a soft southwest wind that comes after a freeze up, a warm wind after snow, a warm wind from the north, and a warm wind in winter.

Two of the definitions elicited were quite elaborate and specific. The first of these definitions was that of a warm wind blowing from the Pacific Ocean across the mountains and into Alberta, while the second definition, referring to recent events, was that of "a warm wind that generally blows into Calgary and melts all the snow whenever Olympics are being held."

Potlatch. Shaw (1909:21) defines this term as "An old Indian feast and custom, forbidden by law [by the white authorities], characterized by extreme extravagance on the part of the host or hostess in the bestowal of gifts upon guests."

This term received the second strongest response in that nineteen of the twenty-one informants (90 percent) were able to define it in some manner. Ten of the informants had the basic associations of an Indian dinner or party and gave such simple definitions as an Indian get together, a gathering of tribes with a big dinner, or a feast. Eight of the remaining informants had the further association of the giving away of gifts, and their definitions were accordingly more complex, for example, "the ceremony of giving away", "an Indian get together where they give each other everything they can think of", and "a party where the host gives away all his possessions". One informant was obviously familiar with the formal political purpose of the feast when he defined *potlatch* as "a formal political meeting of the Salish Indians".

Skookum. Shaw (1909:23) gives a wide range of adjectives (e.g. strong, able, potent, tough) to define this term, and all of them have a positive connotation.

Sixteen (76 percent) of the informants in the study were responsive to this wide range of possible definitions. Thirty-eight percent of them gave the definition as "good", and one informant noted that the term was some type of slang. A further 24 percent gave the definition of "strong", "husky", or "tough". One informant gave the definition of "able to do something, lots of energy", while two other informants said the term meant something along the lines of "the situation is o.k.". One informant, not among the sixteen who were able to define the term correctly, said she had heard it but could not define it. Another informant gave the definition of "an Indian word for fast water", but he was obviously confusing *skookum* with the derived term *skookum chuck*.

Oolichan. This term, which Shaw (1909) does not define, refers to a small, very oily fish found in West coast waters. Fourteen subjects responded to this term, and among them, three gave the basic definition of a small fish. Six (or 29 percent) of the informants said that it was some type of fish or smelt. Two of these six informants noted further, though incorrectly, that "the fish is caught in the Spring when it comes up the rivers to spawn". Five of the informants had the further association of it being a fish with a great deal of oil, and one of these five informants noted that the Indians used to rub this oil on their bodies. Another of these five informants had obviously eaten the fish at one time or another when he defined it as "a small, oily, and very tasty fish". Two of the fourteen informants had the basic association of *oolichan* being some type of fish, but they incorrectly identified it as a type of shellfish or a type of smoked salmon.

Siwash. Shaw (1909:22-3) gives the basic definition of this term as meaning "Indian". However, he does not give the derogatory or slang meanings that were later associated with the term when *siwash* had negative emotional connotations.

Twelve (or 57 percent) of the twenty-one informants responded to this term with the basic association of Indian, and many of them commented further on it by saying variously that it was "a slang term", "an adopted term and not a correct name", "a name for Pacific Coast Indians", "some type of indian that is a little strange", or "water indians who appeared lazy to industrious Europeans". One informant not of the twelve did not know the specific meaning of *siwash* but said it was some type of degrading term.

However, this term appears to be taking on a specific geographic reference at the expense of its original meaning. Four (18 percent) of the informants had no associations with Indians but said instead that *siwash* was either "a rock" or "a rock in Stanley Park in Vancouver".

Chuck. Shaw (1909:4) defines this term very simply as "fresh water". With this term, eight (38 percent) of the informants responded with the basic definition of water or something dealing with water. Two of them had the further association of the ocean. One informant did not know the exact definition of the term but thought it went together somehow with *skookum*. Two of the nine informants who correctly defined the term made the further comment that there is a specific fishing spot in northern British Columbia by the name of *Skookumchuck Falls*.

Chuck appears to be a dying term, however, because seven of the twenty-one informants had no associations with water and instead gave the standard English definitions of a drill piece, a steak, a name, or something to throw out. The companion term, *saltchuck*, appears in no such immediate danger, however.

Saltchuck. Shaw (1909:4) refers to this simply as "the sea". Of the twenty-one informants, four of them incorrectly responded with the simple meaning of

water, obviously confusing this term with *chuck*. Eleven (or 52 percent) of the informants correctly identified it as referring to salt water or the ocean, and one of these informants said it referred to the Sound area specifically, though he did not say which sound.

Klahowya. Shaw (1909:10) refers to this term as the word for a salutation and gives it a wide range of English translations. Six (29 percent) of the informants responded with the specific meaning of *hello* or *how are you* while a further four informants said it was some type of greeting but could not be more specific. Of the ten informants who responded to this term, three of them commented further that the term went together with *tillicum* to form *klahowya tillicum*, and two of these three informants were able to identify it correctly as meaning "greetings, friend".

Tillicum. Shaw (1909:26) gives this term a wide range of meanings. Among them are *people, relations, associates, family, tribe, fellow*. This original range of meanings, however, appears to have been restricted to a simple one of *friend* in English since this is the only definition seven of the informants were able to give. This term, too, appears to be dying out since it had such a low response rate and another two of the twenty-one informants responded with specific commercial (i.e. a type of cheese) or geographic (i.e. a town in Oregon) referents.

Tyee. Again, Shaw (1909:28) gives a wide range of definitions for this term, among them *chief, boss, king, or foreman*. This term, in its original meaning at least, is definitely dying out since only three (14 percent) of the informants in the present study were able to identify it as meaning *chief*. In reference to the main street of Point Roberts, one informant said that *tyee* was a proper name.

However, there is an expansion of this term that appears to be overtaking and replacing the original meaning. Three of the informants said that it refers to a type of fish, and a further three informants more specifically said that *tyee* is a type of salmon. These definitions are not incorrect. A further five of the twenty-one informants said that the term referred to *king salmon*, which is the term used on the American side of the border for the type of salmon known in British Columbia as *spring salmon* that is at least thirty pounds. This last response gives a definite clue to the origin of this second meaning since *tyee* had as one of its original definitions *king*. All together, eleven of the informants had some association of a type of fish with five of the eleven more specifically referring to *king salmon*. It seems fair to conclude that the second, new meaning of this term has overtaken the original meaning since eleven of the informants (52 percent) gave this meaning as opposed to the three informants (14 percent) who gave the original meaning.

4.3 Lexical: Other.

The results in the following sections are presented in an item-by-item manner with the analysis and discussion following the breakdown of the results by informant age, sex, nationality, and years of residence. In the latter case, the "Years of Residence" column of the tables refers only to the American women since this group was the most responsive to the study, and they broke down into a wide range of years of residence (five to thirty-five years). If the years of residence is relevant in the other informant categories for a particular item, it will be noted in the following discussion.

Pancakes vs. Flapjacks vs. Griddlecakes. The response to this item on the questionnaire was the universal choice among the informants of *pancakes* over the possible American alternate terms *flapjacks* and *griddlecakes* that are sometimes found in the Puget Sound. We can conclude from this that the latter two variants are not used, at least along this section of the border.

Sawhorse vs. Sawbuck. Brengelman (1957:77) notes that these two terms are used interchangeably in the Puget Sound region with *sawbuck* being the slightly preferred term. No information is available for the preferred term on the Canadian side of the border; although Polson (1969) did test for it in his survey of British Columbia, his results remain unpublished, and the *Survey of Canadian English*, henceforth SCE, did not test for it.

The situation appears to have changed in the past thirty years, at least among the American informants, since *sawhorse* was the universal choice among the informants as opposed to *sawbuck*. We can conclude from this that the latter term is no longer a viable alternate along this section of the border among the American informants, and its usage has completely receded.

Dragonfly vs. Devil's Darning Needle. The standard term *dragonfly* has many variants among the various American dialects (e.g. *snake feeder*, *snake doctor*), with the most common alternate in Washington being *devil's darning needle*. Brengelman (1957:83) noted that this latter term is more commonly used among the aged while the younger generation prefers the standard *dragonfly*. Among his 33 informants, only ten (30 percent) gave the response of *devil's darning needle* while a single informant responded with *snake feeder*. Thus, even thirty years ago these latter terms were less common. No information to date is available on the possi-

ble variants of this term in Canadian English since, as previously mentioned, Polson's results are unpublished.

Among the Point Roberts informants, no Canadians responded to this term, implying a universal usage of the standard *dragonfly* (refer to the written questionnaire in Appendix B). Among the American informants, only three of the twenty-one (14 percent) responded to the question, using *devil's darning needle*, *damselfly*, and *anasoptern* respectively. The latter term is the scientific name, and this particular informant had some background in Biology, so this response cannot be considered as a genuine alternate to *dragonfly*. The single occurrence of *devil's darning needle* was from a 26 - 45 year-old American female. *Damselfly*, which was given as an alternate by a 15 - 25 year-old American female, represents a new alternate to *dragonfly* since it is not listed among other possible variants in Washington. We can conclude from this that the standard term *dragonfly* is the near-universal usage along the border, that *devil's darning needle* has decreased in usage, and that the alternate terms will continue to become less common than they already are.

Table 4.1: Pail vs. Bucket

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Pail</u>	<u>Bucket</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{2}$
American male		
16 - 25	0	2
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	2	2
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{6}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	0	2
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{4}$
American female		
15 - 25	0	3
26 - 45	0	7
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{13}$
Total	5	25
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	0	2
7	0	1
10	0	3
14	0	1
18	0	1
21	0	2
24	0	2
35	0	1

Pail vs. Bucket. On the Canadian side of the border, *pail* tends to be the predominant choice, whereas on the American side of the border, at least in the Northern American dialect, *bucket* is chosen most often. Brengelman (1957:75) notes that this latter situation is the prevailing one in the Puget Sound region, with *pail* being confined to a few limited contexts. However, as Table 4.1 shows, a major reversal among the Canadian informants in Point Roberts has taken place while the Americans have stayed the same because *bucket* is clearly the preferred choice among both groups, with the five occurrences of *pail* (representing a total occurrence of 20 percent) following no obvious pattern except that only male informants gave this response.

This word pair was also tested in the direct questioning section of the interviews, and at this point a clear pattern emerged because the informants universally used *pail* in specific contexts and *bucket* in all other contexts. The specific contexts given by the informants included the set phrase "pail of water", the compounds "garbage pail" and "ice cream pail", and five other examples of semantic differentiation:

1. Sand pail, beach pail (six informants).
2. Smaller than a bucket (two informants).
3. Milk pail for the cows (one informant).
4. Used for watering the plants (one informant).
5. Used for paint (one informant).

This pattern shows a uniform usage between the two groups of informants, American and Canadian; with the semantic differentiation there was no relationship among the answers by such factors as age, sex, or nationality.

Attic vs. Garret. All of the informants who responded to the questionnaire used *attic*, which is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that there is usually a low occurrence of *garret* among speakers of Canadian English. From these results, it would initially appear that *garret* has receded from active usage among the Canadian speakers. Yet a slightly different pattern emerged upon direct questioning.

The preferred term among both groups of informants, American and Canadian, in the majority of contexts, as indicated by the questionnaire, was *attic*, yet direct questioning revealed that *garret* is used in specific contexts and is, thus, context bound but not completely unused. Four of the male informants reported that a *garret* is "a smaller area that sticks out from the side of the house" or "a small, closed area under the roof or gable". The other specific contexts that were presented by the informants are strictly literary in nature: "gothic types in mansions", "where a starving artist lives" (preferably on the left bank in Paris), or "the term beatniks used in New York City to refer to their pad". Again, there was no relationship between age, sex, or nationality in the patterning of the semantic differentiation except that it was the male informants of both nationalities who used the term in the non-literary contexts.

Table 4.2: Blinds vs. Shades

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Blinds</u>	<u>Shades</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American male		
16 - 25	2	0
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	3	1
	$\bar{8}$	$\bar{1}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American female		
15 - 25	3	0
26 - 45	6	1
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{12}$	$\bar{1}$
Total	27	3
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	1	1
7	1	0
10	3	0
14	1	0
18	1	0
21	2	0
24	2	0
35	1	0

Blinds vs. Shades vs. Curtains. On the Washington side of the border, *blinds* is in competition with the term *curtains* (21 out of 33 informants preferred the former term, 4 out of 33 preferred the latter in Brengelman's (1957) study). In British Columbia a slightly different situation exists with *blinds* being in competition with a third term *shades*, with the former term being vastly preferred over the latter. Avis (1957a) reports in his Ontario study that 89 percent of his Canadian informants preferred *blinds*.

In the present study, none of the American informants marked in the term *curtains* on the questionnaire, indicating a recession of this term, and only one of the eight Canadian informants (13 percent of this group) used *shades*. *Blinds* was clearly the preferred term for both groups. This pattern can be set out in a formal manner with Dialect Contact Principle 1 (see Chapter 6 for details).

There is a minor degree of semantic differentiation present that was unsuspected at the beginning of this study. Two of the informants volunteered the information on the questionnaire that *blinds* "are sectional or tilt" whereas *shades* either "pull down or are a solid piece". This distinction would need further investigation in any future study in order to discover the exact patterning of the semantic differentiation.

Table 4.3: Baby Carriage vs. Baby Buggy

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Baby Carriage</u>	<u>Baby Buggy</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{3}$
American male		
16 - 25	1	1
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	0	4
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{8}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{2}$
American female		
15 - 25	0	3
26 - 45	0	6
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{12}$
Total	4	25
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	0	2
10	0	3
14	0	1
18	0	1
21	0	2
24	0	2
35	0	1

Baby Carriage vs. Baby Buggy vs. Pram. The single occurrence of *pram* was given by a 26 - 45 American female, and it can probably be explained by the fact that her husband is a Scottish expatriate; among the majority of Canadian and American speakers, however, this term does not appear to be a viable option.

In Washington, *baby buggy* and *baby carriage* have been in competition for some time with the former term being slightly preferred over the latter 66 percent to 33 percent (Bregelman 1957:91). As the preceding table shows, this tendency is more pronounced thirty years later; only one of the twenty-two American informants (4 percent of this group) reported using *baby carriage*. It is too soon, however, to say that *baby carriage* is receding because three of the four informants who use this term are under the age of 45, and three of these same four informants are Canadian.

Table 4.4: (Paper) Napkins vs. (Paper) Serviettes

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Napkins</u>	<u>Either</u>	<u>Serviettes</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	2	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$
American male			
16 - 25	2	0	0
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	4	0	0
	$\bar{9}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	0	2	1
46 - 65	0	0	1
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{3}$
American female			
15 - 25	3	0	0
26 - 45	5	0	2
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{11}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{2}$
Total	24	2	5
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	2	0	0
7	1	0	0
10	3	0	0
14	1	0	0
18	1	0	0
21	1	0	1
24	1	0	1
35	1	0	0

Table 4.5: (Cloth) Napkins, (Cloth) Serviettes

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Napkins</u>	<u>Either</u>	<u>Serviettes</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	2	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$
American male			
16 - 25	2	0	0
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	4	0	0
	$\bar{9}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	1	1	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{1}$
American female			
15 - 25	3	0	0
26 - 45	5	0	2
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{11}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{2}$
Total	26	1	3
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	2	0	0
7	1	0	0
10	3	0	0
14	1	0	0
18	1	0	0
21	1	0	1
24	1	0	1
35	1	0	0

Napkins vs. Serviettes. The term *serviette* occurs commonly in Canada, with most speakers making the distinction between something made of paper (*serviette*) and something made of cloth (*napkin*) (Scargill 1974:116-8). In the United States, however, *serviette* occurs very rarely, and most speakers use *napkin* in both contexts.

The preceding two tables show that while Canadian women have, by and large, retained the distinction between *napkin* and *serviette*, the Canadian men uniformly use *napkin* in both contexts, which is the American pattern of usage. The American men also have this pattern as there is no occurrence of *serviette* among them. The only occurrences of this latter term among the American women occurred after twenty years of residence in Point Roberts (twenty-one and twenty-four years respectively), and it occurred in contexts of both paper and cloth, which may represent a form of hyper-correction because the distinction between paper and cloth does not exist as it usually does in Canadian English.

Direct questioning of the informants revealed a complex pattern of usage that showed very definite differences by sex and nationality. Among the Canadian men, two out of three said that *serviette* was somehow "more classy and proper", indicating that this term has taken on a stylistic meaning for formal social situations. Among the Canadian women, this term had no stylistic variation, but its companion term *napkin* was used to refer to diapers and Kotex, which indicates a connotation referring to bodily functions. This may possibly be the factor that is preventing their changing to the American pattern of usage.

Among the American informants the situation is quite different. While two out of the four men questioned said that for them the two terms were inter-

changeable, a further two said that they used the term *serviette* only to poke fun at Canadians. Among the American women, five of them said that they never use this term while another said that she uses it only in Canadian restaurants in order to be understood or, like the men, to make fun of the Canadians. Altogether, ten of the fifteen American informants who participated in the tape-recorded interviews (66 percent) were aware that *serviette* is a Canadian term and not American, and they do not use it except in a Canadian restaurant or to poke fun at Canadians. This term, then, has become a marker for the Americans, which is the major factor in explaining why they have not switched over to the Canadian pattern of usage.

Table 4.6: Oatmeal vs. Porridge vs. Hot Cereal

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Oatmeal</u>	<u>Porridge</u>	<u>Hot Cereal</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	0	2	0
46 - 65	0	1	0
66 -	0	1	0
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American male			
16 - 25	1	0	1
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	3	0	1
	$\bar{7}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{2}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	0	2	0
46 - 65	0	0	1
66 -	0	1	0
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American female			
15 - 25	3	0	0
26 - 45	3	2	2
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{8}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{3}$
Total	15	9	6
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	1	0	1
7	0	1	0
10	2	0	1
14	1	0	0
18	1	0	0
21	2	0	0
24	1	0	1
35	0	1	0

Oatmeal vs. Porridge vs. Hot Cereal. The Canadian informants did not chose *oatmeal* at all and, instead, divided their responses between *porridge* and *hot cereal* with by far the greater preference being for the former term (88 percent as opposed to 12 percent of this group). By contrast, fifteen of the twenty-two American informants (68 percent of this group) chose *oatmeal*. There were only two American informants (representing 9 percent of this group) who chose *porridge*; one of these informants, as mentioned previously, is married to a Scottish expatriate while the second informant has been residing in Point Roberts for 35 years. Of the six informants who chose *hot cereal*, five of them were American (23 percent of this nationality) and one of them Canadian, with no obvious pattern by age or sex. It seems, therefore, that this particular lexical item still separates the American and Canadian residents of the community, and it is possible it is a marked or stereotyped item. However, *hot cereal* might be emerging as a term of compromise, and further investigation would be required to determine this.

Table 4.7: Dinner vs. Supper

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Dinner</u>	<u>Either</u>	<u>Supper</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	0	0	2
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{2}$
American male			
16 - 25	2	0	0
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	1
66 -	1	0	3
	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{4}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	2	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{1}$
American female			
15 - 25	1	1	0
26 - 45	6	0	2
46 - 65	1	2	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{9}$	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{2}$
Total	19	3	8
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	2	0	0
7	1	0	0
10	2	1	0
14	1	0	0
18	1	0	0
21	2	0	0
24	0	1	1
35	0	0	1

Lunch, Dinner vs. Supper, Dinner. All informants chose *lunch* as opposed to *dinner* for the meal in the middle of the day on the questionnaire, and a first approximation would be that the latter variant has completely receded. In the case of the *dinner/supper* opposition, *dinner* was preferred by 63 percent of the informants with no clear choice by age, sex, or nationality with two of the American informants stating they used both terms.

Direct questioning revealed that *dinner* is, in a sense, a misplaced term. Three informants who had some farming background stated that it is the main meal, no matter what the time of the day. A further three informants stated that *dinner* is on Sundays or when guests come to dine, indicating the term has taken on a formal social context. This was confirmed when one informant stated *dinner* is used only when dining out in a restaurant or at someone's house. This formal sense of the word was present among both American and Canadian informants.

Table 4.8: Braces vs. Suspenders

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Braces</u>	<u>Either</u>	<u>Suspenders</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	1	0	1
46 - 65	0	0	1
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{2}$
American male			
16 - 25	0	0	2
26 - 45	0	0	1
46 - 65	0	0	2
66 -	0	0	4
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{9}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	0	0	2
46 - 65	0	0	1
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{4}$
American female			
15 - 25	0	0	3
26 - 45	0	1	6
46 - 65	0	0	2
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{12}$
Total	2	1	27
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	0	0	2
7	0	1	0
10	0	0	3
14	0	0	1
18	0	0	1
21	0	0	2
24	0	0	2
35	0	0	1

Braces vs. Suspenders. In Canadian English, these two terms are in competition with each other with *braces* being the preferred response (Avis:1957a). However, even thirty years ago there was some evidence that this term was receding in usage, and later research has borne this out. In American English, *suspenders* is the universal term in the Northern American dialect, and there is no evidence that *braces* in this sense ever occurred in the Puget Sound region of Washington.

In the present study, *suspenders* was the overwhelming response among the Americans with the single exception being the informant who said she uses both terms interchangeably. Among the Canadian informants there was a clear relationship to sex. All of the Canadian women used *suspenders*. Of the four male informants, two (50 percent) chose *braces*, indicating the continuing decline in usage of this term in favour of its alternate.

This situation can be formalized as the second principle of dialect contact (see Chapter 6 for details).

Direct questioning of the American informants confirmed that for them the term *braces* could not be considered as a synonym for *suspenders*. For the majority of them, *braces* could only be used on teeth or for building houses. One informant, however, did say he used this term to refer to the item holding up his socks. Two of the three Canadian men said they used the term interchangeably with *suspenders*, and one of them commented further that his grandfather used the word *braces* but that he himself used *suspenders*.

Table 4.9: Pits vs. Stones vs. Pips

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Pits</u>	<u>Stones</u>	<u>Pips</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	2	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{1}$
American male			
16 - 25	2	0	0
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	3	1	0
	$\bar{8}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{0}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	1	1	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{0}$
American female			
15 - 25	3	0	0
26 - 45	6	1	0
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{12}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{0}$
Total	26	3	1
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	2	0	0
7	0	1	0
10	3	0	0
14	1	0	0
18	1	0	0
21	2	0	0
24	2	0	0
35	1	0	0

Pits vs. Stones vs. Pips. *The Survey of Canadian English* (Scargill 1974:120-1) reports that in Canadian English *pits* is the predominant term of usage to refer to cherries, and there is a low occurrence of both *stones* and *pips*. Specifically, in British Columbia, the reported usage was between 58 and 64 percent for *pits* and between 20 and 38 percent for *stones* with *pips* showing a response of less than five percent. Although Brengelman did not test for these items in the Puget Sound, a similar situation prevails in Washington since *pits* is the Northern term that has prevailed at the expense of the terms from other dialects.

The results in Table 4.9 show that the usage of *stones* has decreased quite dramatically in the transition area among the Canadian informants (one occurrence, or 13 percent) while the occurrence of *pips* has remained about the same (13 percent), although there is no clear pattern of recession in the use of either *stones* or *pips*. Among the American informants, *pits* is by far the preferred term with an overall occurrence of 91 percent. *Pips* did not occur, and *stones* occurred only twice. These results confirm that *pit* is by far the preferred term for both Canadian and American informants, and in fact, its usage among both groups has increased in the transition zone at the expense of its two alternates. This can be formulated as the third principle of dialect contact (see Chapter 6).

Table 4.10: Green Beans vs. String Beans

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Green Beans</u>	<u>String Beans</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	0	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{0}$
American male		
16 - 25	1	1
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{2}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American female		
15 - 25	1	0
26 - 45	6	0
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{9}$	$\bar{1}$
Total	18	4
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	2	1
7	1	0
10	2	1
14	1	0
18	1	0
21	1	0
24	2	0
35	1	0

Green Beans vs. String Beans. Brengelman (1957:76,88) notes that in the Puget Sound these two terms are interchangeable, and his results bear this out with 17 out of the 33 informants choosing *string beans* and 13 out of the 33 informants choosing *green beans*. A similar situation exists, he says, on the Canadian side of the border with these two terms in about equal competition with each other.

In the Point Roberts study, there was a problem with how the question was worded on the questionnaire because five informants responded with neither of the two variants but another choice entirely (i.e. *pinto beans brown beans, navy beans, garbanzos*). Among the informants who responded with one of the two desired variants, the preceding table reveals that *string beans* is definitely receding in favor of *green beans* among both groups of informants. There does appear to be some pattern in this recession, however, since two of the four informants who responded with *string beans* are women above the age of 65 with no further relationship to nationality, and the other two informants were American men (33 percent of this group) with no further relationship to age. We can tentatively say, then, that older women and American men are retaining *string beans* while all other groups use *green beans*

Table 4.11: Station vs. Depot (for trains)

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Station</u>	<u>Depot</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American male		
16 - 25	2	0
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	1	3
	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{3}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{2}$
American female		
15 - 25	3	0
26 - 45	7	1
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{11}$	$\bar{3}$
Total	22	8
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	2	1
7	1	0
10	2	1
14	1	0
18	1	0
21	2	0
24	1	1
35	1	0

Table 4.12: Station vs. Depot (for buses)

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Station</u>	<u>Either</u>	<u>Depot</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	2	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$
American male			
16 - 25	1	0	1
26 - 45	0	0	1
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	2	0	2
	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{4}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	0	0	2
46 - 65	0	0	1
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{4}$
American female			
15 - 25	2	0	1
26 - 45	4	2	2
46 - 65	0	1	1
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{5}$
Total	15	3	13
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	2	0	0
7	1	0	0
10	1	1	1
14	0	0	1
18	0	1	0
21	1	1	0
24	1	1	0
35	0	0	1

Station vs. Terminal vs. Depot. There is a frequent mixture of usage of the terms *station*, *terminal* and *depot* among speakers of both Canadian and American English, and the critical factor in determining their usage appears to be an emerging semantic differentiation by the type of transportation, though this pattern is by no means set. Among Canadian speakers, *station* is generally used to refer to trains, and both this term and *depot* are used to refer to buses. Among American speakers, *station* appears to be the preferred term when referring to both trains and buses, though this is by no means uniform.

The questionnaire results of the Point Roberts study revealed a complex pattern of usage with variation occurring by sex, age, and nationality. None of the informants chose *terminal* to refer to trains or buses, indicating it is no longer a viable term in these contexts.

The Canadian men uniformly chose *station* to refer to both buses and trains, which shows a change to the American pattern of usage. By contrast, the Canadian women uniformly used *depot* to refer to buses, and two out of three of them (66 percent) also preferred to use this term rather than *station* to refer to trains, which represents a change from the SCE's reported pattern of usage.

The American men, by and large, preferred the term *station* to refer to trains. The only three occurrences of *depot* in this context (33 percent of this group) correlate to age as they occurred in the above 66 age group. When referring to buses, The American men were evenly split between *station* and *depot* with no patterning by age or years of residence.

The American women showed a markedly different pattern of usage than the men, as did their Canadian counterparts. The majority of them (79 percent) pre-

ferred to use the term *station* when referring to trains, reflecting the usage of the American men. However, when the context is buses, there is a pattern that emerges as a result of the years of residence in the community. At less than 10 years of residence, there is an invariant usage of *station*, but after ten years of residence, many of them alternate the usage of this term with *depot* in this context, and one of them, at 35 years of residence, has switched to this second term completely. This indicates influence from the pattern of usage of the Canadian women, and the fact that it results from the increasing years of residence indicates the presence of a transition period, which can be defined as follows:

Transition Period: A period of time in which a speaker from a dialect that is in contact with a second dialect switches from the invariant usage of a particular feature (A) in his original dialect to an alternating usage of this feature with the feature present in the second dialect (B) such that his usage is (a,b).

Direct questioning of the informants confirmed that the usage of *station* and *depot* depended upon the context, i.e. the type of transportation. Direct questioning also revealed that while *terminal* is not a viable term when referring to buses or trains, it is used when referring to street cars (one informant), airplanes (seven informants) and, not surprising for a West coast community, ferries (four informants). These contexts held true for all groups of informants, showing no relationships to age, sex, or nationality.

Table 4.13: Seesaw vs. Teeter-totter

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Seesaw</u>	<u>Either</u>	<u>Teeter-totter</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	1	0	1
46 - 65	0	0	1
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{3}$
American male			
16 - 25	2	0	1
26 - 45	0	0	1
46 - 65	2	0	1
66 -	1	0	3
	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{6}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	0	0	2
46 - 65	0	0	1
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{4}$
American female			
15 - 25	0	2	1
26 - 45	1	0	6
46 - 65	0	0	2
66 -	0	1	0
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{9}$
Total	7	3	22
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	0	2	0
7	1	0	0
10	0	1	2
14	0	0	1
18	0	0	1
21	0	0	2
24	0	0	2
35	0	0	1

Seesaw vs. Teeter-totter. Among Canadian speakers, *teeter-totter* is the dominant term, whereas among speakers of Northern American English, *seesaw* is the preferred term. Brengelman (1957:75) confirms this latter usage in the Puget Sound area and notes that *teeter-totter* has an extremely limited distribution. In fact, its occurrence was so low that he gave no figures for it. This pattern of usage is confirmed in the present study among the Canadian speakers. With only one exception, they chose *teeter-totter* over *seesaw*, resulting in a total occurrence of 88 percent.

The pattern of usage is somewhat confusing among the American men as they are evenly split between the two terms with no evident relationship by age or years of residence. However, the fact that *teeter-totter* occurs approximately 50 percent of the time among this group shows a remarkable degree of diffusion from Canadian English. There is an even higher degree of diffusion among the American women with a clear relationship to their years of residence in the Point Roberts community. As with *depot*, there is evidence of a transition period between five and ten years of residence where the two terms co-occur. However, beyond ten years, the term *teeter-totter* is invariant in its occurrence, which is reflective of the pattern of usage among Canadian speakers. This ten year mark can be referred to as the *transition point*, which can be defined as follows:

Transition Point: The point in time at which a speaker from one of the contact dialects has completely switched from the invariant usage of a feature (A) present in his original dialect to the invariant usage of a feature (B) present in the second contact dialect.

Thus, for the American women, the usage of *seesaw/teeter-totter* sees an initial usage of *seesaw* followed by a transition period of five to ten years of residence where both terms may be used and a transition point at ten years of residence whereafter only *teeter-totter* occurs.

Table 4.14: Dry vs. Wipe

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Dry</u>	<u>Wipe</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American male		
16 - 25	2	0
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	2	2
	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{3}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American female		
15 - 25	3	0
26 - 45	6	1
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{12}$	$\bar{1}$
Total	26	4
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	1	1
7	1	0
10	3	0
14	1	0
18	1	0
21	2	0
24	2	0
35	1	0

Dry vs. Wipe. The pattern of usage is quite clear in this particular instance with the Canadian speakers universally preferring *dry*. Among American speakers, these two terms are in competition with each other with *dry* being the dominant term. This is confirmed by the results given in Table 4.14. The Canadian informants uniformly chose *dry*, and both terms were given by the American informants with *dry* being the preferred term (82 percent as opposed to 18 percent).

Among the American informants there is a clear relationship to the years of residence for both sexes. Among the American women, the transition point from *wipe* to *dry* occurs at an early date, between five and seven years. Among the American men, the three who chose *wipe* have been resident in the community for five, nine, and thirteen years respectively. None of the men who had been resident longer than this chose *wipe*. Also, these three men were above the age of 45, which shows a relationship to age as well as years of residence since one of the younger male informants who had been in the community for ten years chose *dry*. We can conclude from this, then, that the men retain the usage of *wipe* for a longer period than the women, and that the younger men tend to follow the pattern of transition that the women do.

Table 4.15: Shuck vs. Shell (Oysters)

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Shuck</u>	<u>Shell</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American male		
16 - 25	1	1
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	4	0
	$\bar{8}$	$\bar{1}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American female		
15 - 25	0	3
26 - 45	6	1
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{8}$	$\bar{5}$
Total	23	7
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	1	1
7	1	0
10	2	1
14	1	0
18	1	0
21	1	1
24	0	2
35	1	0

Shuck vs. Shell. There is very little background information on the distribution of the next three sets of lexical pairs, and the decision to test for them in the Point Roberts study was to see if there is any semantic differentiation present for the act of peeling of the outer layer of a food item and the choice of the verb.

As Table 4.15 clearly shows, *shuck* is by far the preferred term for all groups of informants, occurring 77 percent overall, with only a total of seven informants using *shell*. With the single exception of the Canadian female over the age of 66, representing 13 percent of all Canadian informants, the *shell* responses occurred among American informants under the age of 66, and the occurrences increased among the younger age groups to the point that all informants under 25 responded to this term. The percentages by age are: zero percent for above sixty-six, 25 percent for forty-six to sixty-five, 12 percent for twenty-six to forty-five, and 100 percent for fifteen-twenty-five.

A tentative conclusion would be that this term is emerging as a viable option among young American speakers while the older age groups and the majority of Canadian speakers prefer *shuck*.

Table 4.16: Shell vs. Pod Vs. Shuck (Peas)

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Shell</u>	<u>Pod</u>	<u>Shuck</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	2	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$
American male			
16 - 25	2	0	0
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	3	0	1
	$\bar{8}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{1}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	2	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{1}$
American female			
15 - 25	1	2	0
26 - 45	7	0	0
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{11}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{0}$
Total	26	2	2
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	2	0	0
7	1	0	0
10	2	1	0
14	1	0	0
18	1	0	0
21	1	1	0
24	2	0	0
35	1	0	0

Shell vs. Pod, Shuck (Peas). As Table 4.16 shows, the term used by the majority of speakers of both nationalities is quite clearly *shell* (86 percent of all informants). There were two occurrences apiece of *pod* and *shuck*, each representing a total occurrence of 7 percent. These occurrences, however, appear to be related to the age of the informants with no further apparent relationships to sex or nationality for *shuck* and a further relationship to sex and nationality for *pod*. The two occurrences of *shuck* were among speakers above the age of 66, and the two occurrences of *pod* were among American women under the age of twenty-five. We can tentatively conclude, then, that *shuck* is a receding term, present among older speakers of both nationalities, and *pod* is present only among young American female speakers.

Table 4.17: Husk vs. Shuck (Corn)

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Husk</u>	<u>Shuck</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American male		
16 - 25	2	0
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	3	1
	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{3}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{3}$
American female		
15 - 25	3	0
26 - 45	5	2
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{10}$	$\bar{3}$
Total	21	9
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	1	1
7	0	1
10	2	1
14	1	0
18	1	0
21	2	0
24	2	0
35	1	0

Husk vs. Shuck (Corn). As Table 4.17 indicates, *husk* is the preferred term over *shuck* for the majority of speakers (70 percent as opposed to 30 percent). The speakers who chose this latter term fall into certain well-defined groups that vary by nationality, age, and years of residence. In the first instance, 75 percent of Canadian women chose *shuck*, which is unusual in that their male counterparts uniformly chose *husk*. Among the American men, only those above the age of 46 chose *shuck*, and this was not uniform because three of them above the age of 66 chose *husk*.

Among the American women, there is a clear pattern by years of residence. Up to the point of ten years of residence, three of them chose *husk* and three of them chose *shuck*, which indicates a certain degree of competing usage among these two terms. Beyond ten years, however, the uniform usage among this group is *husk*. We can say with some confidence, then, that among the American women the transition point from *shuck* to *husk*, if they used the former term when they moved into the Point Roberts community, is at ten years. The Canadian women and older American men continue to use *shuck*.

Table 4.18: Cap vs. Toque

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Cap</u>	<u>Either</u>	<u>Toque</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	1	0	1
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{2}$
American male			
16 - 25	2	0	0
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	4	0	0
	$\bar{9}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	0	0	2
46 - 65	0	0	1
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{3}$
American female			
15 - 25	1	1	0
26 - 45	2	0	5
46 - 65	1	0	1
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{6}$
Total	17	1	11
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	2	0	0
7	0	0	1
10	2	1	0
14	0	0	1
18	1	0	0
21	1	0	1
24	0	0	2
35	0	0	1

Cap, Toque. *Toque* is a uniquely Canadian term that came into the language as a result of contact with the early French settlers. Its usage, however, is not uniform, and the term remains in competition with *cap* when referring to a knitted, woolen item. *Toque* does not occur among the various dialects of American English, and *cap* is the universal term.

The table on the previous page confirms the non-uniform occurrence of *toque* among Canadian speakers as five of the eight informants (63 percent) chose this over *cap*. There was no apparent relationship in its distribution to age or sex.

Among the American informants, the men uniformly chose *cap* whereas slightly more than half of the women chose *toque*. Like the Canadian informants as a whole, there was an uneven distribution in the occurrence of *toque* among the women with a minor relationship to age (i.e. it occurred only among speakers under the age of 66 if it occurred at all) and years of residence (i.e. it uniformly occurred after 24 years of residence but unevenly before that). However, the fact that it occurred at all among American speakers is significant because it indicates a high degree of diffusion from Canadian English among the American women.

Table 4.19: Downspout vs. Drainpipe

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Downspout</u>	<u>Either</u>	<u>Drainpipe</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	2	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{1}$
American male			
16 - 25	0	0	2
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	1
66 -	4	0	0
	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{3}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	1	0	1
46 - 65	0	0	1
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{2}$
American female			
15 - 25	0	1	2
26 - 45	3	0	4
46 - 65	1	1	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{6}$
Total	16	2	12
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	1	0	1
7	1	0	0
10	2	1	0
14	0	0	1
18	0	0	1
21	0	0	2
24	0	1	1
35	1	0	0

Downspout vs. Drainpipe. Among speakers of both American and Canadian English, *downspout* and *drainpipe* are in competition (Polson 1969). The results from the present study confirm this with no obvious distribution by sex, nationality, or years of residence; 53 percent used *downspout*, and 40 percent used *drainpipe*. There might be a relationship to age, however, since six of the seven informants above the age of 66 chose *downspout* (86 percent of this age group), and four of the five informants under the age of 25 chose *drainpipe*, with the remaining informants using both. In the 26 - 45 age group, seven informants chose *downspout* (58 percent of this age group) and five chose *drainpipe*. The situation is somewhat similar in the 46 - 65 age group with three informants using *downspout*, (50 percent of this age group) one informant using both terms interchangeably, and two informants using *drainpipe* (33 percent of this age group).

Table 4.20: Eaves vs. Eavestrough vs. Gutters

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Eaves</u>	<u>Eavestrough</u>	<u>Gutters</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	0	1	1
46 - 65	0	1	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$
American male			
16 - 25	0	0	2
26 - 45	0	1	0
46 - 65	0	0	2
66 -	3	0	1
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{5}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	0	1	1
46 - 65	0	1	0
66 -	0	1	0
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American female			
15 - 25	0	0	3
26 - 45	0	0	7
46 - 65	0	0	2
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{13}$
Total	4	6	20

Eaves vs. Eaves Troughs vs. Gutters vs. Guttering. Brengelman (1957:77)

notes that in Washington the term *gutters* occurs most commonly, but he does not give any information on its distribution or on the distribution of the competing terms. Scargill (1974:135) confirms this usage in American English and states that in Canadian English, while *gutters* is the dominant term, *eavestroughs* also occurs with some frequency. In British Columbia, this amounts to a 40 to 82 percent occurrence of *eavestroughs* (with the younger age group having the lowest percentage of usage) and a 22 to 41 percent occurrence of *gutters* (with the older age groups having the lowest percentage of usage).

The term *guttering* did not occur among the informants of the present study. As the results on Table 4.20 show, the term chosen depended upon age, sex, and nationality. *Eaves* occurred only among men over the age of sixty-six 80 percent of the time, no matter their nationality. *Eavestroughs* occurred among the Canadian women as a group with the single exception to this being a woman under the age of 25 who chose *gutters*. *Eavestroughs* also occurred among Canadian men only under the age of sixty-six, showing a relationship to age. Among the American informants who chose this term, (i.e. the 26 - 45 male, and two 26 - 45 females), all three of them had resided in the community for at least 14 years, and all of them have spent the majority of their lives there.

Among the American informants as a whole, *gutters* was by far the most common term, occurring 82 percent of the time, which is in line with Brengelman's results for the Puget Sound. The only two occurrences of this term among the Canadian informants was among informants under the age of 45, which is also in line with Scargill's results for British Columbia. It seems, then, that *gutters* is

becoming the preferred usage for young Canadian speakers while continuing to maintain its dominance among American speakers.

Table 4.21: Fry Pan vs. Frying Pan vs. Skillet

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Fry Pan</u>	<u>Frying Pan</u>	<u>Skillet</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	1	1	0
46 - 65	0	1	0
66 -	0	1	0
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$
American male			
16 - 25	0	2	0
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	1	1	0
66 -	0	3	1
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{1}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	0	1	1
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	0	1	0
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$
American female			
15 - 25	0	3	0
26 - 45	1	6	0
46 - 65	0	2	0
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{11}$	$\bar{1}$
Total	5	22	3
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	0	2	0
7	0	1	0
10	0	2	1
14	0	1	0
18	0	1	0
21	1	1	0
24	0	2	0
35	0	1	0

Fry Pan vs. Frying Pan vs. Skillet. In Brengelman's study of thirty years ago (Brengelman 1957:77,88) *skillet* was the predominant term. Also, there was a very low occurrence of *spider* with two out of his 33 informants using it. On the Canadian side of the border, *frying pan* and *fry pan* are the most common terms. In British Columbia, the usage ranges from 92 to 94 percent for the former term, between two and four percent for the latter term, and between two and three percent for *skillet* (Scargill 1974:131).

The term *spider* did not occur at all in the present study, and, in fact, several informants commented that they had never heard the word used in this context. The fact that this term does not occur at all among the Canadian speakers is an example of the second principle of dialect contact, i.e. that if a feature is dying out in one of the contact dialects, it will not diffuse into the second (see Chapter 6). It is not surprising that the term does not occur among the American speakers 30 years after Brengelman's study because it was obviously rapidly receding at the time of his study.

Among the Canadian speakers, there was only one occurrence of *skillet*, and this was by a female speaker under the age of 45. Otherwise, the distribution of the terms *fry pan* and *frying pan* reflect Scargill's results for British Columbia with 33 percent using *fry pan* and 63 percent using *frying pan*. Among the American informants, *frying pan* was used by 77 percent of the informants. The three occurrences of *fry pan*, reflecting an overall occurrence of 14 percent, were among speakers who had been living in the community for more than 15 years, showing a relationship to years of residence. This reflects a high degree of diffusion from Canadian English because this term is of relatively low occurrence in the speech of Washington.

As regards *skillet*, the two instances of its occurrence among the Americans were in informants over the age of 66. There was one instance of its occurrence among the Canadian speakers in a female under the age of 25. It is obviously receding in favour of *frying pan*, and direct questioning revealed that it has definitely become context bound. There were five types of semantic differentiation for this term as opposed to *frying pan*:

1. A skillet is cast iron (six informants). This was by far the most common type of differentiation. One informant stated that it was the *frying pan*, not the *skillet*, that was made of cast iron, which is a reversal from the majority of informants.
2. A skillet is a container with liquid in it (one informant).
3. A skillet is slightly larger (one informant).
4. A skillet is a fancy frying pan (one informant).
5. A skillet has square sides coming up while a frying pan has curved sides.

Four of the above examples of semantic differentiation were given by the American informants, the exception being the last one, which was given by a Canadian male. The other Canadian male informants had no comment except to say that they never use the term *skillet*. Among the Canadian women, however, there does seem to be some type of social meaning attached to the term as one woman said "it was an American word" while a second woman said it was used with fancy company.

Table 4.22: Autumn vs. Fall

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Autumn</u>	<u>Fall</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	0	2
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{3}$
American male		
16 - 25	1	1
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	3	1
	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{4}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{3}$
American female		
15 - 25	0	3
26 - 45	2	5
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{9}$
Total	11	19
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	0	2
7	1	0
10	2	1
14	0	1
18	0	1
21	1	1
24	0	2
35	0	1

Autumn vs. Fall. Among speakers of both Canadian and American English, the terms *Autumn* and *Fall* have been in competition with each other for a very long time. The preceding table confirms this and shows that *Fall* is the dominant term for the majority of speakers of both nationalities, occurring among 63 percent of the speakers. There does not appear to be a clear pattern in the distribution of the less prominent *Autumn* to age, sex, or nationality. There may be an unsuspected semantic differentiation present that accounts for this distribution, and further investigation is required in order to confirm this.

Table 4.23: Chesterfield vs. Sofa vs. Couch

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Chesterfield</u>	<u>Sofa</u>	<u>Couch</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	1	0	1
46 - 65	0	0	1
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{2}$
American male			
16 - 25	0	0	2
26 - 45	0	0	1
46 - 65	1	1	0
66 -	0	2	2
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{5}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	1	0	1
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	0	1	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{1}$
American female			
15 - 25	0	0	3
26 - 45	1	3	3
46 - 65	1	0	1
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{8}$
Total	7	7	15
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	0	0	2
7	1	0	0
10	0	0	3
14	0	0	1
18	0	1	0
21	0	1	1
24	1	1	0
35	0	0	1

Chesterfield vs. Sofa vs. Couch. The term *chesterfield* is commonly used by speakers of Canadian English, but only rarely by speakers of the various dialects of American English. In fact, the only recorded usage of this term south of the Canada-U.S. border is in California. Among both sets of speakers, Canadian and American, the terms *sofa* and *couch* are commonly found (Scargill 1974:106).

The questionnaire results show a scattered pattern of distribution; the only item of significance is the three occurrences of *chesterfield* among the twenty-two American speakers, representing a total occurrence of 14 percent for this nationality, since this results from a diffusion from Canadian English. Direct questioning confirmed a random pattern of usage. A single informant among the American women used *davenport* as a first response but said she used the other three terms occasionally. There were many examples of semantic differentiation among the informants for these three terms with no consensus of usage by age, sex, nationality, or years of residence.

While the Canadian informants remarked that *chesterfield* was either their usual term or was interchangeable with *couch*, three of the American informants said that it was a formal or old-fashioned term. Another American informant said that it was a daybed with arms; only one informant among this group showed awareness of the fact that *chesterfield* is a largely Canadian term when she said it was "the way Canadians say *couch*."

The various distinctions given for *sofa* and *couch* again showed no consensus or pattern by the independent variables. For four of the informants, *sofa* was a small *couch*, while for another four informants it was an overstuffed *couch*. One informant said it was a more formal term, while by direct contrast another informant said it was a more informal term.

For two of the informants, *couch* was "an older *sofa*"; another informant stated it is a piece of furniture that folds up or is similar to a hide-a-bed. One informant, a Canadian, said it was "an older *chesterfield*". The remaining two types of semantic differentiation given were "a longer piece of furniture with square cushion"s and "a smaller *sofa*."

The single example of a hybrid resulting from dialect contact, the fourth pattern of lexical transition (see Chapters 1 and 6) that emerged in this study came out of this context; one informant volunteered the term *chesterbed*, which she said was a synonym for *sofa bed* among Canadians (*chesterfield* + *sofa bed* = *chesterbed*).

Table 4.24: University vs. College

<u>Informant</u>	<u>University</u>	<u>College</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American male		
16 - 25	2	0
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	3	1
	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{4}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American female		
15 - 25	2	1
26 - 45	5	2
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{9}$	$\bar{4}$
Total	22	8
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	1	1
7	1	0
10	2	1
14	1	0
18	0	1
21	2	0
24	2	0
35	0	1

University vs. College. Between American English and Canadian English, there is a marked difference, not in the definitions of *university* and *college*, but in the generic term used to refer to the experience of attending an institution of post-secondary education with Canadians preferring *university* and Americans preferring *college*. This usage was confirmed among the Canadian speakers in the present study as none of them chose *college* on the questionnaire.

The results among the Americans show clear evidence that the term *university* is becoming the preferred one since a total of nine out of twenty-two informants in this group (41 percent) chose the term *college*. However, there is no clear relationship in the occurrence of *university* to age, sex, or years of residence.

As previously remarked, there was a marked uniformity among both Canadian and American informants in differentiating between the definitions of *university* and *college*. The differentiations made were as follows:

1. A *university* is a seat of higher learning; a *college* is vocational (one informant).
2. A *university* is larger than a *college* (two informants).
3. A *university* is a collection of *colleges* (three informants).
4. A *university* has graduate programs (three informants).
5. The term used depends upon the specific name of the institution (four informants).

Table 4.25: Tap vs. Faucet (outside)

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Tap</u>	<u>Faucet</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American male		
16 - 25	1	1
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	1	3
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{6}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American female		
15 - 25	2	1
26 - 45	6	1
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{9}$	$\bar{4}$
Total	19	11
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	2	0
7	0	1
10	1	2
14	0	1
18	1	0
21	2	0
24	2	0
35	1	0

Table 4.26: Tap vs. Faucet (kitchen)

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Tap</u>	<u>Faucet</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American male		
16 - 25	0	2
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	1	3
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{7}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American female		
15 - 25	1	2
26 - 45	6	1
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{8}$	$\bar{5}$
Total	17	13
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	2	0
7	1	0
10	1	2
14	0	1
18	1	0
21	1	1
24	1	1
35	1	0

Tap vs. Faucet vs. Spigot. Among the various dialects of American English, *faucet* is by far the preferred term, and Brengelman (1957:76) confirms this for the speech of the Puget Sound region of Washington. The situation is markedly different for speakers of Canadian English since, while *tap* and *faucet* are in competition with each other, *tap* is by far the preferred term. In British Columbia between 92 and 95 percent of informants chose this term in the *Survey of Canadian English* (Scargill 1974:107-8).

Tables 4.25 and 4.26 confirm that *tap* is the preferred term among Canadian speakers no matter what the context. Only one of the eight informants in this group chose *faucet* for both contexts, representing an overall occurrence of 13 percent. Among the American informants, however, there has been a marked increase in the use of *tap*, occurring among 41 percent of the informants for outside and among 45 percent of the informants for inside, with a corresponding decrease in the use of *faucet*, although there is no clear relationship to age, sex, or years of residence. It does show, however, a significant difference from Brengelman's results, which implies a high degree of diffusion from Canadian English. Again, there appears to be little evidence of differentiation by context among the questionnaire results.

However, direct questioning of the informants revealed a complex pattern of usage with definite stages of transition as a result of the years of residence in the community. While *tap* was the usual term of usage among the Canadian informants, *faucet* did occur in very specific contexts, for example, an item with gold fixtures (one informant) or the term used when purchasing a *tap* at a store (two informants).

After the results from the direct questioning of all the American informants were broken down by years of residence, three stages of transition from *faucet* to *tap* were seen:

1. *Faucet* is the usual term, but *tap* occurs in specific contexts, e.g. inside the house (two informants) or in the phrase "tap water" (one informant). The years of residence for these informants were five, seven, and ten years respectively with the last informant being male, the first two female.
2. The two terms are interchangeable for all contexts (seven informants). The years of residence for these informants were between five and twenty-four years.
3. *Tap* is the usual term but *faucet* is retained for specific contexts, e.g. the term used when purchasing a *tap* at the store (one informant), and outside the house (three informants). The years of residence for these informants were between five and seventy-plus years. The informant who had completely switched the usage after five years was a woman, while the other three informants were men who had been residing in the community for more than eighteen years.

One possible clue to the reason for the swift transition among the American informants from *faucet* to *tap* is found in the common phrase *tap water*. The researcher's own dialect, while using *faucet* in all contexts, does not have the phrase **faucet water* but instead has *tap water*; the use of this common phrase quite possibly motivated the transition to occur in the direction that it did from a desire on the part of the informants for uniformity, but this is speculative. This

situation can be described as a type of transition, or a transition pattern (see Chapter 6 for details).

The term *spigot*, while in competition historically with both *tap* and *faucet* (Brenzelman 1957:76, Scargill 1974:107-8), has decreased in usage on both sides of the border. For informants in all categories, *spigot* was present in four contexts, which incidentally were not mentioned as possible specific contexts for either *tap* or *faucet*:

1. On a wine barrel or a beer keg (eight informants).
2. Valve on a milking machine (one informant).
3. Where water actually comes out (one informant).
4. A piece of lab apparatus (one informant).

This is another example of the third principle of dialect contact, i.e. a feature that is receding in both of the contact dialects will continue to do so and may ultimately disappear (see Chapter 6).

Another example of this particular transition pattern is present among the American informants for *icing* and *frosting*, which were tested for during the tape-recorded interviews but not on the questionnaire. Scargill (1974:109-10) claims that a semantic differentiation is present among Canadian speakers for these two terms with the former being hard and the latter being soft. This distinction was not made by the Canadian informants in the present study; six of them said *icing* was their usual term in all contexts, and two of them said *frosting* was either a word on a package or an American word.

Among the American informants, four specific contexts for *icing* were given:

1. For doughnuts, a glaze (four informants).
2. For a cake (one informant).

3. Powdery (two informants).
4. For a cookie (one informant).

The years of residence of these informants ranged between five and ten years. After ten years, the informants uniformly said that *icing* and *frosting* were interchangeable (a total of seven informants ranging from fourteen to over seventy years of residence). However, none of these American informants said that *icing* was the usual term and *frosting* occurred only in specific contexts, indicating that while the informants had undergone the same first two stages of transition for these two terms as they did in *faucet* and *tap*, they had not undergone the third, final stage.

Table 4.27: Holiday vs. Vacation

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Holiday</u>	<u>Vacation</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American male		
16 - 25	0	2
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	0	4
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{7}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American female		
15 - 25	0	3
26 - 45	1	6
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{10}$
Total	12	18
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	0	2
7	1	0
10	1	2
14	0	1
18	0	1
21	0	2
24	1	1
35	0	1

Holiday vs. Vacation. Among speakers of Canadian English, *holiday* is the preferred term of usage to refer to both a single day and a longer period of time away from work. American English, by contrast, uses *holiday* to refer to a single day and *vacation* to refer to a longer period of time.

Table 4.27 shows that seven of the eight Canadian informants (88 percent) used *holiday* to refer to a long period of time. Among the American informants, only five out of twenty-two (23 percent) used *holiday* to refer to a long period of time. These results indicate a two-way diffusion from both American and Canadian English.

With two definitions for *holiday* and one definition for *vacation*, the potential exists for the second type of lexical transition to occur (Allen 1973:56-66) (see also Chapters 1 and 6) whereby for Canadian speakers *holiday* would lose one of its two meanings as a result of contact with *vacation*.

This was confirmed upon direct questioning when all of the American informants used both terms in the usual contexts for American English and three of the Canadian informants said *holiday* referred only to a single day. For these three Canadian informants, the definitions for *vacation* differed from several days to the period of time in the summer when the children are home from school, the usual definition of this term among American speakers, which shows that the second meaning of *holiday* that is present in their dialect of Canadian English has dropped from their usage.

The single example of the fifth pattern of lexical transition (see Chapters 1 and 6) occurred here when one Canadian informant said that *vacation* was the correct term for a longer period of time away from work and *holiday* was the incor-

rect term. He based this judgement on the Latin root for *vacation*, i.e. *vacatio*, which has a meaning of the dwelling being vacant.

4.4 Results: Morphological, Syntactical.

Contrary to Trudgill's claim (Trudgill 1986:25) that English dialects have no morphological differences, research in areal dialectology has shown there are minor morphological differences across dialects, mainly in the choice of prepositions, that do not interfere with comprehension in a dialect contact situation. In a similar vein, there are minor syntactic differences across English dialects, but, in the main, these differences reflect the ongoing, irregular change from strong to weak verbal paradigms in verbs of Old English origin. This change is irregular in that each dialect undergoes the change from strong to weak paradigms at a different rate, and a verb may be strong in one dialect but weak in another.

Table 4.28: Real vs. Really

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Real Hot</u>	<u>Really Hot</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	0	2
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{4}$
American male		
16 - 25	1	1
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	2	2
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{6}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	0	2
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{4}$
American female		
15 - 25	0	3
26 - 45	1	6
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{12}$
Total	4	26
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	1	1
7	0	1
10	0	3
14	0	1
18	0	1
21	0	2
24	0	2
35	0	1

Real vs. Really. The use of *real* as a flat adverb in English has been in use since 1718, at least according to the Oxford English Dictionary (Scargill 1974:25). However, it is noted as being peculiarly "Scottish" or "American." In the present study, the use of *real* in this context was one of the most marked items that differentiated the Canadian from the American respondents. Despite a reported 19 to 22 percent occurrence of *real* as an adverb among British Columbian speakers (Scargill 1974:25), none of the Canadian informants in the present study reported using this structure. In fact, during direct questioning, one of the Canadian women said it was an American word and was extremely ungrammatical.

Of the four American informants who reported using *real* as an adverb, there was a definite relationship to sex; 33 percent of the men used this construction as opposed to 8 percent of the women; the single female informant, it should be noted, has been residing in the community for only five years. More than one American informant said that this usage was more common in lower Whatcom County and, again, that it was extremely ungrammatical. It is possible that the stigmatization of this form among the Canadian informants is resulting in suppression of its usage among the American informants.

Table 4.29: Bath vs. Bathe

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Bath</u>	<u>Bathe</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	0	2
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{4}$
American male		
16 - 25	0	2
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	0	4
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{9}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	0	2
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{4}$
American female		
15 - 25	0	3
26 - 45	1	6
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{12}$
Total	1	29
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	0	2
7	0	1
10	0	3
14	0	1
18	0	1
21	0	2
24	1	1
35	0	1

Bath vs. Bathe. The verb *bath* does not occur in any of the various American dialects; it is uniquely Canadian. However, this usage has been dying out in Canadian English for a long time, and Avis (1957b:74) noted thirty years ago that it was present mainly among older speakers. Among British Columbians, the reported rate of usage was between 21 and 36 percent (Scargill:1974:112), with the higher percentage of usage occurring among the women.

The results on the preceding table show that this form did not occur among the Canadian informants, illustrating its continued recession among speakers of Canadian English, at least in the Lower Mainland area of British Columbia. The single incidence of *bath* was reported by an American woman who had been in the Point Roberts community for twenty-four years, and her use of this term can be accounted for on the grounds that her mother is originally from Canada. This term is another illustration of the second principle of dialect contact whereby a term receding in one of the contact dialects will continue to recede upon contact (see Chapter 6).

Climbed vs. Clumb The past tense of the verb *climb* is realized as *clumb* in many American dialects, although it has receded in favor of the standardized form *climbed* for many speakers. *Clumb* has a reported usage of one to three percent in Canadian English as it is spoken in British Columbia (Scargill 1974:24). Thirty years ago Brengelman (1957:102) reported that for Washington informants *clumb* had been almost totally replaced by *climbed*, although he did not give any figures for its occurrence or any information of its distribution.

None of the informants reported using *clumb* in the questionnaire, indicating either that this form has never been used in Point Roberts or has completely

receded and been replaced by the standardized *climbed*. In fact, more than one informant remarked that they had never heard of *clumb* and that it sounded totally bizarre or totally rural. If we were to assume that *clumb* has completely receded, this would be another example of dialect contact principle three (see Chapter 6).

Table 4.30: Drank vs. Drunk (Past Participle)

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Drank</u>	<u>Drunk</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{3}$
American male		
16 - 25	0	2
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	1	3
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{6}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	0	2
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{4}$
American female		
15 - 25	0	3
26 - 45	0	7
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{13}$
Total	4	26
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	0	2
7	0	1
10	0	3
14	0	1
18	0	1
21	0	2
24	0	2
35	0	1

Drank vs. Drunk (Past Participle). Although the use of the past tense form *drank* for the past participle *drunk* has been highly stigmatized by school grammarians, it has continued to survive among speakers of many English dialects. Brengleman (1957:108-9) reported its usage among older and lesser-educated informants in Washington, and Scargill (1974:32) reports a usage of between 49 and 60 percent for Canadian speakers in British Columbia. It is important to note that the use of *drank* as a past participle occurred more frequently among the male informants in the *Survey of Canadian English*.

The results of the present study clearly reveal that the critical independent variable in the usage of participial *drank* is sex. None of the female informants of either nationality used this form but chose the standard *drunk* instead. The four occurrences of *has drank* were all among the male informants, representing a total occurrence of 31 percent of the men of both nationalities, and three of the four responses were among the American informants as opposed to the Canadian informants, representing 33 percent of the American men as opposed to a 25 percent of the Canadian men. So we can conclude from this that the use of *drank* as a past participle is more likely to occur among American men, less likely to occur among the Canadian men, and least likely to occur among the women of both nationalities.

Table 4.31: Sneak vs. Snuck

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Sneak</u>	<u>Snuck</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{2}$
American male		
16 - 25	0	2
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	4	0
	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{4}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American female		
15 - 25	1	2
26 - 45	3	4
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{7}$	$\bar{6}$
Total	18	12
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	1	1
7	0	1
10	3	0
14	0	1
18	0	1
21	1	1
24	2	0
35	0	1

Sneak vs. Snuck The responses on Table 4.31 clearly show that the distribution of *sneaked* and *snuck* depends upon the age of the informant. There were no occurrences of the latter term in the above 66 age group, three occurrences from a total of six informants in the 46 - 66 age group (50 percent), five occurrences from a total of twelve informants in the 26 - 45 age group (42 percent), and four occurrences from a total of five informants among the under 25 age group (80 percent). The younger age groups, then, predominantly use *snuck*, while the older age groups predominantly use *sneaked*. These results are in line with the results from the *Survey of Canadian English*, (Scargill 1974:44) which showed almost half of the parents using *snuck* but seventy percent of the younger age group using this term. Brengelman (1957) did not test for this item in his Puget Sound study.

When the informants in the Point Roberts study were broken down by nationality, there appeared to be a relationship to this variable as only two Canadian informants responded with *snuck*, representing 25 percent of this group, but ten American informants, representing 45 percent of this group, responded with this form.

Table 4.32: Dived vs. Dove (past tense)

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Dived</u>	<u>Dove</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	0	2
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{3}$
American male		
16 - 25	0	2
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	0	4
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{8}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	0	2
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{4}$
American female		
15 - 25	1	2
26 - 45	0	7
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{12}$
Total	3	27
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	0	2
7	0	1
10	1	2
14	0	1
18	0	1
21	0	2
24	0	2
35	0	1

Table 4.33: Dived vs. Dove (past participle)

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Dived</u>	<u>Dove</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{2}$
American male		
16 - 25	1	1
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	3	1
	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{3}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American female		
15 - 25	1	2
26 - 45	6	1
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{10}$	$\bar{3}$
Total	21	9
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	1	1
7	1	0
10	2	1
14	1	0
18	1	0
21	2	0
24	2	0
35	0	1

Dive vs. Dove The verb *dive* has two forms for the past tense and the past participle, namely *dived* and *dove*, that are distributed differently in the various dialects of English. The aim of the present study was to see if speakers were making the distinction between the past tense of *dive* and the past participle by using the two forms differently, one for each context. Past studies have dealt with this usage in a different manner, and this makes any comparison difficult. Brengelman (1957:102) confined himself to the observation that *dove* was distributed among all classes of informants in the Puget Sound, but he did not state if this was for the past tense or the past participle. The *Survey of Canadian English* (Scargill 1974:22) tested for a distinction between whether it was an animate or inanimate object that was doing the diving, but strictly in the past tense.

As the previous two tables show, there is a definite distinction between the past tense and the past participle and the form used for the majority of the informants with *dived* being used for the past participle by 70 percent of all the informants and *dove* being used for the past tense by 90 percent of the informants. This is by no means uniform. One speaker, a Canadian male above the age of 66, had the reverse usage in that *dived* was used in the past tense and *dove* was used as the past participle. Eight informants, four men and four women, had *dove* as both the past tense and past participle marker while another two informants, both of them American, had *dived* for both the past tense and the past participle. However, the majority of informants are definitely making the distinction between the past tense and the past participle in the form they use.

Table 4.34: Lend vs. Loan

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Lend Lent</u>	<u>Loan Loaned</u>	<u>Lend Loaned</u>	<u>Loan Lent</u>
Canadian male				
26 - 45	0	0	2	0
46 - 65	1	0	0	0
66 -	0	0	1	0
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$
American male				
16 - 25	1	1	0	0
26 - 45	1	0	0	0
46 - 65	0	0	1	1
66 -	1	2	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$
Canadian female				
26 - 45	0	0	1	0
46 - 65	0	0	1	0
66 -	0	1	0	0
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{0}$
American female				
15 - 25	1	0	1	1
26 - 45	5	0	1	1
46 - 65	0	1	1	0
66 -	0	1	0	0
	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{2}$
Total	10	6	10	3
Years of Residence of American Females				
5	1	0	1	0
7	1	0	0	0
10	0	1	1	1
14	1	0	0	0
18	1	0	0	0
21	1	0	0	1
24	1	1	0	0
35	0	0	1	0

Lend vs. Loan. One controversy among contemporary grammarians and language watchdogs is the use of the verb *lend* and the synonymous verb *loan*, originally derived from a noun. Grammarians contend that *lend* is the only acceptable form and that *loan* is strictly a noun, despite its widespread presence in general usage for the past 800 years (Rea 1968). One current feeling is that *lend* is British and *loan* is Scottish and North American.

Twenty years ago Rea (1968) identified a paradigmatic crossover in American English whereby *lend* is used in the present tense and *loaned* is used in the past tense. Among his informants, 65 percent of them used the *lend/loan* paradigm with the remainder using *lend/lent*, *loan/loaned* about equally, and a small percentage using *loan/lent*.

Table 4.34 confirms the presence of the paradigmatic crossover among the residents of Point Roberts, but the overall distribution among the various possibilities is scattered. The Canadian speakers appear to be moving toward the uniform usage of *lend/loaned* as five out of seven (71 percent) of them reported using it. This usage is present to a lesser degree among the American informants (only 9 percent of all Americans) but is present among both sexes and in all age categories.

There are only two other items of significance to take note of. The first is that the two occurrences of *loan/lent* were only among the Americans. The second thing of significance is the high number of occurrences of *lend/lent* among the American women (46 percent of this group) when there were no Canadian women who reported using this paradigm. This may indicate a concern for the "correct" form among this group of speakers and a resistance to the *lend/loaned* paradigm

that appears to be taking over many American dialects as well as Canadian English.

Table 4.35: (Looks) Like vs. As If

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Like</u>	<u>As If</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{2}$
American male		
16 - 25	1	1
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	2	2
	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{3}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American female		
15 - 25	1	2
26 - 45	5	2
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{7}$	$\bar{6}$
Total	18	12
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	2	0
7	1	0
10	1	2
14	0	1
18	0	1
21	1	1
24	1	1
35	1	0

Like vs. As If. This was another item on the questionnaire that dealt with the "correct" form as opposed to what is in more common usage. Grammarians usually state that *as if* is the standard form, but as the *Survey of Canadian English* (Scargill 1974:37) points out, *like* has been used to introduce subordinate clauses since the sixteenth century. Among British Columbians, 67 to 80 percent of speakers use *like* with the higher percentile representing the younger age groups while between 18 and 47 percent of speakers report using *as if* with the higher percentile representing the older age groups. Brengelman (1957) did not test for this, so there is no information on the distribution among speakers in the Puget Sound.

The results of the present study show that *like* is clearly the preferred term among the majority of speakers of both nationalities; five out of eight Canadian informants chose this term (63 percent of this nationality) and thirteen of the 21 American informants chose it (62 percent of this nationality). The distribution of *as if*, however, is scattered with no clear pattern by age, sex, or nationality. Among the Canadians, no informant in the 46 - 65 age group used *as if*. Among the Americans, *as if* occurred among all age groups, but in a lesser frequency than *like*. The only possible conclusion, then, is that while grammarians opt for *as if* as the correct form, *like* is preferred by the majority of North American speakers.

Table 4.36: Sick () his stomach (To vs. At vs. In)

<u>Informant</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>At</u>	<u>In</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	2	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$
American male			
16 - 25	1	0	1
26 - 45	0	1	0
46 - 65	1	0	1
66 -	3	0	1
	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{3}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	2	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$
American female			
15 - 25	3	0	0
26 - 45	6	0	1
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{12}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{1}$
Total	25	1	4
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	2	0	0
7	1	0	0
10	3	0	0
14	1	0	0
18	1	0	0
21	2	0	0
24	2	0	0
35	0	0	1

Sick () his stomach. To vs. At vs. In. The use of these three prepositions in this particular phrase is widely distributed among the various dialects of English. In American English, *to* is the usually the preferred term among speakers of Northern English, *at* among Southern speakers, and *in* among Midland speakers. Avis (1957b) noted that in Canadian English, *to* was in competition with *at* and that the latter term was more common in Ontario. The *Survey of Canadian English* found that for British Columbians *to* was the preferred term, occurring between 74 and 83 percent of the time, while the other two terms occurred about equally. Brengelman (1957:106) found that in the Puget Sound *to* was by far the preferred term but that *at* did occur upon occasion.

As Table 4.36 shows, *to* was the uniform choice among the Canadian informants, and for them *at* and *in* are no longer viable alternatives, at least in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia. This preposition was the choice of the American informants as well, occurring 81 percent of the time. Two of the four *in* responses among the informants of this nationality, representing an overall occurrence of 10 percent, were among original Point Roberts residents of Icelandic descent, and this may well represent some type of second-language interference. The single incidence of *at* was from a resident of more than forty years.

The marked decrease of *at* and *in* among the Canadians, and the marked decrease of *at* among the Americans is a good example of the third principle of dialect contact whereby if a particular linguistic variable is receding among both of the contact dialects, it will continue to recede upon contact (see Chapter 6).

Table 4.37: A Quarter () the hour (To vs. Of)

<u>Informant</u>	<u>To</u>	<u>Of</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American male		
16 - 25	2	0
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	2	2
	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{3}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American female		
15 - 25	3	0
26 - 45	7	0
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{13}$	$\bar{0}$
Total	27	3

To vs. Of vs. Til. This situation is quite similar to that of sick *to*, *at*, *in* where there is a choice of prepositions but no one form is considered the "correct" one and the distribution is mainly by individual dialect (Scargill 1974:28). In Northern American English, *of* is the preposition of choice, and *to* is considered more com-

mon in British English. Again, both Canadian English and the speech of Washington show a mixed usage; in British Columbia, *to* occurs 96 to 98 percent of the time while *to* and *til* occur only one percent of the time (Scargill 1974:28). The results from Brengelman's study (Brengelman 1957:105) are difficult to interpret because he did not divide his responses between *to* and *of*, which altogether occurred among 25 of 33 of his informants; *til* is reported as occurring among ten percent of the informants.

The distribution of these variables again illustrates the third principle of dialect contact. *Til* did not occur at all, indicating a complete recession among both British Columbians and Washingtonians; *of* did not occur at all among the Canadian informants, conforming essentially to the results of the SCE, and the three incidences of *of* occurred only among American men over the age of forty-five, representing a total occurrence of 14 percent among the informants of this nationality. *To* is clearly becoming the only viable term in this context, indicating a transition to the Canadian pattern of usage.

Table 4.38: (Different) Than vs. From

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Than</u>	<u>From</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{2}$
American male		
16 - 25	0	2
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	1	3
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{8}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{2}$
American female		
15 - 25	2	1
26 - 45	4	3
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{7}$
Total	11	19
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	0	2
7	1	0
10	1	2
14	0	1
18	1	0
21	2	0
24	0	2
35	1	0

(Different) Than vs. From vs. To. Like the previous two sets of prepositions, the choice of preposition in this specific context is mixed among the various dialects of English, only in this case it does not appear that any one preposition is the unique choice of a particular dialect. Brengelman (1957) did not test for this item in his survey of the Puget Sound, and the *Survey of Canadian English* (Scargill 1974:42) reports that in British Columbia, *than* is the preferred term, occurring among 64 and 75 percent of the speakers with the higher percentile representing the younger speakers. *From* is the secondary term among this group, occurring between 18 and 30 percent of the time, and *to* occurs among two to seven percent of the speakers.

To did not occur in the present survey, showing a complete lack of use among the Canadian informants. While *from* appears to be the choice of the majority of informants, occurring 63 percent of the time overall, among the American women under the age of 46, there is almost equally divided usage between *than* (four informants) and *from* (three informants). Among the Canadian informants, there was a similar relationship to age, with three out of six informants under the age of 45 choosing *than*. We can tentatively conclude from this that while *from* is the variant used by the majority of speakers of both nationalities, *than* is more commonly used by the younger speakers of both nationalities.

Table 4.39: Behind vs. In Back Of

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Behind</u>	<u>In Back Of</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{2}$
American male		
16 - 25	1	1
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	0	4
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{7}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American female		
15 - 25	1	2
26 - 45	4	3
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{7}$	$\bar{6}$
Total	14	16
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	1	1
7	1	0
10	1	2
14	0	1
18	1	0
21	1	1
24	1	1
35	1	0

Behind vs. In Back of vs. Back of. Avis (1957b) identified these three prepositions, simple and complex, occurring among the various English dialects. *In back of* is the most common term in the Northern dialect of American English. In Canadian English, *behind* is most common, occurring in British Columbia between 84 and 87 percent of the time; *back of* is the second choice, and *in back of* occurs only between five and seven percent of the time (Scargill 1974:37). Brengelman (1957) did not test for this item, so there is no available information on the distribution of these prepositional phrases among Washingtonians.

Among the informants of the present study, *in back* did not occur, indicating a recession among British Columbians. Among this group, while *behind* remained the preferred term, *in back of* occurred among three of the eight informants, indicating a surprising increase in usage for this variant from 5 to 7 percent up to 38 percent. Among the Americans, *in back of* was the term used by the majority of the male informants (77 percent of this group) with only two occurrences of *behind*. Among the American women, *behind* and *in back of* were distributed evenly with no relationship to age or years of residence in the community. We can conclude from this, then, that while *back of* is no longer a viable alternative for the informants, *behind* and *in back of* are in an equal competition among all of the informants but that *behind* is slightly more preferred by the Canadians and *in back of* is slightly more preferred by the Americans.

Chapter 5

RESULTS: PHONOLOGICAL

5.1 Introduction

One of the major problems with the analysis of the results in the present study is the marked difference between Brengelman's (1957) study of the English spoken in Washington, the *Survey of Canadian English*, and Stevenson's (1976) study in British Columbia. All of these tested for different linguistic variables that were of concern for their particular geographic areas, and oftentimes these linguistic variables did not overlap. These factors make any comparison between British Columbia and Washington speakers uneven. Brengelman, for example, tested for the *horse/hoarse* distinction, giving the distribution for this variable among Washingtonians, but Stevenson tested for this only superficially in British Columbia. In a similar fashion, Stevenson tested for the two possible pronunciations in *shone* but Brengelman did not, and the distribution of the two possible pronunciations in Washington is unknown. As a result, the background information is sketchy for many of the phonological variables, and this makes any comparisons with the Point Roberts informants in the present study and any conclusions about the transition patterns necessarily tentative. Also, some of the items tested for (e.g. *blouse*) were based on the researcher's own observations and have not been tested in any previous studies.

The analysis of the phonological variables tested in the Point Roberts study are presented in this chapter in alphabetical order except where they have been grouped together as a class in order to facilitate the exposition; the analysis of individual words is presented in section 5.2, and the analysis of phonological rules and entire word classes is presented in section 5.3. If the analysis presented is based on the questionnaire results, this is indicated on the table headings with a Q; if the analysis is based on the tape-recorded interviews, this is shown on the table headings with a T. The total number of informants for each item may vary from twenty-one to twenty-nine; this is due to such factors as blank answers on the questionnaires and the larger number of informants who filled out the questionnaires but did not participate in the tape-recorded interviews. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the "Years of Residence" column refers strictly to the American women.

Table 5.1: Again (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/əgen/</u>	<u>/əgin/</u>	<u>/əgɛn/</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	1	0	1
46 - 65	0	0	1
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{3}$
American male			
16 - 25	0	0	1
26 - 45	0	0	1
46 - 65	1	0	1
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{4}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	2	0	0
46 - 65	0	1	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{0}$
American female			
16 - 25	0	0	2
26 - 45	1	0	5
46 - 65	1	0	1
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{9}$
Total	7	1	16
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	0	0	2
7	0	0	1
10	0	0	3
14	0	0	1
18	0	0	1
21	1	0	1
24	0	0	1
35	1	0	0

5.2 Individual Words

Again. Regarding the pronunciation of this word, there is a mixed usage on both sides of the border, although the competing pronunciations are not the same in British Columbia and in Washington. Scargill (1974:72) notes that the tensed vowel /e/ is used by Canadian speakers but that /ɛ/ can also be found. In British Columbia, he reports a usage of 61 to 73 percent for the tensed variant with the older informants representing the higher percentile and a usage of 26 to 38 percent for the lax variant with the younger informants representing the higher percentile. By contrast, Reed (1961:561) noted that for Washington speakers in the Puget Sound, /ɛ/ is the usual variant but another lax variant, /ɪ/, is sometimes heard. Brengelman (1957:126) confirms this usage but does not give any figures for it. Both researchers agree, however, that the tensed variant /e/ does not occur among Washingtonians.

The results of the present study, by and large, confirm this pattern of usage among the Point Roberts informants. Three of the four Canadian women and one of the four Canadian men used the tensed variable /e/ while the three remaining Canadian men used the lax variant /ɛ/. The single occurrence of the lax variant /ɪ/ was given by a Canadian woman who has been residing in Point Roberts for nineteen years, and this occurrence may represent a diffusion from the English spoken in the Puget Sound.

Among the American men, only one informant used the tensed variant /e/ while the four remaining male informants used the lax variant /ɛ/. The one informant who used the tensed variant, it should be noted, has been residing in

Point Roberts for more than seventy years, and his use of this tensed variant may represent a diffusion from Canadian English. Among the American women, eight of the informants used the lax variant /ɛ/, showing a marked preference for this variant. Of the two informants in this group who used the tensed variant /e/, both have lived in Point Roberts for more than twenty-one years. If we take into account the single occurrence of this tensed variant among the American men, we can tentatively conclude that there is a transition period beginning at twenty-one years for this particular variant but that this diffusion from Canadian English is not uniform beyond twenty-one years because two other American informants who have been resident just as long did not use it.

Table 5.2: Almond (T)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/l/</u>	<u>/l/ or /o/</u>	<u>/o/</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	0	1	0
46 - 65	0	1	0
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$
American male			
16 - 25	0	0	1
26 - 45	0	1	0
46 - 65	1	1	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	0	1	0
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{1}$
American female			
16 - 25	0	2	0
26 - 45	1	1	4
46 - 65	1	0	1
66 -	0	1	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{5}$
Total	5	9	8
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	0	2	0
7	0	0	1
10	0	1	2
14	0	0	1
18	0	0	1
21	1	1	0
24	0	1	0
35	1	0	0

Almond, Palm, Salmon. Scargill (1974:85) notes that for this class of words, the /l/ was not originally pronounced but came into the language purely as an etymological spelling device, and speakers later inserted the /l/ in their pronunciation so that it would match the spelling. The reported usage for the /l/ in *almond* in British Columbia is between 56 and 68 percent, which is similar to the reported usages in the rest of Canada. Brengelman (1957:130) notes that the /l/ occurs in Washington, but he does not give any information on its distribution because he was more concerned with the quality of the vowel preceding the /l/.

The results for the present study reveal a scattered usage with no relationship by age, sex, nationality, or years of residence for this class of words. This scattered pattern is most noticeable in the pronunciation of *almond* as there appears to be a variable usage; a total of nine informants in all groups fluctuate between using the /l/ and not using it. There is a similarly scattered pattern of the use of /l/ in *palm*; fourteen of the informants (48 percent) use the /l/ all the time, ten do not use it (34 percent), and five informants use it variably (17 percent). This may not be the true state of affairs, however, because this particular item was not tested in the tape-recorded interviews, and the preceding table may reflect only the informants' intuitions. Also, there may be a previously unsuspected differentiation at work; one informant reported that he pronounced the /l/ in *palm* when referring to a *palm tree* but did not pronounce the /l/ when referring to the *palm of his hand*. This would require more investigation before any firm conclusion could be reached.

The word *salmon* was tested only in the tape-recorded interviews, and there was a uniform pronunciation of /sæmən/ among all informants, American and Can-

Table 5.3: Palm (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/l/</u>	<u>/l/ or /ø/</u>	<u>/ø/</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	0	1	0
46 - 65	0	0	1
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{2}$
American male			
16 - 25	1	1	0
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	2	0	2
	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{2}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	1	1	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{0}$
American female			
16 - 25	2	0	1
26 - 45	2	2	3
46 - 65	1	0	1
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{6}$
Total	14	5	10
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	1	0	1
7	0	0	1
10	2	0	1
14	0	1	0
18	0	0	1
21	0	1	1
24	1	0	1
35	1	0	0

adian. It may be, however, that the choice of the vowel is affecting the presence or absence of the /l/. *Salmon* can have either the vowel /ɔ/ or the vowel /æ/; if the former vowel is used, it has been the researcher's experience that the /l/ is almost obligatory, giving the pronunciation /sɔlmən/. If the latter vowel is chosen, however, the /l/ never seems to appear, as is the case among the Point Roberts informants.

Table 5.4: Apricot (T)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/eprikot/</u>	<u>/e/ or /æ/</u>	<u>/əprikot/</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	0	0	1
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{2}$
American male			
16 - 25	0	0	1
26 - 45	0	1	0
46 - 65	0	2	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	0	0	1
46 - 65	0	1	0
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{2}$
American female			
16 - 25	2	0	1
26 - 45	0	5	2
46 - 65	1	0	1
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{5}$
Total	5	9	10
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	1	1	0
7	0	1	0
10	0	1	2
14	0	0	1
18	0	0	1
21	1	1	0
24	1	0	1
35	0	1	0

Apricot. Like the pronunciation of *again*, the pronunciation of *apricot* varies on either side of the border, but in this case, the competing pronunciations are the same on both sides. Brengelman (1957:134) reports an equal occurrence of /eprɪkət/ and /æprɪkət/ in the Puget Sound, but he does not give the distribution by such factors as age and sex. He also notes that the /e/ occurs invariably in such words as *vase* and *tomato* among Washingtonians. Stevenson (1976:32-3) notes that both variants of *apricot* occur in British Columbia with the /eprɪkət/ variant occurring 59 percent of the time for the province as a whole and 42 percent of the time in the Lower Mainland region bordering on Point Roberts.

The results on the preceding table confirm these previous findings. Among the Canadian informants, one chose /eprɪkət/, four chose /æprɪkət/, and one noted that she used both variants interchangeably. Among the American informants, four of them chose /eprɪkət/, six chose /æprɪkət/, and eight used both variants interchangeably. The only tenuous relationship is by nationality; a higher percentage of the American informants (44 percent) used the two variants interchangeably than did the Canadian informants (17 percent)

The only relationship in the distribution of the two variants to years of residence was among the men. The only American male who reported using /æprɪkət/ had been residing in Point Roberts for ten years; the other three informants in this category reported using either both variants interchangeably or the /eprɪkət/ variant, and all three had been resident for more than ten years. Among the American women, no similar relationship to the years of residence was present.

The overall situation appears to be that of a stable and continuing competition between the two variants with no one variant being or becoming the dominant one for either Canadian or American speakers along this part of the border.

Table 5.5: Tomato (T)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/təmeto/</u>	<u>/təmato/</u>	<u>/təmɔto/</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$
American male			
16 - 25	1	0	0
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	0	1	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{0}$
American female			
16 - 25	2	0	0
26 - 45	5	0	1
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{9}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{1}$
Total	19	1	1
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	2	0	0
7	0	0	1
10	3	0	0
14	1	0	0
18	1	0	0
21	2	0	0
24	1	0	0
35	1	0	0

Tomato. As previously mentioned, among speakers in the Puget Sound, /təmeto/ occurs universally (Bregelman 1957:134). Across the border in British Columbia, however, there is variation in the pronunciation of this term with three variants in competition with each other, i.e. /təmeto/, /təməto/, and /təməto/. Stevenson (1976:30-1) reports that /təmeto/ is the preferred term with 87 percent of her informants reporting this usage. The remaining 13 percent was evenly divided between the other two variants, and she noted that these occurrences were mainly among older informants and informants on Vancouver Island.

The results in the present study confirm this pattern of usage for both Canadian and American informants; /təmeto/ occurred among nineteen of the twenty-one informants (90 percent) in the tape-recorded interviews, with one occurrence apiece for the two other variants. Both of these two occurrences were among the female informants, one Canadian and one American, and both informants were in the 26 - 45 age group, so there is a possible, though tenuous, relationship to sex and age.

Table 5.6: Vase (T)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/ves/</u>	<u>/vez/</u>	<u>/vɔz/</u>	<u>/væz/</u>
Canadian male				
26 - 45	0	1	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	0	0
66 -	0	0	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{1}$
American male				
16 - 25	1	0	0	0
26 - 45	1	0	0	0
46 - 65	2	0	0	0
66 -	0	1	0	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$
Canadian female				
26 - 45	1	0	0	0
46 - 65	0	0	1	0
66 -	0	0	1	0
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{0}$
American female				
16 - 25	2	0	0	0
26 - 45	2	2	2	0
46 - 65	1	0	0	0
66 -	1	0	0	0
	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{0}$
Total	12	4	4	1
Years of Residence of American Females				
5	2	0	0	0
7	0	0	1	0
10	2	1	0	0
14	1	0	0	0
18	1	0	0	0
24	0	1	0	0
35	0	0	1	0

Vase. As has been previously pointed out, Brengelman 1957:134) notes that for speakers in the Puget Sound, the vowel /e/ is invariant in usage for vase. He notes as well (Brengelman 1957:120) that the second consonant in this word is always the devoiced /s/; these two statements, taken together, imply that /ves/ is the invariant pronunciation among Washingtonians.

The situation is quite different in British Columbia. Stevenson (1976:31, 64) reports that /vɔz/ is the preferred term among Canadian speakers in this province, occurring 63 percent of the time, followed by /vez/ among 26 percent of the speakers; /ves/ is the least preferred variant, occurring among only 9 percent of the speakers.

The results of the present study show a certain degree of diffusion from both dialects among the residents of Point Roberts. There was a fairly scattered pattern among the Canadian informants, but what is significant is that two of the six informants (33 percent) chose /ves/, which represents an increase in the occurrence for this variant from Stevenson's reported distribution. Of the four remaining informants, two (33 percent) chose /vɔz/, and the remaining two informants were split between the two other variants.

Among the American informants, there was not an invariant usage of /ves/. Five of the fifteen informants in this group (33 percent) chose either the voiced version of the second consonant, i.e. [vez], or the preferred variant among British Columbians, i.e. /vɔz/. This represents a significant diffusion from Canadian English. What the ultimate resolution of this two-way diffusion will be in the transition area along this part of the border is yet uncertain because no one variant appears to be becoming dominant.

Table 5.7: Aunt (T)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/ant/</u>	<u>/ə/ or /a/ or /ɔ/</u>	<u>/ont/ /ant/</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$
American male			
16 - 25	1	0	0
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{1}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$
American female			
16 - 25	2	0	0
26 - 45	5	1	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{9}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{0}$
Total	19	1	1
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	2	0	0
7	0	1	0
10	3	0	0
14	1	0	0
18	1	0	0
21	1	0	0
24	2	0	0
35	1	0	0

Table 5.8: Rather (T)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/rɛðər/</u>	<u>/ræðər/</u>	<u>/rɔðər/</u> <u>/rəðəf/</u>
	-	-	
Canadian male			
26 - 45	0	1	0
46 - 65	0	1	0
66 -	0	1	0
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$
American male			
16 - 25	0	1	0
26 - 45	0	1	0
46 - 65	1	1	0
66 -	0	1	0
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	0	1	0
46 - 65	0	1	0
66 -	0	1	0
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$
American female			
16 - 25	1	1	0
26 - 45	4	1	1
46 - 65	0	1	0
66 -	0	1	0
	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{1}$
Total	6	14	1

Aunt, Rather, Dance, Calf. While /æ/ is the usual vowel in the initial syllable for this class of words, both Brengelman (1957:129) and Scargill (1974:84-5) note that among North American speakers, /a/, /ɛ/, or /ɔ/ may sometimes occur. Brengelman's results for the Puget Sound show that the /a/ vowel occurred in *dance* and *calf* in two of his thirty-three informants (6 percent) and in three of his of his informants (10 percent) for *aunt*; he refers to this usage as an artificial prestige form (Brengelman 1957:163). Beyond noting that the /ɛ/ vowel is the most commonly heard one after /æ/, he gives no indication of its distribution or any relationship to age or sex.

On the Canadian side of the border, past researchers have not tested for the pronunciations of *calf* or *dance*, so information on the distribution of variants for these items is not available. However, Stevenson (1976:39) did ask on the questionnaire for British Columbia if *ant* and *aunt* rhymed and reports that these two words did not rhyme for 27 out of over 300 informants in the questionnaire (9 percent), and Scargill (1974:85) gives a similar percentage for the SCE (13 to 16 percent). However, neither study gives any indication of what particular vowel is occurring in place of the /æ/.

The information available on the distribution of variants in *rather* is more concrete. Stevenson's analysis for British Columbia (Stevenson 1976:36-7) shows that /æ/ occurs among 85 percent of the informants, /ɔ/ among 26 percent of the older informants, and /ɛ/ not at all.

The results in the present study reveal an increasing preference for the /æ/ vowel in this class of words for all the groups of informants. This vowel occurred universally in *dance* and *calf*, in 19 of the 21 informants, or 90 percent, in *aunt*,

and in 14 of the 21 informants, (66 percent) in *rather*. It is important to note that this vowel occurred uniformly among the Canadians for *aunt* and *rather*, indicating a recession of the competing variants; it was only the American informants who had these alternate variants.

Among these informants, /ɔ/ did not occur in *aunt* or *rather*, /a/ occurred twice (13 percent) in *aunt* and once (6 percent) in *rather*. In the latter word, the /ɛ/ variant occurred among six of the twenty-one informants (29 percent), with a slight relationship to sex (50 percent of the women as opposed to 20 percent of the men), but there was no relationship to age or years of residence.

A tentative conclusion that might be drawn is that while the /æ/ variant is increasing in occurrence for this class of words, the Americans are slower to adopt its uniform usage, and the pronunciation of *rather* is the one that will most likely be the last to adopt the uniform use of this variant, especially among the women.

Table 5.9: Been (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/bin/</u>	<u>/i/ or /ε/</u>	<u>/bɛn/</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	2	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$
American male			
16 - 25	1	0	1
26 - 45	0	1	0
46 - 65	0	0	2
66 -	1	0	3
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{6}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$
American female			
16 - 25	1	0	2
26 - 45	2	1	3
46 - 65	1	0	1
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{7}$
Total	13	2	13
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	0	0	2
7	1	0	0
10	1	0	2
14	0	1	0
18	0	0	1
21	1	0	1
24	1	0	0
35	0	0	1

Been. Very little information is available on the distribution of variants for this particular word. Scargill (1974) and Stevenson (1976) did not test for it in their studies of Canadian English, and Brengelman (1957:126) remarks that while the tensed variant is sometimes heard in the Puget Sound, the majority of speakers show the use of one of two lax variants, i.e. /ɛ/ or /ɪ/. He gives no further information of the distribution of these variants. However, it has been the researcher's observation that the tensed variant /i/ is very common in Canadian English but very rare in American English. Brengelman's observation, then, probably represents a degree of diffusion from Canadian English to the speech of the Puget Sound.

As the preceding table shows, there was a uniform occurrence of the tensed variant /i/ among the Canadian informants, and no occurrences of either of the lax variants. Among the American informants, the lax variant /ɪ/ did not occur. Six out of the twenty-one informants in this group (29 percent) reported using the tensed variant that is more commonly heard in Canadian English, and two informants (9 percent) reported using it some of the time. Thirteen informants, 62 percent, used the lax variant /ɛ/. These results indicate a significant diffusion from Canadian English in the occurrence of the tensed variant and a possible recession in the one lax variant among the American informants.

Table 5.10: Blouse (T)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/blaws/</u>	<u>/s/ or /z/</u>	<u>/blawz/</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{1}$
American male			
16 - 25	1	0	0
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	0	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{0}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{1}$
American female			
16 - 25	1	1	0
26 - 45	3	0	3
46 - 65	1	0	1
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{4}$
Total	14	2	6
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	2	0	0
7	0	0	1
10	2	1	0
14	0	0	1
18	1	0	0
24	1	0	1
35	0	0	1

Blouse. The decision to test the pronunciation of this word was based strictly on the author's own observation that speakers of Canadian English sometimes use the voiced variant but that speakers of Northern American English uniformly use the voiceless variant. No previous studies have tested for the distribution of variants in this particular word.

As the table on the preceding page shows, two of the six Canadian informants (33 percent) and four of the sixteen American informants (25 percent) use the voiced variant /z/. Two of these sixteen informants use the voiced /z/ and devoiced /s/ variants interchangeably. Only ten of the sixteen American informants (63 percent) display the use of the devoiced /s/ variant.

Among the American informants there appears to be a relationship to age and years of residence in the use of the voiced /z/ variant. The single male informant who reported using this variant some of the time has been resident in the community for more than seventy years. Among the women, the occurrence of the voiced variant was confined to the under-45 age groups, and within this age group, unevenly after seven years of residence and uniformly after twenty-four years of residence.

Any conclusions at this point would be rash since there is no available information on the occurrence of these variants in Canadian English. Also, another phonological rule present in Canadian English, i.e. Canadian Raising, affects the pronunciation of the diphthong in this word, and whether this rule applies is dependent upon the choice of voiced /z/ or devoiced /s/ variants (see section 3).

Table 5.11: Bury (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/beri/</u>	<u>/ɛ/ or /u/</u>	<u>/buri/</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	1	0	1
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{1}$
American male			
16 - 25	2	0	0
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	1	1	0
66 -	3	1	0
	$\bar{7}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{0}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	1	0	1
46 - 65	0	0	1
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{2}$
American female			
16 - 25	3	0	0
26 - 45	5	1	1
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{11}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{1}$
Total	23	3	4
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	2	0	0
7	1	0	0
10	3	0	0
14	0	1	0
18	0	0	1
21	2	0	0
24	2	0	0
35	1	0	0

Bury. Scargill (1974:62-3) reports that in Canadian English the variant /u/ is in competition with /ε/. The SCE results show an occurrence of the former variant of 20 to 29 percent in British Columbia, and Stevenson (1976:40) confirms this with a reported occurrence of 30 percent with no relationship to age. However, she gives no indication whether or not there is a relationship by geographic location within the province or by sex. Brengleman (1957) did not test for this item, and as a result, there is no information on the occurrence of these variants in the Puget Sound.

The results of the present study show that the /u/ variant occurred in the speech of three of the eight Canadian informants (38 percent) and among one of the twenty-two American informants (5 percent). Three of the American informants (14 percent) reported using this variant some of the time. Like the Canadian informants, there does not appear to be any relationship in the occurrence of this variant to age. As well, there appears to be no relationship to sex or years of residence. There does appear to be a slight relationship to nationality, however, since fewer American than Canadian informants report using this variant; whether this represents a diffusion from Canadian English is uncertain, however, since there is no information on the occurrence of the /u/ among Washingtonians.

Table 5.12: Caramel (T)

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Two syllables</u>	<u>Three syllables</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$
American male		
16 - 25	1	0
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{1}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{2}$
American female		
16 - 25	2	0
26 - 45	4	2
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{4}$
Total	13	8
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	2	0
7	1	0
10	3	0
14	0	1
18	0	1
24	0	1
35	0	1

Caramel, Picnic. In many North American dialects, these two words can be pronounced with either two syllables, /karməl/ /pɪknɪk/, or three, /kərəməɪ/ /pɪkənɪk/. Scargill (1974:68) reports an evenly-divided distribution of the alternate pronunciation of *caramel* for British Columbia but gives no indication of the distributions for *picnic*. Brengelman did not test for these items, and as a result, there is no information on their distribution among Washingtonians.

There was a uniform occurrence of two syllables in *picnic*. However, as the preceding table shows, there was an equal occurrence among the Canadian speakers of the two- and three-syllable variants of *caramel*. Among the American informants, there was a clear relationship in the distribution of these variants to the years of residence. The single occurrence of the three-syllable variant among the men was with an informant who had been resident for more than 70 years. Among the women, the two-syllable variant occurred uniformly at less than ten years of residence, and the three-syllable variant occurred uniformly after fourteen years of residence.

This relationship of the three-syllable variant to the years of residence among the American informants leads to a suspicion this variant occurs only among Canadian speakers and that there is a 14-year transition point for the American women and a later transition point for the American men for this particular variant, representing a diffusion from Canadian English.

Table 5.13: Celica (T)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/sɛlɪkə/</u>	<u>/sɛlɪkə/</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$
American male		
16 - 25	0	1
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{2}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$
American female		
16 - 25	0	2
26 - 45	1	5
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{8}$
Total	10	11
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	0	2
7	1	0
10	1	1
14	0	1
18	0	1
24	0	2
35	0	1

Celica. This item was tested for based on the author's observation that in Canadian English the second syllable carries the main word stress whereas in American English it is the first syllable that carries the main word stress.

In the main, these results were borne out in the Point Roberts study. Of the six Canadian informants who participated in the tape-recorded interviews, five of them (83 percent) put the main word stress on the second syllable. Of the fifteen American informants, ten (66 percent) put the main word stress on the first syllable. Of the five American informants who stressed this word according to the Canadian pattern, there was a definite relationship by sex; 60 percent of the male informants stressed the second syllable as opposed to the 20 percent of female informants. There was no further relationship to age or years of residence.

There were further hints of stressing differences between Canadian and American English that came out during the direct questioning period of the tape-recorded interviews. More than one informant was aware of the stressing difference in this particular word. Additionally, they had noticed stressing differences in other words, e.g. *decal*. This particular problem needs a great deal of further exploration before any conclusions can be drawn.

Table 5.14: Christmas (T)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/kristməs/</u>	<u>/krisməs/</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{3}$
American male		
16 - 25	0	1
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{5}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{2}$
American female		
16 - 25	1	1
26 - 45	0	6
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{9}$
Total	2	19
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	0	2
7	1	0
10	0	1
14	0	1
18	0	1
24	0	2
35	0	1

Table 5.15: Often (T)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/ɔftən/</u>	<u>/ɔfən/</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$
American male		
16 - 25	0	1
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{5}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{2}$
American female		
16 - 25	2	0
26 - 45	3	3
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{5}$
Total	8	13
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	2	0
7	0	1
10	1	1
14	0	1
18	0	1
24	1	1
35	1	0

Often, Christmas. These two items were again tested for as a result of the author's own observations that among Canadians in the Lower Mainland and Vancouver Island regions of British Columbia there is a tendency to reinsert the /t/ consonant, more often in *often*, whereas in the English spoken in Washington the /t/ remains deleted.

As Table 5.14 shows, the /t/ in *Christmas* occurred only among two of the twenty-one informants (9 percent). There was a clear relationship to sex as both of these informants were female, but there was no clear relationship to nationality (one informant was American, one Canadian), and no relationship to age or years of residence.

There was a definite pattern in the distribution of the /t/ phoneme in *often*, at least among the American informants. Among the Canadian informants, fifty percent had the [t] phoneme, and there was no clear relationship to age or sex. Among the American informants, however, this phoneme occurred among five of the fifteen informants (33 percent) with a clear relationship to the sex and the age of the informant; all five of these informants were female, and all five were under the age of 46. As well, this distribution was uniform in all females under the age of twenty-five. There was no relationship to the years of residence in the community.

Table 5.16: Either (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/iðər/</u>	<u>/i/ or /ay/</u>	<u>/ayðər/</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	0	1	1
46 - 65	0	1	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$
American male			
16 - 25	1	1	0
26 - 45	0	1	0
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	3	1	0
	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	1	0	1
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{1}$
American female			
16 - 25	3	0	0
26 - 45	2	3	2
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{8}$	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{2}$
Total	18	8	4
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	2	0	0
7	1	0	0
10	3	0	0
14	0	1	0
18	0	1	0
21	1	1	0
24	1	0	1
35	0	0	1

Either, Neither. According to Scargill (1974:77), the pronunciation of these two words with the /ay/ diphthong is associated with British English and is, therefore, sometimes found in Canadian English whereas the pronunciation with /i/ is associated with American English. Among British Columbians, the /ay/ diphthong occurs among 24 to 36 percent of the speakers. Brengelman (1957:133) states that among Washingtonians, *either* and *neither* always have /i/.

As tables 5.16 and 5.17 indicate, there are different patterns of distribution for these two words. Among the Canadian informants, two of the eight informants (25 percent) reported using the /ay/ diphthong uniformly, two (25 percent) reported using it some of the time, and four (50 percent) reported using the /i/ uniformly in *either*. There was no relationship to age but a slight relationship to the sex of the informant; 75 percent of the women used /i/ uniformly, and none of them used /ay/ as opposed to the 25 percent of the men that used /i/ and the 25 percent that used /ay/ uniformly.

Among the American informants, there was a clear relationship to age and years of residence in the distribution of the /ay/ diphthong in *either*. Among the men, none reported using /ay/ uniformly, but three reported using it some of the time. There was no relationship to age and years of residence among this group. Among the women, however, this diphthong occurred uniformly or variably only among the 26 - 45 age group and only after ten years of residence.

A somewhat different pattern emerges for the distribution of the /ay/ diphthong in *neither*. Among the men, the clearest relationship was by age, no matter what their nationality; all male informants under the age of 46 used this diphthong as opposed to all male informants over the age of 46 who used /i/.

Table 5.17: Neither (T)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/niðər/</u>	<u>/nayðər/</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{2}$
American male		
16 - 25	0	1
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{2}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$
American female		
16 - 25	2	0
26 - 45	2	4
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{4}$
Total	13	8
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	2	0
7	1	0
10	2	0
14	0	1
18	0	1
24	1	1
35	0	1

Among the Canadian women, the pattern was very close to that of *either*; all Canadian females used /i/ in this word. This adherence to a very similar pattern was true among the American women as well; only the 26 - 45 age group used the /ay/ diphthong, and this was only after fourteen years of residence as opposed to the ten years of residence for *either*.

These results show a definite diffusion from Canadian English. The actual pattern of diffusion is probably something as follows: Americans under the age of forty-six are more likely to adopt the usage of the /ay/ diphthong, and among the women there is evidence for this diphthong being adopted after ten years of residence for *either* and after fourteen years of residence for *neither*.

Table 5.18: February (T)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/fɛbruɛri/</u>	<u>/fɛbyuɛri/</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$
American male		
16 - 25	1	0
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{1}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$
American female		
16 - 25	1	1
26 - 45	0	6
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{8}$
Total	10	11
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	0	2
7	0	1
10	1	1
14	0	1
18	0	1
24	1	1
35	0	1

February. Brengelman (1957:123) reports that among speakers in the Puget Sound, the pronunciation of this word is always /fɛbyuɛri/. There is no information available on the distribution of variants for the term in Canadian English. As the results on the preceding table indicate, there has been a recession in the occurrence of this variant among the American men whereas the American women retain it. The clearest relationship for three of the four groups, however, is age. Among the male informants of both nationalities, this variant occurred uniformly between the ages of forty-six and sixty-five whereas in the other age groups, the /fɛbruɛri/ variant occurred uniformly. This latter variant occurred in the speech of two of the three Canadian women, but there was no relationship to age. Among the American women, a similar relationship with age emerged, with the 26 - 45 age group using the /fɛbyuɛri/ variant uniformly. The /fɛbruɛri/ variant occurred for only two informants but in two different age groups.

Overall, there was a preference for the /fɛbruɛri/ variant among the Canadian informants with four of the six informants (66 percent) choosing it and an overall preference for the /fɛbyuɛri/ variant among the Americans with nine of the fifteen informants (60 percent) choosing it. However, for the 26 - 45 age group among the American women and the 46 - 65 age group among the men of both nationalities, the /fɛbyuɛri/ variant was the preferred one.

Table 5.19: Syllables in Feel and Real (Q)

<u>Informant</u>	<u>One</u>	<u>Two</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American male		
16 - 25	1	1
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	3	1
	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{3}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	0	2
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{2}$
American female		
16 - 25	3	0
26 - 45	7	0
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{13}$	$\bar{0}$
Total	24	6

Feel, Real. Among the majority of English dialects, this class of words has one syllable; in the speech of the Puget Sound, however, the /l/ seems to be syllabic, resulting in a pronunciation with two syllables (Brenkelman 1957:133). There

is no exact information on the distribution of this syllabic /l/ in the Puget Sound, nor is there any information on its distribution in Canadian English.

As the results on the preceding table indicate, the distribution of the syllabic /l/ variant is limited; only six of the thirty informants (20 percent) report using it. Of these six informants, four (66 percent) were men, indicating a slight relationship to sex, and three (50 percent) were Canadian, indicating an equal distribution by nationality. None of the American female informants reported the use of the syllabic /l/.

It is impossible to draw any conclusions at this point regarding a possible transition pattern because these variants have not been tested for in Canadian English, resulting in incomplete background information, and Brengelman (1957) did not give accurate information on the distribution in the Puget Sound.

Table 5.20: Syllables in Film (T)

<u>Informant</u>	<u>One</u>	<u>Two</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$
American male		
16 - 25	1	0
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{0}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$
American female		
16 - 25	2	0
26 - 45	6	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{10}$	$\bar{0}$
Total	20	1

Film. Like the previous item, the issue is that of syllabicity, only in this case, the variant in question is a syllabic /m/, which Scargill (1974:82-3) reports as sometimes occurring in Canadian English. Specifically, in British Columbia the

syllabic /m/ occurs among 15 to 22 percent of the informants. Brengelman (1957) did not test for this item in the Puget Sound.

As the preceding table shows, one of the six Canadian informants (16 percent) reported the use of the syllabic /m/ whereas none of the American informants reported using it. Any conclusion on a possible transition pattern or a failure to diffuse, again, is impossible because of a lack of background information.

Table 5.21: Syllables in Mirror (Q)

<u>Informant</u>	<u>One</u>	<u>Two</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	0	2
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{4}$
American male		
16 - 25	0	2
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	1	3
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{8}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	0	2
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{4}$
American female		
16 - 25	0	3
26 - 45	0	7
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{11}$
Total	3	27

Mirror. Scargill (1974:71) reports a reduction to one syllable when the first syllable in this class of words is heavily stressed. For British Columbians, this reduction occurs among 86 to 89 percent of the informants in the word *squirrel*,

but the SCE did not test for this reduction in *mirror*. Brengelman (1957) did not test for this reduction in his Washington study, so no information is available on this occurrence among speakers in the Puget Sound.

The results of the present study show that, for *mirror* at least, the reduction did not occur among the Canadian speakers. Three out of the twenty-two American informants (14 percent) reported using the reduced variant; among this group there appears to be a slight relationship to age as all three informants were over the age of forty-six.

In order to reach any further conclusion on the occurrence of this reduction, studies would need to be done over a wider range of words that the rule applies to among both Canadian and American speakers.

Table 5.22: Really (T)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/rili/</u>	<u>/rili/</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$
American male		
16 - 25	0	1
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{3}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$
American female		
16 - 25	0	2
26 - 45	4	2
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{6}$
Total	10	11
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	0	2
7	1	0
10	0	2
14	1	0
18	0	1
24	1	1
35	1	0

Really. The purpose for testing this particular word was not, like *real*, to discover the number of syllables but to see if there was any patterned distribution between the tense /i/ vowel sometimes found in Canadian English and the lax /ɪ/ vowel common to the various dialects of American English.

As the results on the preceding table show, four of the six Canadian informants (66 percent) used the tense /i/ variant whereas six of the 15 American informants (40 percent) used it. The major relationship, however, appears to be to age; of the two Canadian informants (33 percent) who used the lax /ɪ/ variant, both were in the 46 -65 age group. Among the American informants, all male informants under the age of 45 uniformly chose the lax /ɪ/ variant, the 45 -65 age group was evenly divided between the two variants, and the single informant over the age of 66 chose the tense /i/ variant. Among the American women, only four informants in the 26 - 45 age group chose the tense /i/ variant; all the female informants in the remaining age groups chose the lax /ɪ/ variant. The relationship with the years of residence is uncertain; when the tensed variant occurred, it was after seven years of residence, but the occurrence was not uniform except after twenty-four years of residence for both men and women.

Table 5.23: Fertile (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/fertel/</u>	<u>/fertayl/</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	0	2
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{4}$
American male		
16 - 25	1	1
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	4	0
	$\bar{7}$	$\bar{2}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	0	2
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{4}$
American female		
16 - 25	3	0
26 - 45	3	3
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{9}$	$\bar{3}$
Total	16	13
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	2	0
7	0	1
10	3	0
14	1	0
18	0	1
21	2	0
24	2	0
35	0	1

Fertile. Scargill (1974:80-1) reports that the use of the /ay/ diphthong in this class of words is associated with British English whereas the use of the syllabic /l/ is associated with American English. Among British Columbians, 9 to 20 percent of the informants report using the diphthong whereas the remainder use the syllabic /l/. Brengelman (1957) did not test for this class of words in his linguistic survey of the Puget Sound.

The results of the present study show a uniform use of the /ay/ diphthong among the Canadian speakers, which represents a remarkable increase from the reported usage of the SCE. Among the American informants, five (24 percent) reported using the diphthong, which may well represent a diffusion from Canadian English. There was no relationship with the age or years of residence among the men for this variant; among the women, however, there was a clear relationship very similar to the relationship found in *really*. The only three informants among the American women who reported using the /ay/ diphthong were in the 26 - 45 age group, and again there was an unclear relationship to the years of residence; if the diphthong occurred at all, it was after seven years of residence, but its occurrence was not uniform.

Table 5.24: Genuine (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/dʒɛnyuɪn/</u>	<u>/ɪ/ or /aɪ/</u>	<u>/dʒɛnyuayn/</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	0	0	2
46 - 65	0	0	1
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{4}$
American male			
16 - 25	1	1	0
26 - 45	0	1	0
46 - 65	1	1	0
66 -	3	0	1
	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	0	0	2
46 - 65	0	0	1
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{3}$
American female			
16 - 25	1	0	2
26 - 45	5	0	1
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{9}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{3}$
Total	15	4	11
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	2	0	0
7	1	0	0
10	2	0	1
14	1	0	0
18	0	0	1
21	1	0	1
24	1	0	0
35	1	0	0

Genuine. Scargill (1974:57) reports that the /ay/ variant for this word can commonly be found among Ontario speakers of Canadian English and for the Midland speech areas in the United States. Among British Columbians, this variant occurs among 46 to 62 percent of the speakers with the lower percentile representing the younger age groups. Brengelman (1957:168) reports the occurrence of this variant in the Puget Sound, but only among the older, less-educated informants.

Of the eight Canadian informants in the present study, seven (85 percent) reported using the /ay/ variant, which represents an increase of 23 to 39 percent over the usage reported in the SCE. The single informant in this group who used the /ɪ/ variant had been resident in the Point Roberts community for more than forty years.

Among the American men, there was a clear relationship in the distribution of the /ay/ variant with the years of residence; of the four informants who either reported using this variant some or all of the time, all had been residing in the community for more than ten years. Among the American women, there was a minor relationship with age and years of residence; of the three informants in this group who reported using the /ay/ diphthong, all were under the age of forty-six, and all had been resident in the community for at least ten years. This relationship is minor because there were three other female informants under the age of forty-six who had lived in the community for at least ten years but who chose the /ɪ/ variant.

Table 5.25: Interesting (T)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/intərestɪŋ/</u>	<u>/ɪntrestɪŋ/</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$
American male		
16 - 25	0	1
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{5}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{2}$
American female		
16 - 25	0	2
26 - 45	1	5
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{9}$
Total	4	17
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	0	2
7	0	1
10	0	2
14	0	1
18	0	1
24	0	2
35	1	0

Interesting. This word was tested for based on the researcher's observation that the /ɪntərəstɪŋ/ pronunciation can either become /ɪntɹəstɪŋ/ as a result of elision, which is commonly associated with British English and is sometimes found in Canadian English, or can become /ɪnnərəstɪŋ/ as a result of the rule of post-nasal dental stop deletion commonly found in Northern American English or certain parts of Canada such as metropolitan Toronto (Leon & Martin, 1979).

None of the informants in the present study chose the /ɪnnərəstɪŋ/ variant, although the /t/ phoneme was dropped by some informants in other words in the survey (see section 5.3). This implies that this variant is marked for this particular word.

The distribution of the remaining two variants showed a definite preference among all groups of informants for the /ɪntɹəstɪŋ/ variant, although the rule of elision was not applied by any of the informants to such words as *battery* and *secretary*. This implies that, although this rule is not used productively by many of the informants in Point Roberts, it is applied to *interesting* and is an idiosyncratic pronunciation in the lexicon.

Table 5.26: January (T)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/dʒænyuəri/</u>	<u>/dʒænyuəri/</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$
American male		
16 - 25	0	1
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{2}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$
American female		
16 - 25	0	2
26 - 45	5	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{4}$
Total	14	7
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	1	1
7	1	0
10	1	1
14	0	1
18	1	0
24	1	1
35	1	0

Table 5.27: Library (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/laybrəri/</u>	<u>/laybrəri/</u>	<u>/laybri/</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	0	1	1
46 - 65	0	1	0
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{2}$
American male			
16 - 25	1	1	0
26 - 45	0	1	0
46 - 65	1	1	0
66 -	1	2	1
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{1}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	0	1	1
46 - 65	0	1	0
66 -	0	1	0
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American female			
16 - 25	0	3	0
26 - 45	0	6	1
46 - 65	0	2	0
66 -	0	1	0
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{12}$	$\bar{1}$
Total	3	22	5
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	0	2	0
7	0	0	1
10	0	3	0
14	0	1	0
18	0	1	0
21	0	2	0
24	0	2	0
35	0	1	0

January, Library, Secretary. Brengelman (1957:139) reports that for this class of words, the /ɛ/ varies with the /æ/ under secondary stress (usually the penultimate syllable) for speakers in the Puget Sound, and that the former variant is by far the most common. The SCE did not test for this variable, so there is no information on the distribution of these two variants in Canadian English. However, as mentioned in the discussion of *interesting*, this class of words is also subject to the rule of elision sometimes found in Canadian English. Thus, a third variant, /ø/ must be added to this variable in the context of Canadian English.

All of the informants who participated in the tape-recorded interviews used the /ɛ/ variable for *secretary*. The /ø/ variable was not used by any of the informants in *January* or *secretary*. It was, however, used by five informants, three Canadians and two Americans, in *library*, showing a very limited overall distribution.

As the preceding tables indicate, /ɛ/ was by far the preferred variant for this class of words among all of the informants. It was chosen universally in *secretary*, by twenty-two of the thirty informants (73 percent) in *library*, and by fourteen of the twenty informants (70 percent) in *January*. This confirms Brengelman's results among the American informants.

Like the /ø/ variant, the /æ/ variant had a very limited distribution. It did not occur at all in *secretary*, but it was used by six of the twenty informants (30 percent) in *January*, and three of the thirty informants (ten percent) in *library*. In the latter case, the three informants were all American men with no further relationship to age or years of residence. The distribution of this variant was wider in the word *January*. It occurred among three of the eight male informants (38 per-

cent) of both nationalities as opposed to four of the thirteen (31 percent) female informants, and it occurred among six of the fifteen American informants (40 percent) as opposed to only one out of six (17 percent) Canadian informants. This variant did not occur at all among the Canadian females.

Table 5.28: Khaki (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/kæki/</u>	<u>/karki/</u>	<u>/kaki/</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	2	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$
American male			
16 - 25	1	0	1
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	4	0	0
	$\bar{8}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{1}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	2	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	0	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{0}$
American female			
16 - 25	3	0	0
26 - 45	7	0	0
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{13}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$
Total	28	1	1

Khaki. The use of the /æ/ variant is associated with American English, and the use of the /ɑ/ variant is associated with British English (translated into both Canadian and American English as /a/). However, the use of the variant with

intrusive /r/ is uniquely Canadian; it probably results from contact with the non-rhotic dialects of British English, where Canadian speakers would put back the /r/ phonemes their British counterparts had supposedly left out, only in this case putting in an /r/ where there had never been one (McConnell 1979:27). This intrusive /r/ in *khaki* has been steadily receding in Canadian English since the end of the Second World War, and very few young Canadians are familiar with its usage.

The results on the previous page confirm the distribution of the intrusive /r/ variant among the Canadian informants; of the thirty informants, only one reported using this variant, and this informant was a Canadian woman above the age of 66. This distribution is an example of dialect contact principle two: a feature that is receding in one of the contact dialects is unlikely to diffuse into the second contact dialect (see Chapter 6). The use of the /æ/ was by far the preferred one among the Point Roberts informants; twenty-eight of the thirty informants (93 percent) reported using it, and only one informant, an American male under the age of twenty-five who had been residing in the community for more than ten years, reported using the /a/ variant, which possibly might represent a diffusion from Canadian English.

Table 5.29: Leisure (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/liʒər/</u>	<u>/i/ or /ɛ/</u>	<u>/lɛʒər/</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	0	0	2
46 - 65	0	1	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{2}$
American male			
16 - 25	1	0	1
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	1	0	1
66 -	4	0	0
	$\bar{7}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{2}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	2	0	0
46 - 65	0	0	1
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{1}$
American female			
16 - 25	2	1	0
26 - 45	4	2	1
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{9}$	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
Total	20	4	6
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	1	1	0
7	0	0	1
10	2	1	0
14	1	0	0
18	1	0	0
21	1	1	0
24	2	0	0
35	1	0	0

Leisure. Scargill (1974:74) notes that the two variants for this word are present in both American and British English. For British Columbians, the SCE reports that the tense /i/ variant is used among 54 to 59 percent of the speakers; Stevenson (1976:39), however, gives a slightly different distribution when she reports that the lax /ɛ/ variant is used by sixty percent of British Columbians. Brengelman (1957) did not test for this variable, so there is no information on the distribution of the two variants among Washingtonians.

The present study confirmed the distribution of the variants among the Canadian speakers as reported by the SCE. Of the eight speakers in this group, four (50 percent) reported using the tense /i/ variant, one (13 percent) reported using both variants interchangeably, and three (37 percent) reported using the lax variant. There was no relationship to age or sex.

Among the American informants, sixteen of the twenty-two informants in this group (72 percent) reported using the tense /i/ variant, three (14 percent) reported using both variants interchangeably, and three (14 percent) reported using the lax /ɛ/ variant. There was a minor relationship to age and sex as only the female informants under the age of forty-five reported using either the lax /ɛ/ variant or using both variants interchangeably. All female informants over the age of forty-six reported using the /i/ variant. Also, this variant occurred uniformly after twenty-four years of residence in the community.

Table 5.30: Lever (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/liver/</u>	<u>/lɛvər/</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American male		
16 - 25	0	2
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	1	3
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{5}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American female		
16 - 25	2	1
26 - 45	4	3
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{7}$
Total	18	12
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	1	1
7	1	0
10	0	3
14	1	0
18	1	0
21	2	0
24	1	1
35	1	0

Lever. Scargill (1974:51-2) reports that the use of the /i/ variant is associated with British English and commonly with Canadian English whereas the use of the /ɛ/ variant is associated with American English. The overall use of the tense variant among British Columbians is between 65 and 89 percent; Stevenson (1976:33) reports that this works out to a 65 percent occurrence among older informants and a 79 to 82 percent occurrence among the younger age groups. Brengelman (1957) did not test for this variable in his Puget Sound study.

The results on the preceding table show a uniform usage of the /i/ variant among the Canadian informants, which represents an overall increase of approximately 35 percent from the results of the SCE and Stevenson's study.

The results among the American informants reveal a possible relationship to the years of residence for the men and a relationship to age and years of residence for the women. Of the four men who chose the /i/ variant, all had been resident in the community for more than ten years (ten, thirteen, forty-five, and seventy years respectively) whereas the five men who chose the /ɛ/ variant had been residing in the community for five, nine, ten, and twenty-three years respectively (the number of years of residence for the fifth informant in this group is unknown). Among the women, the six who chose the tense variant were under the age of forty-six. Of this group, there was a slight relationship to the years of residence in that both variants occurred between five and twenty-one years of residence, but the tense variant occurred uniformly after this point (the informant who chose the lax variant and who had been resident for twenty-four years was in the 46 - 65 age group).

Although Brengelman (1957) did not test for this variable in his Puget Sound study, the distribution of the variants among the American informants is highly suggestive of a diffusion of the tense /i/ variant from Canadian English with a transition period of ten to twenty-three years and a transition point at twenty-three years from the lax to the tense variant among the men and a transition period of five to twenty-four years with the transition point at twenty-four years among the younger women. This variable would need to be tested further among Americans living in the Puget Sound in order to confirm this hypothesis.

Table 5.31: Lieutenant

<u>informant</u>	<u>/leftənənt/</u>	<u>/lutənənt/</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{2}$
American male		
16 - 25	0	2
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	0	4
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{9}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{3}$
American female		
16 - 25	1	2
26 - 45	1	6
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{11}$
Total	4	25
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	0	2
7	1	0
10	1	2
14	0	1
18	0	1
21	0	2
24	0	2
35	0	1

Lieutenant. The SCE (Scargill 1974:73) notes that the use of the /ɛf/ variant in this word is associated with British English whereas the /u/ variant is associated with American English. In British Columbia, the SCE reports that the /ɛf/ variant occurred in the speech of 11 to 42 percent of the speakers all of the time and in 7 to 10 percent of the speakers some of the time. Brengelman (1957) did not test for this variable in his linguistic survey of the Puget Sound.

Four of the twenty-nine informants (14 percent) in the present study chose the /ɛf/ variant, two Canadians and two Americans. For these four informants, there was a definite relationship to sex; the two Canadian informants were male whereas the two American informants were female. There was a slight relationship to age with the two American females (both were under the age of forty-six) but no relationship to the years of residence. Whether this occurrence of the /ɛf/ variant among these women represents a diffusion from Canadian English is impossible to state because there is no information on its distribution among speakers of American English in the Puget Sound.

Table 5.32: Missouri (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/mizuri/</u>	<u>/mizure/</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$
American male		
16 - 25	1	0
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{0}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$
American female		
16 - 25	2	0
26 - 45	6	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{9}$	$\bar{1}$
Total	19	2

Missouri. Reed (1961:562) notes that while /i/ is the usual variant in the final syllable of this word, /ə/ is used by some speakers in the Puget Sound and the southeastern regions of Washington. He gives no exact figures for its distribution,

however. Also, there is no information on the distribution of variants for this term in Canadian English.

The results of the present study indicate that the /ə/ variant is present only rarely. It occurred twice among the twenty-one informants (10 percent), one Canadian and one American. This works out to a 17 percent occurrence among the Canadian informants and a 7 percent occurrence among the American informants. There was no relationship in the occurrence of this variant to age, sex, or years of residence.

Table 5.33: Raspberry (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/ræsberi/</u>	<u>/s/ or /z/</u>	<u>/ræzberi/</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	2	0	0
46 - 65	0	1	0
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{1}$
American male			
16 - 25	0	1	1
26 - 45	0	0	1
46 - 65	1	0	1
66 -	1	0	3
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{6}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	1	0	1
46 - 65	0	0	1
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{3}$
American female			
16 - 25	0	2	1
26 - 45	2	3	2
46 - 65	0	0	2
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{6}$
Total	7	5	18
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	1	1	0
7	0	1	0
10	1	1	1
14	0	0	1
18	0	0	1
21	0	1	1
24	0	1	1
35	0	0	1

Raspberry. The decision to test this variable was based on Allen's brief statement that in his fieldwork for the Upper Midwest, four out of his five Canadian informants used the voiceless /rʌsbɛri/ variant whereas all of his American informants used the voiced /ræzbɛri/ variant (Allen 1975:107). This item has not been tested in any other studies in either Canadian or American English.

As the table in the preceding page indicates, four of the eight Canadian informants (50 percent) either used the voiceless variant all of the time or some of the time. Among this group of informants, there was a minor relationship to sex; three of the four male informants (75 percent) used the voiceless variant as opposed to the one out of four female informants (25 percent). There was also a relationship to age in that the four informants who used the /s/ variant were under the age of sixty-six.

The distribution of the voiceless variant among the American informants showed a similar pattern for the women but a considerably different one for the men. Of the seven American women who reported using this variant all or some of the time (53 percent of this group), all were under the age of forty-six, but there was no relationship to the years of residence. There was a lesser degree of occurrence among the American men for this variant (33 percent) with no relationship to age but a possible relationship to the years of residence; the three informants in this group who reported using the voiceless variant had been residing in the community for at least ten years (ten, thirteen, and over seventy years respectively), but this was not uniform because three other other male informants who had been resident just as long (ten, twenty-three and forty-five years respectively) reported using the voiced variant.

It is too early to draw any conclusions as to whether the presence of the voiceless variant among the American informants represents a diffusion from Canadian English because further testing needs to be done on its distribution in both Canadian and American English.

Table 5.34: Root (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/rut/</u>	<u>/rut/</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American male		
16 - 25	1	1
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	3	1
	$\bar{7}$	$\bar{2}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American female		
16 - 25	3	0
26 - 45	6	1
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{12}$	$\bar{1}$
Total	27	3
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	2	0
7	1	0
10	3	0
14	0	1
18	1	0
21	2	0
24	2	0
35	1	0

Root. Dialectology studies on both sides of the border indicate that either of the two variants for this class of words can occur, and the only real difference between Canadian and American English in this respect is in the percentages of their occurrence. The SCE (Scargill 1974:75) reports that in British Columbia, the /u/ variant in *roof* occurs between 87 and 91 percent of the time, and Stevenson (1976:34) reports that this variant occurs 95 percent of the time in *root*. On the American side of the border, Brengelman (1957:132, 168) reports that the /u/ variant occurs equally with the /ʊ/ variant for both *roof* and *root*, but it is more common among aged informants.

The results of the present study indicate that the /u/ variant occurs uniformly among the Canadian informants in *root* and among nineteen of the twenty-two American informants. This represents a significant increase from approximately 50 percent (as reported by Brengelman) to 90 percent among the American informants.

One possible explanation for this increase in the /u/ variant was discovered during the direct questioning part of the interviews. At least six of the twenty-one informants who participated in this part of the survey, both Canadian and American, had the subjective reaction that the /u/ variant in *roof*, which was quite common in lower Whatcom County, was somehow "countrified" or "incorrect". It is possible that the stigmatization of this variant in *roof* for the Point Roberts informants has affected its use in the quite similar word *root*. This conclusion, however, is speculative and would require further investigation.

Table 5.35: Soot (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/sut/</u>	<u>/sut/</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	0	2
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{2}$
American male		
16 - 25	0	2
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	2	2
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{7}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{2}$
American female		
16 - 25	2	1
26 - 45	2	5
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{6}$	$\bar{7}$
Total	12	18
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	1	1
7	0	1
10	2	1
14	0	1
18	1	0
21	1	1
24	1	1
35	0	1

Soot. This word has the same two competing variants found in *root* and *roof*, namely /u/ and /ʊ/, but it shows a different pattern of distribution among the Point Roberts residents. The SCE reports a 74 to 89 percent occurrence of the /u/ variant among British Columbians (Scargill 1974:93), and Stevenson confirms this with an 80 percent occurrence in her survey of British Columbia with a decreasing usage of the /u/ variant among the younger age groups. Like *root* and *roof*, these two variants occur equally among Washingtonians with aged informants having a higher percentage of usage of /u/.

The results of the present study show that *soot* has somehow escaped the stigmatization of the /u/ variant present in *root* and *roof*. Among all of the Canadian informants and the American women, these two variants occurred equally (ten informants for /u/ as opposed to eleven informants for /ʊ/) with no relationship to age or years of residence. Among the American men, the /u/ variant was by far the preferred one, occurring among seven of the nine informants in this group (80 percent). The distribution of the /u/ variant among this group showed a definite relationship to age as the only two informants who reported using it were above the age of sixty-six.

Table 5.36: Route (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/raut/</u>	<u>/au/ or /u/</u>	<u>/rut/</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	1	1	0
46 - 65	0	1	0
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$
American male			
16 - 25	0	0	2
26 - 45	0	0	1
46 - 65	1	1	0
66 -	1	0	3
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{6}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	0	1	1
46 - 65	0	0	1
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{3}$
American female			
16 - 25	1	2	0
26 - 45	2	4	1
46 - 65	0	1	1
66 -	0	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{8}$	$\bar{2}$
Total	7	11	12
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	0	2	0
7	0	0	1
10	0	3	0
14	0	1	0
18	0	0	1
21	2	0	0
24	1	1	0
35	0	1	0

Route. As in the preceding class of words, both of the variants involved in the pronunciation of this word occur on both sides of the border, and the only difference between the two dialects is in the percentage of the occurrence of these variants. The SCE reports that in British Columbia, the /u/ variant is the preferred one and occurred among 69 to 85 percent of the speakers (Scargill 1974:88). Stevenson confirms this usage and notes that this variant increases in usage among the younger age groups to the extent that it occurs 93 percent of the time province-wide. In Washington, however, while the two variants occur about equally, it is the /au/ variant that is more common (Bregelman 1957:135).³

The results on the preceding table, by and large, confirm this pattern of distribution. Among the eight Canadian informants, only one reported using the /au/ variant all of the time (13 percent) while three (37 percent) reported using it some of the time. There was a slight relationship to sex as this one informant was male, and two of the three informants who used the /au/ variant some of the time were also male. Three of the four female Canadian informants (75 percent) used the /u/ variant all of the time as opposed to one of the four male informants (25 percent).

Among the American informants, there was an almost even distribution of variants with six of the twenty-two informants (28 percent) using the /au/ variant all of the time, eight informants (36 percent) using both variants interchangeably, and eight informants (36 percent) using the /u/ variant all of the time. Among this group, there is an apparent relationship to sex and age; three of the nine male informants (33 percent) used the /au/ variant either all of the time or some of the time as opposed to eleven of the thirteen female informants (85 percent). And

among these six male informants, the four occurrences of this variant occurred only above the age of forty-six while the younger age groups had a uniform usage of the /u/ variant.

Table 5.37: Schedule (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/skɛdʒuəl/</u>	<u>/ʃɛdʒuəl/</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{3}$
American male		
16 - 25	2	0
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	4	0
	$\bar{9}$	$\bar{0}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American female		
16 - 25	3	0
26 - 45	7	0
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{13}$	$\bar{0}$
Total	26	4

Schedule. Scargill (1974:55-6) claims that the use of the /ʃ/ variant is usually associated with British English whereas the use of the /sk/ variant is usually associated with American English; both variants are present in Canadian English,

and in British Columbia the /sk/ variant is present among 66 to 86 percent of the speakers with the higher percentile representing the younger age groups. Stevenson (1976:36) reports that the /ʃ/ variant is receding among the younger age groups in the province. Brengelman (1957) did not test for the distribution of these variants in Washington.

The results in the present study confirm Stevenson's claim concerning the distribution of the /ʃ/ variant among the Canadian informants. Four of the eight informants (50 percent) in this group reported using this variant, but three of these four informants were above the age of forty-six. There was also a relationship to sex as three of the four male informants reported using this variant (75 percent) as opposed to one of the four female informants (25 percent).

None of the American informants reported using the /ʃ/ variant. Although Brengelman did not test for this variant in his survey of the Puget Sound, and as a consequence, we have no information on its distribution among this group of speakers, the fact that it is receding among the Canadians and does not occur among the Americans along this part of the border is suggestive. It is possible that this distribution among both Canadian and American speakers represents another example of dialect contact principle two where a feature receding in one dialect is unlikely to diffuse into the second, contact dialect (see Chapter 6).

Table 5.38: Semi- (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/semi/</u>	<u>/i/ or /ay/</u>	<u>/semay/</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	1	0	1
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{1}$
American male			
16 - 25	1	0	1
26 - 45	0	0	1
46 - 65	0	1	1
66 -	1	0	3
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{6}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	1	1	0
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{0}$
American female			
16 - 25	1	2	0
26 - 45	2	5	0
46 - 65	1	0	1
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{7}$	$\bar{1}$
Total	13	9	8
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	0	1	1
7	0	1	0
10	1	2	0
14	0	1	0
18	0	1	0
21	2	0	0
24	1	1	0
35	1	0	0

Semi-. Scargill (1974:60) claims that the /ay/ variant in the class of prefixes that also include *anti-* and *multi-* is associated with American English whereas the /i/ variant is usually associated with British English. Both variants are present in Canadian English, but only the /ay/ variant is present in American English. The SCE reports that the /i/ variant is preferred by British Columbians, occurring among 83 to 85 percent of the speakers. Brengelman (1957) did not test for these variants in the Puget Sound.

The results on the preceding table confirm the distribution of variants for the Canadian informants in Point Roberts. Of the eight informants in this group, six (75 percent) report using the /i/ variant all of the time, one (12.5 percent) reports using it some of the time, and one reports using the /ay/ variant all of the time. There may be a relationship to age as both of these latter informants are under the age of forty-five, but there is no apparent relationship to sex.

The distribution of the /i/ variant among the American informants shows a possible relationship to the years of residence for the men and a similar relationship for the women, as well as a further relationship to age. Of the three men who reported using this variant all of the time, all had been resident in the community for more than ten years (ten, thirteen, and seventy years respectively), but this occurrence was not uniform after the ten year point as two male informants, resident in the community for twenty-three and forty-five years, reported using the /ay/ variant. Of the five women who reported using the /i/ variant all of the time and of the seven women who reported using it some of the time, all were under the age of forty-six. The /ay/ variant does not occur among this group after five years of residence, and the sole use of the /i/ variant does not occur until

after ten years of residence, although both variants continue to co-occur until twenty-four years of residence.

These relationships of the /i/ variant with the years of residence for the American informants are indicative of a diffusion from Canadian English, although this is not conclusive because Brengelman did not test for it thirty years ago. If we assume, however, that the /i/ variant does represent such a diffusion, that it is possible that there is a transition period after ten years of residence with no evidence of a transition point for the men and a transition period of five to twenty-four years with a transition point at thirty-five years for the women.

Table 5.39: Shone (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/son/</u>	<u>/son/</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American male		
16 - 25	0	2
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	1	3
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{8}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American female		
16 - 25	1	2
26 - 45	3	4
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{9}$
Total	12	18
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	0	2
7	1	0
10	1	2
14	1	0
18	0	1
21	0	2
24	0	2
35	1	0

Shone. There is very little available information on the distribution of variants for this item, but as the preceding table implies, it tends to separate the Canadian informants as a whole from the American men. Stevenson (1976:33) very briefly states that the /o/ variant occurs among nine out of over three hundred British Columbians (approximately 3 percent), and six of these informants were in the older age groups (presumably above the age of forty-five). While Brengelman (1957) did not test for this item in Washington, it has been the researcher's impression that the /o/ variant occurs uniformly on the Washington side of the border.

The /o/ variant occurred among seven of the eight Canadian informants (88 percent); the single exception was the Canadian woman over the age of 66, and it should be noted that this particular informant has been married to an original Point Roberts settler and has been resident in the community for over forty years. The distribution of this variant among the American informants is quite limited. The only American male who reported using it has been resident in the community for over seventy years. Of the thirteen American females, only four reported using it (31 percent), and all four of these informants were under the age of forty-five and had been resident in the community for at least seven years. It is quite possible that these five occurrences of the /o/ variant among the American informants represent a low level of diffusion from Canadian English.

Table 5.40: Z (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/zi/</u>	<u>/zi/ or /zɛd/</u>	<u>/zɛd/</u>
Canadian male			
26 - 45	1	0	1
46 - 65	1	0	0
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{2}$
American male			
16 - 25	2	0	0
26 - 45	1	0	0
46 - 65	2	0	0
66 -	4	0	0
	$\bar{9}$	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{0}$
Canadian female			
26 - 45	0	2	0
46 - 65	0	0	1
66 -	0	0	1
	$\bar{0}$	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{2}$
American female			
16 - 25	3	0	0
26 - 45	6	0	1
46 - 65	1	1	0
66 -	1	0	0
	$\bar{11}$	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{1}$
Total	22	3	5
Years of Residence of American Females			
5	2	0	0
7	0	0	1
10	2	1	0
14	1	0	0
18	1	0	0
21	2	0	0
24	2	0	0
35	1	0	0

The letter Z. Like *shone*, this item continues, by and large, to separate the Canadian and the American informants. Scargill (1974:59) writes that the /zɛd/ variant is associated with British English and is favored in every Canadian province except Newfoundland; in British Columbia, this variant is used by 73 to 82 percent of speakers all of the time and 10 to 15 percent of speakers some of the time. By contrast, the /zi/ variant is associated with American English.

As the preceding table shows, four of the eight Canadian informants (50 percent) reported using the /zɛd/ variant all of the time, and only two (25 percent) reported using it some of the time. There was a relationship to sex in that the two informants who reported using the /zi/ variant all of the time were both male whereas the two informants who reported using it some of the time were both female. There was a further relationship to age in that the four informants who either used this variant all of the time or some of the time were all under the age of forty-five.

There was a very low occurrence of the /zɛd/ variant among the American informants; only two of the twenty-two informants (11 percent) reported using this variant either some of the time or all of the time. There was a definite relationship to sex in this distribution in that both of these informants were female and a further relationship to age in that both were under the age of sixty-five.

Table 5.41: Zebra (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/zibrə/</u>	<u>/zɛbrə/</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American male		
16 - 25	2	0
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	4	0
	$\bar{9}$	$\bar{0}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{0}$
American female		
16 - 25	3	0
26 - 45	7	0
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{13}$	$\bar{0}$
Total	28	1

Zebra. Although both variants for this item have been in competition in Canadian English for a long time, during the past few years there has been a general trend from /zɛbrə/ to /zibrə/. In British Columbia, Stevenson reports that the

distribution of these variants is 41 percent for the former and 59 percent for the latter. However, the use of the tense /i/ variant increases among the younger age groups and is especially prevalent in the Lower Mainland region of the province, resulting in an occurrence of 95 percent among the younger speakers in this area. Although Brengelman (1957) did not test for the distribution of these variants in Washington, it has been the researcher's impression that the lax /ɛ/ variant is not present in American English.

The results of the present study confirm Stevenson's findings for British Columbia. Among the seven Canadian informants, the single reported use of the lax variant was by a male over the age of sixty-six and represented an over all occurrence of 14 percent. This variant did not occur among the twenty-two American informants. If it is true that this variant does not occur in the Puget Sound, that the uniform use of the /i/ variant among the American informants in Point Roberts represents a failure of the lax /ɛ/ variant to diffuse from Canadian English. This, in turn, would represent another example of dialect contact principle two (see Chapter 6).

5.3 Phonological Rules

There are six phonological rules present in either Canadian or American English, or in both dialects under discussion, that play a major role in determining the course of linguistic transition among people living on the Canada-United States border. These are, in the order of presentation in this section:

1. Preservation (or recession) of the labio-velar glide /hw/.
2. Presence (or absence) of the palatal glide /ju/.
3. Post-nasal dental stop deletion in final clusters.

4. Neutralization of mid vowels before /r/.
5. Merging of /a/ with /ɔ/.
6. Canadian Raising.

In five of these rules (the exception being Canadian Raising), the informants were asked on the questionnaire if, for example, *cot* and *caught* rhymed in order to ascertain whether the phonological rule in question was present in some degree or totally absent. The detailed analysis, however, was based entirely on the tape-recorded interviews. There were a minimum of four words tested for each of the six phonological rules. The purpose of this was twofold: so that a frequency analysis (a primitive variable rule analysis) could be done in order to predict an informant's frequency of usage of a particular phonological rule, and to ascertain which words were retained the longest, if the rule involved a merger or recession, or acquired first, if the rule represented an acquisition, by the informants (an implementation of the theory of lexical diffusion). This enables the course of transition to be plotted with some confidence and makes predictions about how speakers from this area of the Canada-United States border will change their dialect as a result of contact with a second dialect.

Table 5.42: Do Whine and Wine Rhyme? (Q)

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American male		
16 - 25	2	0
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	3	1
	$\bar{8}$	$\bar{1}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American female		
16 - 25	3	0
26 - 45	6	1
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{12}$	$\bar{1}$
Total	26	4

Table 5.43: Frequency of /hw/

<u>Informant</u>	<u>f /hw/</u>
Canadian male	
26 - 45	0.00
46 - 65	0.00
66 -	14.29
Mean	<u>14.29</u>
American male	
16 - 25	0.00
26 - 45	0.00
46 - 65	0.00
66 -	100.00
Mean	<u>100.00</u>
Canadian female	
26 - 45	0.00
46 - 65	0.00
66 -	0.00
Mean	<u>0.00</u>
American female	
16 - 25	0.00
26 - 45	57.14
46 - 65	0.00
66 -	0.00
Mean	<u>28.57</u>
46 - 65	14.29
66 -	28.57
Mean	<u>28.57</u>

Preservation (or recession) of the labio-velar glide /hw/. Scargill (1974:94) notes that the presence of the /hw/ glide is usually associated either with American English or in Great Britain with speakers from Scotland, Ireland, or northern England. It is rare in the rest of England, and while it is present in Canada to a low degree, it is more common in Ontario and less common among the younger speakers. The SCE results for British Columbia were based entirely on the question of whether *whine* and *wine* rhyme, and they show a probable presence of the /hw/ glide in 21 to 38 percent of the population, the 21 percentile representing the younger speakers.

Across the border in Washington, the /hw/ glide is present to a higher degree. Reed (1961:562) states that it is commonly heard in *whinny*, *whip* and *wheelbarrow* but is rarely heard in the word *wharf*. Brengelman (1957:124) confirms this usage for the Puget Sound; of his thirty-three informants, only seven (21 percent) did not have the /hw/ glide in this series of words, and none had the glide in *wharf*.

In the Point Roberts study, the presence of the /hw/ glide was tested a total of seven times in six words (*white*, *which*, *while*, *whining*, and *whales*; *when* was tested twice, and in both cases the following word began with a consonant) and a seventh (i.e. *wharf*) was used as a control.

The occurrences of the /hw/ glide were counted for each informant in order to arrive at a frequency (f); if /hw/ occurred once, for example, the f would be 14.29 for that informant (one divided by seven). Then the occurrences of /hw/ were counted for each word to determine in which words it occurred most frequently. All zero frequencies of occurrence were eliminated from the calculation of the mean frequency for the groups of informants except in the case where the entire group of informants had a zero frequency of occurrence.

The questionnaire results, as seen on table 5.42, indicate that the /hw/ glide is present to one degree or another in the usage of the informants of both sexes and both nationalities but to a low degree; of the eight Canadian informants, two (25 percent) felt that /hw/ was present in their speech, while of the American informants, only two of the twenty-two (11 percent) felt that *whine* and *wine* were pronounced differently.

The results from the tape-recorded interviews show that, among the men of both nationalities, the /hw/ glide is present only in the above sixty-six age group; however, the American male showed an *f* of 100.00, indicating the /hw/ was present in the full range of possible environments, whereas his Canadian counterpart had an *f* of 14.29, indicating a significantly lesser occurrence of /hw/.

There was a significant difference between the American and the Canadian women as well as between the American women and the American men. The Canadian women showed an *f* of 0.00, indicating that the /hw/ glide is not present at all among this group, whereas all age groups of American women had this glide present with an *f* ranging from 14.29 to 57.14. And while the mean figures for the American women and men imply a higher overall *f* among the men, it is important to note that only one of the five male informants (20 percent) used the /hw/ variant as opposed to five of the ten female informants (50 percent). Among the American women, there was no further relationship with age or years of residence.

None of the informants who used the /hw/ variant to one degree or another used it in the word *wharf*; this implies that of these informants, none of them is hypercorrecting or using the /hw/ variant consciously.

The following table shows the number of occurrences of the /hw/ variant in each of the six words. If, for example, two informants had the /hw/ glide in a particular word, the number of occurrences would be listed on the table as 2.

Table 5.44: Occurrences of /hw/

<u>Word</u>	<u>Number of Occurrences</u>
Whales	1
When	1
When	2
While	2
Whining	2
Which	3
White	4

The results shown in the preceding table indicate that the course of transition on this part of the border for the informant population as a whole is such that the /hw/ variant changes to its /w/ counterpart first in *whales*, next in *when*, *while*, and *whining*, then in *which*, and finally in *white*.

Table 5.45: Tuesday (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/tyuzde/</u>	<u>/tuzde/</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{3}$
American male		
16 - 25	1	1
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	1	3
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{7}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American female		
16 - 25	0	3
26 - 45	1	6
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{2}$	$\bar{11}$
Total	8	22
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	0	2
7	1	0
10	0	3
14	0	1
18	0	1
21	1	0
24	0	2
35	0	1

Table 5.46: Dew (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/dyu/</u>	<u>/du/</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American male		
16 - 25	1	1
26 - 45	0	1
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	2	2
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{5}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American female		
16 - 25	2	1
26 - 45	2	5
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{8}$
Total	16	14
Years of Residence of American Females		
5	1	1
7	1	0
10	0	3
14	0	1
18	0	1
21	2	0
24	2	0
35	0	1

Table 5.47: Frequency (f) of /yu/

<u>Informant</u>	<u>f</u>
Canadian male	
26 - 45	100.00
46 - 65	80.00
66 -	80.00
Mean	<hr/> 86.67
American male	
16 - 25	60.00
26 - 45	40.00
46 - 65	60.00
	20.00
66 -	20.00
Mean	<hr/> 40.00
Canadian female	
26 - 45	40.00
46 - 65	40.00
66 -	40.00
Mean	<hr/> 40.00
American female	
16 - 25	0.00
40.00	
26 - 45	20.00
	40.00
	40.00
	40.00
	60.00
	80.00
46 - 65	80.00
66 -	40.00
Mean	<hr/> 48.89

Presence (or absence) of the palatal glide /yu/. Scargill (1974:52-3) notes this

palatalization is usually associated with British English and is quite common in Canadian English as well whereas the lack of palatalization is associated with American English. The SCE reports that this usage is present for 38 to 68 percent of speakers in British Columbia in the words *new* and *student* with the lower percentile representing the younger speakers. On the Washington side of the border, Brengelman (1957:136) claims that the /u/ variant is the choice of Washingtonians in *due*, although he notes that the /yu/ variant may sometimes occur in such words as *Tuesday*, *due*, and *new*. Of his thirty-three informants, thirteen (39 percent) reported using the /yu/ variant in *Tuesday*.

In the Point Roberts study, two words in this class were tested on the questionnaire (i.e. *Tuesday*, *dew*) in order to arrive at a first approximation of the distribution of the /yu/ and /u/ variants, and five words (*Tuesday*, *coupons*, *dew*, *overdue*, and *tubers*) were tested during the tape-recorded interviews in order to do a frequency analysis.

The results on tables 5.45 and 5.46 indicate that the /yu/ variant is present in both nationalities and sexes as well as all age groups. However, there do appear to be significant differences in the distribution of this variant in the two words; eight of the thirty informants (27 percent) reported using the palatalized variant in *Tuesday* as opposed to the sixteen informants (53 percent) who reported using it in *dew*. There also appeared to be significant differences by nationality; four of the eight Canadian informants (50 percent) reported using the palatal glide in *Tuesday* as opposed to the four of the twenty-two American informants (18 percent). In *dew*, seven of the eight Canadian informants (88 percent) reported using the glide as opposed to nine of the twenty-two American informants (41 percent).

The frequency analysis, however, reveals a considerably more complex distribution.

The results on table 2.47 show a significant difference in the frequency of occurrence of the palatal glide for the Canadian men. This group of informants had a significantly higher mean *f* of 86.67 as opposed to the means of any other group of informants. Another significant detail is that the mean *f* for the Canadian women is identical to that of the American men (mean *f* is 40.00) and nearly identical to that of the American women (mean *f* is 48.89). There were no relationships with age or years of residence.

The distribution of the palatal glide among the five words tested in the tape-recorded interviews was not uniform and shows a clear path of acquisition (or recession)

Table 5.48: Occurrences of /yu/

<u>Word</u>	<u>Number of Occurrences</u>
Tubers	4
Overdue	6
Dew	10
Coupons	14
Tuesday	17

This distribution in the occurrence of the palatal glide would predict, then, that if the /u/ were receding in favor of the /yu/, *Tuesday* would be the first word in which the speaker would acquire the /yu/ followed (in order) by *coupons*, *dew*, *overdue*, and finally, *tubers*. This is an implicational relationship; that is, if the

individual speaker has acquired the /yu/ in *tubers*, he has more than likely acquired it in the other four words.

These implicational relationships hold true as well for the opposite process. If the /yu/ variant is receding in favor of the /u/ variant, *tubers* would be the first word in which the speaker would lose the /yu/ glide, followed by *overdue*, *dew*, *coupons*, and *Tuesday*. If the speaker has the /u/ variant in *Tuesday*, we can predict he has it in the other four words as well and that the /iu/ glide has completely receded from his speech.

Table 5.49: Brand (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/nd/</u>	<u>/n/</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American male		
16 - 25	2	0
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	4	0
	$\bar{8}$	$\bar{1}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American female		
16 - 25	3	0
26 - 45	5	2
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{10}$	$\bar{3}$
Total	26	4

Table 5.50: Rind (Q)

<u>informant</u>	<u>/nd/</u>	<u>/n/</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American male		
16 - 25	2	0
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	3	1
	$\bar{8}$	$\bar{1}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American female		
16 - 25	3	0
26 - 45	5	2
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{10}$	$\bar{3}$
Total	26	4

Table 5.51: Frequency (f) of /n/

<u>Informant</u>	<u>f /n/</u>
Canadian male	
26 - 45	50.00
46 - 65	50.00
66 -	25.00
Mean	<hr/> 41.67
American male	
16 - 25	50.00
26 - 45	25.00
46 - 65	50.00
	75.00
66 -	50.00
Mean	<hr/> 50.00
Canadian female	
26 - 45	0.00
46 - 65	25.00
66 -	75.00
Mean	<hr/> 50.00
American female	
16 - 25	25.00
	75.00
26 - 45	25.00
	50.00
	50.00
	50.00
	50.00
	50.00
46 - 65	75.00
66 -	75.00
Mean	<hr/> 52.50

Post-nasal dental stop deletion in final clusters. This particular phonological rule has been gaining ground in Northern American English for the past few decades. Thirty years ago, Brengelman (1957:121) noted that in some morphemes the final /nd/ cluster simplified to /n/ (e.g. /raynd/ becomes /rayn/ in *rind*) but in other similar morphemes the simplification did not seem to occur; examples of the former class include *brand* and *rind*, and examples of the latter class of words include *wound* and *band*. While this phonological rule has been present in Canadian English for many years when applied to medial clusters (e.g. *dentist*, *Toronto*), its presence in final clusters has not yet been tested.

This class of words was tested on both the questionnaire and in the tape-recorded interviews. The questionnaire included two questions that tested the informants' intuitions on whether the /nd/ simplifies to /n/ in *brand* and *rind*. Four words were tested in the interviews (*brand*, *rinds*, *ground*, and *mainland*) and a fifth word (i.e. *band*) was used as a control. The questionnaire results are shown on tables 2.49 and 2.50.

The questionnaire results indicate a low-level of perception of this phonological rule by the informants, but this level of perception was equal for both *brand* and *rind*. Of the thirty informants, only four (13 percent) reported using the /n/ variant. There was a definite relationship to nationality and a minor relationship to sex. All four informants for both *brand* and *rind* were American, indicating a higher perception of this rule among informants of this nationality. Of the four informants, three were female and one was male. This equalled 23 percent of the female informants and 13 percent of the male informants, indicating a higher perception of this rule among the American women.

The results from the tape-recorded interviews revealed a fairly stable frequency of distribution for the /n/ variant among all of the informants; all four major groups of informants (Canadian men, Canadian women, American men, and American women) have a close range in the frequency of occurrence for the /n/ variant with the Canadian men at the lower end of the range (mean $f=41.67$), the American women at the higher end of the range (mean $f=52.50$), and the American men and the Canadian women at the middle of the range (mean $f=50.00$).

The only relationship of the frequency of the /n/ variant to age was among the women of both nationalities with an increasing frequency among the older age groups (mean $f=75.00$ for the above sixty-five age group). Among the Canadian men, the exact opposite relationship held true; the frequency of occurrence decreased among the younger age groups. There was no relationship to age for the American men. There was no relationship with the years of residence in the community for any of the four groups.

The distribution of the occurrences of the /n/ variant among the four words tested confirmed Brengelman's results. Also, as predicted, this variant did not occur in *band*, showing that the /nd/ simplification has yet to affect this word. The distribution is shown in Table 5.52.

As Brengelman (1957:121) stated, the /nd/ cluster nearly always simplifies in *rinds*, but simplification is less common in words such as *ground*. These results would predict that the path of acquisition for the /n/ variant would begin at *rinds* and ultimately end at *brand*, and that if an informant uses the /n/ variant in this word, he or she would have a fairly high frequency of occurrence of /nd/ simplification across the lexicon. This prediction is borne out by the fact that the single

Table 5.52: Occurrences of /n/

<u>Word</u>	<u>Number of Occurrences</u>
Brand	1
Ground	10
Mainland	10
Rinds	18

occurrence of the /n/ variant in *brand* occurred among an American male with an overall $f=50$.

Table 5.53: Do Horse and Hoarse Rhyme?

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American male		
16 - 25	2	0
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	2	0
66 -	3	1
	$\bar{8}$	$\bar{1}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American female		
16 - 25	3	0
26 - 45	7	0
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{12}$	$\bar{1}$
Total	26	4

Table 5.54: Do Merry and Marry Rhyme?

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	0	1
66 -	0	1
	$\bar{1}$	$\bar{3}$
American male		
16 - 25	2	0
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	2	2
	-	-
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American female		
16 - 25	3	0
26 - 45	6	1
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{11}$	$\bar{2}$
Total	21	9

Neutralization of mid vowels before /r/. This phonological rule is present both in Canadian English as spoken in British Columbia and in the American English spoken in the Puget Sound area. Stevenson (1976:41) describes the rule as the

neutralization of the phonemic oppositions /o/ or /ɔ/ and /æ or e/ or /ɛ/ before /r/ in stressed positions with a following vowel with the result that words such as *horse* and *hoarse* are homonyms (i.e. /hɔrs/). Her results for British Columbia, while based entirely on a questionnaire and thus indicative only of the informants' perceptions, indicate that the phonemic opposition is present among three to five percent of the informants for *horse/hoarse* and among three to nine percent of the informants for *fairy/ferry* (i.e. /fɛri/). She concludes from this that the opposition is present only marginally in British Columbia and that neutralization is the rule for the majority of informants.

Brengelman's results from Puget Sound (Brengelman 1957:128, 167, 172) indicate that while neutralization is also present in the speech of this area, it occurs to a slightly lesser degree than in British Columbia. Three of his thirty-three informants (10 percent, mainly in above sixty-six age group) made the distinction between *horse* and *hoarse*, and approximately half of the thirty-three made the distinction between *merry* and *marry*, /mɛri/ and /mæri/ respectively.

In the Point Roberts study, two of the items on the questionnaire dealt with this neutralization by asking the informants if the word pairs *horse/hoarse* and *merry/marry* rhymed in order to determine if the vocalic opposition was present, at least in the informants' perceptions. During the tape-recorded interviews, three word pairs (*morning/mourning*, *horse/hoarse*, and *four/forty*) were tested for the /o/ or /ɔ/ opposition and a further three word pairs (*merry/marry*, *hairy/Harry*, and *ferry/fairy*) were tested for the /æ or e/ or /ɛ/ opposition.

The questionnaire results show a marked difference in informant perceptions between the *horse/hoarse* and *merry/marry* word pairs. Among the thirty infor-

nants, four (10 percent) perceived a vocalic difference for the former word pair whereas nine informants (30 percent) perceived a difference for the latter word pair. There were also differences by nationality. Two of the eight Canadian (25 percent) perceived a difference in the *horse/hoarse* word pair as opposed to two of the twenty-two (11 percent) American informants, while for the *merry/marry* pair, four of the eight Canadian informants (50 percent) perceived a difference as opposed to five of the twenty-two American informants (23 percent).

The results from the tape-recorded interviews show that while the vocalic distinction remains in the informant perceptions to a certain degree, vocalic neutralization is the rule among the great majority of informants in actual speech. None of the twenty-one informants who participated in the tape-recorded interviews, whether Canadian or American, made the vocalic distinction between /o/ and /ɔ/ in the word pairs *morning/mourning*, *four/forty*, and *horse/hoarse*, indicating that for these two vowels neutralization has been completed in this environment.

The results were similar for the /æ or e/ or /ɛ/ opposition. All of the twenty-one informants did not make the vocalic distinction in the word pairs *hairy/Harry* and *ferry/fairy*, but a single Canadian informant, a 26 - 45 Canadian female, had the vocalic distinction in the word pair *merry/marry* (/ɛ/ and /æ/ respectively). These results point to two conclusions. First, that the vocalic opposition of these central vowels before /r/ in stressed position, which is receding from within both of the contact dialects, has continued to do so upon contact. This is another example of dialect contact principle three (see Chapter 6).

Second, both Stevenson and Brengelman's results show that there is a higher occurrence of the vocalic neutralization in the word pair *horse/hoarse* and a high-

er occurrence of the vocalic distinction being made in the word pair *merry/marry*. These findings were borne out in the Point Roberts study as the vocalic distinction was still made by one informant in the word pair *merry/marry*. These results consistently point to a pattern of transition; while the neutralization is occurring among the informants, the /o/ or /ɔ/ opposition is more likely to be neutralized first, and the /æ or e/ or /ɛ/ opposition is likely to be neutralized last.

Table 5.55: Do Cot and Caught Rhyme?

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	2	0
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{4}$	$\bar{0}$
American male		
16 - 25	2	0
26 - 45	1	0
46 - 65	1	1
66 -	1	3
	$\bar{5}$	$\bar{4}$
Canadian female		
26 - 45	1	1
46 - 65	1	0
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{3}$	$\bar{1}$
American female		
16 - 25	3	0
26 - 45	7	0
46 - 65	0	2
66 -	1	0
	$\bar{11}$	$\bar{2}$
Total	23	7

Merging of /a/. In many North American dialects, there is a distinction between the two phonemes /a/ and /ɔ/, resulting in such minimal pairs as *cot/caught*. In other dialects, however, the /a/ phoneme has merged with /ɔ/, and the

Table 5.56: Frequency (f) of Occurrence of the /a/ Phoneme

<u>Informant</u>	
Canadian male	
26 - 45	22.85
46 - 65	0.00
66 -	11.43
Mean	<u>17.14</u>
American male	
16 - 25	17.14
26 - 45	11.43
46 - 65	11.43
	25.71
66 -	5.71
Mean	<u>14.28</u>
Canadian female	
26 - 45	0.00
46 - 65	28.57
66 -	0.00
Mean	<u>28.57</u>
American female	
16 - 25	11.43
	25.71
26 - 45	8.57
	14.29
	0.00
	0.00
	0.00
	0.00
46 - 65	0.00
66 -	20.00
Mean	<u>16.00</u>

two words *cot* and *caught* are homonyms. However, as Brengelman (1957:157-8)

has pointed out, while there are many dialects that have both phonemes, and each dialect is consistent in its distribution of these phonemes in the lexicon, there are cross-dialectal differences in the distributions of the two phonemes such that one dialect will have /a/ in a particular word but another dialect will have /ɔ/ in the same word.

The distribution of these two phonemes, and the distribution of the /a/ phoneme in particular, is complex in Canadian English and in the English spoken in the Puget Sound. In general, the /a/ phoneme has been merging with /ɔ/ in Canadian English (see the underlying vowel chart for Canadian English in Chapter 3). The SCE, while using a test question whose validity is uncertain (i.e. did *father* rhyme with *bother*; see below), found a possible occurrence of the /a/ phoneme in British Columbia among 23 to 32 percent of the informants (Scargill 1974:68-9). Stevenson (1976:37-8) tested for the same word pair as well as the *cot/caught* minimal pair and found a possible occurrence of this phoneme among 5 to 23 percent of British Columbians. Although both surveys were based on questionnaires and thus tested only the informants' perceptions, both indicate an uncertain but definite degree of occurrence for the /a/ phoneme among Canadian speakers.

The distribution of the /a/ phoneme is quite complex in the Puget Sound region of Washington, mainly because of its settlement history. Historically, the three dialects that have contributed to the Puget Sound speech (i.e. Northern, Midlands, and Upper Midwest American English) all had the /a/ phoneme, but as pointed out earlier, the distribution of this phoneme is different in the lexicon in these dialects. This dialect contact situation in the Puget Sound resulted in a retained, though irregular, use of the /a/ phoneme such that all of the informants

of Brengelman's study used the /a/ and /ɔ/ phonemes interchangeably in the same morpheme at least once during his fieldwork interviews (Brengelman 1957:159).

This led him (Brengelman 1957:160) to make the prediction:

The extreme irregularity in the use of /a/ and /ɔ/ here together with the fact that the contrast has no function in many idiolects suggests the eventual coalescence of the low central and the low back vowels, except before /r/ and /y/, in the Puget Sound area.

In other words, the Puget Sound's history as a transition area as a result of at least three dialects coming into contact would eventually lead to the merging of the /a/ and the /ɔ/ phonemes among its speakers, although thirty years ago this merger had not yet started.

In the Point Roberts study there were two items on the questionnaire dealing with the contrast between /a/ and /ɔ/, and this same contrast was tested for thirty-five times in twenty-nine words in order to arrive at a very precise degree of the merging among the twenty-one informants as well as an extensive path of transition for this merging. The twenty-nine words tested⁵ were based, in the main, on Brengelman's worksheets for the Puget Sound while the questionnaire questions were based on past surveys in Canadian English such as the SCE.

All of the informants who responded to the questionnaire indicated that *father* and *bother* rhymed (see Chapter 6 for a more detailed discussion of these results). The results of the *cot/caught* question indicate that the /a/ phoneme is present to a certain degree among the Point Roberts informants. A total of seven of the thirty informants (23 percent) said that these two words did not rhyme. There was a significant difference by nationality; one of the eight Canadian informants (13

⁵ *all, almond, always, caught, closet, cloths, coffee, collie, crop, cotton, dog, foggy, forgot, frost, got, hat, John, moth, mothballs, not, on, ought, shopping, taught, Tom, tomorrow, wash, Washington, water.*

percent) said the two words did not rhyme as opposed to six of the twenty-two American informants (27 percent), indicating a probable higher degree of merging among the Canadian informants. There was another relationship to the sex of the informant; four of the thirteen male informants (31 percent) said the two words did not rhyme as opposed to three of the seventeen female informants (18 percent). These two relationships taken together would indicate, on the face of it, that the Canadian females had the highest degree of /a/ merging and the American males the lowest.

The results from the tape-recorded interviews, however, revealed a very different distribution for the /a/ phoneme. Three of the six Canadian informants (50 percent) have some degree of occurrence for the /a/ phoneme as opposed to ten of the fifteen American informants (66 percent). It is the mean frequencies, however, that show a truer picture. Contrary to the questionnaire results, it is the American men who have the highest degree of /a/ merging (mean $f=14.28$) and the Canadian females who have the lowest degree of /a/ merging (mean $f=28.57$) with the Canadian males (mean $f=17.14$) and the American females (mean $f=16.00$) in the middle. The relationship to the sex of the informant was also different from the questionnaire results; the mean frequencies for the Canadian and American men were lower than the mean frequencies for the Canadian and American women.

When the frequencies of occurrence for the /a/ phoneme were plotted by the years of residence in the community, an important relationship with this latter variable emerged for the American informants as a group and for the Canadian men, as shown on the following chart:

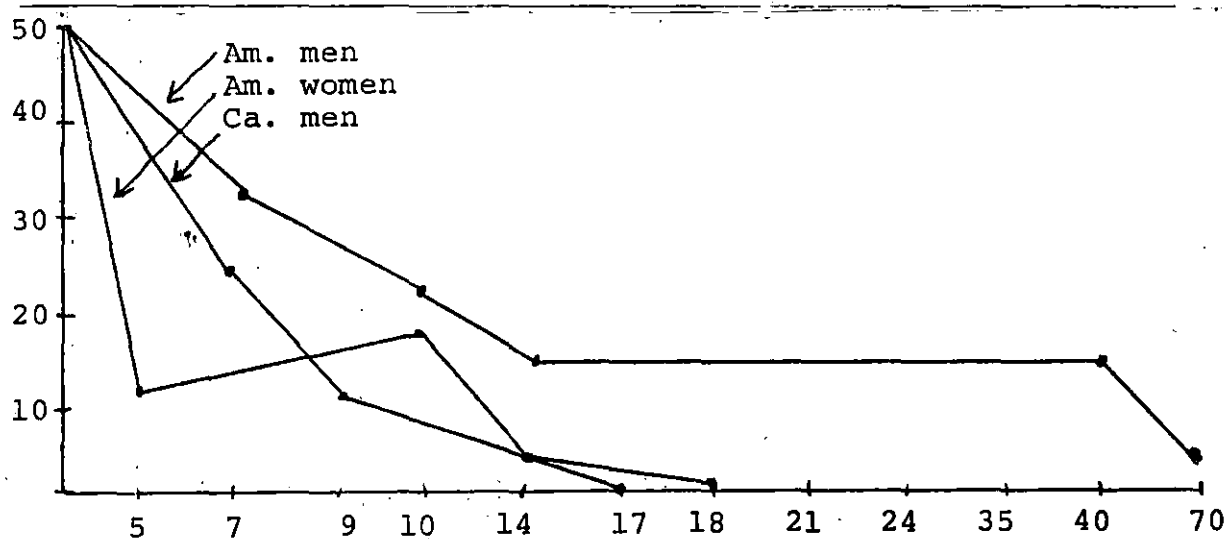


Figure 5.1: Frequency (F) of /a/ by Years of Residence

Among the American women, there is an irregularly-decreasing degree in the frequency of occurrence of the /a/ phoneme as the years of residence in the community increases. After eighteen years of residence in the community, the /a/ phoneme has completely merged with /ɔ/. The same holds true for the Canadian men, only here there is a regular decrease in the frequency of /a/ with complete merger after seventeen years of residence. The American men turned out to be the most conservative group; though there is a steady decrease in the frequency of /a/ up to eighteen years of residence, afterward there is a constant frequency of approximately 11.43 percent with a later decrease to a frequency of 5.71 percent at seventy years of residence. Complete merging of the /a/ phoneme has not occurred among this group, however. There was no apparent relationship in the frequency of occurrence of the /a/ phoneme with years of residence for the Canadian women, although they had the highest percentage of informants with com-

plete neutralization. A greater sample size across a greater range of years of residence would be needed in order to arrive at any conclusions for this group.

It would, thus, appear that for the American women there is a transition period in the merging of the low back phonemes of five to eighteen years, characterized by a decreasing frequency of occurrence of the /a/ phoneme, with a transition point at eighteen years characterized by complete merging with the /ɔ/ phoneme. There is a similar transition period of neutralization for the Canadian men with a transition point at seventeen years, whereafter the neutralization is complete. The American men have an extended transition period of up to seventy years of residence in the community, characterized by a much slower decrease in the frequency of occurrence of the /a/ phoneme, but there is no transition point to a complete merging.

These results, in turn, show that the merging of the /a/ phoneme has been markedly accelerated among the American informants as a result of contact with Canadian English and that this merging has continued among the Canadian informants as a result of contact with American English. This is another example of the third principle of dialect contact (see Chapter 6).

The frequency of occurrence of /a/ across the twenty-eight words tested, as shown on table 2.57, revealed a definite path of transition and showed as well in which words the merger was completed first and in which words the /a/ phoneme was retained the longest.

The /a/ phoneme did not occur in *all*, *caught*, *collie*, *cloths*, *dog*, *frost*, *mothballs*, or *ought*. This would imply that these seven words are among the first where the /a/ merged with /ɔ/, followed by words such as *always* and later by

Table 5.57: Occurrences of /a/

<u>Word</u>	<u>Number of Occurrences</u>
Always	1
Closet	1
Coffee	1
Hot	1
Moth	1
Taught	1
Tom	1
Water	1
Almond	2
Foggy	2
Not	3
Washed	3
Forgot	4
John	4
Shopping	4
Crop	5
Washington	5
Tomorrow	6
Cotton	7
Got	7
On	15

words such as *crop*. The last word in which the /a/ phoneme would be retained is *on*.

Table 5.58: Frequency of Raised Diphthongs

<u>informant</u>	<u>f [ʌy]</u>	<u>f [ʌw]</u>
Canadian male		
26 - 45	100.00	100.00
46 - 65	100.00	100.00
66 -	100.00	100.00
Mean	<u>100.00</u>	<u>100.00</u>
American male		
16 - 25	50.00	16.66
26 - 45	100.00	60.00
46 - 65	66.66	40.00
	33.33	0.00
66 -	83.33	33.33
Mean	<u>66.66</u>	<u>30.00</u>
Canadian female		
26 - 45	100.00	100.00
46 - 65	100.00	100.00
66 -	100.00	100.00
Mean	<u>100.00</u>	<u>100.00</u>
American female		
16 - 25	100.00	83.33
	83.33	50.00
26 - 45	100.00	100.00
	100.00	66.66
	80.00	60.00
	80.00	50.00
	66.66	16.66
	50.00	0.00
46 - 65	100.00	50.00
66 -	0.00	0.00
Mean	<u>76.00</u>	<u>45.00</u>

Canadian Raising. This phonological rule is one of the primary characteristics of Canadian English and one of the best known. The rule involves the use of two allophones for the central diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/, [ay] and [aw] being the realization before voiced consonants and [ʌy] and [ʌw] before voiceless consonants (Trudgill 1986). By contrast, these diphthongs are realized as [ay] and [aw] before both voiced and voiceless consonants in the majority of dialects of American English, among them the speech of the Puget Sound area. Although Brengelman (1957) did not test for Canadian Raising, the three major dialects that contributed to the speech of this area (Northern, Midlands, and Upper Midwest) do not have raising and, thus, the development of the Puget Sound speech would have only the lowered diphthongs [ay] and [aw] in all environments.

The major assumption in the Point Roberts study with regards to Canadian Raising was that the American informants who had recently moved into the community would not have the raised allophones before voiceless consonants but would acquire them with increasing frequency as the period of residence in the community increased. A total of six words was tested for each diphthong during the tape-recorded interviews; *bright*, *liked*, *likes*, *like*, *life*, and *wife* for [ʌy], and *lout*, *clout*, (2) *out*, *blouse*, and *about* for [ʌw]. Especial care was taken in the calculation of the frequency for [ʌw] because of the two possible variants [s] and [z] in *blouse*. If the informant chose the voiced variant [z], the raised diphthong [ʌw] should not have been realized, and the word *blouse* was thus eliminated from the calculation of the frequency of the diphthong. If, however, the voiceless variant [s] was chosen, the raised diphthong could potentially be realized, and *blouse* was then included in the calculation of the frequency. The frequency of occurrence of the raised diphthongs is shown in table 5.58.

The results of the Point Roberts study show a definite diffusion of the raised diphthongs from Canadian English among the American informants with the women having a higher mean frequency than the men. As well, it appears that the [Ay] diphthong diffuses at a faster rate and has a higher degree of acquisition than the [Aw] diphthong. Among both groups of American informants there appeared to be a minor relationship to age in that the single female informant above the age of sixty-six had failed to acquire either of the diphthongs after ten years of residence, and the 46 - 65 American male had a very low frequency after ten years of residence. As well, the two female informants under the age of twenty-five had the highest degree of acquisition as a group. The critical variable in accounting for the degree of acquisition for both the American men and women was the years of residence in the community. When the frequency of occurrence of the raised diphthongs was plotted in relation to the years of residence (the female informant over the age of sixty-six and the 46 - 65 American male were eliminated from these calculations, and the mean frequency was used for the two female informants who had been resident in the community for twenty-four years), a clear increase in frequency was seen:

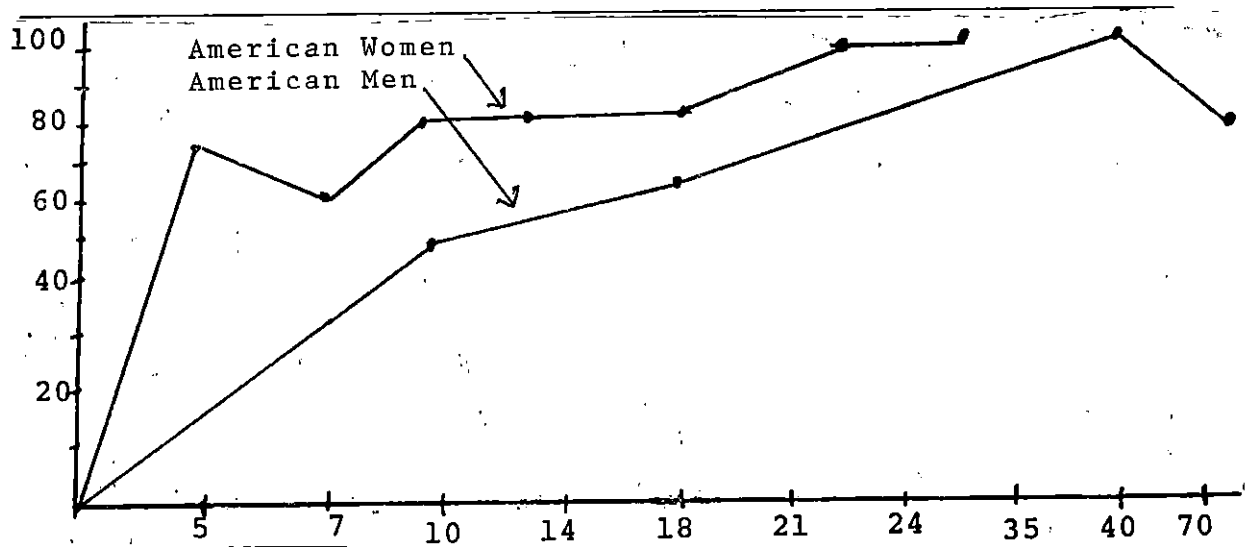


Figure 5.2: frequency of occurrence of [ʌy]

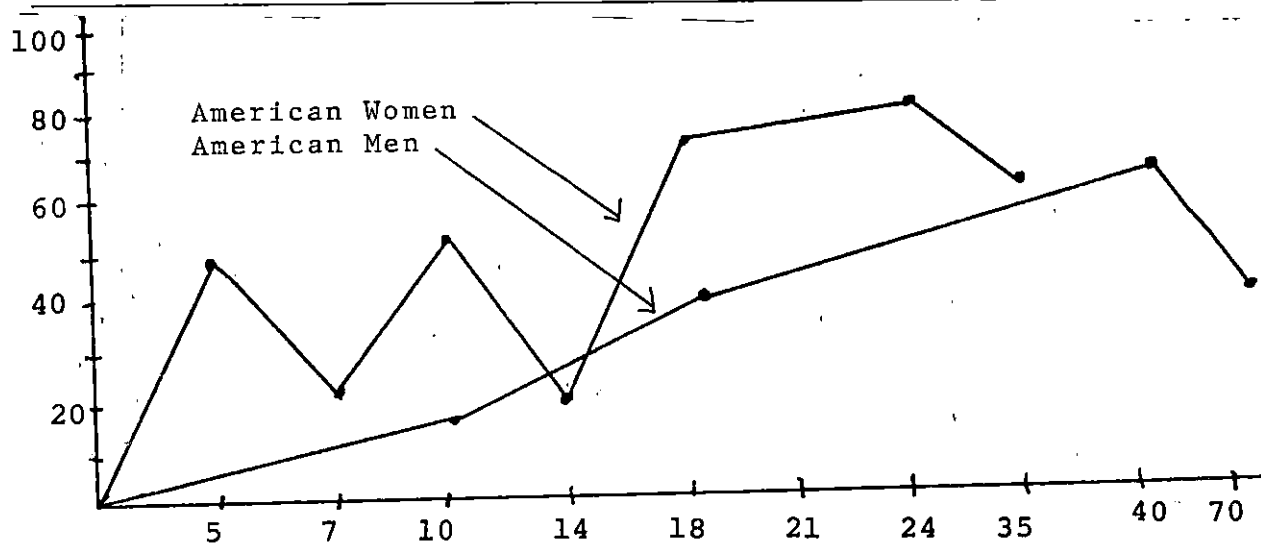


Figure 5.3: frequency of occurrence of [ʌw]

The relationship to sex remained after the frequencies were plotted in relation to the years of residence; the female informants acquired both of the raised diphthongs at a faster rate than the men. Among the men, the apparent decrease in frequency of the raised diphthongs after seventy years of residence can probably be explained on the grounds that this particular informant is one of the original Icelandic settlers and did not begin learning English until he was five years old.

The overall rate of diffusion of the raised diphthongs from Canadian English is remarkable. Among the American women, the [ʌy] diphthong is acquired with a 100 percent frequency after twenty-four years of residence in the community, and their male counterparts reach the same state after approximately forty years of residence. And while the [ʌw] diphthong is rarely acquired with 100 percent frequency, there is a steadily-increasing frequency among the men and a somewhat irregularly-increasing frequency among the women.

The fact that these two raised diphthongs are present among the American informants is significant because it represents a high degree of diffusion from Canadian English in Point Roberts, but their increased frequency with increased years of residence is even more significant because it shows a marked change among American residents of Point Roberts from the speech patterns of American English to the speech patterns of Canadian English.

Chapter 6

SUMMARY OF RESULTS: TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF A TRANSITION THEORY

6.1 Conclusions.

There are four main conclusions concerning the type and direction of linguistic change in the Point Roberts study that, in the main, confirm the hypotheses set out in Chapter 1:

1. The dialect features commonly found in the Puget Sound region of Washington state are receding from the speech of the American informants in Point Roberts.
2. The American informants in Point Roberts are acquiring linguistic features commonly found in Canadian English.
3. Contrary to the hypothesis set out in Chapter 1, the Canadian informants in Point Roberts have failed to acquire the linguistic features common to the Puget Sound and have retained their Canadian speech patterns.
4. The presence of lexical items from Chinook Jargon was confirmed among both Canadian and American informants.

Recession of Washington features. Among the American informants, this recession was present in all the major categories of linguistic variables, although the degree of the recession varied from item to item. In the lexicon, *flapjacks*, *griddlecakes*, and *spider* have gone from a low frequency of occurrence (under 10

percent) to a zero usage. Words such as *devil's darning needle* and *baby carriage* have gone from a fairly low (under 20 percent) to a low frequency of occurrence while other words such as *sawbuck*, *string beans*, and *curtains* have receded from common usage (over 30 percent) to a low frequency of occurrence. Two other words, *skillet* and *faucet* have receded from being present in all contexts to being present in only a few, specific contexts.

In the morpho-syntactic realm, there are two items of note. The use of *real* as a flat adverb, which is commonly found in the speech of the Puget Sound, is present among only a very few of the American informants in Point Roberts, and this item is one of the most important because the informants themselves have the subjective impression that the absence of this usage sets them off from lower Whatcom County. The second morpho-syntactic item commonly found in the general Puget Sound area but only rarely in Point Roberts is the prepositions *at* or *in* in the phrase *sick__his stomach*. In Point Roberts, as in Canadian English in general, *to* is the preposition of choice.

There were seven phonological variables common to the speech of Puget Sound that are definitely receding in the speech of the American informants in Point Roberts:

1. The pronunciation of *February* as /fɛbyuɛri/ is receding among the men but can still be found among the women.
2. The use of the syllabic /l/ in words such as *feel* and *real* occurs only rarely.
3. The use of the /u/ variant in the words *root* and *roof* is found only rarely and, in fact, seems to be stigmatized among the informants.

4. The frequency of occurrence of the labio-velar glide /hw/ has decreased among the American informants from the frequency of occurrence reported for the Puget Sound thirty years ago.
5. The use of the /a/ phoneme in the stressed syllable of words such as *cotton* has decreased among the American informants in Point Roberts in relation to their years of residence in the community such that in the case of women with more than eighteen years of residence it has completely merged with /ɔ/.
6. The neutralization of the central vowel contrast, i.e. /o/ or /ɔ/, /æ or e/ or /ɛ/, which Brengelman noted was in progress thirty years ago, has been completed among the American informants of Point Roberts.
7. In addition, the intrusive [r] sometimes found in the words *wash* or *Washington* did not occur among the Point Roberts informants.

The acquisition of Canadian features by the American informants. Again, this acquisition of linguistic features was seen in all the major categories of linguistic variables, i.e. lexical, morpho-syntactic, and phonological. There were five lexical items found only in Canadian English that were present to one degree or another among the American informants of Point Roberts. These included the low frequency of occurrence of the words *toque* and *fry pan* and the high frequency of occurrence of the word *chesterfield* and the lack of the preposition *the* with *to university* (as in *he is going to university*). Also, *tap* (n.) has gone from occurring only in a limited set of specific contexts to general usage across all contexts.

The single morpho-syntactic item was the use of the preposition *to* in the phrase *a quarter to* in expressions of time at the expense of the variants *of* and *till* that are sometimes found in the Puget Sound.

There are numerous examples of the acquisition of phonological variants common to Canadian English. Among the most prominent are:

1. The use of /e/ in *again*.
2. The use of the variants /ez/ and /ɔz/ in *vase*.
3. The use of /ay/ in the three classes of words *either/neither*, *genuine*, and *fertile*.
4. The use of /i/ in *lever*, and in the prefix *semi-*.

Perhaps the most important phonological acquisition among the American informants, however, is the use of the raised diphthongs [ʌy] and [ʌw] before voiceless consonants, which is the general rule of Canadian Raising. This, more than any other feature, points to the fact that the American informants are acquiring Canadian speech patterns in their idiolects.

The retention of Canadian speech features among the Canadian informants.

The original hypothesis as set out in Chapter 1 was that the Canadian informants in Point Roberts would acquire some of the linguistic variants common to Washington State, but instead there was a failure to acquire any of these variants. For example, *napkin* remained in its specific context of *paper* among the Canadian women and did not generalize to the contexts of both *cloth* and *paper* as in the American pattern of usage, nor did any of the Canadian informants acquire the use of words such as *skillet* or the use of *real* as a flat adverb. Instead, there was a retention of many of their unique dialect features. This retention was most marked in the phonological realm, and some of the more prominent examples are as follows:

1. The three variants for *vase* found in British Columbia were present in Point Roberts.
2. The stress pattern for *Celica* remained the same.
3. /ay/ was present in the three word classes of *either/neither*, *genuine*, and *fertile*.
4. /i/ remained common in the prefix *semi-*.
5. The word *shone* continued to be pronounced with the /ɔ/ variant among all Canadian informants.
6. The /ʃ/ variant continued to occur in *schedule*.
7. /zed/ (Z) remained the variant of choice as opposed to the Northern American /zi/.
8. The high frequency of occurrence of the palatal glide /yu/ in words such as *Tuesday* remained.
9. The raised diphthongs [ʌy] and [ʌw] were present in the speech of all the Canadian informants in all possible environments, representing a mean frequency of 100.00.

This last feature, again more than any other feature, clearly points to the fact that the Canadian residents of Point Roberts are retaining their use of Canadian English and are not undergoing a widespread transition to the speech of the Puget Sound.

Chinook Jargon. As the results set out in Chapter 4 indicate, items from Chinook Jargon are present to a greater or lesser degree among the residents of Point Roberts depending upon the individual informant (some informants used more words of the of the jargon than others) and upon the individual word. In the latter

case, certain words (e.g. *chinook wind*) were known by a high percentage of the informants whereas other words (e.g. *tillicum*) were known to only a few.

There was evidence of linguistic change among the jargon words. Some words such as *siwash* or *tillicum* are taking on a specific geographic or commercial referent at the expense of their original meanings. As well, the original meaning may be receding in favor of a new meaning. This was seen most markedly in *tyee* where the original meaning of *chief*, *king* occurs much less commonly than the extended meaning of *a large salmon*.

6.2 Methodological Concerns.

In the Point Roberts study, there were three items that came to light that have implications for future studies, more specifically, for the methodology of future studies that could potentially result in skewed or even incorrect conclusions.

During the tape-recorded interviews, the cluster simplification that is seen in words such as *rinds* and that reflects the general rule of post-nasal dental stop deletion in final or medial clusters was avoided by all of the Point Roberts informants in the word *interesting* in favour of the elided variant. The distribution of the variants for this particular word indicate a lexical idiosyncrasy as the rule of clipping does not appear to be widely prevalent along the Canada-United States border but the rule of post-nasal dental stop deletion does occur with a mean frequency of approximately 40.00. Therefore, as a word of caution to future researchers, *interesting* does not appear to be a good word to use to test for the rule of post-nasal dental-stop deletion.

In past dialectology studies involving the use of a questionnaire, the presence or absence of /a/ has been tested for with the common questions of whether *father/bother* and *cot/caught* rhyme. However, the results of the Point Roberts study show that this linguistic variant can only be adequately tested for during an interview with the informant, and a questionnaire gives an inadequate indication of the presence or absence of this phoneme.

All of the informants who responded to the questionnaire in the present study indicated that *father* and *bother* rhymed. These results, however, can say nothing about the merger of /a/ and /ɔ/; an informant could have in his idiolect the pronunciations [faðər] and [baðər] and state that these two words rhyme; it is equally possible that this same informant could have in his idiolect the pronunciations [fɔðər] and [bɔðər] and still state that these two words rhyme. This particular word pair, then, is inadequate for testing for the absence or presence of the /a/ phoneme on a questionnaire; this was directly confirmed by the results of the Point Roberts study because all of the informants said this word pair rhymed, ostensibly indicating a complete merger of this phoneme, yet the tape-recorded interviews showed that while this phoneme is receding, it is still present to a greater or lesser degree.

A similar problem arose with the *cot/caught* minimal pair. While the word *cot* was not directly tested for during the tape-recorded interviews, there is indirect evidence it is among the earlier words to merge to /ɔ/. Seven of the thirty informants (23 percent) reported on the questionnaire that they used the /a/ phoneme in this word. However, of the twenty-one informants who participated in the tape-recorded interviews, thirteen (62 percent) had some frequency of occur-

rence of the /a/ phoneme. This difference in percentiles between the occurrence of the /a/ phoneme among the informant population and the reported occurrence of the /a/ phoneme in *cot* implies that while six out of ten informants use the /a/ to some degree, only two of these six informants use the /a/ in *cot* while for the remaining four informants the vowel has merged with /a/. This suggested early neutralization of /a/ in *cot* points to the hazard of asking whether *cot* and *caught* rhyme on a linguistic questionnaire. It may well be that the /a/ phoneme is still present in the informant's idiolect but is no longer present in this particular word, and the question would fail to elicit its presence. A possible, though imperfect, solution to this problem might be to test for an alternate minimal pair, *not/naught* because, as the results in Chapter 5 show, *not* is one of the later words to merge.

6.3 Towards the Development of a Transition Theory.

As already discussed in Chapter 1, transition areas have been neglected by researchers, both in the field and in the theoretical realm. As a result, there are only scattered theoretical devices and principles, originating in other areas such as bilingualism studies that have been introduced into the study of transition areas, but there is no coherent theory for transition areas themselves to date. Such a theory can be developed, however, by adapting these theoretical devices and principles to refer specifically to transition areas. As well, the patterns of dialect shift observed in the Point Roberts study point the way to a considerable expansion of a theory for transition areas (hereafter referred to as *transition theory*).

6.3.1 Isoglosses and Heteroglosses.

Two of the most prominent theoretical devices used in areal dialectology are the isogloss and the heterogloss, which can be simply defined as boundaries between two geographic regions with respect to a particular linguistic feature. Iso/heteroglosses have been used for decades to define the boundaries or show the divisions between dialect areas, and in fact, a dialect boundary is usually defined as a bundle of iso/heteroglosses. Their use, however, has not been without problems.

One major problem with the isogloss has been that it is, by and large, an arbitrary line, and it implies that dialect variation is geographically abrupt. The heterogloss, which is a set of double lines delineating where one linguistic feature stops and another starts, avoids this particular problem but has a problem itself in that it can say nothing about the linguistic variation that exists between the two lines. Both of these problems result in a degree of imprecision, or as Chambers & Trudgill (1980:125) put it:

Bundles cohere only approximately, there are apparently no general principles for grading a set of isoglosses, and they correlate with other cultural features only roughly.

In the past, the major theoretical efforts have been in the direction of categorizing different types of iso/heteroglosses (e.g. lexical, morph-syntactic, phonetic, semantic) and attempting to weigh their respective prominence in order to arrive at a degree of differentiation between two dialects. Scholars have not yet reached a consensus on these attempts as more than one system exists, and these studies still have not come to grips with the problem of defining iso/heteroglosses accurately or of confirming their theoretical validity.

Chambers & Trudgill, in the eighth chapter of their book *Dialectology*, discuss the use of iso/heteroglosses in transition areas, and the following discussion is based on their use of the SED material for documenting the use of [ʌ] and [u] in Central England. Data from the Point Roberts study is used as well to broaden the discussion and to support or refute Chambers & Trudgill's delineation of the problem.

There are four main problems with the use of iso/heteroglosses in transition areas. The first is that many previous dialectology studies used only one category of informants, thus restricting the number of independent variables, and it was upon these results that the drawing of the iso/heterogloss was based. For example, the SED used only non-mobile older rural males (NORMs). However, the Point Roberts study as well as other studies in the realm of social dialectology have shown that linguistic variation occurs across a wide range of independent variables in the informant population such as sex or nationality as well as age, and this would make the drawing of any iso/heterogloss necessarily complex or impossible because it must include all the independent variables in its representation in order to represent accurately the dialect boundaries.

The second problem with iso/heteroglosses occurs in the phonological realm and applies especially to transition areas; it is that only one word such as *some* or *out* is tested as representative of an entire class. This implies that the use of a particular vowel is uniform across the entire class of words in which it can appear. However, the theory of lexical diffusion shows that the vowel that is in competition with a second vowel (i.e. [ʌ] and [u] in the SED materials, [aw] and [ʌw] in the Point Roberts study) does not occur uniformly across the class of potential

words in any one particular informant. For example, an informant would have [ʌ] in *brush* but [u] in *some*. In the Point Roberts study, this principle was illustrated by the American informants who would have [aw] in *clout* but [ʌw] in *out*. Such variation would make the use of an iso/heterogloss imprecise at best.

The third problem is, again, especially relevant in transition areas. The iso/heterogloss implies a uniform use of a linguistic feature by an informant representing an area, but in transition areas a single informant may use both features interchangeably in a single word. In the transition area of Central England this was seen by the use of [ʌ] in *duck* and a later occurrence of [u] in the same word by the same informant. In the Point Roberts study, this type of variation was frequently seen in the word *out* as it was tested twice during the tape-recorded interviews. More than one of the American informants would use [aw] the first time the word was tested and [ʌw] the second time. With this type of variability, the drawing of an iso/heterogloss would be impossible.

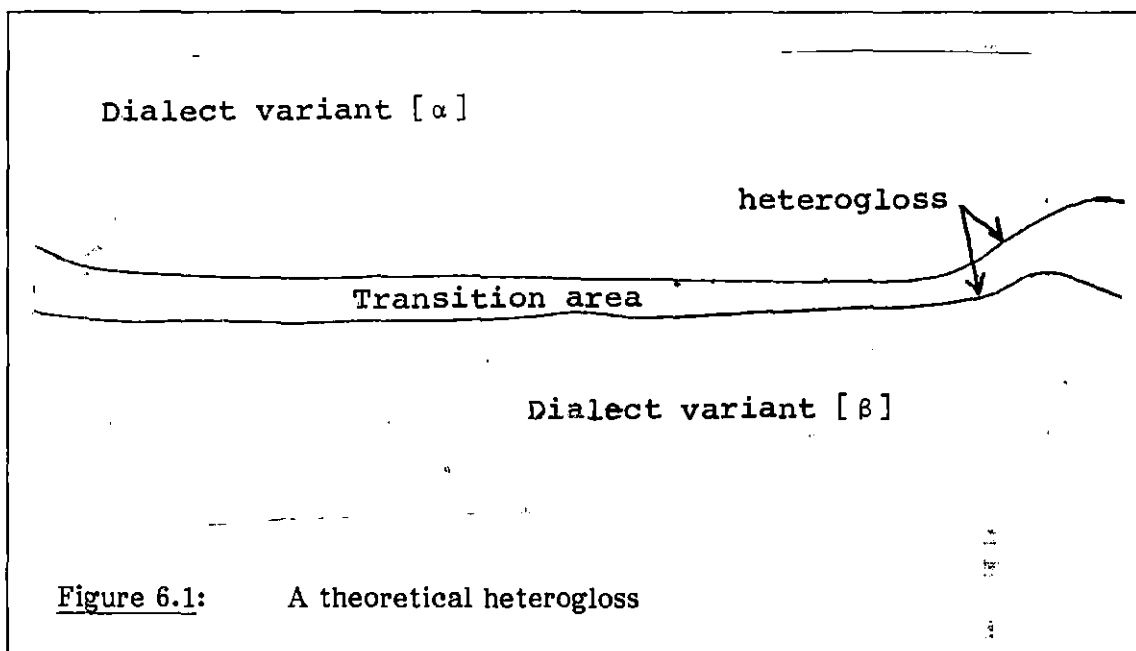
The last problem is unique to transition areas. Some researchers have tried to adapt iso/heteroglosses to the linguistic variation found in transition areas by determining the frequency of occurrence of a particular feature and then drawing an isogloss based on the observed frequencies such that the low frequencies are on one side of the isogloss and the high frequencies are on the other. However, this frequently results in discontinuous lines or no lines at all.

As a result of the foregoing problems, Chambers and Trudgill (1980:132) concluded:

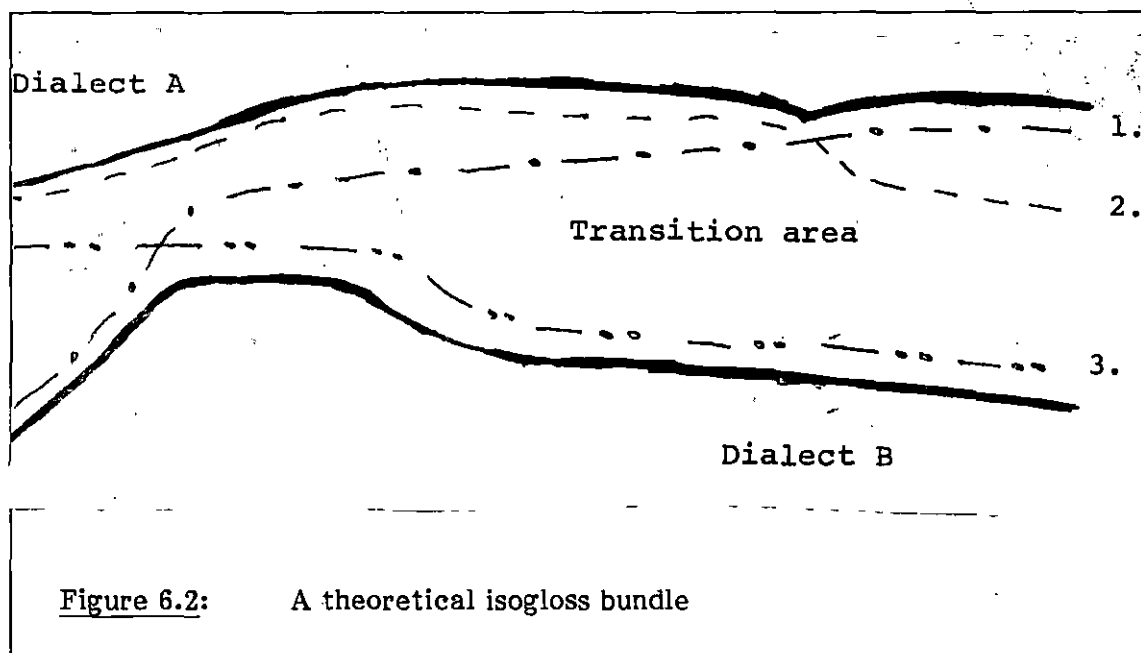
...the very acknowledgement that transitional dialects exist would seem to render the isogloss obsolete, because [variants] can no more be assigned an absolute place on one or the other side of a line than can an individual speaker who has a variable pronunciation of a single word.

This abandonment of iso/heteroglosses, however, appears premature because they do appear to have a certain value as a first step in any dialect survey covering a large geographic area.

One problem with studies of transition areas has been to identify their geographic location. In the past, transition areas have been vaguely defined (e.g. Central England, Northwestern Ohio) as they have been discovered by researchers more directly concerned with relic or focal areas. In regards to this problem of vague definition, the iso/heterogloss, or more specifically, the isogloss bundle, can be invaluable in defining the boundaries of a transition area. Take as an example a simple heterogloss:



or a relatively simple isogloss bundle:



In the case of the heterogloss, its very presence would indicate the presence of a transition area, and its two lines would define the outer boundaries of the transition area. With the more complex heteroglosses that are joined together in order to arrive at an isogloss (see Kurath 1972), the two outermost lines of the heterogloss bundle would again define the transition area. The same basic principle holds true for the isogloss bundle; the presence of the isogloss bundle would indicate the presence of a transition area, and its outer limits (the heavy lines in figure 6.2) would be defined by the outermost isoglossic lines. Everything inside the lines, thus, can be defined as the transition area, and the iso/heterogloss would make no predictions or judgements as to the linguistic variation inside the transition area.

In summary, iso/heteroglosses can be used in transition studies as a first step in locating and defining the boundaries of a transition area, and then secondary studies can be done within the transition area that do not use iso/heteroglosses but use instead specific techniques for identifying the types and patterns of linguistic variation (e.g. determination of the path of lexical diffusion).

6.3.2 Years of Residence as an Independent Variable.

Linguistic studies are divided into two major categories: synchronic, i.e., studies in real time, or diachronic, i.e. studies across time. Dialectologists, who often do synchronic studies that are contemporary with the researcher, have tried to approach linguistic change from a diachronic point of view by introducing the age of the informant as an independent variable. If, for example, an older informant uses a particular linguistic feature but younger informants do not, linguists refer to this as a change in apparent time whereby this particular feature is receding. Conversely, if a younger informant uses a particular linguistic feature but an older informant does not, linguists refer to this as a change in apparent time whereby this particular feature has been introduced to the dialect and is spreading, even though this is still a synchronic distribution of the dependent variable (Chambers & Trudgill 1980:88-9).

To the three methodologies available for studying diachronic change in a particular dialect (i.e. repeating the study at five- or ten-year intervals with the same subject population, repeating the study at five- or ten-year intervals with the same type of subject population, and using the age of the informant as an independent variable) we can add a fourth in the study of transition areas, namely the length of time an informant has been resident in the area as an independent

variable. Like the age of an informant, the years of residence can give some indication of dialect change in apparent time. In the Point Roberts study this particular variable proved its value many times among the American informants, and a partial list is as follows:

1. *Station* changes to *depot* between ten to thirty-five years of residence for the women.
2. *Seesaw* changes to *teeter-totter* between five and ten years of residence.
3. *Faucet* changes to *tap* between five and twenty-four years of residence.
4. In the word *blouse*, /s/ changes to /z/ between seven and twenty-four years of residence.
5. In the words *either* and *neither*, /i/ starts to change to /ay/ at fourteen years of residence.
6. In the word *fertile*, syllabic /l/ starts to change to /ayl/ after seven years of residence.
7. The merger of the /a/ phoneme is completed by eighteen years of residence for the women.
8. The acquisition of the [ay] diphthong is completed by twenty-four years of residence for women under the age of forty-six.

The addition of the years of residence as an independent variable, then, would give an additional indication of the linguistic change (more specifically, dialect change) that is occurring in apparent time.

6.3.3 Theoretical Principles and Constructs.

As previously mentioned, past researchers working in transition areas have introduced the use of theoretical devices that were originally formulated in other fields (e.g. Allen 1973). As a result, there is a welter of terminologies that fit the original area of study but do not necessarily reflect upon the nature of dialect contact and dialect transition. This section, then, is an attempt to adapt these theoretical constructs to the aims and needs of transition studies and, using the data from the Point Roberts study, to add to the existing framework a series of principles and definitions in order to arrive at a first approximation of a coherent transition theory.

Principles of lexical transition. Uriel Weinreich (1963) developed five principles of lexical interference for bilingualism studies, and Harold Allen (1973) was the first dialectologist to use these principles to study transition areas (see Chapter 1). However, the term *interference* would seem imprecise when dealing with a dialect contact situation and transition areas, because the informants already have a command of the language whereas in bilingualism they initially do not. However, the five principles themselves are of value in explaining the linguistic variation present in a dialect transition area, and the term *transition*, in the simple sense of change, would seem to reflect more accurately the nature of this variation. Therefore, these five lexical principles can be adapted to transition studies and be called more precisely *principles of lexical transition* in this context. To recapitulate briefly, they are as follows (see Chapter 1 for a more detailed discussion and examples):

1. Two terms are in competition with each other, and one of the terms acquires a new meaning derived from the meaning of the second term. Or, adopting Allen's schematic representation, $X_{a,b} + Y_a = Y(a)_b$.⁶
2. A term with two meanings comes into contact with a competing term with one meaning and drops one of its original meanings ($X_{a,b} + X_a, Y_b = X_a$). In the Point Roberts study, this was seen among the Canadian informants with the word *holiday* that had two meanings of *a single day* and *a longer period of time* and dropped its second meaning of *a long period of time* as a result of contact with the word *vacation* used for this meaning by the American informants.
3. Semantic differentiation ($X_a + Y_a = X_b, Y_a$). In the Point Roberts study, the best example of this came from the word set *depot, station, terminal* ($X_a + Y_a + Z_a = X_a, Y_b, Z_c$), which referred to different types of transportation, with secondary examples from such word pairs as *pail, bucket*, and *faucet, tap*.
4. Hybridization of competing compounds ($X_1, X_2 + Y_1, Y_2 = Y_1, X_2$). The single example of this in the Point Roberts study was in the use of *chesterbed* that resulted from *sofa bed* and *chesterfield*.
5. Labelling of one form as "correct" or "incorrect" ($X_a + Y_a = [X_a] Y_a$ or $X_a [Y_a]$). Again, there was only one example of this in the Point Roberts study where a single Canadian informant labelled *holiday* as incorrect when referring to a long period of time and *vacation* as the correct term

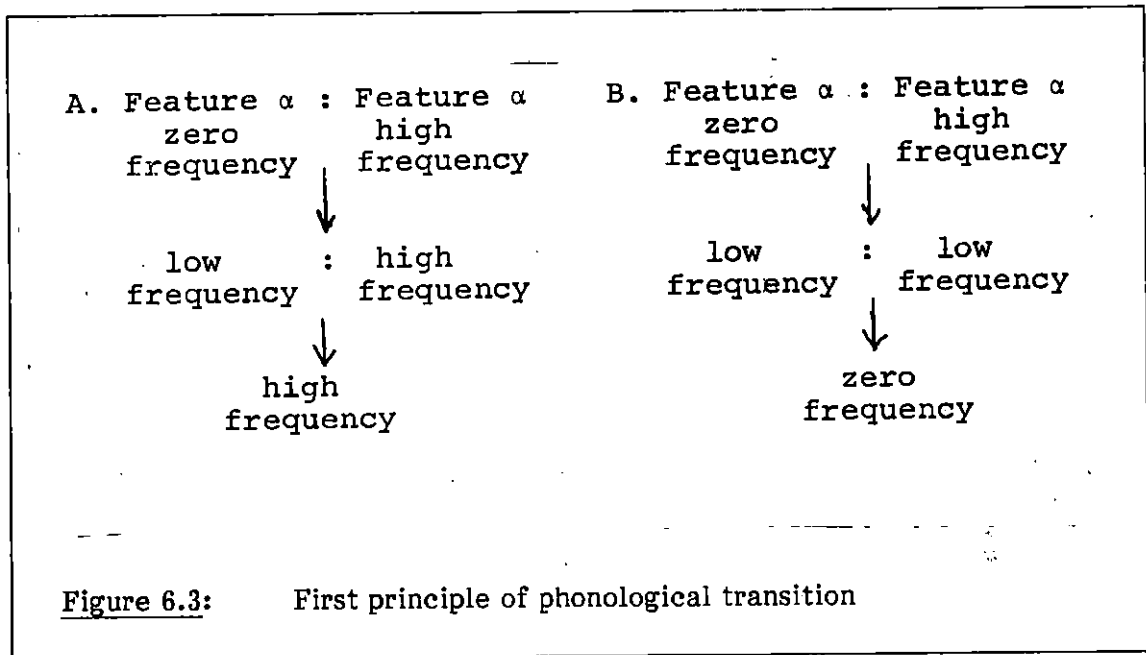
⁶ The uppercase X and Y refer to the lexical items in each of the two dialects, and the lowercase a and b refer to the meaning attached to the items; the + symbol refers to the dialect contact situation and can be worded something like "is in contact with", and the = symbol refers to the result of the dialect contact situation.

in this context.

Principles of phonological transition. Trudgill (1986) introduced what he referred to as three types of phonological accommodation, but again, there are problems with the term *accommodation*, which was originally introduced in the work of social psychologists (Giles 1973) to account for linguistic convergence and divergence in short-term contacts along the social dimension. Trudgill, however, applied *accommodation* to long-term dialect contact along the geographic dimension but gave no arguments for its validity in this context. *Accommodation*, which is perfectly valid when referring to a speaker-hearer relationship and short-term dialect contact, would seem to be imprecise when referring to long-term dialect contact and a permanent change in the informant's idiolect. The term *transition* would, again, reflect the situation more accurately, giving the three principles of phonological transition. These are as follows (see Chapter 1 for a more extensive description):

1. Alternation of the frequency of occurrence of a particular feature over which the speaker already has control. In the Point Roberts study this was seen most markedly among the American informants in the decrease in frequency and the ultimate merger of the /a/ phoneme.
2. Change in a particular feature in a word-by-word manner (i.e. lexical diffusion). In the Point Roberts study among the American informants this was seen in the acquisition of the raised diphthongs [ʌy] and [ʌw], first in words such as *like* and *out* and later in words such as *wife* and *lout*.
3. The development of an interdialect (see Chapter 1 for definition). This latter situation was not discovered in the Point Roberts transition area.

These three principles of phonological transition can be schematically represented in figures 6.3, 6.4, and 6.5.



Principles of dialect transition. In the Point Roberts study certain patterns of a change in dialect were observed more than once and led to the formulation of four principles of dialect transition.

In order to represent the dialect contact situation schematically, upper and lower case letters were used, the uppercase letter representing a more prominent variant and the lower case letter representing a less prominent variant with the colon representing the dialect contact situation itself (e.g. A,b:B,a). There is some precedent for this format of representation in dialect studies (Speitel 1969) whereby only lowercase letters and colons were used to represent the dialect contact situation, but the use of the uppercase versus lowercase letters to represent

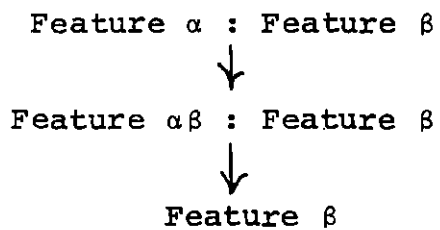


Figure 6.4: Second principle of phonological transition

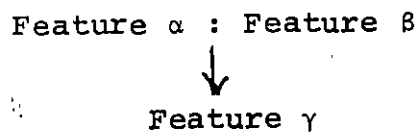


Figure 6.5: Third principle of phonological transition

greater or lesser prominence in the present study was adapted from the science of genetics whereby an uppercase letter refers to a dominant genetic trait and a lowercase letter refers to a recessive genetic trait. The four patterns of dialect transition are as follows:

Dialect contact principle one: If a dialect with two competing lexical items (A,B) comes into contact with a second dialect that has two competing terms for the same lexical item (B,C) and one of these competing terms is the same in both dialects (B), represented by (A,B:B,C), then this shared term will become the preferred one in the transition area (B,a,c).

This was observed in the Point Roberts study where the terms *curtains* and *blinds* that were in competition in American English came into contact with *blinds* and *shades*, in competition in Canadian English, and *blinds* became the preferred term in the transition area.

Dialect contact principle two: If a particular phonological feature or lexical item is receding in one of the two contact dialects (b), it is highly unlikely to diffuse into the second contact dialect and will continue to recede in its original dialect after contact with the second dialect (Ab:A).

In the Point Roberts study this was seen with the term *braces* and the phonological variant /ɛ/ in *zebra* that are receding in Canadian English and have, thus, failed to diffuse among the American informants in the transition area.

Dialect contact principle three: If a particular feature (b) is in competition with a second feature in one of the contact dialects but is less prominent or is receding (A,b), and the same situation exists in the second contact dialect (A,b:A,b), then this feature will continue to recede in the dialect transition area, and in fact, its recession may be accelerated in such a way that it rapidly disappears (A:A).

In the Point Roberts study this was seen by the neutralization of the contrast of the central vowels /æ or e/ or /ɛ/ and /o/ or /ɔ/ before /r/ that had been

gradually occurring on both sides of the border in British Columbia and Washington but was nearly complete among the informants in Point Roberts. This pattern of transition was also seen in the decrease of occurrence of the preposition *in* in the phrase *sick (to/in/at) his stomach* in Point Roberts.

Dialect contact principle four: If a particular linguistic feature (b) co-occurs but is less prominent than another feature in both of the contact dialects (A,b:C,b), its usage may increase in prominence in the transition area while the competing features (A,C) decrease (a,B:c:B).

There was only one example of this in the Point Roberts study where the term *pits*, which was in competition with *stones* and *pips* in both British Columbia and Washington, gained in prominence in the Point Roberts transition area.

Dialect contact principle five: Two terms are in competition with each other in each of the contact dialects so that one term is present in the majority of contexts in one dialect but only in specific contexts in the second dialect, and the reverse is true for the second dialect (A,b:a,B). Over time the two terms become interchangeable in all contexts for one of the contact dialects but retain their respective degrees of prominence in the second contact dialect (a,b:a,B). After a further period of time, one term is present in the majority of contexts in both dialects and the second term is present only in specific contexts in both dialects (a,B:a,B).

There were two main examples of this pattern of transition in the Point Roberts study among the American informants. *Tap* went from being present only in specific contexts to being interchangeable with *faucet* to being present in the majority of contexts, which is the Canadian pattern of usage. In a similar manner,

icing went from being present only in specific contexts to being interchangeable with *frosting*.

In a sense, this last principle of dialect contact, which applies to lexical data, is the lexical equivalent of the phonological change seen in the theory of lexical diffusion (Labov 1981). In both cases, a linguistic variant is first used specifically (i.e. a specific context or a specific word), then is used interchangeably with its competing variant (i.e. both words or phonemes are used interchangeably), and finally is used generally (i.e. the majority of contexts or words in the lexicon).

Transition Courses These were first outlined in Chapter 1 but belong in a transition theory, and thus are worth a brief recapitulation. The progression of events when two dialects come into contact with each other and the ultimate resolution of the contact situation can be referred to as the transition course, and there are three major types of transition courses:

1. Two dialects come into contact with each other (dialects X:Y), but over time one dialect comes to dominate the second dialect (dialects X:y) and, while acquiring a few elements from it, ultimately overtakes it (dialect Xy).
2. Two dialects come into contact with each other (dialects X:Y), but over time a third, unique dialect emerges that incorporates elements from the two original contact dialects (dialect Zxy).
3. Two dialects come into contact with each other (dialects X:Y), and over time each retains its identity while acquiring a few elements from the other (dialects Xy:Yx). This is the transition course that is present in the Canada-United States border transition area.

6.4 The Need for Future Research.

In the past, studies in Canadian English have addressed the issue of linguistic diffusion from the various dialects of American English into Canadian English (e.g. Avis 1955a, 1955b, 1957), but no similar studies have been done to address the complementary issue of linguistic diffusion from Canadian English into the various dialects of American English, more especially Northern American English. However, the Point Roberts study clearly reveals a high degree of diffusion from Canadian English in the transition area in such features as Canadian Raising and the merger of the /a/ phoneme.

There are hints that diffusion from Canadian English is present elsewhere along the Canada-United States border. Vance (1987) reports that Canadian Raising is present in such United States cities as Rochester and Chicago, but he gives no information as to its distribution, either in the lexicon or among the various categories of informants. Both of these cities are well within the Canada-United States border transition area (see Map 2), and the presence of Canadian Raising in these cities represents an important diffusion from Canadian English into American English.

The Point Roberts study represents the first study concerned with the two-way linguistic diffusion present along the Canada-United States border, and there is need for further studies that address this two-way linguistic diffusion elsewhere along the border. Ideally, such studies would test for many linguistic variables along the full reaches of the border, but this is unrealistic in the extreme, both because the border transition area is one of the largest on the world, over four thousand miles long, and because it is heavily populated on both sides.

There are two possible ways to overcome these logistical limitations. One would be to address the diffusion of a limited set of linguistic variables within the entire border transition area. One could, for example, examine the diffusion of Canadian Raising into Northern American English from Washington to Maine and the diffusion of post-nasal dental stop deletion in final clusters from Northern American English into Canadian English.

Another approach would be to study several linguistic variables over a limited geographic area. In common with many international borders, there are a series of "double cities" present along the Canada-United States border (e.g. Detroit-Windsor, Sault St. Marie, Ontario-Sault St. Marie, Michigan, and Buffalo-Niagara Falls), and these urban centres are prime areas for linguistic diffusion. A study done in these "double cities" would have to include several sociological variables such as age and sex in order to arrive at an detailed picture of the linguistic variation present in the transition area.

To conclude, the basic hypothesis of the Point Roberts study, that the American residents have a decreasing number of features of Puget Sound speech and an increasing number of features of Canadian English, has been proven by the results laid out in chapters 4 and 5. The study has proven as well that the Canadian residents of Point Roberts are retaining their Canadian speech and failing to acquire features of Puget Sound speech.

Perhaps more importantly, the Point Roberts study has given rise to a more coherent transition theory with five principles of lexical transition, three principles of phonological transition, five principles of dialect contact, and the exposition of three possible transition courses. As well, the concepts of a *transition*

period and a *transition point* have been added to dialectical theory. This transition theory has definite implications for future research in transition areas as any future studies can be based on this model.

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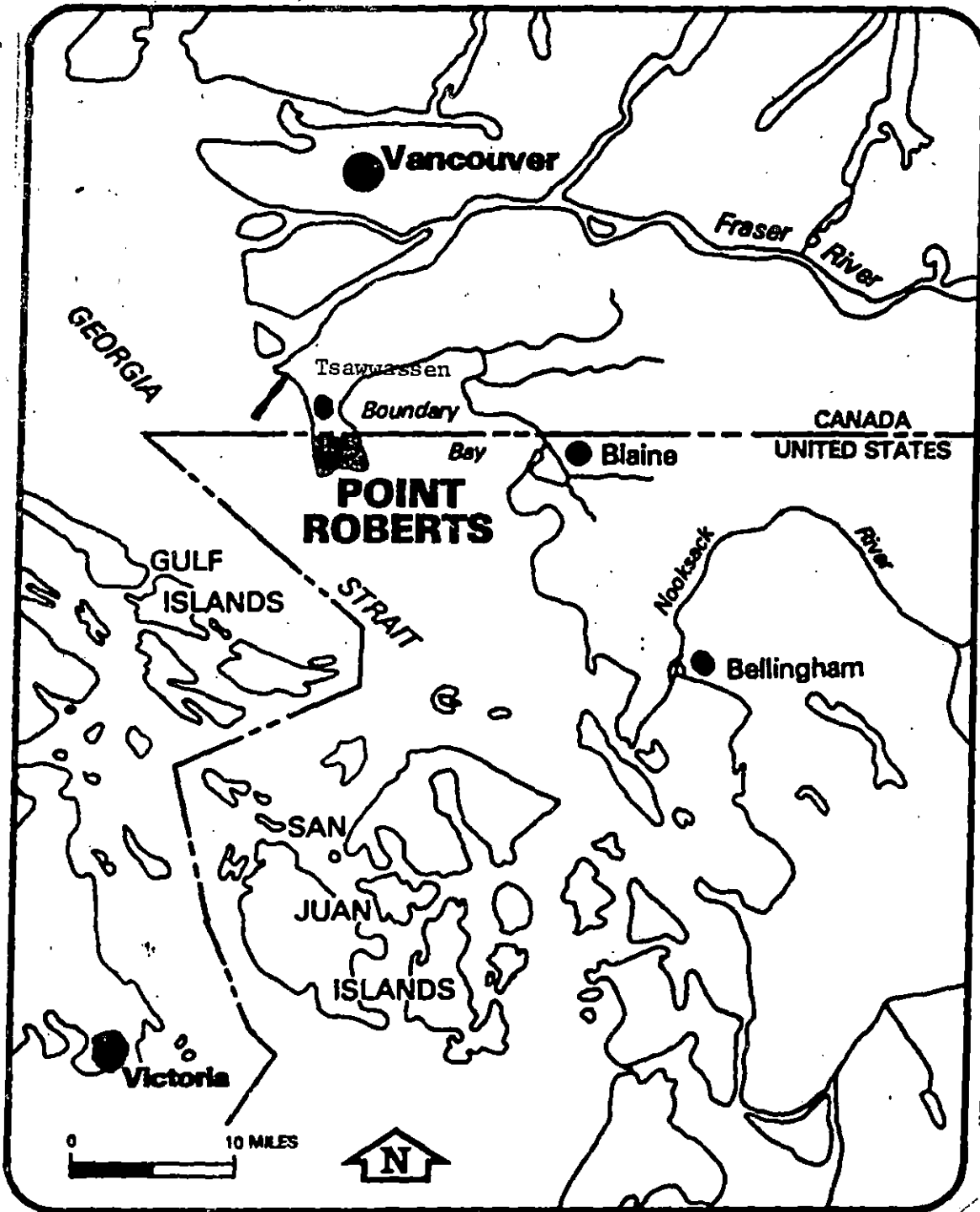
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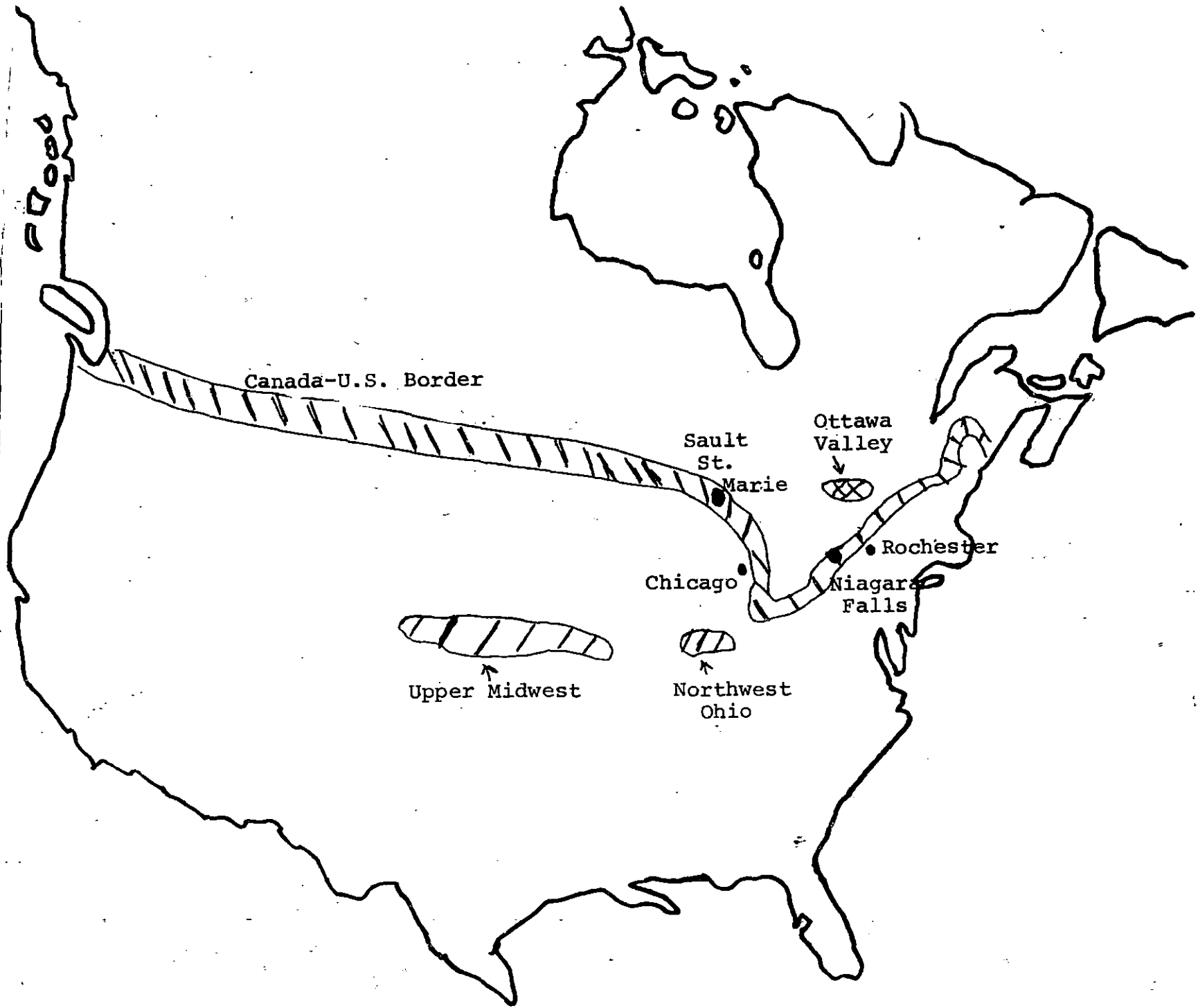
APPENDIX A

MAPS

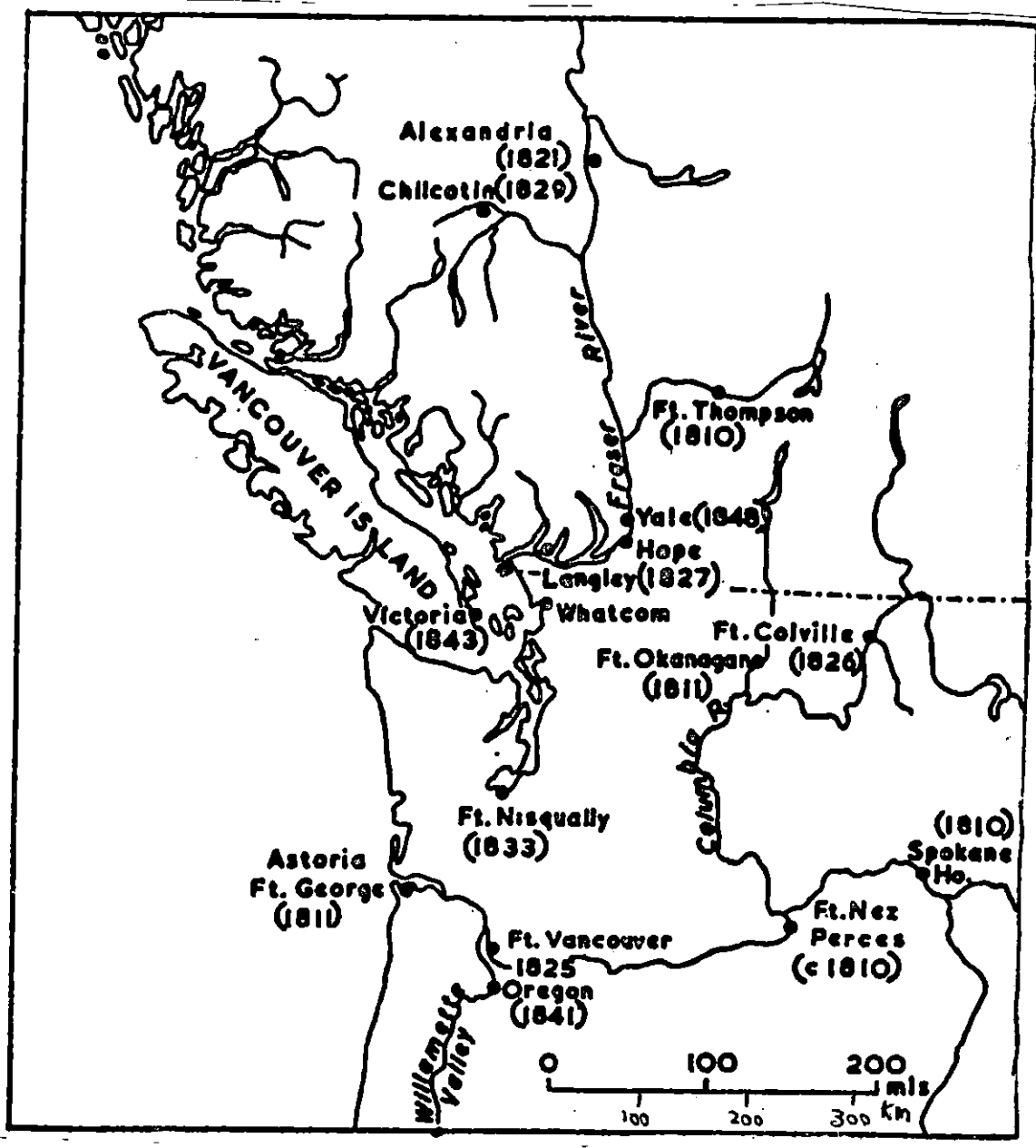
A.1 Point Roberts



A.2 Transition Areas in North America



A.3 Trading Posts and Settlements before 1846



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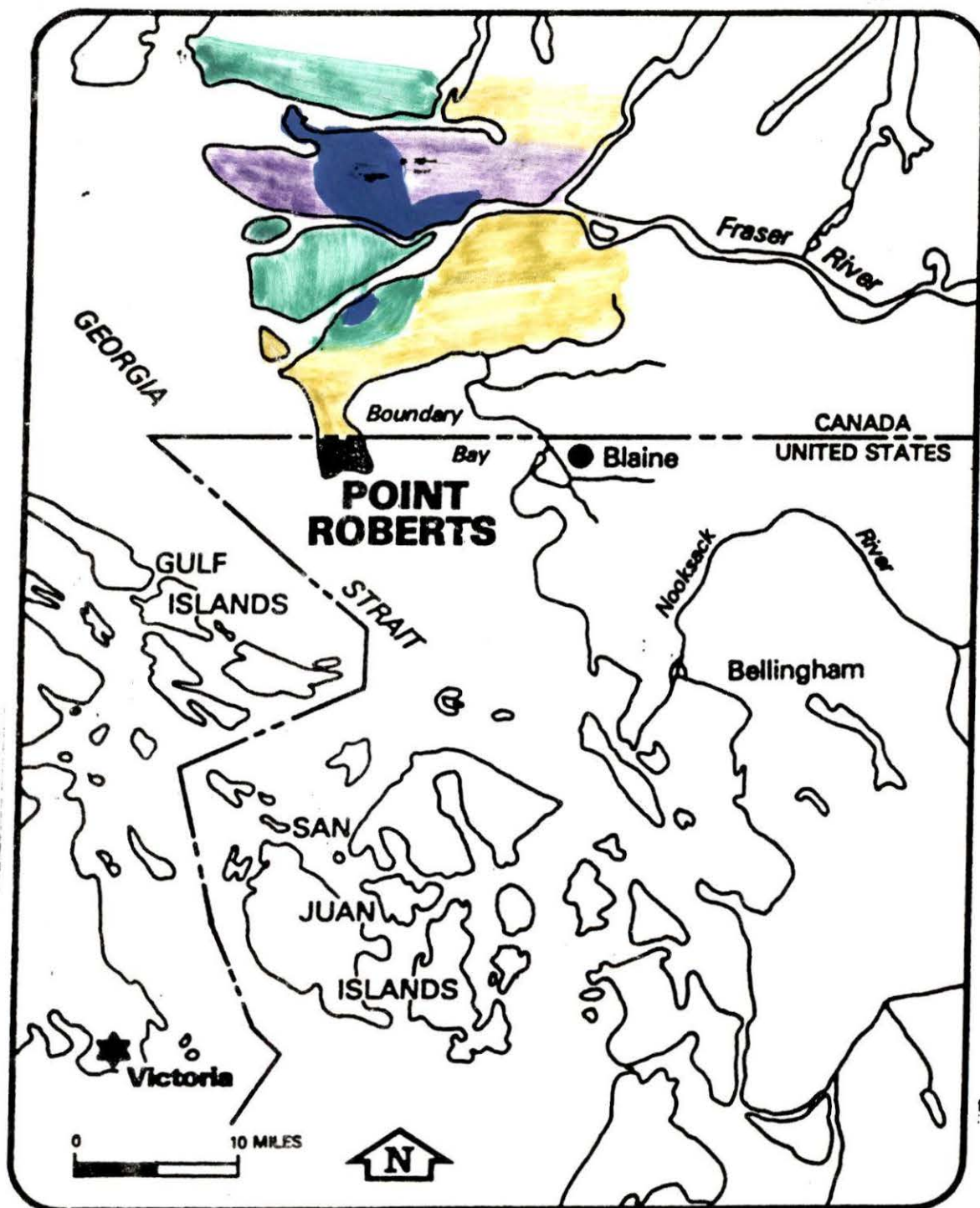
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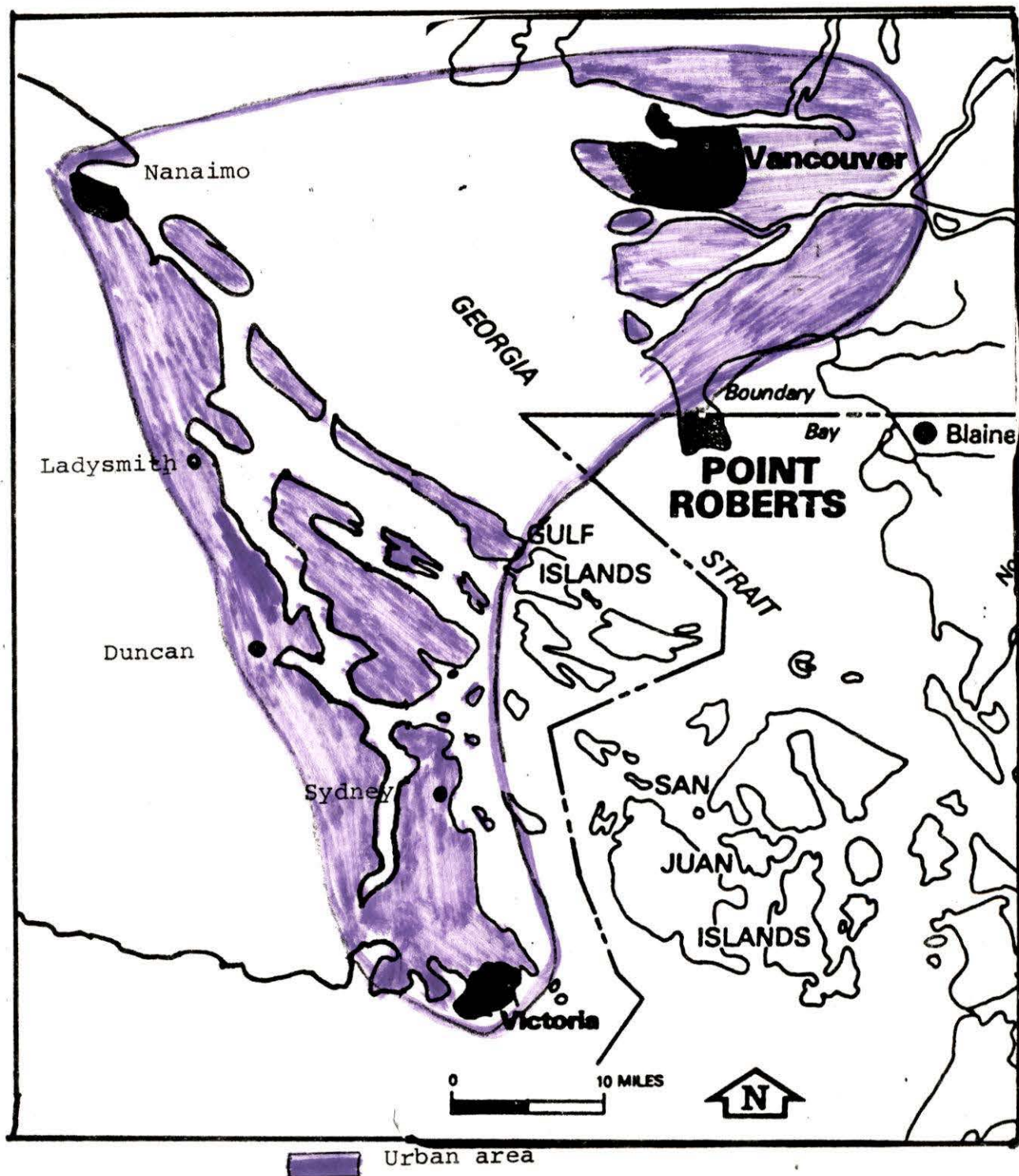
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A.4 Growth of Urban Vancouver in the Lower Mainland



A.5 Georgia Strait Urban Area



APPENDIX B
QUESTIONNAIRES

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B.1 Written Questionnaire

A Language Survey of Point Roberts

The purpose of this study is to discover the degree of language variation among the members of your community and what forms this variation may take. Participation in the survey is completely voluntary, and your name, address, and telephone number are not requested in order to guarantee your privacy; no one will be excluded on the basis of nationality, and in fact, I encourage as many of you as possible to take part in the survey because this will give a more accurate picture of the language of your community.

There are no "right" or "wrong" answers, only answers concerned with the language you use in your everyday life. Please take your time filling out the questionnaire, and when you have finished, please drop it off at the library or Ben's Store by December 15.

Section One: Biographic Information

Sex: M F

Place of Birth: _____ (town, state, or prov. & country)

Age: 15 - 25; 26 - 45; 46 - 65; 66 -

Occupation: _____ (If retired, please state your former occupation)

Place of work: _____ (If retired, please state your former place of work)

Parent's occupation: Mother _____ Father _____

Years of residence at Point Roberts (give dates):

Do you consider yourself more American or Canadian?

Please list the places you received your schooling and how long you attended each school. For example, Blaine High School, 4 years; University of British Columbia, 2 years.

Section II: Pronunciation. Circle the answer that is closest to the way you say the word. Give an example if you circle "other".

1. How do you pronounce the se in blouse?

- A. like the se in mouse
- B. like the s in cows
- C. either

2. How do you pronounce the a in tomato?

- A. like the ei in eight
- B. like the a in at
- C. like the ou in ought

3. With which word does vase rhyme?

- A. face
- B. days
- C. cause
- D. has
- E. other

4. How do you pronounce the a in apricot?

- A. like the a in cape
- B. like the a in cap
- C. either

5. How do you pronounce the o in shone?

- A. like the o in John
- B. like the oa in Joan

- C. either
6. With which word does lever rhyme?
- A. clever
 - B. cleaver
 - C. either
7. How do you pronounce the oo in root?
- A. like the oo in foot
 - B. like the oo in boot
8. What do you call the letter Z?
- A. Zee
 - B. Zed
 - C. either
9. How do you pronounce the sch in schedule?
- A. like the sk in ski
 - B. like the sh in shed
10. Are whales and Wales pronounced the same?
- A. Yes
 - B. No
 - C. sometimes
11. With which word does soot rhyme?
- A. shoot
 - B. should

C. shut

12. How do you pronounce the a in rather?

A. like the o in mother

B. like the a in lather

C. like the o in bother

D. like the a in father

Do bother and father rhyme?

A. Yes

B. No

C. sometimes

13. With which word does dew rhyme?

A. do

B. few

14. Does the first syllable of Zebra rhyme with:

A. the peb of pebble

B. the feeb of feeble

15. Do merry and marry rhyme?

A. Yes

B. No

C. sometimes

16. With which word does been rhyme?

A. bean

- B. Ben
- C. bin
17. How do you pronounce the Tue in Tuesday?
- A. to rhyme with too
- B. to rhyme with few
18. Does leisure rhyme with pleasure?
- A. Yes
- B. No
- C. sometimes
19. With which word or words does khaki rhyme?
- A. car key
- B. tacky
- C. other
20. How do you pronounce the ine of genuine?
- A. to rhyme with fine
- B. to rhyme with fin
21. How do you pronounce the ei of either?
- A. like the ei of feed
- B. like the i of find
- C. either
22. Are which and witch pronounced the same?
- A. Yes

- B. No
- C. sometimes

23. Do you pronounce the l in almond?

- A. Yes
- B. No
- C. sometimes

24. Are fairy and ferry pronounced the same?

- A. Yes
- B. No
- C. sometimes

25. With which word does brand rhyme?

- A. Band aid
- B. Bran flakes
- C. either

26. How do you pronounce the ile of fertile?

- A. to rhyme with mill
- B. to rhyme with mile

27. With which word does aunt rhyme?

- A. ant
- B. flaunt

28. How do you pronounce the first syllable of lieutenant?

- A. to rhyme with left

- B. to rhyme with loot
- C. either
29. With which word does route rhyme?
- A. boot
- B. about
- C. either
30. How many syllables do feel and real have?
- A. one
- B. two
31. How do you pronounce the s in raspberry?
- A. like the s in clasp
- B. like the z in haze
32. With which word does rind rhyme?
- A. Rhine
- B. lined
- C. either
33. How do you pronounce the i in the prefix semi?
- A. to rhyme with my
- B. to rhyme with me
34. How do you pronounce the ain of again?
- A. to rhyme with pane
- B. to rhyme with pin

C. to rhyme with pen

35. How do you pronounce the a in library?

A. like the a in bat

B. like the e in bet

C. not pronounced

36. Does cot rhyme with caught?

A. Yes

B. No

37. Do you pronounce the l in palm?

A. Yes

B. No

C. sometimes

38. Does hoarse rhyme with horse?

A. Yes

B. No

C. sometimes

39. With which word does bury rhyme?

A. furry

B. fairy

40. Are whine and wine pronounced the same?

A. Yes

B. No

C. sometimes

41. Are mirror and mere pronounced the same?

A. Yes

B. No

C. sometimes

Section III: Supply the missing word or words, choosing from the ones suggested.

If you use a different word, fill it in.

1. John's pants were too big for him, so he bought a pair of _____ to hold them up. (braces, suspenders)
2. She went to the bus _____ to take a bus home. (depot, terminal, station)
3. Molly invited Jack and Mary over for _____ at 12:30. (lunch, dinner)
4. Ted filled the _____ (pail, bucket) with water from the _____ (tap, faucet) at the side of the house so he could wash his car.
5. Tommy ate too much ice cream and became sick _____ his stomach. (at, to, in)
6. After Carol graduated from high school, she studied Biology at _____. (university, college, the university)
7. When Mary set the table, she set out the silverware, plates, and cloth _____. (napkins, table napkins, serviettes)
8. He _____ into the lake; sometimes he has _____ into the water with his eyes closed. (dived, dove)
9. It's now quarter _____ ten. (to, of, til)
10. What do you call the vehicle you wheel babies around in? (baby carriage, pram, baby buggy)

11. The mother got the soap and water ready so she could _____ the baby.
(bath, bathe)
12. Martin went to _____ to have his appendix removed. (hospital, the hospital)
13. When mother packed the picnic basket, she put in some paper cups, paper plates, and paper _____. (napkins, serviettes)
14. She put the old clothes in the trunk and the trunk upstairs in the _____.
(attic, garret)
15. Sam _____ the oysters before steaming them in the pot. (shucked, shelled)
16. The children went to camp during the summer _____. (holiday, vacation)
17. Bill asked me to _____ (lend, loan) him ten dollars, but I _____ (lent, loaned) him five.
18. What do you call the channel at the edge of the roof that carries away rain water (not the pipe that runs to the ground)? (eaves, eaves troughs, gutters, gut-
tering)
19. What do you call the pipe that runs to the ground? (downspout, drainpipe)
20. Molly turned on the kitchen _____ to get some water. (tap, faucet)
21. a. Mom made buttermilk _____ (pancakes, flapjacks, griddlecakes)
- b. She used an iron _____ (frying pan, spider, skillet, fry pan)

22. John went into the family room and sat down on the long, comfortable _____ . (chesterfield, divan, couch, sofa)
23. Scott drove the car around the yard _____ the house. (behind, in back, in back of)
24. Mrs. Smith told her children to be back by 5:30 in time for _____ (dinner, supper)
25. Jennifer had a headache, so she pulled the _____ shut. (blinds, shades)
26. When he went hunting, Dan made sure to put a knitted _____ on his head. (cap, toque)
27. Andy puts raisins in his _____ for breakfast. (oatmeal, porridge, hot cereal)
28. Tom missed the train when the taxi was five minutes late getting to the _____. (station, terminal, depot)
29. Beth _____ the corn before cooking it. (husked, shucked)
30. If you were going to help someone with the dishes, you might say: "You wash and I'll _____." (dry, wipe)
31. Betty took the _____ out of the cherries before making cherry pie. (pits, stones, pips)

32. Gus _____ orange juice for breakfast yesterday; in the past he has _____ grapefruit juice. (drank, drunk)
33. When _____ came, the leaves started turning yellow. (Autumn, Fall)
34. He _____ the cliff to reach the birds' nests. (Climbed, clumb)
35. Dan put the two-by-four on the wooden _____ before sawing it in half. (sawhorse, sawbuck)
36. She went to the bus _____ to take a bus home. (station, depot, terminal)
37. Do you know of any other names besides dragonfly for an insect that has a large head, narrow body, and large greenish-blue wings? If so, what?
38. What do you call the piece of playground equipment children go up and down on? (seesaw, teeter-totter)
39. He _____ out of the house because he didn't want his mother to know he'd gone. (sneaked, snuck)
40. It looks _____ he'll go to the beach with us. (like, as if)
41. Bill is different _____ Bob because he is taller. (than, from, to)
42. It's _____ hot today. (real, really)
43. Amy _____ the peas before cooking them and putting butter on them. (podded, shelled, shucked)

44. Peggy went to the market and bought some lima beans, kidney beans, and _____ beans for three-bean salad.

Would you be interested in a follow-up interview? If so, please put down your name and telephone number.

B.2 Tape-recorded Questionnaire

I. Read the sentences

1. The farmer planted his crop in early February on a bright Tuesday morning.
2. Jan got married when the frost broke in late January.
3. The plastic vase had stale water and brown tubers in it because Tom forgot to empty it.
4. Mary put some grated orange rinds in the coffee cake instead of cinammon.
5. There were brown and white moths in the closet because Alice forgot the mothballs.
6. Tod is really a boorish lout, but he does have clout with the company president.
7. The school secretary called to say that Bill's library books were overdue.
8. My aunt Mae liked to dance either the waltz or the polka.
9. Out in the orchard, Ben picked all the apples and apricots on the trees.
10. The dog always likes to ride in the back of the pickup; it's interesting that they like to ride in cars so much.

11. The ferry goes to the mainland four times a day, except when the weather is damp or foggy.
12. The battery in the Celica was dead because John left the lights on.
13. The collie jumped over the fence into the neighbor's yard because he was looking for a place to bury his bone.
14. Neither of the boys had washed behind his ears again.
15. The calf had a brand in his right ear.
16. Mr. Smith said he'd rather visit Toronto than Washington when the summer weather is hot.
17. When Jane went shopping, she bought butter, tomatoes, coffee, almonds, and dish cloths, but she forgot her coupons.
18. Tom was trying to decide which route to take to work when the semi-truck blew its horn.
19. While waiting in the doctor's office, the mother tried to distract her whining child with a colored band-aid.
20. When the raspberries came into season, the church had a picnic.
21. My mother cut out a cotton blouse from a Butterwick pattern.
22. Sally said she had a merry time at the Christmas party once she found a reliable baby sitter and didn't have to worry about the children.

23. Harry often said he thought Napoleon must have led an interesting life before he was defeated at Waterloo.

24. The fish Jake caught was not a large salmon but a small whale. Too bad his wife didn't have film in her camera.

25. Billy told Mikey he ought to spend his allowance on caramel apples instead of bubble gum.

26. After he plowed 40 acres, the farmer watered his horse at the trough before putting him in the barn.

27. Sally has a cold and sounded hoarse. By tomorrow she should be better.

28. Dad went to Missouri four times after he retired.

29. There was snow on the ground this morning, and I had to shovel the driveway.

30. Bob's parents took him down to the wharf and taught him how to sail.

II. Definitions (Chinook Jargon)

- | | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| 1. Skookum | 6. Tillicum |
| 2. Chuck | 7. Klahowya |
| 3. Saltchuck | 8. Potlatch |
| 4. Tyee | 9. Chinook wind |
| 5. Siwash | 10. Oolichan |

III. Definitions (other)

1. Depot, terminal, station
2. Pail, bucket
3. Tap, faucet, spigot
4. Napkins, serviettes
5. Icing, frosting
6. Holiday, vacation
7. Fry(ing) pan, spider, skillet
8. Meals of the day - in what order
9. Braces, suspenders
10. University, college
11. Attic, garrett
12. Chesterfield
13. Chesterfield, sofa, couch
14. What other language differences have you noticed?

APPENDIX C
INFORMANT PROFILES

Informant:⁷ D.I. D. I.

Age, Sex: 66- male

Nationality: American

Birthplace: Iceland

Education: 5 yrs elementary. Civil Service correspondence course.

Occupation: Fisherman

SES: 18.63

Years of Residence: 74

Notes: One of the original Icelandic settlers in the community.

Informant: M. F.

Age, Sex: 46-65 female

Nationality: Canadian

Birthplace: Vancouver, B.C.

Education: 4 years high school

Occupation: Bus driver

SES: 32.23

Years of Residence: 19

Notes:

⁷ Q indicates a written questionnaire. Otherwise, an informant's initials indicate a tape-recorded interview as well as a written questionnaire.

Informant: G. S.

Age, Sex: 26-45 male

Nationality: Canadian

Birthplace: Ottawa, Ontario

Education: 4 yrs high school, 1 yr. vocational school

Occupation: Commercial fisherman

SES: 18.63

Years of Residence: 7

Notes: Married to an American.

Informant: T. T.

Age, Sex: 66- male

Nationality: Canadian

Birthplace: Saskatchewan

Education: 4 yrs high school, unspecified number of years post-secondary

Occupation: Forensic document examiner

SES: 44.78

Years of Residence: 9

Notes:

Informant: K. H.

Age, Sex: 26-45 female

Nationality: American

Birthplace: Seattle, Washington

Education: 4 yrs high school, unspecified number of years post-secondary

Occupation: Bank teller

SES: 40.42

/Years of Residence: 5

Notes:

Informant: Q

Age, Sex: 66- male

Nationality: American

Birthplace: Umatilla, Oregon

Education: 4 yrs high school, 2 yrs post-secondary

Occupation: Locomotive engineer

SES: 39.03

Years of Residence: 23

Notes:

Informant: Q

Age, Sex: 26-45 female

Nationality: American

Birthplace: Vancouver, B.C.

Education: 4 yrs high school, 4 yrs post-secondary

Occupation: part-time Librarian, UPS clerk

SES: 61.87, 40.42

Years of Residence: 21

Notes: Grew up in the community and left for 18 yrs before returning.

Informant: Q

Age, Sex: 46-65 female

Nationality: American

Birthplace: Chicago, IL

Education: 4 yrs high school, 2 yrs post-secondary

Occupation: Water department office manager

SES: 60.99

Years of Residence: 9

Notes:

Informant: Q

Age, Sex: 66- male

Nationality: American

Birthplace: Chicago, IL

Education: 4 yrs high school, unspecified number of years post-secondary

Occupation: Real estate

SES: 50.07

Years of Residence: 9

Notes:

Informant: Q

Age, Sex: 66- male

Nationality: American

Birthplace: Los Angeles, CA

Education: 4 yrs high school, unspecified number of years post-secondary

Occupation: Economic developer

SES: 60.57

Years of Residence: unknown

Notes:

Informant: H.

Age, Sex: 16-25 female

Nationality: American

Birthplace: Wayne, Mich.

Education: 2+ yrs high school

Occupation: Student

SES: (of parents) 40.42, 59.72

Years of Residence: 5

Notes:

Informant: Q

Age, Sex: 16-25 female

Nationality: American

Birthplace: Vancouver, B.C.

Education: 4 yrs high school

Occupation: Bank teller

SES: 40.42

Years of Residence: 22

Notes: Appears to have been born and reared in the community

Informant: P.D.

Age, Sex: 26-45 female

Nationality: American

Birthplace: Vancouver, B.C.

Education: 4 yrs high school, unspecified number of years in business college

Occupation: Postal clerk

SES: 40.42

Years of Residence: 35

Notes: Second-generation Icelandic

Informant: K. M.

Age, Sex: 16-25 female

Nationality: American

Birthplace: Eugene, OR

Education: 4 yrs high school, 4 yrs post-secondary

Occupation: undetermined

SES: undetermined

Years of Residence: 10

Notes:

Informant: D. L.

Age, Sex: 16-25 male

Nationality: American

Birthplace: Seattle, WA

Education: 4 yrs high school, 2 yrs post-secondary

Occupation: Student

SES: undetermined

Years of Residence: 10

Notes:

Informant: P. M.

Age, Sex: 26-45 female

Nationality: American

Birthplace: Los Angeles, CA

Education: 4 yrs high school, 1/2 yr. post-secondary

Occupation: Cashier

SES: 40.42

Years of Residence: 14

Notes:

Informant: M.S.

Age, Sex: 26-45 female

Nationality: American

Birthplace: Encino, CA

Education: 4 yrs high school, 2 yrs post-secondary

Occupation: Cashier

SES: 40.42

Years of Residence: 18

Notes:

Informant: M. B.

Age, Sex: 26-45 female

Nationality: Canadian

Birthplace: Victoria, B.C.

Education: 4 yrs high school, 6 yrs post-secondary

Occupation: Librarian

SES: 61.87

Years of Residence: 15

Notes:

Informant: J. M.

Age, Sex: 46-65 male

Nationality: American

Birthplace: New York, NY

Education: 4 yrs high school, 5 yrs post-secondary

Occupation: Salesman

SES: 43.79

Years of Residence: 7

Notes:

Informant: M. M.

Age, Sex: 65- female

Nationality: American

Birthplace: Oregon

Education: 4 yrs high school, 4 yrs post-secondary

Occupation: Office work, sales

SES: 52.45

Years of Residence: 10

Notes:

Informant: J. F.

Age, Sex: 46-65 male

Nationality: Canadian

Birthplace: Saskatchewan

Education: 4 yrs high school, 1 yr vocational school

Occupation: Labour relations

SES: 63.12

Years of Residence: 17

Notes:

Informant: Q

Age, Sex: 26-45 male

Nationality: Canadian

Birthplace: Holland

Education: 4 yrs high school, 1 yr post-secondary

Occupation: Truck driver

SES: 29.74

Years of Residence: 15

Notes: Came to Canada at a very young age. Married to a second-generation

Icelandic-American.

Informant: S. M.

Age, Sex: 66- female

Nationality: Canadian

Birthplace: Ladner, B.C.

Education: 4 yrs high school

Occupation: Real estate

SES: 50.07

Years of Residence: 40

Notes: Married to one of the original Icelandic settlers

Informant: K. M.

Age, Sex: 26-45 female

Nationality: American

Birthplace: Vancouver, B.C.

Education: 4 yrs high school, 4 yrs post-secondary

Occupation: Library aide, UPS clerk

SES: 54.64, 40.42

Years of Residence: 24

Notes: Second-generation Icelandic. Was away from the community for 16 years. Mother is Canadian.

Informant: Q

Age, Sex: 26-45 female

Nationality: Canadian

Birthplace: Vancouver, B.C.

Education: 4 yrs high school, 3 yrs post-secondary

Occupation: Real estate

SES: 50.07

Years of Residence: 5

Notes:

Informant: B.L.

Age, Sex: 46-65 male

Nationality: American

Birthplace: Bellingham, WA

Education: 4 yrs high school, 8 yrs post-secondary

Occupation: Pastor, farmer

SES: 50.42, 23.02

Years of Residence: 13

Notes:

Informant: J. J.

Age, Sex: 26-45 male

Nationality: American

Birthplace: Bellingham, WA

Education: 4 yrs high school, 4 yrs post-secondary

Occupation: Real estate

SES: 50.07

Years of Residence: 22

Notes:

Informant: L. L.

Age, Sex: 46-65 female

Nationality: American

Birthplace: Vancouver, B.C.

Education: 4 yrs high school, 4 yrs post-secondary

Occupation: Housewife

SES: (of husband) 50.42

Years of Residence: 22

Notes: Born and reared in the community.

Informant: Q

Age, Sex: 15 yr old male

Nationality: American

Birthplace: Malone, NY

Education: 2 yrs high school

Occupation: Student

SES: (of parents) 40.42, 59.72

Years of Residence: 5

Notes:

Informant: C. C.

Age, Sex: 26-45 female

Nationality: American

Birthplace: Los Angeles, CA

Education: 4 yrs high school, 7 yrs post-secondary

Occupation: Medical illustrator

SES: 50.30

Years of Residence: 7

Notes: Presently working in Vancouver, and become a naturalized Canadian citizen. Husband a Scottish expatriate.

VITA

Surname: Mann

Given Names: Marjorie F.

Place of Birth: Brockport, NY

Date of Birth: December 5, 1961

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

MONROE COMMUNITY COLLEGE, ROCHESTER, NY 1980 to 1982

SUNY AT BROCKPORT, BROCKPORT, NY 1983 to 1986

UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA, B.C. 1986 to 1988

Degrees, Diplomas, Etc., Awarded, with Dates and Names of Institutions:

A.A.S. (with Honor) 1982 Monroe Community College

B.A. (Summa Cum Laude) 1986 Suny at Brockport

Honors and Awards:

Eastman Kodak Scholar, 1980/81, 1981/82

Univeristy of Victoria Fellowship, 1986/87, 1987/88

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Author:



Marjorie F. Mann

(Name in block letters)

July 25, 1988

(Date)

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