

Canadian English in Saskatchewan:  
A Sociolinguistic Survey of Four Selected Regions

by

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## ABSTRACT

The objective of this study is to provide detailed information regarding Canadian English as it is spoken by English-speaking Canadians who were born and raised in Saskatchewan and who still reside in this province. A data base has also been established which will allow real time comparison in future studies. Linguistic variables studied include the pronunciation of several individual lexical items, the use of lexical variants, and some aspects of phonological variation. Social variables deemed important include *age, sex, urban/rural, generation in Saskatchewan, education, ethnicity, and multilingualism.*

The study was carried out using statistical methodology which provided the framework for confirmation of previous findings and exploration of unknown relationships. Before data collection, 17 *a priori* hypotheses were formulated and comprise the confirmatory aspect of the study. Two thousand postal questionnaires were distributed to residents in two urban (Saskatoon and Regina) and two rural (west of Saskatoon and east of Regina) areas primarily through high schools and senior citizen organizations. Of those returned, a total of 661 were included in this

study. In addition, 75 residents were directly interviewed and tape recorded.

The data were subjected to statistical analyses using a loglinear procedure which detects, in association with the dependent variable, the existence of main effects or interactions related to one or more independent variables. The resulting information was then examined in order to determine whether the data confirmed the assertions of the various *a priori* hypotheses and to identify any potentially significant but unhypothesized relationships.

The analyses confirmed 13 of the 17 hypotheses and provided marginal support for the other four. In all, *age* was found to be the most important social factor being associated with 80% of the linguistic variables. The following percentages indicate the portion of linguistic variables with which the other social factors were associated: *urban/rural* 40%; *sex* 35%; *education* 20%; and *generation* 15%. No important associations were found to be related to *ethnicity* or *multilingualism*, a finding which in itself parallels results of other researchers. On the basis of the findings, 24 *a posteriori* hypotheses were formulated which may be subjected to confirmation in the future.

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Purpose

The purpose of this study is to provide detailed information regarding Canadian English as it is spoken by English-speaking Canadians who were born and raised in Saskatchewan and who still reside in Saskatchewan. In doing so, I also establish a data base recording Canadian English in four areas of Saskatchewan as it exists today for possible real time comparison in the future. In the light of previous research on Canadian English in Saskatchewan (Nylvek 1984)<sup>1</sup> and research in other geographic areas of Canada (for example, Allen 1959; Avis 1954, 1956; Gregg 1975; Scargill 1954, 1955; Scargill and Warkentyne 1972; Warkentyne 1973), I present several hypotheses (see 4.4) which have been statistically tested in order to determine if they can be supported by the current data. The data collected have also been analyzed statistically to determine the extent to which other factors,

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<sup>1</sup> The bibliography appended to this paper includes the references cited as well as other relevant material.

as yet unhypothesized, influence language variation, both regional and social, within Saskatchewan.

Four regions of the province have been sampled, two urban and two rural, in order to examine the relationships between several social variables, such as age, sex, urban/rural residence and so on, and numerous linguistic variables, both phonological and lexical, to determine if any common patterns or significant differences occur within the speech communities. Therefore, this study, which has been carried out in a sociolinguistic, and thus statistical, framework, constitutes the most comprehensive study to date of Canadian English in the prairie provinces.

## **1.2 Traditional versus Sociolinguistic Dialect Studies**

In the late nineteenth century the study of dialects grew from a need to supply empirical data which would strengthen or refute the Neogrammarian's claim that sound changes are regular and without exception (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 16; Francis 1983: 146-7; Walters 1988:119). The Neogrammarian Hypothesis (Osthoff and Brugmann 1878) had been formulated in the 1870's by a group of philologists using written texts to represent older language forms. This practise was confounded by the inconsistencies of scribes and the fact that the Standard dialect is the dialect most often represented in the written forms of a language (Francis 1983: 147). Thus, evidence from actual speech was missing.

The first systematic dialect study was undertaken in Germany by Georg Wenker in 1876 when he began distributing postal questionnaires (consisting of forty sentences written in standard German) to schoolmasters across the country, and asking them to translate the sentences into the local dialect (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 18). Wenker eventually received about 45,000 completed questionnaires, and in 1881 he published the first linguistic atlas, *Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reichs* (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 18-19; Crystal 1987:26).

The linguistic survey of France, begun in 1896, was the first dialect survey to send a trained fieldworker to select and interview informants and to record the responses to the questionnaire directly (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 20; Crystal 1987: 26). For four years the fieldworker, Edmond Edmont, toured France on a bicycle and interviewed 700 informants in 639 different localities (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 20; Crystal 1987: 26). As Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 20) point out, "of the 700 informants, only sixty were women and only 200 were educated beyond the norms of the rural population of the time."

These two studies provided a methodological precedent for future traditional dialect studies and, in doing so, established the fundamental purpose, which was "to provide an empirical basis for conclusions about the linguistic variety that occurs in a certain locale." (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 24). Thus, early researchers were interested in documenting rural dialects for comparison with other rural dialects and

the standard dialect (Francis 1983: 196). Because the traditional dialectologists were concerned with collecting information about the most conservative language variety in a given area (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 55), the most desired informant was a lifelong resident of the area, 'older' to reflect speech as it was years ago, rural and male, since, as Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 35) state, it was thought that "women's speech tends to be more self-conscious and class-conscious than men's." Thus, the vast majority of informants were "nonmobile, older, rural males" or NORMs as they have come to be called (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 33).

As a result of influence from the social sciences, researchers in the 1930's began to question the wisdom of concentrating on regional language variation without considering social variation (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 54). Researchers working in New England were the first to instruct fieldworkers to choose informants of different social backgrounds, based essentially on their education level (Kurath 1939: 41, 44).<sup>2</sup> Pickford (1956: 223) has criticized this procedure because as she states "education is only one of numerous important criteria for social class placement and not an index that can be used singly", and concludes that "the informants interviewed for American linguistic atlases do not present a proportionate or representative cross-section of apparent social classes." Even though some

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<sup>2</sup> The Linguistic Atlas of New England (Kurath 1939: 44) also categorized informants as "aged", and therefore "old-fashioned", or "middle-aged or younger" and therefore "modern." However, because one's social class was considered more significant than one's age, age groups were "treated as subclasses of the social groups."

measures were taken to consider social factors, the methodology of North American dialect atlas research has remained essentially the same (Underwood 1976: 20) and was still being used in the 1970's for the *Linguistic Atlas of the Gulf States* (Pederson et al. 1974). Underwood (1976: 20) states that dialectologists have typically chosen to ignore the questions that have been raised or have made only slight changes to their technique and points out that this antiquated methodology "needs to be abandoned and replaced by a new one if we are seriously interested in a realistic, accurate account of regional and social variation in American English."

While some dialectologists were still employing the European methodology, others realized that collecting data only in rural areas neglected the speech of urban residents who usually made up the majority of the population, and they began to record all the linguistic varieties used in a region rather than just the conservative rural dialect (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 56-57) in an attempt "to discover whether a common denominator can be found in the language of all social groups" (Francis 1983: 77). Thus, it was necessary to devise new criteria for selecting informants. Following the methods of the social scientists, urban dialectologists made provisions in their studies to yield a sample which was representative of the population with respect to important social variables such as age, sex, education and any others deemed important to the individual study (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 57; Francis 1983: 194).

The first sociolinguistic dialect study which employed such a sampling technique was conducted by Labov on the Lower East Side of New York City (Labov 1966). Labov selected his sample from a previously chosen random sample of 1,000 residents of the Lower East Side first by eliminating those residents who did not meet his two-fold criterion of being a native English speaker and having two years residence in the area, and then by attempting to interview the remaining 195 informants. Thus, Labov's objective in this study, "an investigation of language within the social context of the community in which it is spoken" (1966: 3) was very different from that of traditional dialect studies. His aim was not to discover a receding local dialect spoken by only a few residents, but rather to study the language as it actually existed within a society.

Trudgill, in his study of English in Norwich (1974), also employed a procedure that resulted in a sample representative of the entire population. Trudgill chose to draw his sample from five electoral wards, four urban and one suburban, which he felt were representative of the city as a whole. Using the voting lists, he took a random sample of twenty-five residents from each area with the intention of actually interviewing ten from each area, a decision which "was decided on purely practical grounds that the maximum number of informants who could be interviewed in the time available was 50" (1974: 24). A social index was established for each informant based on occupation, income, education, housing, locality and father's occupation.

In this way, he could be sure that all social classes were included and that his sample was representative of the whole population.

Thus, while both traditional and sociolinguistic studies have contributed much to the study of language, the two approaches are entirely different in their final objectives. While traditional dialect studies attempt to record a local dialect, sociolinguistic dialect studies attempt to study the language of a speech community and correlate the linguistic variables with various social variables. This latter approach has been employed in this study of Canadian English in Saskatchewan.

### **1.3 Hypothesis Creating versus Hypothesis Testing**

In a linguistic study which employs statistical analyses the researcher is expected to present a research hypothesis, or alternative hypothesis, which states that a relationship exists between an independent variable (such as age) and a dependent variable (the linguistic variable), as well as a null hypothesis, which states that no relationship exists between the variables. When performing statistical analyses, the researcher subjects the data to some type of statistical test and then determines the probability that the resulting value could have occurred by chance alone. If the probability is small, at least less than five percent, the researcher is permitted to conclude that the result is in fact significant and thus reject the null hypothesis and assert the research hypothesis.

When statistical analyses are performed without an *a priori* hypothesis, that is one based on previous research, knowledge or intuition, the results cannot be said to be significant, even though the corresponding probability that the result occurred by chance may be small. When this approach is taken the researcher may report that evidence of **possible** significance is present and, in effect, has created an hypothesis which may be tested in a future study. In linguistic studies, a researcher often produces multiple comparisons; however, as Saville (1990: 174) states, such a study "should be viewed as a hypothesis generator rather than as a method for simultaneous hypothesis generation and testing" and suggests (1990: 180) that one "confirm any interesting hypotheses in subsequent studies." Thus, the researcher must replicate a relationship which has been demonstrated before, with a different sample, before it is possible to declare the result significant.

Even when a result can be reported as significant, we can never be absolutely certain whether it occurred because a relationship actually exists between the variables or because it is a function of some other factor in the study, such as the sampling procedure or the sample size (Woods et al. 1986: 129). This error, rejecting the null hypothesis when in fact it should be accepted, is known as a 'type 1' error (Butler 1985: 72; Woods et al. 1986: 127). Conversely, there is a danger of obtaining a result which seems not to be significant when in fact a relationship exists between the variables. Accepting the null hypothesis when in fact it should be

rejected is called a 'type 2' error (Butler 1985: 72; Woods et al. 1986:127-128). Woods et al. (1986: 130) suggest that the researcher should always look at the distribution of the results and "ask 'Would a difference of this magnitude be important if it were genuine?'"

In linguistic research, we are often interested in identifying trends or possible relationships between social and linguistic variables. Consequently, hypothesis testing is not to be considered more important than hypothesis creating, although it carries more validity, but rather as an opportunity to acquire further insight into the speech of the community under investigation. As Tukey (1969: 83) points out, "To concentrate on confirmation, to the exclusion or submergence of exploration, is an obvious mistake." Milroy (1987: 139) notes "since sociolinguistics is full of incomplete theories and unanswered questions, it is often more important to find ways of thoroughly searching the data for different types of pattern than to generate hypotheses which might well be premature." Thus, the significance of a relationship between independent and dependent variables, while important, is not the only result a researcher may seek.

#### **1.4 Language Change: Real Time versus Apparent Time**

When investigating language change, the ideal study samples the speech of a population at one point in time and several years later repeats the procedures

using preferably the same sample, or, if the original informants cannot be located, a comparable sample (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 163-164). The data from the two groups can then be compared and any differences in use of the linguistic variables attributed to language change. Such a study has the obvious disadvantage of not producing any conclusions for twenty or thirty years.

If data from a previous study exist, it may be possible to design a study, using a similar methodology and sample, in order to compare the results of a current study with data collected several years ago. However, as Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 165) point out, often "the constraints inherited from the earlier survey are too limiting to be revealing." Other problems arise when it is not possible to ascertain the precise methodology employed to collect the original data and, because such data exist only in transcribed form, the exact phonetic representation of a linguistic variable is uncertain owing to the transcription habits of the individual researchers (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 165).

Because of such problems, investigation of language change is often accomplished from the perspective of apparent time, that is, by comparing language usage of people of various ages and concluding that any differences found between age groups are the result of language change. Several authors (Chambers and Trudgill 1980, 165-166; Bynon 1977: 204-6; Wardhaugh 1986: 191) caution that when using this synchronic time factor one must be careful in assuming that differences

between age groups actually reflect linguistic change in progress and not simply characteristics of speech appropriate to different age groups, a phenomena known as age-grading. Labov (1964) found that older children exhibit more similarity to their parent's speech than do younger children; however, Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 166) point out that "data like this does not vitiate the hypothesis of apparent time because it is predicated largely on the speech of children and adolescents, whose flexibility as language users is well known." Thus, while the validity of the apparent time supposition has not been substantiated, the lack of previous and comparable research often leaves the researcher with no other alternative when investigating language change.

The largest collection of data concerning Canadian English in Saskatchewan was amassed as part of *The Survey of Canadian English* (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972); however, because information regarding which communities received questionnaires is not available, the comparability with the current study is uncertain. The Walter S. Avis Collection of Recordings of Canadian English, held by the University of New Brunswick, contains twenty-five unanalyzed interviews recorded with residents of Saskatchewan; unfortunately, the majority of the informants recorded lived in communities outside the areas researched in the current study, and therefore, comparability is once again problematic. Consequently, owing to insufficient previous research of Canadian English in Saskatchewan, I have

considered differences in language use which are related to age, to be evidence of language change.

### 1.5 General Canadian English

Avis (1973a: 50) notes that while Canadian English does vary regionally, it is "remarkably homogeneous" and states that the "identity of Canadian English" is "a body of speech habits that might be called 'General Canadian', which seems to have its roots in Southern Ontario." Chambers (1973: 114) describes General Canadian English, also known as Central/Prairie Canadian English, as the speech of "'heartland Canada', a large, supposedly homogeneous dialect triangle bounded by an imaginary line from Kingston, Ontario, to Edmonton, Alberta, on the north-east, the Rocky Mountains on the west, and the Canadian-American border on the south." He (1975a: 66) later adds that it is the speech of Canadian urban centres west of Kingston and thus includes the speech of Vancouver, British Columbia. Chambers (1975a: 66) states phonological studies (especially those concerned with the analysis of the allophones of the diphthongs /aɪ/ and /aʊ/, see 2.4) justify treating this region as a single dialect area.<sup>3</sup> In the following sections I present the consonant and vowel phonemes of General Canadian English.

---

<sup>3</sup> Chambers points out that grammatical and vocabulary usage does not vary a great deal among varieties of English around the world, but rather it is the 'accent' that sets one variety apart from another (1986: 2).

### 1.5.1 Phonology

Chambers (1986: 11) points out that in the 'Old World' the standard accent, that which is regionless, is used by a small portion of the population who are typically members of the upper class, whereas the nations of the 'New World', including Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and probably the United States, have a large portion of the population who use the standard accent. Thus, the majority of the population in countries with relatively recent settlement use the consonant and vowel phonemes of the standard dialect.

Several authors have commented on the stability of the English consonants, including those found in most North American dialects (Avis 1972: 244; Gregg 1957b: 24; Gregg 1975: 136; Kinloch 1983: 31). The twenty-four consonant phonemes of Canadian English, and of most varieties of English, are displayed in Chart 1.1 (p. 16).

While the consonant systems of the various varieties of English are much the same, the vowel systems are distinct. Following research by Avis (1973a; 1979), Kinloch (1983: 32) has proposed a ten vowel and three diphthong vowel system, in checked position, which includes the phonemes /i ɪ e ε æ ə a o u u ai au ɔ/. Avis (1973a: 64) states that "most Canadians...no longer make a distinction between /ɔ/ and /a/ in such pairs as *caught* and *cot*...which have contrasting vowels in most varieties of American and British English." As [ɔ] occurs only before /r/ in words

such as *door* it may be considered an allophone of /o/ (Avis 1973a: 64). As for the phoneme /a/, it may be realized as [a] or [ɒ] by individual speakers (Avis 1973a: 64) but only a minority of speakers of Canadian English retain /a/ as a phoneme. The vowel system of Canadian English is represented in Chart 1.2 (p. 17).<sup>4</sup>

In open syllables only the five vowels /i e a o u/ and the three diphthongs /aɪ au ɔɪ/ occur as for example in the words *see, say, saw, sew, sue, sigh, sow,* and *boy* (Kinloch 1983: 32). Kinloch (1983: 33) also proposes that /æ<sup>5</sup>/ occurs in open syllables as demonstrated by the pronunciation of *la* 'the sixth musical tone' which contrasts with the pronunciation of *law* (/lɒ/).

In the environment of /r/ the phonemic contrasts are also reduced. Thus, before intervocalic /r/ one finds the phonemes /i ɪ e (æ) o u aɪ au/ in words such as *beery, mirror, merry, (marry), foray, fury, fiery,* and *dowry* (Kinloch 1983: 33). Avis (1973b: 113) notes that while Canadians used to make a distinction between words such as *mary* and *merry*, for many younger Canadians "*Mary, merry,* and *marry* all have the same vowel, namely /ɛ/." Kinloch (1983: 34) again notes that [ɔ] may be an allophone of /o/ but is not a phoneme for the majority of the population.

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<sup>4</sup> Because the low back vowel in Canadian English involves slight lip-rounding, the symbol /ɒ/ rather than /a/ is used throughout this study to represent this vowel (based on personal communication from Dr. H.J. Warkentyne).

<sup>5</sup> Kinloch uses this phoneme to represent [a].

As vowels that occur before preconsonantal /r/ Kinloch (1983: 34) proposes the phonemes /i e æ ə o u ai au/ as represented in *beard, laird, bard, beard, ford, gourd, tired, and ours*. Again, for the majority of the population [ɔ] is an allophone of /o/. Because Kinloch has reserved the symbol /a/ to apply only to those speakers who have the phoneme /a/ in checked position, he (1983: 34) proposes the phoneme /æ/ before preconsonantal /r/ stating that "[a] stands in complementary distribution with [æ]: the former is used only before preconsonantal /r/ as in *cart*, while the latter is used only before intervocalic /r/ as in *carat*", although according to his previous comments, for many speakers /æ/ has collapsed with /ɛ/ before intervocalic /r/. Others represent this allophone which occurs before preconsonantal /r/ as /ɑ/ which more closely represents its phonetic realization as a back vowel (Wells 1982: 493).

As vowels that occur before final /r/ Kinloch (1983: 34) presents the phonemes /i e æ ə o u ai au ɔ:/ as they occur in the words *beer, bare, bar, fir, bore, boor, byre, hour, and coir*.

Lastly, vowels in unstressed position are regularly reduced to /ə/.

---

	bi-labial	labio-dental	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl
stops	p b			t d		k g	
fricatives		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ		h
affricates					č ĵ		
nasals	m			n		ŋ	
laterals				l			
glides				r	y	w	

**Chart 1.1** The Consonant Phonemes of Canadian English.

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	Front		Back
High	i		u
	ɪ		ʊ
	e	ə	o
Low	ɛ		
	æ		ɒ

Diphthongs: /aɪ/ /aʊ/ /ɔɪ/

**Chart 1.2** The Vowel Phonemes of Canadian English

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### 1.5.2 Divided Usage -- American versus British

McConnell (1979: 3) states that "most of the language features of Canadian English are found in either British English or American English, and sometimes in both." Thus, Canadian English is a combination of the two and consequently, Canadians recognize terms and pronunciations associated with both dialects. Furthermore, in some instances Canadians prefer the American form while in others they prefer the British form. The following sections outline some terms that exhibit divided usage in Canadian English.

While few pronunciations are distinctly Canadian, one unique Canadian pronunciation is that of *khaki* [kárki] as opposed to the British pronunciation [ká:ki] and the American pronunciation [kæki]. In words that have contrasting British and American pronunciations Canadians are often divided in usage. Several examples of divided British/American pronunciations are presented in Table 1.1 (p. 20).

Divided British/American usage is also evident in the choice of lexical variants. Several studies have examined word choice of speakers of Canadian English (Allen 1959; Avis 1954; Ayearst 1939; Hamilton 1958; Scargill and Warkentyne 1972; Woods 1979) and found that while the British is preferred for some referents, the American is preferred for others (see Chapter 2). Baugh and Cable (1978: 324) state that British terms such as *chips* and *serviette* tend to be used more frequently in the western Canada while the corresponding American terms

*French fries* and *napkin* are used in the east. Table 1.2 (p. 21) presents several lexical choices which display divided British/American usage.

## **1.6 Conclusion**

The purpose of this study is to supply detailed information concerning Canadian English as it is spoken in Saskatchewan by English-speaking Canadians who were born and raised in the province. The following chapters present an overview of research concerning Canadian English, a sketch of the settlement and demographics of Saskatchewan, a detailed description of the methodology employed, the results of the analyses, a discussion of the important findings, and finally, based on the outcomes attained in this study, some suggestions for further research.

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**Table 1.1** Examples of Divided American/British Pronunciations.

	<u>American</u>	<u>British</u>
<i>anti-, semi-</i>	[éntaɪ], sémaɪ]	[éntɪ], [sémi]
dew, tune, new, etc.	[u]	[yu]
either	[íðər]	[áíðər]
<i>fertile, missile, etc.</i>	fértəl], [mísəl]	[fértail], [mísail]
lever	[lévər]	[lívər]
lieutenant	[luténənt]	[lefténənt]
ration	[réʃən]	[ræʃən]
<i>schedule</i>	[sk]	[ʃ]
whine/which etc.	[hw] (northern U.S.)	[w]
Z	[zi]	[zed]

---

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**Table 1.2** Examples of Divided American/British Vocabulary

<u>American</u>	<u>British</u>
cookie	biscuit
depot/terminal	station
fall	autumn
faucet	tap
fries/french fries	chips
letter-carrier	postman
living-room	parlour or sitting-room
napkin	serviette
shades	blinds
store	shop
vacation	holiday

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## Chapter 2

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

#### 2.1 Introduction

While few studies concerning Canadian English in Saskatchewan, or in fact in any of the prairie provinces, have been attempted, a number of papers and studies which comment on the history and the features of Canadian English as a whole have been helpful in establishing a model, that of General Canadian English, with which the Canadian English of specific regions can be compared.

#### 2.2 The First Papers on English in Canada

Although the majority of research in Canadian English has occurred during the last forty years, the first comments regarding the English language in Canada appeared in the last century. Rev. A.C. Geikie (1857: 345-355), a British English speaker living in Canada, observes with irritation the emergence of new words and the use of existing words for different referents. For example, he objects to the use

of *donation* instead of *gift* or *present*, to the use of *considerable* in place of a *good deal*, and to the use of *bug* and *lightning-bug* in reference to insects. He also opposes the use of *dove* for *dived*, *guess* for *think* and *fix* for *adjust* and *repair*, and states that:

These and a thousand other examples which might be produced, fully justify the use of the term "Canadian English", as expressive of a corrupt dialect growing up amongst our population, and gradually finding access to our periodical literature, until it threatens to produce a language as unlike our noble mother tongue as the negro patua [sic], or the Chinese pidgeon [sic] English.

Geikie (1857: 353) argues that a word should only be "adopted" by a language if it allows expression of a meaning that "could only be formerly expressed by a sentence". Based on his observations of English in Canada, he answers his rhetorical question "How then is the evil to be remedied?" by suggesting (1857: 354-5) that "educated men in private stations should carefully guard against" such errors and "use their influence to check them when introduced", that school teachers "should correct the children under their care, whenever they utter slang or corrupt English" and that "our newspaper and other writers should abstain from the attempt to add new force to the English tongue by improving the language of Shakespeare, Bacon, Dryden, and Addison". Thus, as Avis (1973a: 53) points out, Geikie uses the term 'Canadian English' derogatorily because he fails to realize that language change is not corrupt, but a natural process which cannot be prevented.

More than thirty years after Geikie's paper, Chamberlain, a dialectologist, was the first to recognize the need for scientific investigation of the English spoken in Canada and complains (1890: 45) that the few existing papers "are rather general comments and sketches than attempts at scientific delimitation." He notes (1890: 48-50) the use of "interesting words" such as *cows* 'cattle', *gallynipper* 'a large reptile-insect' and *slide* 'passage in a dam used for descent of logs' as well as "peculiar phonetic forms" such as *foli* 'follow', *dif* 'deaf, and *el-m* 'elm'.<sup>1</sup> He also points out that the industries of the west "have favoured the development of a peculiar dialect" and that "in time to come the language of the great West of the Dominion will be a fertile field for investigation" (1890: 51).<sup>2</sup> However, from the time of Chamberlain's paper it would be some sixty years before the serious study of Canadian English began.

During the first half of the twentieth century several papers concerning Canadian English were published, although as Avis (1973a: 55) indicates most "were based on fragmentary personal observations." Like the manuscripts of the nineteenth century, the majority of these papers remarked on the vocabulary of Canadian English, although a few authors referred to some individual pronunciations.

---

<sup>1</sup> Because Chamberlain does not use the standard phonetic symbols, or present a key to indicate what sounds he intends to be represented by each symbol he uses, one can only assume that he is indicating the pronunciations [fóli], [dif], and [éləm].

<sup>2</sup> By "west", Chamberlain was referring to Manitoba and the western territories.

Several early papers dealt with the English of eastern Canada. Wightman (1912: 4-7) outlines several "provincialisms" found in the Maritimes which he believes are "chiefly of interest as indicating the origin of the people and the process of their fusion." For example, he notes on Prince Edward Island the use of *bush* to refer to a *grove* of trees rather than a single small tree and notices the use of *whiffle-tree* in New Brunswick and *swingle-tree* in Prince Edward Island for the same piece of equipment. He describes several pronunciations heard in the Maritimes of words such as *spoon* (/spʌn/), *roof* (/rʌf/), and *room* (/rʌm/), which he concludes are of New England origin. Likewise, Evans (1930: 57) presents a list defining several "unusual expressions" which she heard during a summer in Fox Harbor, Labrador, including *boil a kettle* meaning *take lunch*, *dirty* meaning *wet weather*, and *wonderful* meaning *awful*.

Tomkinson (1940: 61) states that the speech of Newfoundland has "a pronounced Irish flavour" with use of terms such as *boneen* 'a young pig', and *shooneen* 'a double dealer'. She (1940: 62-63; 69) also notes use of several lexical items such as *squashberry* and *marshberry* for different varieties of a 'cranberry', *crannic* for 'a dead tree root or stump', and *tilt* for 'a shack in the woods' and concludes that "some of the old words and folkways are beginning to disappear", but because there are "so many of them" it will "take some time to lose them all". In

fact today, some fifty years later, Canadian English in Newfoundland is still a distinct dialect area preserving many linguistic relics (see 2.5.2).

Emeneau, in his study of the English spoken in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, was among the first to examine phonological features of Canadian English. He (1935: 142-144) discusses the Canadian use of the raised allophones of /au/ and /aɪ/ in Nova Scotia in words such as *out*, *mouse*, *bite* and *ice* and examines the loss of preconsantal and final /r/ in Lunenburg in words such as *farm*, *park*, *hear* and *air* but notes that /r/ can be heard, particularly in the speech of the younger people. Emeneau (1935: 146) concludes that while many residents over forty years of age use words of German origin, their use is diminishing and "will undoubtedly be forgotten altogether in another generation".

Alexander (1940) also examined the speech of residents of Nova Scotia, but rather than basing his statements on mere observation, he collected data specifically for the purpose. He comments on the German influence in Lunenburg, the Gaelic influence in Antigonish and Cape Breton Island, the occurrence of a few pronunciations such as /dɪf/ 'deaf' and the use of various lexical forms, such as *seesaw*, *tilt*, *teeter (board)*, *tinter*, *tilting board*, *tippin board*, and *sawman* for the same object. Alexander (1940: 43) believes that the study of English in Canada should begin in Nova Scotia since the settlements "are generally older than in most other regions in Canada." He concludes (1940: 47) that "glib statements about the uniform

pattern of North American life are not supported by an examination of the speech of this continent" and that "the amount of variation between different communities and even between different individuals in each community is astonishing".

A few observations of English in western Canada were also published. Cameron (1908) presents examples of vocabulary items, such as *coulée*, *gulch*, *corral* and *cache* which would be unfamiliar to a new settler in the west. Sandilands (1912) defines several hundred terms used in western Canada, although many of the definitions are intended to be humorous. Chicanot (1915) notes the contributions of other languages to the vocabulary of English in western Canada. For example, from Indian languages English borrowed the words *squaw*, *papoose*, *chinook* and *coyote*; from Mexican Spanish, *chaps*, *broncho*, *corral* and *lariat*; and from French, *cache* and *coulée* (1915: 88-9).

Some papers in the 1930's comment on the English of Quebec and Ontario. Munroe (1930: 21) observes that the English of Montreal "is much more British than American". She asserts that many British terms, such as *pram*, *biscuit*, *sweet* and *braces* were heard more often than the corresponding American terms *baby carriage*, *cracker*, *dessert* and *suspenders* (1930: 21). McLay (1930) questions whether such British terms would have as widespread use as Munroe implies. McLay (1930: 328) notes that while some British terms, such as *pram* and *sweet*, were heard in Toronto, use of these lexical items was minimal, the more commonly used terms being *baby*

*carriage* and *dessert*. McLay (1930: 329) concludes that the speech of Canadians living in Toronto and Montreal "approximates in the matter of words to that of the United States rather than to that of England" with the exception of "those who have visited England and wish to display the fact by their speech."

Ahrend (1934) discusses the speech of informants living between Toronto and Kingston. She notes (1934: 136) the raising of the diphthong /au/ in 'out' and 'house' throughout the province, and the occurrence of rural American pronunciations [kɹɪk] 'creek', [éləm] 'elm' and [fíləm] 'film' among uneducated Canadians. She also notes (1934: 137-8) the occurrence of other pronunciations such as [ænt] 'aunt', [kɛər] 'care', [nɒt] 'not', [neɪs] 'nice' and [neɪt] 'night'.<sup>3</sup>

Ayearst (1939: 231) writes about the English language in Canada and asks "Is there such a thing as 'General Canadian'?". He states that "Canadian is a variant of General American" but points out (1939: 231) that differences exist between the speech of Canadians and Americans noting such features as the characteristically Canadian pronunciation of the words such as *out* and the Canadian retention of [yu:] in words like *duke*. He comments (1939: 232) on the divided use of Canadian English speakers noting that Canadians use the British pronunciations [li:vər] 'lever' and [lɛftənənt] 'lieutenant', but rarely use the British form [klɜ:k] 'clerk', and while

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<sup>3</sup> Ahrend (1934) implies that the pronunciations [neɪs] and [neɪt] were in general usage; however, as these forms are highly marked one must question if their usage was as widespread as she suggests (based on personal communication from B.P. Harris).

Canadian spelling usually follows the British example, choice of vocabulary often favours words associated with American use. Ayearst (1939:233) asserts that British influences "are not strong enough to prevail against the much stronger influence of the United States", that "Canadian speech can only be regarded as a variant of Standard American", and concludes that "the tendency shown by Canadian to assimilate American usage will continue."

Avis attributes much of the interest in the English language in Canada during the 1930's to Alexander's fieldwork in Nova Scotia (Alexander 1940; Avis 1973a: 55). Although Alexander's interviews in Nova Scotia were never analyzed, Avis states (1973a: 55) "his fieldwork introduced into Canada the principle of basing language statements on data-gathering rather than on casual observation." During the 1940's few papers dealing with Canadian English appeared; however, in the 1950's the federal government began to encourage studies in the arts, humanities and social sciences. A paper by Alexander (1951) describing some phonological, lexical, and morphological aspects of Canadian English as well as some spelling conventions was included in the Royal Commission Studies, also known as the Massey report, which concerned national development in the Arts and Sciences. Avis (1973a: 56) states that the document "drew the attention of the press and subsequently of the public, giving impetus to the study of Canadian English." As a consequence, in the last forty years many papers and studies have dealt with the

historical development of Canadian English, with the countless additions to its lexicon, and with its various phonological characteristics. In addition, studies of regional variation have been carried out in most provinces, although some provinces have received more attention than others.<sup>4</sup> The results of these studies, which provide the background for my current study, are discussed in the following sections.

### **2.3 Papers on the Historical Development of Canadian English**

The first theory regarding the origins of Canadian English was proposed by Bloomfield in 1948. Bloomfield (1948: 59) states that one probable reason why Canadian English has been ignored for so long is that American investigators have assumed that Canadian English is a direct offshoot of British English, and therefore, of no interest to them. His theory of Canadian English attempts to link Canadian English more closely with American English, and in fact, considers Canadian English "a branch of American English". Bloomfield also states that "until Canadian English is studied and understood, the history of American English must be incomplete".

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<sup>4</sup> Pringle has commented that the number of scholarly articles dealing with Canadian English is "amazingly small." (1983: 100). He notes that most articles "are only small comments on minor points -- valid, to be sure, but not the result of comprehensive, major studies." (1983: 100). He also states that there were, at that time, fewer than twelve completed major studies, although there were studies in progress in Newfoundland, New Brunswick, the Ottawa Valley and Vancouver, which upon their completion would add to the inventory of studies concerning Canadian English, but notes that "it will still be a small list: on the whole, it is not an impressive record." (1983: 100).

Bloomfield considers the migration of the Loyalists after 1776 into Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces to be the most important step in the development of Canadian English. These people became the majority of Canada's English-speaking population and thus had "molded Canada, created its ruling caste and set its social standards, among which was its language" (Bloomfield 1948: 61). Bloomfield (1948: 61) concedes that the presence of British soldiers in Canada during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries may have had some unmeasurable influence on Canadian English, but erroneously concludes that neither these soldiers nor the small number of British civilians in Canada at this time "affected the basically Loyalist nature of English-speaking Canada" even after 1830 "when immigrants from Great Britain, mostly poor, began to settle in increasingly large numbers". Perhaps the Loyalists did establish the English language in this country, but to say that their language was "fixed" seems to ignore the fact that language is always subject to change, and any large population, such as the British soldiers and civilians, would undoubtedly influence a language and subsequently change it in some way (Peñalosa 1981: 32-3). Bloomfield (1948: 62) also errs in claiming that all varieties of English which have been brought to this country by settlers "are being assimilated to the Canadian English of the Loyalists". While Bloomfield admits that Canadian English has been modified during this assimilation process, he still implies that the language has remained essentially Loyalist in nature.

Scargill (1957: 612) has suggested Bloomfield's theory is "built on shaky foundations." For example, as mentioned earlier, Bloomfield denies that the English spoken by British soldiers and by settlers who arrived after the Loyalists had any influence on the development of Canadian English and assumes that the Loyalists had "a well-developed set of speech habits and that these were adopted by all later settlers and were then spread across Canada"; however, Bloomfield's failure to present any documented evidence to substantiate this assumption leads Scargill to conclude that the Loyalist theory attempts to lessen the influence of later settlements in Canada. Between 1825 and 1846 half a million people came to Canada from the British Isles and their numbers continued to grow. As a result of this migration to Canada the Loyalists were by far outnumbered, and consequently, as Scargill (1977: 10) suggests, the Loyalist's English was lost within the English of the new settlers.

Scargill (1957: 613) concludes that it is dangerous to assume "that an influence that can be dated for one area will necessarily be valid for another area or that an early influence will not prove to have been modified." In order to study Canadian English thoroughly one must not assume that the language is the same in all parts of the country. As Scargill (1957: 613) explains, the origins of Canadian English in Nova Scotia are found in "the eighteenth-century British English of the early settlers and soldiers and also in the speech of American settlers"; in Ontario, Canadian English finds its origins in Loyalist speech, but, "the later and more

extensive Pioneer settlements may have destroyed Loyalist speech influence", and one must not forget the possible influence of eighteenth-century British English; and in the West, the origins of Canadian English can be traced to "nineteenth- and twentieth-century British English (Standard and dialects), [to] Scots, and [to] nineteenth- and twentieth-century American." Lastly, Scargill (1957: 613-14) recognizes the possibility that Canadian English may have developed independently, especially in vocabulary, and perhaps in pronunciation and syntax in certain regions.

#### **2.4 Lexical Studies of Canadian English**

Scargill (1965: 251) asserts that "it is in its vocabulary that Canadian English is most distinctive" and that "hundreds of words of various origins have made their way into the Canadian language, either directly or through the United States." He presents (1965: 251-2), as examples of lexical items which have been borrowed into Canadian English, *habitant*, *voyageur*, *prairie*, *gopher* and *cache* from French, *igloo*, *kayak*, *tepee* and *skookum* from native languages, *coyote*, *stampede*, *corral*, *ranch*, and *rodeo* from Spanish America through American English, and *reeve*, *concession*, *warden* and *Seaway* from British English, with new meanings.

Avis (1967b: vi) also notes the importance of the lexicon of Canadian English when he states:

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

Interest in the vocabulary of Canadian English led to the publication in 1967 of *A Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles* which documented "words and expressions characteristic of the various spheres of Canadian life during the almost four centuries that English has been used in Canada" (Avis 1967a: xii). Harris (1975) examines the lexicon of Canadian English presented in this dictionary and concludes that compounding and borrowing were the two most important linguistic processes in the formation of new vocabulary items. The lexicon also reflects the development of the country in terms relating to the environment, the fur trade, the fishing and lumbering industries, transportation, settlement and government (Harris 1975). Thus, the vocabulary of Canadian English reveals much about our country, its environment and its development.

## 2.5 Phonological Studies of Canadian English

The majority of phonological studies of Canadian English have focused on the occurrence of the raised allophones of /au/ and /aɪ/ ('Canadian Raising').<sup>5</sup> Joos

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<sup>5</sup> Different authors use various symbols to represent these diphthongs and their allophones. Therefore, regardless of the symbols used by the author, I will, in order to avoid confusion to the reader, use the symbols [aɪ], [au], [ʌɪ], and [ʌu] to

(1942: 143) states that speakers can be divided into two groups according to pronunciation of words like *typewriter*. Because many speakers use voiced intervocalic /t/ in such words, he asserts that "Group A has four diphthong phonemes for two in the older language: it distinguishes *writer* from *rider*, *clouting* from *clouding* by the choice of diphthong alone" (Joos 1942: 143). Accordingly, speakers belonging to Group A would use the contrasting forms [ɾʌɪdər] *writer*, [ɾaɪdər] *rider*, [kɫʌʊdɪŋ] *clouting*, and [kɫaʊdɪŋ] *clouding*. On the other hand, "Group B has shifted the articulation of all vowels alike before the new /d/ from earlier /t/, and none of them, not even our two diphthongs, has been split" (Joos 1942: 144). Thus, word pairs such as *writer/rider* and *clouting/clouding* will be homophones for speakers of Group B who will use the pronunciations [ɾaɪdər] and [kɫaʊdɪŋ].

The term 'Canadian Raising' refers to a rule in which the diphthongs /aʊ/ and /aɪ/ are raised under certain conditions to produce [ʌʊ] and [ʌɪ] respectively. The term 'Canadian' in this rule bears no significance to the rule's geographic distribution since evidence for Canadian Raising is found in Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1963, 1986), Virginia and North Carolina (Kurath and McDavid 1961)<sup>6</sup>, Rochester, New

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represent the allophones of the diphthong /aɪ/ and /aʊ/.

<sup>6</sup> Vance points out that Maps 26-29 in Kurath and McDavid (1961) indicate that higher variants of /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ occur in upstate New York and in areas of neighbouring states (1987: 195).

York (Vance 1987)<sup>7</sup> as well as in Canada (Allen 1959; Avis 1956; Chambers 1973; Gregg 1957b; McConnell 1979).<sup>8</sup> Chambers (1973: 114) points out that the distribution of this rule may also vary within Canada. The rules Chambers (1973: 114) discusses "hold generally throughout" what he calls "heartland Canada." Other researchers have indicated that Canadian Raising also occurs in similar phonological environments in British Columbia (Gregg 1957b, 1975) and Ottawa (Pringle and Padolsky 1983).

In reference to the raised allophones of /aɪ/ and /aʊ/, Chambers (1973: 84) states that "the nucleus occurs with a raised onset when it precedes any voiceless consonant" and gives as examples *type* [tʰaɪp], *tout* [tʰaʊt], *house* [hʌʊs], *houses* [hʌʊzɪz], *knife* [nʌɪf], *knives* [nʌɪvz] and so on. As can be seen from these examples, the diphthongs [aɪ] and [aʊ] occur before voiced consonants, but are raised to [ʌɪ] and [ʌʊ] before voiceless consonants. On the basis of these data, Chambers (1973: 116) formulates the Canadian Raising rule as follows:

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<sup>7</sup> Vance (1987) notes that while the distribution of [ʌɪ] is essentially the same as that found in Canada, the same is not true for [ʌʊ]. Thus, Canadian Raising appears to operate with the front diphthong but not the back diphthong.

<sup>8</sup> Trudgill has stated that while "Canadian Raising does not occur in Britain, it does occur in *nearly every* form of non-creolized, mixed, colonial English outside Australasia and South Africa." (1986: 160). Thus, he states that it is also found "in at least some of the varieties of English spoken in Bermuda, the Bahamas, Saba, St Helena, Tristan da Cunha, and the Falkland Islands." (1986: 160).

*Canadian Raising*

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [+tense] \end{array} \rightarrow [-low] / \text{ \_\_\_\_\_\_ } \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \text{GLIDE} \end{array} [-voice]$$

Because the raised diphthongs sometimes occur before voiced /t/, Chambers (1973: 118) presents a voicing rule which occurs when a voiceless dental stop is "preceded by a stressed vowel and followed by an unstressed vowel."

*Voicing<sup>9</sup>*

$$t \rightarrow d / \acute{V} \text{ \_\_\_\_ } \check{V}$$

The operation of this rule yields several homophones in Canadian English such as *bitter/bidder* [bɪdər] and *metal/medal* [mɛdəl] (Chambers 1973: 118). Also, because vowels before a voiceless consonant are somewhat shorter than before a voiced consonant Chambers (1973: 119) presents the following shortening rule:

*Shortening*

$$V \rightarrow \check{V} / \text{ \_\_\_\_\_\_ } \begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \text{(GLIDE)} \end{array} [-voice]$$

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<sup>9</sup> The following rule might be a more accurate characterization of intervocalic /t/ and /d/ (based on personal communication from H.J. Warkentyne).

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} t \\ d \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow r / \acute{V} \text{ \_\_\_\_ } \check{V}$$

The shortness of a vowel before a voiceless consonant can be perceived in contrasting pairs such as *leaf* [liyf] / *leave* [liyv] and *half* [hæf] / *have* [hæv] (Chambers 1973: 119). Chambers (1979b: 196) states that shortening especially affected the low diphthongs because of the combination of a low onset and the upglide. Thus, when the diphthong occurs before a voiceless consonant the initial vowel is shortened and consequently raised so that it "optimizes the distance" (Chambers 1979b: 196). Trudgill (1986: 158) points out that this explanation suggests that "the term 'raising' is phonetically accurate not only synchronically but diachronically as well."

The interaction of these three rules can produce different results depending on the order in which these three rules are applied. For example, if the voicing rule precedes the shortening and Canadian Raising rules, the latter two rules will never apply since the environment in which they could apply has been destroyed, a phonological rule-ordering relationship known as bleeding (Kiparsky 1968: 198-9). Under these conditions word pairs such as *writer* and *rider* would be homophonous (/raidər/) (Chambers 1973: 121) and correspond to Joos' Group B (Joos 1942). However, if Canadian Raising precedes voicing, raising will operate in *writer* before voicing to yield the contrasting pairs *writer* [ɾʌɪdər] and *rider* [raidər] (Chambers 1973: 121) paralleling Joos' Group A (Joos 1942). Chambers (1973: 122) states that

in the years since Joos observed these two dialects, Dialect B has disappeared and Dialect A is found throughout heartland Canada.

While the Canadian Raising rule presented above explained the distribution of the allophones of /au/ and /aɪ/ in many phonological environments, some exceptions to the Canadian Raising rule were evident. For example, the words *microphone*, *cite*, and *hypodermic* all contain the raised diphthong [ʌɪ] as expected; however, the words *micrometer*, *citation*, and *hypothesis* contain the appropriate environment for the Canadian Raising rule to operate, but it does not, leaving these words with the low diphthong [aɪ] (Chambers 1973: 125).<sup>10</sup> In order to explain these apparent exceptions Chambers (1973: 127) considers the effect of the stress pattern and postulates that a condition must be placed on the Canadian Raising rule so that "Raising is blocked if and only if the low tense segment has non-primary stress AND is followed by a stressed syllable." Thus, he reformulates the Canadian Raising rule as follows:

*Canadian Raising (revised)*

V C  
a. [+tense] → [-low] / \_\_\_\_\_ GLIDE [-voice]

b. CONDITION: (a) cannot apply if V < [1 stress] AND V' = [+stress], where V' is the following nucleus.

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<sup>10</sup> Vance (1987: 198) found that some speakers in the Northern U.S. dialect area used the raised allophone [ʌɪ] in these words and from personal observation I suspect that some speakers of Canadian English do so as well.

Chamber's theory of Canadian Raising has been criticized by Gregg (1973a: 137) who feels it is unwise to assume that [ʌi] is "an idiosyncratic, regional 'raising' of an underlying /aɪ/." Using evidence from Scottish and Scotch-Irish dialects, Gregg (1973a: 138) proposes that the form [ʌi] is the older form and thus the underlying form. He points out (1973a: 138) that although this diphthong is used in all phonological environments with no conditioned variants in Anglo-Irish dialects, the variant /aɪ/ occurs in various Scottish and Scotch-Irish dialects. If [ʌi] is considered the underlying form then a rule can be formulated which changes /ʌi/ to [aɪ] under the appropriate conditions in various dialects; thus, the same rule can be used for all dialects with only minor changes. In the Scottish and Scotch-Irish dialects the lower form /aɪ/ occurs in final open syllables and before voiced fricatives and r, while in Canadian English it has a wider distribution occurring word finally and before all voiced consonants. Consequently, for the Canadian English distribution of the diphthongs [ʌi] and [aɪ] Gregg (1973a: 142) formulates the following rule which represents lowering of the diphthong rather than raising.<sup>11</sup>

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{ʌi} \rightarrow \text{aɪ} / \underline{\quad} \quad \{ \# \} \\ \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \{ [+voice] \} \end{array}$$

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<sup>11</sup> Actually, Gregg formulates this rule using different symbols (əi → aɪ) but in order to use the same symbols consistently throughout this study I have presented the rule using the corresponding symbols [ʌi] and [aɪ].

Picard (1977: 146) argues that Chamber's reordering of the rules in order to produce the corresponding pronunciations of Dialects A and B is "tantamount to saying that a certain historical order was changed in one of the dialects" and demonstrates how reordering of the rules Shortening, Voicing and Canadian Raising in all possible orders will produce four possibilities, two being Dialects A and B, and the other two occurring in the United States. Like Gregg, Picard believes that [ʌ] should be the underlying form and the rule stated as "Lowering" rather than "Raising". He explains (1977: 153-4) that one can easily conclude that the Lowering and Voicing rules were reordered in some dialects since a Lowering-Voicing order accounts for Dialect A, while a Voicing-Lowering order accounts for Dialect B. However, he illustrates that Dialects A and B are not the result of reordering but reflect the historical spread of the rules Lowering and Voicing. He states (1977: 153) that Voicing must have spread throughout North America very quickly while Lowering spread more slowly. Consequently, "some North American dialects already had some version of LOWERING before VOICING came into being whereas others acquired LOWERING only subsequently" (Picard 1977: 153). Thus, Picard (1977: 153) presents the stages of development as follows:

- I Lowering
- II Voicing
- III Lowering

In this analysis, Dialect A would have been subjected only to Stage I, Dialect B would have been subjected to Stages II and III, and the Anglo-Irish dialects examined by Gregg, which do not have the lowered diphthong, would only pass through Stage II. Picard (1977: 154) states that "the reordering explanation leads to so many problems that one feels driven to find a solution elsewhere" and that "the one presented above seems to me factually plausible and defensible." While Picard's reasoning regarding the historical spread of the two rules is plausible, it is not clear that his treatment of the two rules is better, or very different, from Chamber's. Instead of reordering the rules, Picard has merely stated the same rule twice, once before Voicing and once after Voicing. Thus, his analysis is far from convincing and the superiority of his solution remains in doubt.

McConnell (1979: 26) states "that in Shakespeare's time--the period in which the first British settlers came to North America--*all* the front glide diphthongs were pronounced" [ʌɪ] and notes that [ʌʊ] "was also an early pronunciation of the back glide diphthong in all positions." Chamber's theory implies that the underlying diphthongs are [aɪ] and [aʊ] and in the context of certain phonological conditions are raised to [ʌɪ] and [ʌʊ]. However, given the historical evidence presented by McConnell, it seems implausible that the diphthongs would lower to [aɪ] and [aʊ] and then, according to Chamber's analysis, be raised again in certain phonological environments. Gregg's analysis, which assumes [ʌɪ] to be the underlying form seems

to be historically more plausible and reflects the general belief that the [ʌʊ] "of *out* and *house* and the [ʌɪ] of *white* and *ice* in Canadian speech are probably relics, reflecting an earlier state in English pronunciation" (McConnell 1979: 26).

## 2.6 Regional Studies

While only one national study of Canadian English, namely *The Survey of Canadian English* (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972), has been undertaken, a number of regional studies, some still in progress, shed light on current linguistic trends within Canada. Several of these studies comment on linguistic characteristics specific to a particular area while others reveal that many trends are common to the speech of Canadians in various regions of the country.<sup>12</sup> These studies have helped to formulate the hypotheses tested in this investigation of Canadian English in Saskatchewan.

### 2.6.1 The Survey of Canadian English (1972)

*The Survey of Canadian English* (Scargill 1974: 7) sought to stimulate "interest in Canadian English by inviting students, parents, and teachers to participate in a

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<sup>12</sup> In the 1970's two series of studies carried out as class assignments were published, one being the *Calgary Working Papers in Linguistics* (1975) and the other *Toronto English* (Leon and Phillippe 1979). Because of intrinsic problems with the methodology and generalizations of these studies (see Woods 1980a for a discussion of Leon and Phillippe 1979) they have been dismissed and will not be discussed in the following sections.

nation-wide comparison of the speech of students with that of their parents", as well as to provide data about Canadian English to aid other researchers, to observe linguistic changes, to investigate the possible causes of linguistic change, to find older forms of British English preserved in Canada, to determine the influence of American English on Canadian English and to determine the position of Canadian English in comparative dialect studies (Scargill 1974: 7-11).

The survey questionnaire was distributed in 1972, with the help of regional directors, to Grade 9 students in various schools within each province.<sup>13</sup> Grade 9 students were chosen because it was felt that they would be "the single, largest group of students sharing the same speech" (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972: 48). Each student received one questionnaire and three answer sheets, one to be completed by the student and one by each parent. Each province received one thousand questionnaires and three thousand answer sheets and the questionnaires were distributed "in such a way that rural and urban areas were covered equally" (Scargill 1974: 12).

Analysis of the data involved preparing a table for each question which displays, in percentages, the responses of the male and female parents and the male and female students for each province and for the country as a whole. From the

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<sup>13</sup> No information is available as to which schools or even which communities within each province received questionnaires for distribution (based on personal communication from H.J. Warkentyne, regional director for British Columbia).

results of the survey Scargill (1974: 138) concludes, because evidence indicates that more students than parents use the forms *riz*, *to home*, and the pronunciation *yelk* (for *yolk*), that students are preserving forms of English which their parents use either with less frequency, or not at all; however, because the data were not subjected to statistical analysis it is not possible to determine if the small reported difference in use between students and parents does in fact indicate a possible significant difference.<sup>14</sup> One must also consider the possibility that because these recessive forms were chosen as responses by male students in Grade 9, they may have been chosen simply because they were unusual and thus any differences should perhaps be attributed not to the preservation of recessive forms but rather to "the mischief factor".

Warkentyne (1973: 195; 1985:182) has concluded that for many items included in *Survey of Canadian English* which display divided use of forms associated with

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<sup>14</sup> The largest difference in percentage usage for the use of *riz* versus *raised* was four percent which was found in Newfoundland where it was reported as used by six percent of the male students and by two percent of the male adults, in New Brunswick by eight percent of male students and by four percent of the male adults, and in Quebec, Ontario, and Manitoba being reported as used by five percent of male students and by only one percent of male adults (Scargill 1974: 46). The largest difference in usage of *to home* occurred in Ontario where male students reported eight percent usage while male adults reported two percent usage (Scargill 1974: 47). Differences in the use of *yelk* were even smaller, the largest difference being two percent found in Ontario (where reported usage was by three percent of male students and one percent of male adults), and in Saskatchewan and British Columbia (where reported usage was by two percent of male student and zero percent of male adults) (Scargill 1974: 116).

British and American English, the data indicate that students tend to use the American term. For example, he notes (1973: 195) that the majority of students use the non-palatalized pronunciation of *new* (/nu/), which is associated with American English, while the majority of parents use the palatalized pronunciation (/nyu/), which is associated with British English. Also, students report greater use of the American pronunciations of *lever* (/levər/ vs. /livər/), *lieutenant* (/lutenənt/ vs. /leftənənt/), and *either* (/iðər/ vs. /ayðər/) and the American lexical form *french fries* over the British *chips* (Warkentyne 1973: 195). Conversely, students preferred the British *lend* while parents preferred the American *loan* (Warkentyne 1973: 195).

Warkentyne (1973: 197) also states that "the use of forms that are often considered non-standard in Canada increases as the level of education drops" as is evident in the distribution of the pronunciations of *genuine* ending with [-ayn], *creek* as [krɪk], *route* as [raʊt], and *film* as [fɪləm].

Thus, the *Survey of Canadian English* provides a large quantity of data concerning the phonology, morphology, lexicon, and spelling conventions from all provinces of Canada. While the resulting analysis did not employ statistical procedures, the study provides a basis from which researchers can extract valuable information for further studies. Therefore, while it would be unwise to draw conclusions about the state of Canadian English from the results of the *Survey of Canadian English* alone, it did raise many questions about possible significant aspects

of language variation within Canada and consequently has generated rather than tested hypotheses.

### 2.6.2 Newfoundland

The most distinctive dialect areas in Canada are found in the Province of Newfoundland. The early settlement of the area, which began during the seventeenth century, and the resulting isolation of communities not only from distant populations but also from neighbouring communities on the island resulted in the development of characteristic dialects which exhibit both linguistic survivals and innovations (McConnell 1979: 148-53; Story 1959, 1967).

Story's (1959: 68) examination of the English of Newfoundland reveals that "the most striking features of local speech occur in the more remote and isolated areas, especially among the older generation." He also states that the most obvious archaisms are found in the vocabulary with words such as *fellon* 'a sore or whitlow on the finger', *freene* 'a stranger', *glaume* 'to snatch suddenly', *angishore* 'a weak, miserable person' and *lightsome* 'cheerful' (Story 1959: 68; 1967: 559). Other survivals which have been noted include *dean* 'a valley', *clever* 'strong, healthy', *proud* 'inflamed finger' and *yesses* 'earthworms' (McConnell 1979: 150-1).

Some phonological survivals include examples where initial [f] becomes [v] in words such as in *fir*, [θ] and [ð] become [t] and [d] in words such as *thick*, *months*

and *fathom*, and [o] becomes [a] before [r] in words such as *storm* (Story 1959: 68; McConnell 1979: 151). Other archaic features of the Newfoundland dialects include use of double negatives, a distinction between *you* and *ye*, and formation of the possessive with the addition of [n] which results in the forms *hern* 'hers', *hisn* 'his', *yourn* 'yours' and so on (Story 1959: 68; McConnell 1979: 152).

Linguistic innovations, which demonstrate the creativity and inventiveness of language, have resulted in numerous additions to the vocabulary of Newfoundland. Some words such as *crop* 'equipment and supplies to outfit a voyage', *catch* 'to be frozen in', *chuute* 'a steep, narrow lane', and *to gap* 'to cross by boat' have had their meanings extended, while other terms such as *sissh ice* 'tiny wet "swishing" bits of ice', *slob ice* 'densely packed sludgy ice' and *crackie* 'a noisy barking dog' are coinages (McConnell 1979: 153).

Some studies have examined more specific characteristics of the English of Newfoundland. Drysdale, who attempts to describe the phonemes found in Conception Bay in eastern Newfoundland, finds that the consonants "generally conform to the North American English pattern" with a few exceptions such as those previously mentioned, and notes that the occurrence of intervocalic flapping of [t] "is possibly more common amongst younger speakers" (1959:30). He gives a detailed description of the vowel phonemes and notes (1959: 31-32) that /i/ is sometimes

raised to [ij], that [ɛ] is sometimes raised to [e] or [ei], and that /æ/ occurs in words such as *bad* and *calm*.

Widdowson (1964: 37) examined the speech of Bishop's Falls, a community of central Newfoundland, which he states "was unusual in that the townships concerned were founded comparatively recently and have attracted a population from many different parts of the Province and from areas of differing speech traditions." He interviewed sixteen people (1964: 38) who were "representative of the older speech traditions" and summarizes the words and phrases collected (with their pronunciations). Some of the terms and pronunciations he mentions include [lænʃ] 'launch', [taɪ rɔ̃bərs] 'thigh rubbers', [lɔ̃nʃ] 'snack between meals', [épsən] 'aspen', and [klift] 'cliff' (1964: 39-42). He also notes (1964: 44) a distinctive use of the verb "to be" in sentences such as [aɪ du: bɪ 'wačən] 'I am watching. (emphatic)', the use of [went] as the Past Participle, and the use of [tɪz] and [twaz]. He concludes that it may be inadvisable to concentrate research solely in the relic areas, and, while he acknowledges that more recently established urban areas deserve attention, he (1964: 46) speculates that "it may well be that these newer communities are the most likely areas in which a more general Newfoundland dialect, representing a compromise between the two main speech types, may be taking shape."

Paddock (1975; 1981) collected data in 1965 in order to examine Canadian English in Carbonear, Newfoundland and found that the occurrence of some linguistic characteristics, such as the substitution of /t/ and /d/ for /θ/ and /ð/ and the use of /n/ word finally instead of /ŋ/, was more common among speakers with a lower social status than among speakers with a high social status. He also comments (1981: 65) that "the linguistic differences between English and Irish are less marked among the younger informants than among the older" and notes that improving social and economic conditions and increasing mobility "have caused a rapid levelling of linguistic differences."

Seary et al. investigated the English of the Avalon Peninsula and concluded that four distinct dialect areas occur within this small region of Newfoundland (1968). The Southern Shoreline dialect spoken along the southern shore and heavily influenced by Anglo-Irish dialects is characterized by the addition of dental phonemes /t/ and /d/ (Seary et al. 1968: 64). The authors note (1968: 63-4) that while some lexical and grammatical items, such as *stale race* 'small stream' and *he swum*, were not found in settlements outside the Southern Shoreline area, they may in fact have a wider distribution. The Northern Shoreline dialect, spoken in the Conception Bay and St. John's areas, is not as well defined as the Southern Shoreline dialect but does lack the phonemes [θ] and [ð] (1968: 64). The Bay Robert's dialect, spoken in communities along the southwestern shore of Conception

Bay also lacks the phonemes [θ] and [ð] and may lack the phoneme [h] (1968: 67-8). One particularly distinctive feature of this dialect is the use of 'n for *him* or *it* (1968: 69). The fourth dialect area is that of St. John's. The authors state (1968: 70) that "the ideal description of St. John's speech will be derived from interviewing life-long residents who are descended from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century families." They have determined that depending on the educational level of the speaker he or she may use the phonemes [θ] and [ð] or may substitute [t] and [d] (1968: 72). Based on this and other findings the researchers have identified two social dialects within St. John's (1968: 73), one spoken by "cultivated" speakers characterized as being "in tune with government, education, and all types of media supplying information and entertainment in North America", and the other spoken by the "casual citizen" who "is possibly little influenced by the language coming from a distance" and "is directly affected by local stimuli of linguistic importance." Thus, the authors suggest (1968: 73) that the professionals of St. John's will influence the spread of the "cultivated" dialect while other speakers will "add more folk morphology, terms, phrases, and intonational habits to the common speech already present in St. John's."

Kirwin (1974) examined the data from the *Survey of Canadian English* and concludes that Newfoundland use corresponds to the national average figures except for a small number of items. He (1974: 10-1) points out that within Newfoundland

*dived* is clearly preferred over *dove*, that parents prefer *between you and I* while students prefer *between you and me*, and that the majority of all groups report use of the phrase *It's some hot out there*. He also notes (1974: 11) that while the figures indicate that the preference within Canada and Newfoundland is for *ate* to rhyme with *gate* rather than *get*, these figures do not represent the fact that in Newfoundland the variant that rhymes with *get* is often the one heard.

Regarding the lexical items queried, Kirwin (1974: 12) indicates that Newfoundlanders use *fall* and *creek* to a lesser degree than Canadians as a whole. On the other hand, residents of Newfoundland report a higher proportion of use of *serviette*, *stone* and *seed* (for *pit*), and *suspenders*.

Observing the results of questions pertaining to pronunciation he notes (1974: 13) that the percentage of subjects reporting use of *tomato* to rhyme with *rat* seems too low and should be much higher, particularly among speakers from southeastern Newfoundland. He also states (1974: 13) that the number of Newfoundland speakers reporting voicing of intervocalic /t/ seems particularly high given the Anglo-Irish influence, although he suggests that perhaps the younger generation is drifting away from the pronunciation of their parents. He concludes (1974: 14) that not enough previous data are available by which one could judge the accuracy of the respondents, but that the *Survey of Canadian English* has raised a number of interesting points.

The unique lexicon found in the Canadian English spoken in Newfoundland led to the publication of the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*. The purpose of this work was to present "the regional lexicon of one of the oldest overseas communities of the English-speaking world" (Seary et al. 1982: xi). The authors (Seary et al. 1982: xii) point out that

Rather than attempting to define a 'Newfoundlandism' our guiding principles in collecting have been to look for words which appear to have entered the language in Newfoundland or to have been recorded first, or solely, in books about Newfoundland; words which are characteristically Newfoundland by having continued in use here after they died out or declined elsewhere, or by having acquired a different form or developed a different meaning, or by having a distinctly higher or more general degree of use.

They present several examples including *cat* 'newly-born seal' and *salt water* 'the sea, esp near the shore' for words given a new meaning, *droke* 'a valley with steep sides, sometimes wooded and with a stream' and *frore* 'frozen solid' as survivals and *landwash* 'the sea-shore between high and low tide marks, washed by the sea' and *penguin* 'a large, flightless bird once living in large numbers on Funk Island, extinct since the nineteenth century' as words which were either coined in Newfoundland or first appeared in books about Newfoundland (Seary et al. 1982: xii).

Concern has been raised regarding the recent influences and subsequent changes taking place in the dialects of Newfoundland. Story (1967: 562) states that "centralization of the population, the growth of regional schools, the impact of radio and television, are all having, it appears, a levelling effect on the dialects."

McConnell (1979: 155) contends that "there is little doubt that the influence of SSB [Standard Southern British] will decrease while that of mainland Canadian and American will increase." Thus, no one is able to predict the changes that will affect Canadian English in Newfoundland; however, it is likely that it will continue to reflect the unique history of the province (McConnell 1979: 155).

### **2.6.3 The Maritime Provinces**

McConnell (1979: 167) points out that the Maritime Provinces share many lexical items largely due to their common Atlantic coast environments. For example, terms used in these three provinces include *tern* 'three-masted schooner', *grayback* 'large ocean wave' and *fiddler* 'Atlantic salmon less than 3.5 kg'. She also notes (1979: 168) that the use of *some* in terms such as *some hot* is commonly heard in the Maritimes (and in Newfoundland as discussed in 2.5.2) (see also Scargill and Warkentyne 1972). While the Maritime provinces have much in common, a few studies and observations of Canadian English have been carried out within each province.

#### **2.6.3.1 New Brunswick**

Kinloch (1973; 1985) has examined Canadian English in New Brunswick and notes that "much that is stated to be true of New Brunswick dialect will probably be

found to be true of other Canadian dialects as well" (1985: 60-61). An examination of the New Brunswick results from *The Survey of Canadian English* has led him to conclude that for many items the same forms were preferred by both students and parents. For example, the pronunciations /livər/ 'lever', /genjuəɪn/ 'genuine', /mɪsəl/ 'missile', and /rut/ 'route' and the lexical terms *fall*, *tap*, and *french fries* were preferred by all groups (Kinloch 1973: 44-5). He also notes (1973: 47; 1985: 64) that in some instances the students and parents preferred different forms, such the pronunciation of *congratulate* where parents preferred /kəŋgræçəlet/ while students preferred /kəŋgræjəlet/. In addition, he states (1973: 47) that the term *seed* in reference to 'a cherry pit' and the pronunciation /reʃən/ 'ration' are spreading among students.

He points out (1985: 64) that while not restricted to New Brunswick, use of the initial consonant cluster /hw/ is very unstable, so that some New Brunswick residents make no distinction between the pronunciations of *witch* and *which* (/wɪč/) while others do make a distinction (/wɪč/ and /hwɪč/). He also comments (1985: 65) on the occurrence of intervocalic voicing of /t/ and the intrusion of /t/ in the /ns/ and /ls/ clusters in words such as *dance*, *France*, and *Wilson* (/dænts/, /frænts/, /wɪltsən/), and on the vast number of lexical items that entered the language during the settlement of the province. Among these terms are *back lands* 'settlements some distance from a river', *tree nails* 'wooden pegs used for building' and *sugar bush* 'a

grove of sugar maple trees' (1985: 71-2). Thus, while Canadian English in New Brunswick has much in common with Canadian English in other parts of the country, it is in the vocabulary that it is most distinctive.

### 2.6.3.2 Nova Scotia

The focus for the study of Canadian English in Nova Scotia has been Lunenburg County, an area first examined by Alexander (1940 see 2.1) and later by Wilson (1975). While this area was originally settled by Germans in 1753 (McConnell 1979: 165), it has also been influenced by the dialects of New England brought to the area by the Loyalists after the start of the American Revolution in 1775 (McConnell 1979: 162). While German is no longer used for everyday communication, the Canadian English spoken in the area reflects the German influence primarily in its vocabulary and phonology (Wilson 1975: 42-4). Some forms derived from German include the use of *all* for *all gone* and the terms *winkelaize* 'three-cornered tear', *snits* 'dried apple slices', and *handkase* 'cottage cheese' (Wilson 1975: 43). Wilson (1975: 43) also notes the New England influence in the vocabulary with terms such as *porch* and *pantry*. Evidence of German influence in the phonology is evident in the use of [v], which Wilson describes as "a sound between [w] and [v]", that occurs in place of [w], [hw], and [v], in the use of [d] and [t] for [ð] and [θ], and in the devoicing of word final [b], [d], and [g] (Wilson

1975: 44). Wilson (1975: 44) states that the remnants of German influence are quickly disappearing, being replaced by features of New England dialects with which Nova Scotia has both geographic and cultural ties.

### 2.6.3.3 Prince Edward Island

Cullen (1971) has described some preliminary results of a survey of vocabulary items which was conducted in the early 1970's. Her questionnaire was distributed to informants in four ethnically different communities (English, Irish, Scottish and French) in order to determine if lexical use was influenced by ethnic origin. She found that words of a particular origin were used more often in the corresponding ethnic settlement (Cullen 1971: 53).

Pratt (1981) distributed a questionnaire to senior citizens throughout Prince Edward Island in order to determine the distribution of one hundred lexical items which he believed to have varying regional use. Some items that he investigated include *time* 'any kind of party', *glib ice* 'a very slick patch of ice', *foother* 'to putter', *thra* 'a tiresome complainer', and *kist* 'a chest or box' (Pratt 1981: 64-5). He also wanted to examine any differences of use related to the social variables sex, ethnic origin, education, occupation and rural/urban setting (Pratt 1981: 60). He found that based on use of these lexical items the province could be divided into three regions, western, central, and eastern with the eastern area displaying the most use of dialect

words (1981: 63-4). He also found that while no significant difference in use was revealed for many words in association with urban/rural residents, some items revealed a greater degree of use in rural areas (1981:64) and notes that, contrary to Cullen's findings, ethnic origin was not a significant factor (1981: 65). Pratt (1981: 66) notes that more men than women reported using many of the dialect items and concludes that "the men in this population are more familiar with general dialect vocabulary than the women." The occupation variable was the most significant factor revealing that farmers and fisherman used dialect words most often with next greatest use by the group described as 'other blue-collar workers' and the smallest degree of use by the 'white-collar workers' (Pratt 1981: 67). Consequently, Pratt (1981: 67) states that "vocabulary of this kind, rich and expressive as it is, is unfortunately stigmatized" and "to use it, perhaps, is to be held back from, or conversely to have a disdain for, certain kinds of 'higher-status' employment." The results relating to the educational variable did not reveal a simple pattern but did lead Pratt (1981: 68) to state that concerning regional dialect terms "higher education enriches vocabulary in many ways but probably impoverishes it in this respect, particularly because the student often leaves his locality at this point." He concludes (1981: 69) that while the variables examined did prove to be important to the distribution of dialect words on Prince Edward Island, no data exist to indicate if the younger population follows a similar pattern or if in fact they would

recognize and use any of the words surveyed. He is in fact concerned about the future of 'Island English' and has commented (1982: 240) that "as more and more people take up an urban way of life and as more urbanites take over houses in the country and commute, the use of dialect speech will decrease". This research and several subsequent surveys led to the publication in 1988 of the *Dictionary of Prince Edward Island English* (Pratt 1988) which records non-standard words used or in use on Prince Edward Island.

#### 2.6.4 Quebec -- Montreal English

Hamilton (1958: 72) examined Canadian English spoken in Montreal in order to determine the distribution of forms which reflect divided American and British use and found that for the majority of questions concerning lexical choices the informants preferred the term associated with American English. For example, the subjects preferred the American terms *back-yard*, *sidewalk*, *wrench*, *store*, *flash-light*, *candy*, and *living-room* over the corresponding British terms *back-garden*, *pavement*, *spanner*, *shop*, *torch*, *sweets* and *parlour* or *sitting-room*. In a few cases the British terms, such as *blinds*, *tap*, *stairs*, and *postman* were preferred over the American *shades*, *faucet*, *stairway*, and *letter carrier* (Hamilton 1958: 73). According to the analysis of the phonological portion of the questionnaire, Hamilton (1958: 74-5) finds that Montreal use is again divided between British and American pronunciations.

For example, while the preference is for the American [æ] rather than the British [ɑ] in the words *dance*, *class*, and *path* most speakers preferred the palatalized British pronunciations of *duke*, *tune*, and *news* while the non-palatalized American pronunciation was preferred by many in the words *suit* and *student* (Hamilton 1958: 75). Hamilton (1958: 79) concludes that "Montreal English bears a closer resemblance to the Northern variety of American English than to British English."

### 2.6.5 Ontario

Avis (1954: 13-4) has commented on the similarity of Canadian and American English along the border and states that "our present knowledge of Canadian English suggests that, by and large, Canada is an extension of the northern speech area of the United States." This similarity of speech habits is largely due to the parallel settlement history along both sides of the border. Avis (1954: 14) points out that the Ontario border communities were settled by Loyalists and post-Loyalists from the United States and thus established the speech pattern of this area before British immigrants began to come in large numbers. He also notes (1954: 14) that both Canadians and Americans have crossed the border in search of better land and prospects. While Canadian and American English have much in common, some notable differences are evident.

Avis (1954: 14-16) examined the speech of Ontario residents near the United States border in order to determine their preferences for terms and pronunciations associated with American or British English. He states that *blinds* and *coal oil* are used in Ontario while the corresponding terms *window shades* or *shades* and *kerosene* are used in the United States. He also notes that some words common to Canadian English in Ontario, such as *tap*, *serviette*, *braces*, and *shivaree* may be known by a few American speakers near the border but are generally unknown farther away from Canada and that a few words, such as *chesterfield* and *humbug*, are not used in the United States. He also found that Ontario speakers preferred the American *dove* to the British *dived*, but the British *lend* and *drunk* (past participle) to the American *loan* and *drank*.

Concerning pronunciation differences, Avis (1956: 43) found that the most common pronunciation of *vase* in Ontario was /vez/ while in the United States it was /ves/, and in addition, that the British pronunciation /vaz/ is often heard in Ontario and occasionally in the United States usually in reference to the more expensive variety. Avis (1956: 44) notes that the Canadian pronunciation of *khaki* [kárki] was by far the preferred pronunciation in Ontario with the American pronunciation [káki] being used by only a few of the informants. He discovered almost equal use of the pronunciations /zébɹə/ and /zibrə/ for *zebra* and wonders if both forms should be acceptable in Canadian usage (Avis 1956: 44-5). In addition, he points out (1956:

48) that the informants preferred the palatalized British pronunciation in the words *Tuesday*, *news*, *dew*, and *tune* but the non-palatalized American pronunciation in the words *due*, *student*, and *suit*. Thus, Avis (1956: 55) concludes that the Ontario speakers he surveyed displayed much diversity in the pronunciation of Canadian English. While speakers preferred British pronunciations for some words and American pronunciations for others, Avis (1956: 55) comments that when the word in question is a literary term the preferred pronunciation will likely be the one associated with British English, but if the word is in widespread general use the preferred pronunciation will likely be that associated with American English. Avis (1956: 55) states that these studies have led to the realization that Ontario English, and probably general Canadian English, "is neither American nor British, but a complex different in many respects from both in vocabulary, grammar and syntax, and pronunciation."

Research into the dialects of the Ottawa Valley, which is one of the most distinctive dialect areas in Canada, began in the mid 1970's (Chambers 1975b; Pringle and Padolsky 1983) but as McConnell (1979: 180) states such research should have begun a generation earlier because "the dialect now is being replaced rapidly by 'general Canadian'." Chambers (1975b: 55) states that "the Ottawa Valley dialect survives only in whatever isolated rural communities remain." Such erosion of the dialect can be attributed to the influence of residents from nearby 'heartland

Canada' moving into the area (Chambers 1975b: 55). Chambers (1975b: 57-58) explains that while some lexical differences exist, it is characteristics of the phonology that make the dialects distinctive; consequently, he proposes that at least two dialects exist, one of which is characterised by the use of the raised allophone [ʌʊ] in all environments and the other by the lack of a diphthong with a mid central onset and instead the use of a diphthong with a low front onset. Thus, in the first dialect while the raised allophone [ʌʊ] occurs before voiceless consonants, as it does in other areas of Canada (see 2.4), it also occurs before voiced consonants and word finally in words such as *loud* [lʌʊd], *round* [rʌʊnd], and *slough* [slʌʊ] (Chambers 1975b: 58). The second dialect has a diphthong with a low central onset in words such as *tiger* [t<sup>h</sup>æygər], *out* [æwt], *cows* [kæwz], and *anyhow* [əniyhæw] (Chambers 1975b: 59). Chambers (1975b: 59) adds that both dialects use only the vowel [æ] before /r/ resulting in pronunciations such as *garden* [gærdən], *harm* [hærn], and *far* [fær].

Pringle and Padolsky began research of the Ottawa Valley dialects in 1974 and have concluded from analysis of preliminary interviews that at least ten distinct dialects are obvious, and they further divide them into the following four groups: the Loyalist-based dialects found on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence Valley; the dialects found to the north of Glengarry county which were originally predominately Gaelic-speaking communities; two distinct English-speaking Scottish

settlements in Lanark and Renfrew Counties; and, two bilingual areas which were originally neither anglophone nor francophone but German (southeast of Pembroke, Ontario) and Polish (Pembroke County) (Pringle and Padolsky 1983: 326-8).

From their analysis Pringle and Padolsky (1983: 339) have deduced that because this area does not have a long settlement history, no linguistic baseline can be established, and thus a traditional dialect study cannot be "validly representative" in this area.<sup>15</sup> They also point out (1983: 341) that people with similar backgrounds may differ linguistically and feel that these differences are largely due to attitudinal and psychological factors. As a result of their findings they plan to, in the second phase of the study, investigate six villages in the Ottawa Valley which represent "different kinds of ethnic and religious mixes, different densities of settlement, and different degrees of remoteness from the city of Ottawa" (Pringle and Padolsky 1983: 341). By doing so they hope to discover information concerning unknown independent variables which will help them determine the focus of the final phase of the study (1983: 341).

Woods (1979: 292) examined Canadian English in Ottawa in order to determine its correlation with sociological and stylistic variables. He found (1979: 297) that informants from higher socio-economic groups "use a much wider range

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<sup>15</sup> The authors explain that in the European tradition the initial objective of a dialect study was to record the original dialect of the area with which subsequent data could be compared in order to determine any change from the baseline (Pringle and Padolsky 1983: 339).

of styles" than do informants from lower socio-economic groups. His phonological analysis revealed that females over forty years of age used the formal variants (such as /ɪŋ/ *-ing*) more often than other groups while the males under forty years of age used the informal variants (such as /ən/ *-ing*) more often (1979: 297). Concerning pronunciation of specific words he found that females used prestige forms, such as [áɪðər] *either* and [lefténənt] *lieutenant*, more often than males while males use stigmatized forms, such as [fíləm] *film* and [kəŋgræʒjələt] *congratulate*, more often than females (1979: 304-5). Thus, Woods concludes that socio-economic and stylistic factors are extremely important in any study of linguistic variation.

### 2.6.6 British Columbia

Canadian English in British Columbia is often said to be essentially the same as Canadian English in Ontario although, because of its different environment, Canadian English in British Columbia has developed a unique vocabulary (McConnell 1979: 219; Scargill 1968: 182). As previously mentioned many of the new terms which entered Canadian English were related to various industries (see 2.3), and thus in British Columbia one finds terms associated with mining, such as *paystreaks* and *discovery claim* (Scargill 1977: 41), logging, such as *skid road* (Scargill 1968: 184), later *skid row* (McConnell 1979: 70), and *beachcomber* (Scargill 1968:

184), and with fishing, such as *saltchuck* 'ocean', *sockeye*, *chinook*, and *coho* (McConnell 1979: 226-7).

Gregg (1957b, 1975) investigated the pronunciation of Canadian English among students (sixteen to twenty-two years of age) in Vancouver, British Columbia because he felt that "it is among them that we may note the development of a distinct regional standard pronunciation" (1957b: 20). He observes that the vowels are similar to the corresponding vowels in Standard Southern British and General American (1957b: 21-3; 1975: 134-5) and notes that the diphthongs [aɪ] and [ʌɪ] are allophones of /aɪ/ while [aʊ] and [ʌɪ] are allophones of /aʊ/ (1975: 143-4). Gregg (1957b: 24) states that "in all forms of English, including the North American varieties, the consonant system has been relatively stable since the Middle Ages", but does note the voicing of intervocalic [t], the intrusion of [t] between [l] or [n] and [s], and the loss of [j] in words such as *tune*, *due*, and *new* (1957b: 25-6; 1975: 137-8). Gregg (1957b: 25; 1975: 137) also comments on the voicing and subsequent loss of [t] in words such as *twenty* [twéni], *winter* [wínər], and *centre* [sénər].

In the Kootenay area Gregg found an increasing tendency for preference of American forms. For example, the teenagers used the American forms /levər/ *lever*, /sk/ in *schedule*, and /ræðər/ *rather* more often than adults and preferred *couch* while adults preferred *chesterfield* (Gregg 1973b: 112). After comparing the data from the Kootenay area with data from Vancouver Island and the Okanagan, Gregg observed

that communities to the east show a greater frequency of use of American variants than communities to the west. Thus, he concludes that a movement is ongoing toward American pronunciations through both time and space.

Rodman has analyzed the data from the Survey of Canadian English for British Columbia, and has found some possible significant regional variations. Rodman divided the province into three regions, Vancouver Island, Greater Vancouver, and the rest of the mainland, and then subjected the data to statistical analysis in order to determine the possibility of significant differences among the three regions. She concludes that informants living on Vancouver Island tend to use American variants<sup>16</sup> while residents of Greater Vancouver tend to prefer British pronunciations (Rodman 1974/75; 78-9). Data from informants from other mainland areas indicate that too few distinctive features are revealed to distinguish it from the other two (1974/75: 79).

Gregg (1984) conducted *An Urban Dialect Survey of the English Spoken in Vancouver* (SVEN) in order to examine Canadian English in this area. Some of the findings indicate that the use of /u/ after /n/, /t/, or /d/ is more common among younger speakers, males, and low status groups (Gregg 1984: 58), that younger speakers are not making a distinction between words such as *which* and *witch* while

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<sup>16</sup> This conclusion may not be entirely accurate since some areas of Vancouver Island (for example, some areas of Victoria and Duncan) are noticeably more British than other areas. Without knowledge regarding which specific regions of the island were sampled, Rodman's conclusion is likely an overgeneralization.

older speakers, especially older higher class females, do make a distinction (Gregg 1984: 59), and that the pronunciation of *schedule* with an initial /ʃ/ is becoming less popular.

De Wolf used data from the SVEN study (Gregg 1984) and the survey of Ottawa English (Woods 1979) in order to compare urban Canadian English as it is spoken in two geographically separated metropolitan centres. She found that location and age were the most significant factors when dealing with the phonological variables while socio-economic status and age were the most significant for the grammatical items (de Wolf 1988: ii). For example, she found that the use of /ɪŋ/ *-ing* was greater in Vancouver than in Ottawa (1988: 244), that younger speakers are tending to use non-palatalized forms in words such as *tune* and *news* (1988: 328), that high status informants used the form *has drunk* more often than low status informants and older speakers use it more often than younger speakers (1988: 520).

### **2.6.7 The Prairie Provinces**

Research concerning Canadian English in the Prairie provinces has been extremely meagre with only a handful of studies examining the speech of a few communities in Alberta and Saskatchewan. The primary interest has been the regional vocabulary of the area, much of which is related to the settlement,

geography and farming of the provinces. Some examples include *grid system* (or *grid roads*) 'the roads two miles apart north and south and one mile east and west', *correction line* 'the jog every 24 miles north/south to correct to the true meridian', *black blizzard* 'dust storm', *bald-(headed) prairie* 'treeless grassland area', and *sodbuster* 'farmer' (McConnell 1979: 202-9).

Allen examined data collected from five speakers living in five different communities along the Canada-United States border (Estevan, Saskatchewan, Sprague and Killarney, Manitoba, and Fort William and Fort Frances, Ontario) and found that several lexical terms commonly found among the Canadian informants were unknown or seldom used in the adjacent states, and additionally, found some pronunciations which are characteristic of the Canadians. Some terms heard among the Canadian informants include *corn rick*, *piggery*, *chesterfield*, *porridge*, *concrete road*, and *eh?* (Allen 1959: 19-20). He also notes that several pronunciations were only heard from the Canadian informants such as /čúwzdiy/ 'Tuesday', /čuwɪb/ 'tube', /skɔhɪnz/ 'scones', and /pælm/ or /pæm/ 'palm' (1959: 20-1). Allen (1959: 22) also comments on the use of the term *bluff* in Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and North Dakota to refer to "a clump or small grove of trees on the open prairie" and states that additional information from residents of Saskatoon and Edmonton "reveals that this sense is widely known and accepted in the prairie provinces." Stobie (1967: 49) has also commented on the use of *bluff* and proposes that the shift in meaning from

"a cliff", "a steep bank", or "a sharp rise in the level of the land", occurred in the 1860's in southern Manitoba. Wanamaker has also indicated that this meaning for *bluff* is known throughout the prairies (1966: 108-9); however, my previous research in Saskatchewan (1984: 118) indicates that the use of *bluff* is not currently as wide spread as these authors indicate and further investigation has revealed that *bluff* is probably a recessive dialect feature among those subjects interviewed.

#### **2.6.7.1 Alberta**

Scargill (1955: 28) investigated Canadian English in Alberta by examining the pronunciation of twenty words and found that overall the majority of the informants (66 percent) used pronunciations associated with American English while only a small portion (0.5 percent) preferred British pronunciations. The remaining third of the informants used both American and British pronunciations with no clear preference for one or the other (1955: 29). He also notes (1955: 29) that preference for American pronunciations was greater near the United States border although these pronunciations were prominent in areas farther north as well. He predicted that the trend toward American pronunciations would likely continue and that in

another ten or twenty years American pronunciations would be established throughout the province (1955: 29).<sup>17</sup>

Avis (1972) examined the idiolect of a university graduate who had been born and raised in Edmonton and whom he considered to be typical of his age group. Avis described the idiolect as having ten vowels, /i, ɪ, e, ɛ, æ, a, o, u, ʊ, ə/, four diphthongs, /aɪ/, /aʊ/, /ɔɪ/, /iʊ/. twenty-two consonants, /p, b, t, d, k, g, f, v, θ, ð, s, z, ʃ, ʒ, h, č, ʝ, m, n, ŋ, l, r/, and two voiced glides /y, w/. He also notes the occurrence of the raised allophones of /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ before voiceless consonants. Walker (1975) compared his own Edmonton idiolect to that analyzed by Avis and noted some differences such as the merger of /a/ and /ɔ/ as /ɔ/ whereas Avis found /a/ and /ɔ/ merged as /a/; however, one must question his analysis since self-reporting is not considered objective, and thus is not valid. Both authors conclude that a need exists for additional research in order to increase our knowledge of Canadian English phonology.

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<sup>17</sup> No recent detailed studies have been carried out in Alberta with which one could confirm Scargill's prediction; however, studies conducted in various regions of Canada (see for example Warkentyne 1973; de Wolf 1988; Nylvek 1984) indicate that American variants are in common use in most areas of the country.

### 2.6.7.2 Manitoba

The only study of Canadian English in Manitoba concerns linguistic insecurity in Winnipeg and while not immediately relevant to the current study it is mentioned as it is the only study from this region of Canada (Owens 1983). Briefly, Owens found that the lower middle class are more linguistically insecure than any other class, and that females are more insecure than males, thus paralleling Labov's (1966) findings.

### 2.6.7.3 Saskatchewan

Graham (1957) discusses the influence the German language has had on Canadian English in and around Luseland, Saskatchewan. He states that while German was used in the home, English was taught in the schools and attempts to teach the children to read German were unsuccessful. He notes that German ethnicity was reflected only in the English of people born between 1909 and 1929. Some features of English in this area included devoicing of [b] (and [g] and [d] word finally) so words like *pull* and *bull* were almost homophonous, [v] was unvoiced to [f], even among younger speakers, in words such as *village* ['filitʃ] and *very* ['feri], and [z] was devoiced so that words such as *raised* and *raced*, and *rise* and *rice* were homophonous (1957: 10-1). He notes (1957: 13) that no words have been borrowed into "Saskatchewan English" from German, and in conclusion, he states that the

second generation Canadians in this region have lost all traces of their German background and usually are unable to speak German.

Lehn (1959) examined his own idiolect, which he describes as being Central Saskatchewan, but again, as this paper is based solely on self-reporting the analysis cannot be considered valid. He comments on essentially the same consonant and vowel phonemes as Avis (1972) and Walker (1975) (see 2.5.7.1). In addition, he notes the occurrence of the raised allophones [ʌɪ] and [ʌʊ] before the voiced allophone of /t/ in words such as *writer* and *pouter* and proposes that perhaps the raised diphthongs should be considered phonemically distinct; however, such contrasts have since been explained by the reordering of the rules Canadian Raising and Voicing (see 2.4).

My previous research on Canadian English in Saskatchewan (Nylvek 1984) indicates that age, sex and urban/rural environment are important factors related to language variation. For example, I found that use of palatalized pronunciations of words such as *tune* and *due* decreases as age decreases, that females tend to use standard pronunciations, such as [æθlit] as opposed to [æθəlɪt] *athlete*, more frequently than males, and that urban/rural differences, such as a greater frequency of use among rural residents of *dinner* to refer to the noon meal, deserve further investigation. A larger sample might have revealed more potentially significant items; nevertheless, this study provided many clues regarding possible significant

relationships between social and linguistic variables. The results from this study will be discussed in more detail in conjunction with the *a priori* hypotheses in 4.4.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

While little research has been carried out concerning Canadian English in Saskatchewan or the other prairie provinces, studies from other regions of Canada provide insight regarding possible linguistic variables which should be investigated and suggests potentially important relationships between linguistic and social variables. Thus, these studies provide a basis for the formulation of research hypotheses and a body of data with which Canadian English in Saskatchewan may be compared.

## Chapter 3

### SETTLEMENT AND DEMOGRAPHICS

#### 3.1 Introduction

Saskatchewan is a continental interior province which is bounded on the north and south by latitudes  $60^{\circ}\text{N}$  and  $49^{\circ}\text{N}$ , on the east by approximately longitude  $102^{\circ}\text{W}$  and on the west by longitude  $110^{\circ}\text{W}$ . It is the fifth largest province in Canada with a total of 251,700 square miles and makes up 6.5 percent of the total land mass of Canada. According to the 1981 Census of Canada, Saskatchewan has a total population of 968,313 which is approximately 4 percent of the total Canadian population. Because continuous settlement extends only as far north as  $54^{\circ}\text{N}$ , only the southern half of the province is discussed in this examination of the settlement history and demographics.

The current population distribution is a result of the spread of railways, commercial agriculture and a deliberate plan to populate the West. The prairie provinces are known for their ethnic diversity, and in Saskatchewan multiculturalism

is a fact of everyday life. In fact, no single ethnic group has a majority of the total population of Saskatchewan. Even when the population figures for the four British origin groups (English, Scots, Irish and Welsh) are combined, this group does not constitute a majority of the province's population. In this chapter I first discuss the general history of Saskatchewan in order to illustrate how it came to have such ethnic diversity and then examine various ethnic groups in order to demonstrate when the ethnic groups settled in Saskatchewan and which ethnic groups settled in which areas. Finally, I will discuss the current ethnic population distribution of the province and its relationship to the geography.

### **3.2 General History**

In 1871 a conference was held in Ottawa in order to examine ways in which settlers could be attracted to Manitoba and the Northwest, including the Districts of Saskatchewan and Assiniboia which today make up much of the province of Saskatchewan. The major problem was lack of transportation and the need for a railway was evident. In 1872-73 the task of surveying and dividing up the land in the West began and the square survey system of the United States was adopted. The land was divided into townships six miles square, each township containing 36 sections of 640 acres each. Each section was further divided into quarter sections of 160 acres each. Provision was also made for road allowances, and certain sections

in each township were set aside for schools and the Hudson's Bay Company. The Dominion Lands Act, passed in 1872, permitted a settler to reside on a quarter section of unoccupied Dominion land for payment of a \$10.00 registration fee; after 3 years he could file a claim of ownership if he could prove he had carried out his residential duties and had broken a specified number of acres. The Immigration and Colonization Act, also passed in 1872, allowed recruiting agents to be sent abroad and publicity campaigns launched in the hopes of attracting settlers. Once this program was under way the Canadian government waited for an inrush of settlers, but because of the Depression, inadequate transportation and competition for settlers for the United States and Australia, it did not materialize.

In 1880 a contract was signed with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to construct a railway line across Canada. As part of its compensation for building the railway, the Canadian Pacific received every other section for 24 miles on either side of the main line. Originally the plans were for the railway to run northwesterly through Battleford, but because the Canadian Pacific had considerable freedom in determining the route of the railway it was redirected almost directly west in order to speed construction and save costs.<sup>1</sup> Also, the southern plains had originally been thought to be unsuitable for settlement; however, further studies revealed that this region would be very suitable for wheat-growing. By the middle of 1883, a railway

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<sup>1</sup> The reasons for the change are still not entirely certain (based on personal communication from Dr. P.E. Roy).

line was fully operational from Winnipeg to Calgary. Once again the Canadian government waited for the inrush of settlers, and once again was disappointed.

The slow inrush of settlers prior to 1885 was partly due to unfavourable publicity paid to the soil, climate and conditions of the West, and the availability of more accessible and attractive land in the western United States. Settlement in Canada did not become more attractive until the mid 1890's when the western United States were virtually closed.

While the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885 did not immediately lead to settlement of the West, it did affect the type of immigration that occurred. While the Canadian Pacific was being built most of the immigrants coming to Saskatchewan had been British. In fact, in 1885 non-British immigrants made up only 1 percent of the population of the Territories (Archer, 1980:104). After 1885 the population began to change as non-British immigrants began to arrive. By 1891 the total number of non-British immigrants in the Territories had risen to 6 percent and by 1901 to over 22 percent (Archer, 1980:104). In the late 1880's new settlers took homesteads to the north of the Canadian Pacific where construction of railway branch lines was expected; however, European immigrants only succeeded in replacing the number of English-speaking settlers who were leaving.

The immigration policy was altered after the election of Wilfrid Laurier's Liberal government in 1896. Clifford Sifton, the Minister of the Interior and a westerner, felt that the immigration policies had to be revised in order to bring settlers to the West who could handle the demands of pioneer farming life; he did not want to encourage urban immigrants, though, in fact, many immigrants settled in cities.

Sifton simplified the homesteading procedures and sent Canadian immigration agents to the British Isles, the United States and Europe, especially central and eastern Europe. He gave bonuses to companies who brought in immigrants, advertised extensively in Europe and in the midwestern United States, and the results of the campaigns were encouraging. Although initially settlement was slow, it gradually began to increase, wheat prices rose, and by the turn of the century hundreds of thousands of settlers were coming to the West.

In 1905, Alberta and Saskatchewan became provinces and settlers from Great Britain, the United States and Europe continued to settle in Saskatchewan. In 1899, the number of homestead entries in the entire Prairie was 6,689; by 1905, this had risen to 30,819; by 1911, to 44,479 (Archer, 1980:140). In 1905-06, Saskatchewan claimed two-thirds of all Canadian homestead entries. During the first decade of the twentieth century immigrants flooded the Canadian prairies. In 1901 the population of Saskatchewan was 91,279; only ten years later the population had risen to

492,432 (Archer, 1980:355). As a result, the agricultural lands of the West were settled in the early twentieth century.

### **3.3 Immigration to Saskatchewan**

Because the distribution of the ethnic settlements is important to this study, I have dealt with the individual ethnic groups in four sections as follows: immigrants from Great Britain, the United States and Eastern Canada; immigrants from Western Europe; immigrants from Northern Europe; and finally, immigrants from Eastern Europe. By approaching the ethnic settlements in this manner I hope to be able to illustrate the impact each group has had on the ethnicity of Saskatchewan. A list of several settlements established by each ethnic group may be found in Appendix A.

#### **3.3.1 Great Britain, the United States and Eastern Canada**

Although many immigrants came to Saskatchewan from Great Britain, the United States and eastern Canada, little information is available regarding English-speaking settlers. Immigrants from Great Britain form the largest ethnic group in Saskatchewan; however, little information is available concerning their settlement because they often came as individuals, not in groups, and, because they were not

faced with the same language problems as other foreign groups they did not have a tendency to settle together, and consequently, are scattered more evenly across the prairies than any other group. However, a few groups from England, Scotland, Wales, and the United States did establish colonies (see Map 3.1, p. 95).<sup>2</sup>

In 1903 the Reverend Isaac Barr and the Reverend G.E. Lloyd brought 2,700 colonists from England in the hopes of establishing a community of English farmers west of Battleford (Archer 1980: 118). The colonists were plagued with problems from the very beginning, largely because of poor planning by Barr. When the settlers reached Battleford, Barr was dismissed and Lloyd was put in charge. Lloyd led the colonists west to the land that Barr had obtained for their settlement, which was later named Lloydminster. English settlements were also established at Cannington Manor, Churchbridge, Qu'Appelle and Shellbrook.

In 1882, Lady Gordon Cathcart approached the Canadian government for its assistance with a plan which would allow some families from her estate in Benbecula, in the outer Hebrides of Scotland, to settle in the North-West Territories. The government agreed and in 1883 and 1884 several families settled near Wapella, where their settlement eventually prospered. Highland Scots also

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<sup>2</sup> The maps are intended to show the general pattern of ethnic settlement. Because of limitation of space on many of the maps, only those communities mentioned in the text are identified.

attempted to establish a settlement at Saltcoats; however, this settlement was less successful. A lowland Scots settlement was established at Lumsden.

In 1865, a group of Welsh had migrated to the Patagonian area of Argentina in order to create a colony where their language, customs and religious traditions could escape British influence. They chose Argentina in order to set up their own psychological and physical barriers and their settlement thrived. In the 1890's however, the Argentinians began to increase their authority in Patagonia and many settlers began to complain of harassment by the officials. This growing dissatisfaction with the government, along with flooding caused by increased rainfall, led less than ten percent of the Patagonian Welsh to leave the area. In 1902, approximately 200 Patagonian Welsh arrived in Saskatchewan to settle southwest of Saltcoats in an area they later named Bangor. They realized they had made a mistake in leaving Wales but abandoned any notion of establishing a nationalistic colony. They were later joined by some Welsh immigrants from both Wales and the United States. Their settlements at Bangor and in the neighbouring area of Waldron prospered.

Immigration from the United States has had a great impact on Western Canada and in fact, for several years Americans made the most entries into Canada (Archer 1980:139). In 1900 approximately 19,000 settlers entered Canada from the United States, in 1905 approximately 58,000 and in 1912-13 approximately 139,000

(Brown and Cook 1974:61). Many of the American immigrants were part of groups who had earlier migrated from various regions of Europe, and for this reason will be discussed along with the migrations from Western Europe, Northern Europe, and Eastern Europe. Like the British, American immigrants were not faced with a language or cultural barrier, and therefore, did not tend to settle in groups; however, many members of a group of Oklahoma Blacks who migrated to Canada in the early 1900's settled together in Saskatchewan. In 1907, Oklahoma became a state, and this led to an increase in white settlers. Increased segregation of Blacks resulted and in an attempt to escape oppression about 1000 Blacks came to Western Canada. In 1909 a major portion of this group settled in Saskatchewan near the communities of Maidstone and Wilkie.

Because little information exists concerning English-speaking settlers in Saskatchewan who came from Eastern Canada, the discussion of settlers from Eastern Canada is concerned with the settlement of French Canadians in Saskatchewan. French Canadian settlement in the West began as a result of the attempt by French Catholics to establish the church in the West. While they were successful in establishing the church over a vast area, French-speaking Canadians remained a minority in the West since it was difficult to convince Quebec residents to leave their province. However, the number of French communities established

in Saskatchewan indicates that the French have been an important influence in the settlement of the West (see Map 3.2, p. 96).

The oldest French settlement in Saskatchewan was established in 1891 in the Prince Albert area, while another large settlement of French Canadians is in the Gravelbourg area. While many of the French settlements in the West were established by French Canadians, a settlement at St. Isadore-de-Bellevue was established by group of French from Minnesota and the area of St. Brieux was settled by Bretons. In addition, several settlements in the north-central area of Saskatchewan were settled by immigrants from a number of areas in France and Belgium.

### **3.3.2 Western European Ethnic Groups**

By far the largest western European ethnic group in Saskatchewan are the Germans; however, most Germans did not immigrate to Canada directly from Germany, but from Austria or Russia. Immigrants also came from France as discussed above, and from Switzerland, Holland, Belgium and Italy (see Map 3.2, p. 96).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The first Swiss immigrants in the West arrived in Manitoba in the early part of the nineteenth century (c. 1812-1818). Many were not pleased with the conditions and moved south to North Dakota or east to Ontario; however, in the 1870's when immigration to the West was encouraged, settlers of Swiss heritage came to the prairies and Swiss-German colonies were established in Eastern Saskatchewan at Alsace, Bismark and Hohenhoime.

The first Dutch immigrants came to the West in 1894. Immigration from both Holland and Belgium was encouraged and an immigration agency was established in Antwerp in 1898. As a result, Dutch and Belgian immigrants often settled together and established the communities of Amsterdam, Davidson, and Edam.

Sifton regarded immigrants from Italy, especially the south, as "undesirable" and did not want any measures taken to assist their immigration. Most Italians who came to the West were construction workers employed by the railway or other companies and the majority of them returned to the east or to the United States. Nevertheless, the Italians in Saskatchewan did establish a community east of Manito Lake, and another southeast of Prince Albert.

As was mentioned earlier, the Germans form the largest ethnic group from Western Europe in Saskatchewan; however, according to one study only 12 percent of those Germans who entered Western Canada prior to 1914 came directly from Germany; the rest emigrated from Eastern Europe or the United States (Anderson 1983: 179). During the 1880's the Russian-Germans were becoming more and more dissatisfied with the Russian government and when many of their privileges were revoked a large number of them chose to sell their land and emigrate. The Germans tended to settle more according to their religious affiliation than according

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Unfortunately, I have been unable to determine the precise location of these communities since they are not included on any maps which I have consulted.

to the country which they had migrated from (see Map 3.3, p. 97). Thus, many German colonies are a mixture of Germans from a variety of areas in Eastern Europe.

German Catholics established four major colonies in Saskatchewan. The first, located east of Regina in the Balgonie area, was established in 1886 by eight German families from Odessa in Southern Russia. This successful colony was very gradually expanded to include numerous neighbouring communities. By 1896 over 200 families lived in the area. In 1902, second and third generation German-Americans from Minnesota, the Dakotas, Wisconsin, Iowa, Nebraska and Kansas established a second German Catholic colony in the Humboldt area. This colony became one of the largest German bloc settlements in Saskatchewan. The third German Catholic colony, established in 1905 by Germans from the Dakotas who were later joined by German immigrants from Southern Russia, was in the Tramping Lake area in west-central Saskatchewan. The fourth German Catholic colony (actually a series of smaller colonies) was established in 1908 in the area around Leader in southwest Saskatchewan by immigrants from Volhynia and Galicia. Earlier settlers from these areas had settled just across what became the Alberta border beginning in 1889, and eventually expanded eastward to include several Saskatchewan communities.

Four major German Protestant colonies were also established. The first was established in 1884 in the area of Strasbourg, north of Regina, by German Lutherans. This area was settled by Russian-Germans from both Russia and the United States. The second, also a German Lutheran colony, was established in 1885 in the area around Langenburg by immigrants from Germany, and from Galicia, Volhynia and other Russian-German colonies. The third colony was established by both German Lutherans and German Baptists in 1887 in the area surrounding Ebenezer, in the Yorkton district, and the fourth was established in 1885 by German Baptists (from Romania) in the area surrounding what is today known as Edenwold. They were later joined by German immigrants from Bukovina, Poland, Galicia, Russia and Germany itself, and by 1889 the settlement had a Lutheran majority.

The German settlement at St. Walburg has an interesting history. In 1939 several anti-Nazi Germans living in Sudetenland left their homeland in order to avoid persecution from the Nazi government. Over 1000 of these refugees came to Canada. The group was divided approximately in half and each of the two national railways was responsible for establishing one of these groups in a settlement. The Canadian National Railway Company chose to settle their group at St. Walburg.<sup>4</sup> Although this community struggled in the beginning, largely because they did not

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<sup>4</sup> The Canadian Pacific Railway settled their group in northeastern British Columbia.

have the farming skills or knowledge to adjust to their new environment, nearly one-half of the original settlers remained permanently in the area.

Several German Mennonite colonies were also established in Saskatchewan. Many German Mennonites were living in Russia when, in the 1870's, the Czar revoked their exemption from military service, took over their schools and insisted on the use of Russian instead of German. As a result, many German Mennonites emigrated from Russia. The first colony established in Saskatchewan, located in the Rosthern, Hague and Osler area, was settled between 1891 and 1918 by German immigrants from West Prussia, Russia, Manitoba and the mid-eastern United States. This colony was very successful and expanded to a single colony 30 miles in diameter (Anderson 1983:197). Another German Mennonite colony was established in 1900 in the area around Swift Current by Mennonites from Manitoba. They were later joined by Russian-German Mennonite immigrants from the United States.

Several German Hutterite settlements were established in Saskatchewan. In 1874 all remaining Hutterites in Russia moved as a group to South Dakota when the government revoked their military exemption. When the American government, after World War I, began to press them to take part in the military service, many Hutterites migrated to Canada. Colonies were established at Lloydminster, Leask, and in the Swift Current area.

Although most of the Jews in Saskatchewan emigrated from various regions such as Lithuania, Poland, Volhynia, the Ukraine, Galicia and Bukovina, they all spoke Yiddish indicating that they were of German descent. The first successful Jewish settlement in Saskatchewan was established near Wapella between 1889 and 1892. The most successful Jewish farming community in Canada was established at Edenbridge in 1906.<sup>5</sup> Several more Jewish settlements were established throughout Saskatchewan, for example, at Hirsch (1892), at Lipton and Yorkton (1901), and at Melfort (1904-11).

While the German immigrants tended to settle according to their religious affiliation, this did not mean that their settlements were the exclusive property of one religion. That is, German Lutheran settlers lived in areas predominately occupied by German Catholics, and German Catholics in areas settled by predominately German Protestants. Many smaller German communities not mentioned above are scattered across Saskatchewan.

### **3.3.3 Northern European Ethnic Groups**

Great numbers of Scandinavians and Finns have also settled in Saskatchewan. As with other groups, some settlers came directly from Europe, others, from the

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<sup>5</sup> This community does not appear on Map 3.3 because it does not appear on any map, and thus, it has not been possible to determine its location.

United States. These were some of the most easily assimilated groups to come to Western Canada, perhaps because of the similarity of the climate and the growing season to that of their homelands.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, it is possible to distinguish some specific Scandinavian settlements (see Map 3.4, p. 98).

For example, the Danish community known as New Denmark was established in the Yorkton area in 1885, and Danish immigrants from the United States established a community in 1902 at Redvers.

Between the years 1900 and 1915 many Norwegians immigrated from the United States and Norway. The first Norwegian settlement in Saskatchewan was established at Glen Mary, 40 miles east of Prince Albert. Another Norwegian settlement was established in 1903 in the Outlook district by Norwegians from North Dakota. This settlement eventually extended as far as Hanley and Elbow. Other Scandinavian settlements which were settled mostly by Norwegians from the midwestern states were established at Birch Hills in the 1890's, and at Canwood and Parkside around 1904.

Several Swedish settlements are also found in Saskatchewan. In 1885 the settlement of Stockholm was established by Swedish immigrants. Another Swedish settlement was established at New Sweden in the Whitewood area. Between 1902

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<sup>6</sup> There are many Scandinavian settlements scattered across Saskatchewan; however, because the Scandinavian immigrants were often treated as one group it is not possible to determine which Scandinavian groups settled some communities.

to 1905 several more communities were established at Hyas, Kelliher, Norquay, Wadena and in the Carrot River Valley.

The first efforts to populate the Canadian West coincided with political unrest and poor economic conditions in Iceland. As a result several Icelandic communities were established in Saskatchewan. The oldest Icelandic settlement in Saskatchewan was established in 1885 near Churchbridge. In 1887, a settlement was established at Tantallon, and in 1897, a settlement at Foam Lake. While the original settlers had immigrated directly from Iceland, they were joined by Icelanders from Manitoba, and North Dakota. All these settlements expanded to include several neighbouring communities; however, the community in the Foam Lake and Quill Lake area expanded the most (40 miles long from east to west), and in 1936 was the largest area of Icelandic settlements in North America.

Three Finnish settlements were established in Saskatchewan: one, known as New Finland, was located north of Wapella, on the Qu'Appelle River, another, Turtle Lake, was established northwest of North Battleford, and the third, and largest, known as the Rock Point settlement, was established south of Outlook around 1910 by Finnish immigrants from both the United States and Finland.

### 3.3.4 Eastern European Ethnic Groups

Immigrants from various Eastern European countries began to flood the Canadian west in the early part of the twentieth century as a result of overpopulation, poverty, political dissatisfaction, persecution and lack of opportunity at home, and the attractiveness of freedom and free land in Canada (Anderson 1982:171), and consequently established many communities in Saskatchewan (see Map 3.5, p. 99). As is the case of the Scandinavians and Germans, some settlers came via the United States.

Bohemian settlements were established in several locations across Saskatchewan, the largest communities being between Esterhazy and Langenburg, north of Rosetown, at Glenside, and at Limerick. Bohemian settlers came from both Russia and the United States.

Polish settlements were scattered across Saskatchewan, with the largest distribution of settlements in northeastern Saskatchewan. Settlements also developed at Wakaw, Prince Albert, Candiak, Canora, Glenavon, and other locations. Several Romanian communities were established in 1905 and 1906 by immigrants from Bukovina and Dobruja. In the early part of this century, communities were established in the areas of Dysart, Wood Mountain, Flintoft, Kayville, MacNutt and others. Romanian Jews settled at Lipton, Hoffer and Hirsch.

In the late 1890's and early 1900's approximately 150,000 Ukrainians came to Canada from Galicia, Bukovina and Austro-Hungarian provinces and thousands of them came to the West where many settled in the area north and west of Yorkton (Hryniuk and Yereniuk, 1983:138). The Ukrainians wanted to create colonies in the West in which they would be able to keep their language and social customs. Because the government was unhappy with the idea of very large ethnic block settlements, its efforts to keep the settlements within an acceptable size meant Ukrainian settlements were scattered throughout Saskatchewan.

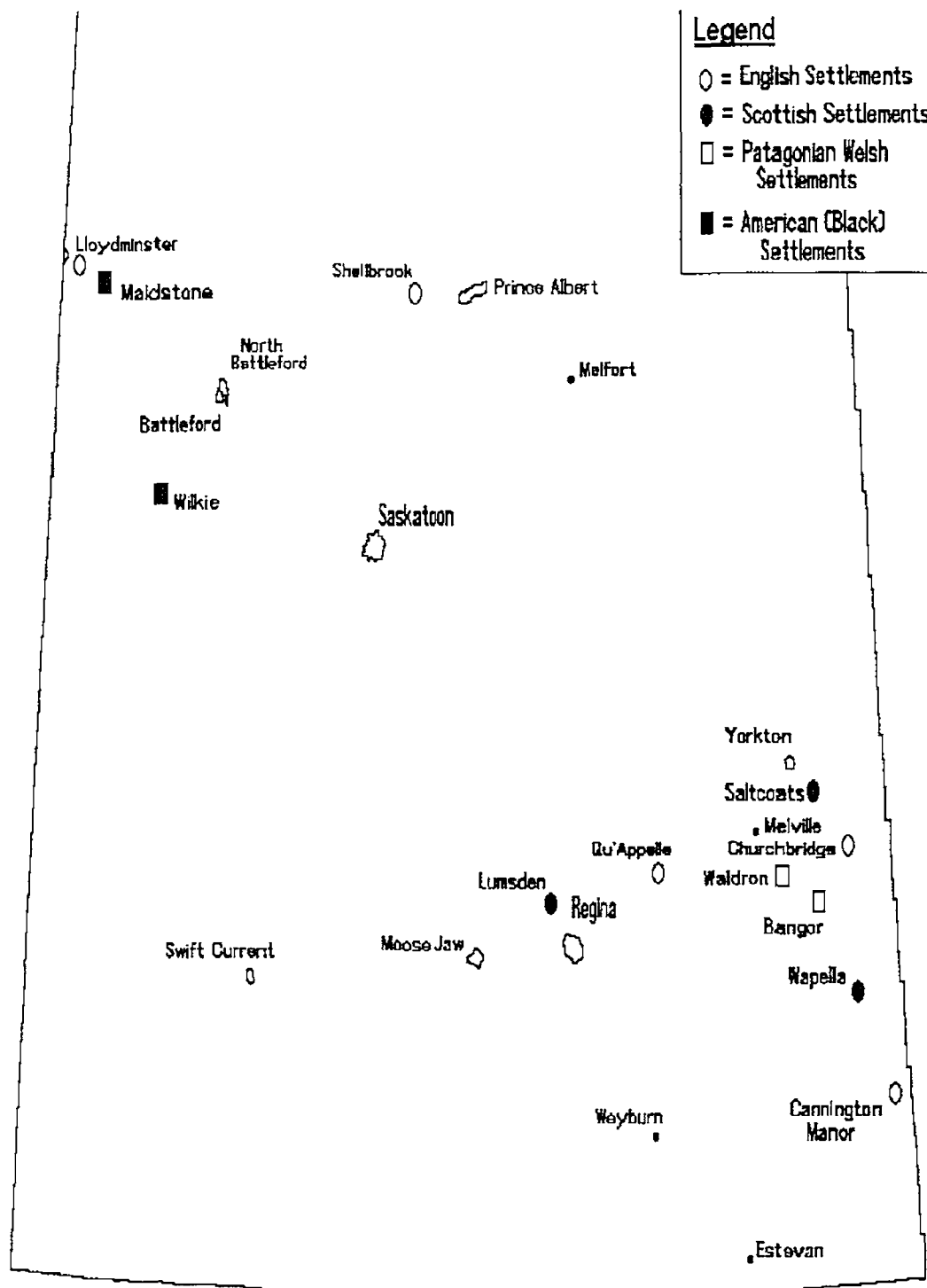
Many Doukhobors migrated to Western Canada from Russia, beginning in 1899 after having had conflict with the state and church in Russia. These settlers established settlements in the Yorkton and Rosthern areas, and a large colony at Verigin. Other colonies were scattered throughout Saskatchewan.

The first Hungarian immigrants in Saskatchewan were led from Pennsylvania to the prairies by Count Esterhazy in 1886, and settled in the area that is now known as Esterhazy. American Hungarians also settled around Whitewood and Kaposvar and were later joined by immigrants directly from Hungary. Various other Hungarian settlements were established throughout Saskatchewan, and one of the largest settlements was in the Rosthern district.

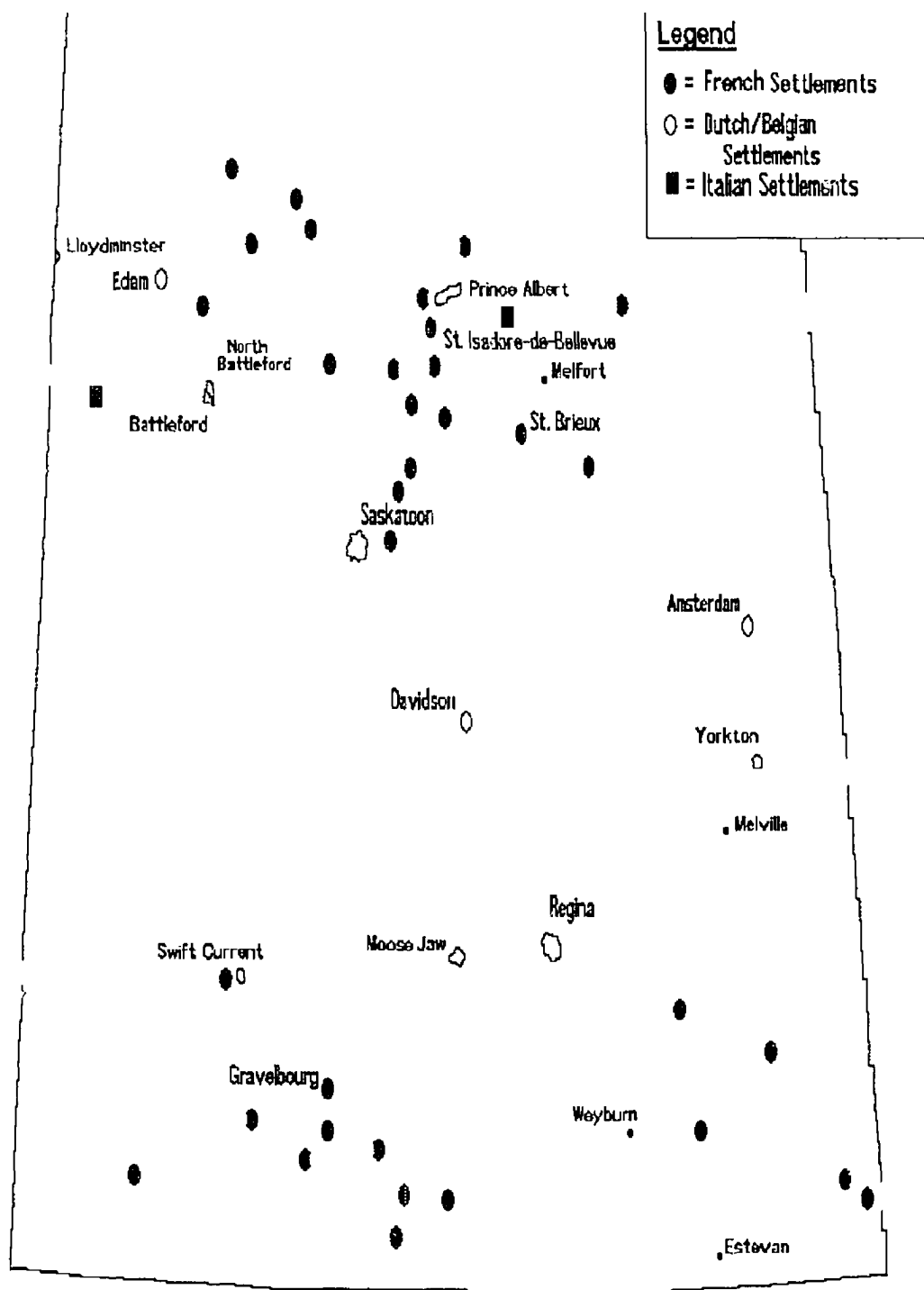
In the late nineteenth century many Slovaks immigrated to Saskatchewan from Hungary and the United States. However, no official statistics on the number

of Slovaks who emigrated to Canada are available because they came along with the Hungarians from Hungary, and the Americans from the United States. Slovaks from the United States settled in the Kenaston area in 1903, and later around Outlook, Broderick and Hawarden. Other Slovak settlements were also established throughout Saskatchewan.

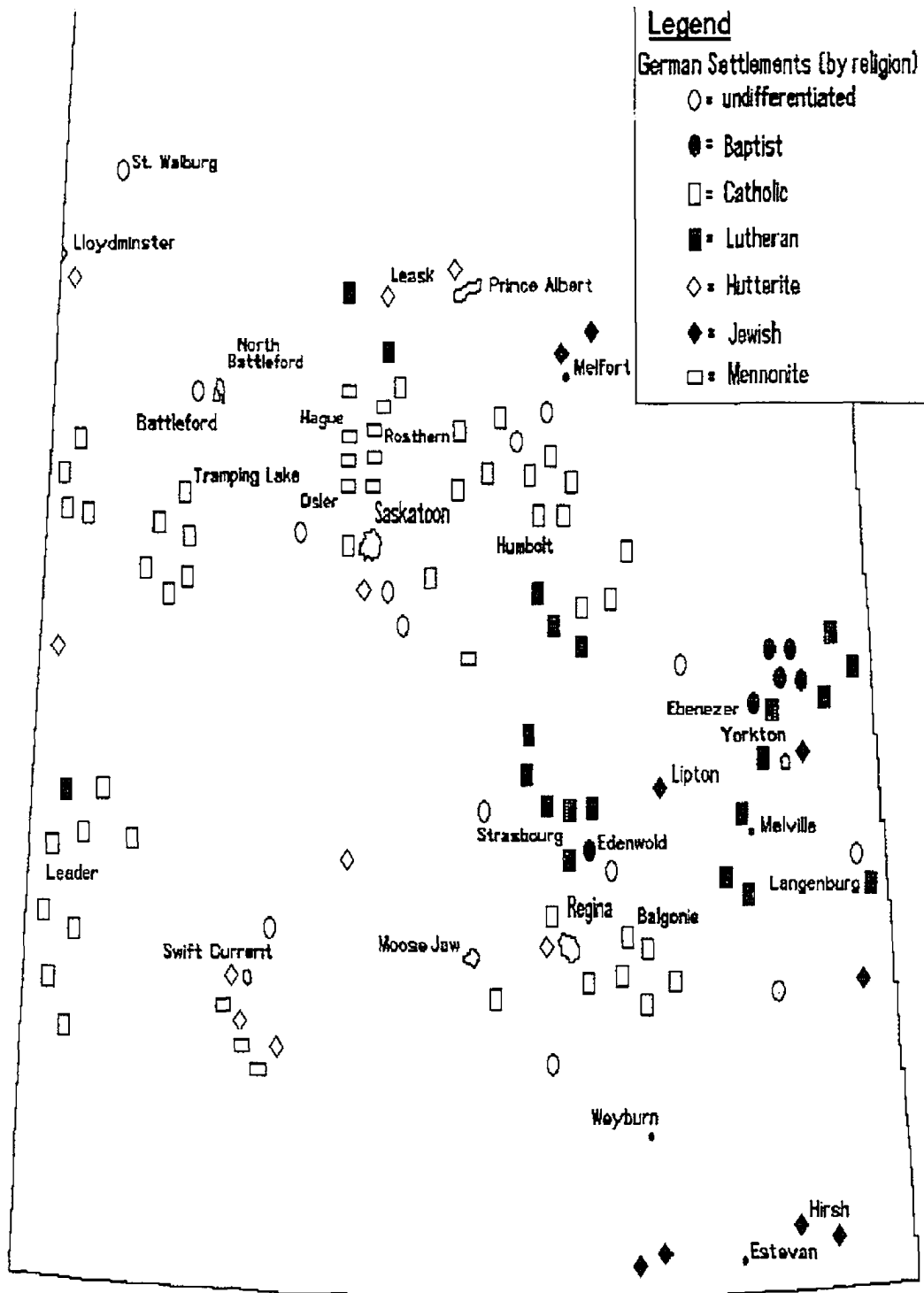
The discussion in the previous sections concerning the various ethnic settlements in Saskatchewan indicates that Saskatchewan does indeed have a population of incredible ethnic diversity. In one area in eastern Saskatchewan, between the Whitewood/Moosomin area and the Yorkton/Kamsack area, within a 20 mile radius one finds settlements of French, Welsh, Swedes, Hungarians, Germans, Icelanders, British, Americans and eastern Canadians (McCourt 1968:111). Thus, Saskatchewan has had a very rapid and very complex settlement because of the hundreds of thousands of immigrants settling in the province, from various parts of Europe, the United States and eastern Canada, in the early part of the twentieth century.



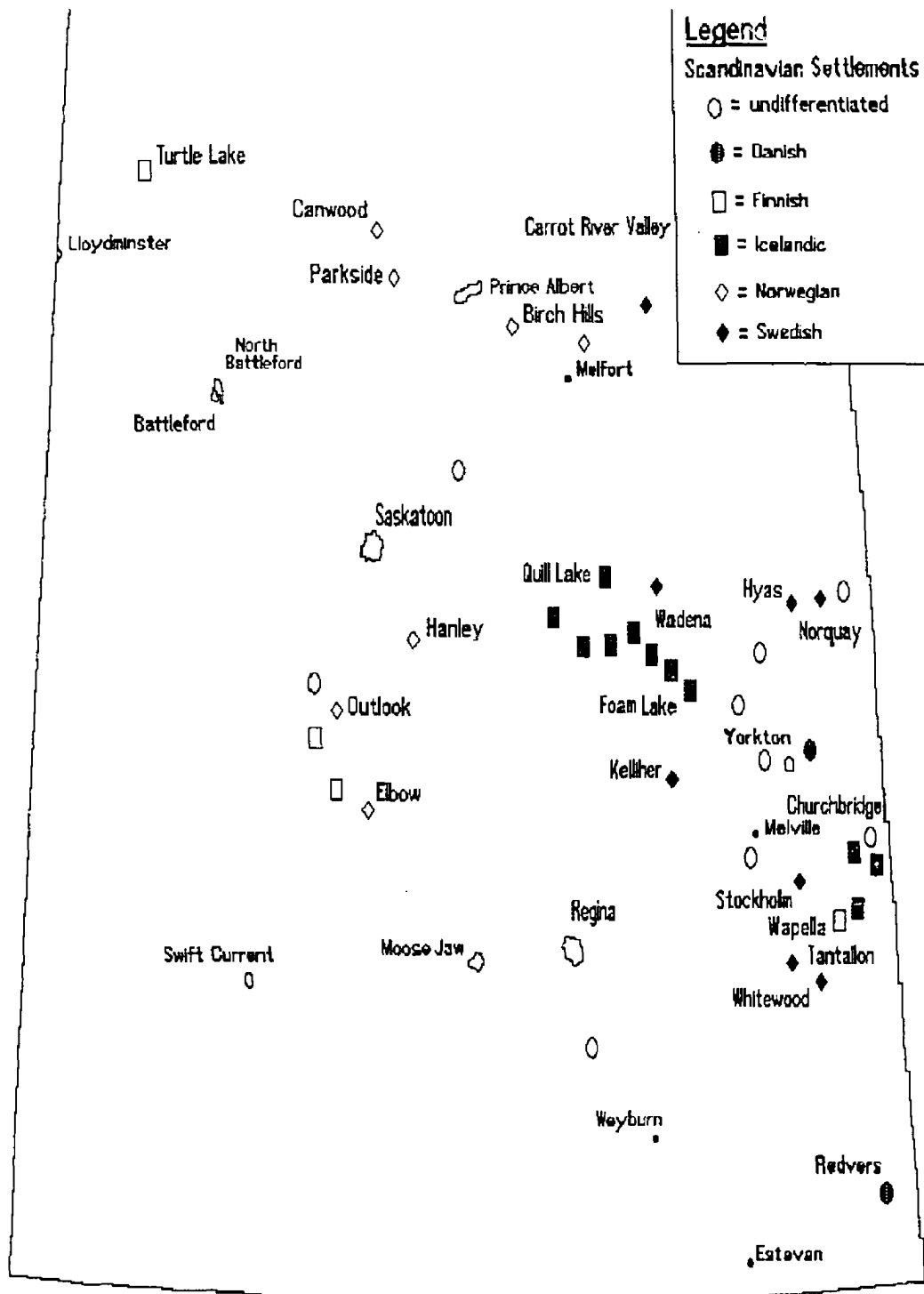
Map 3.1 Settlements of English, Scottish, Welsh, and American Immigrants.



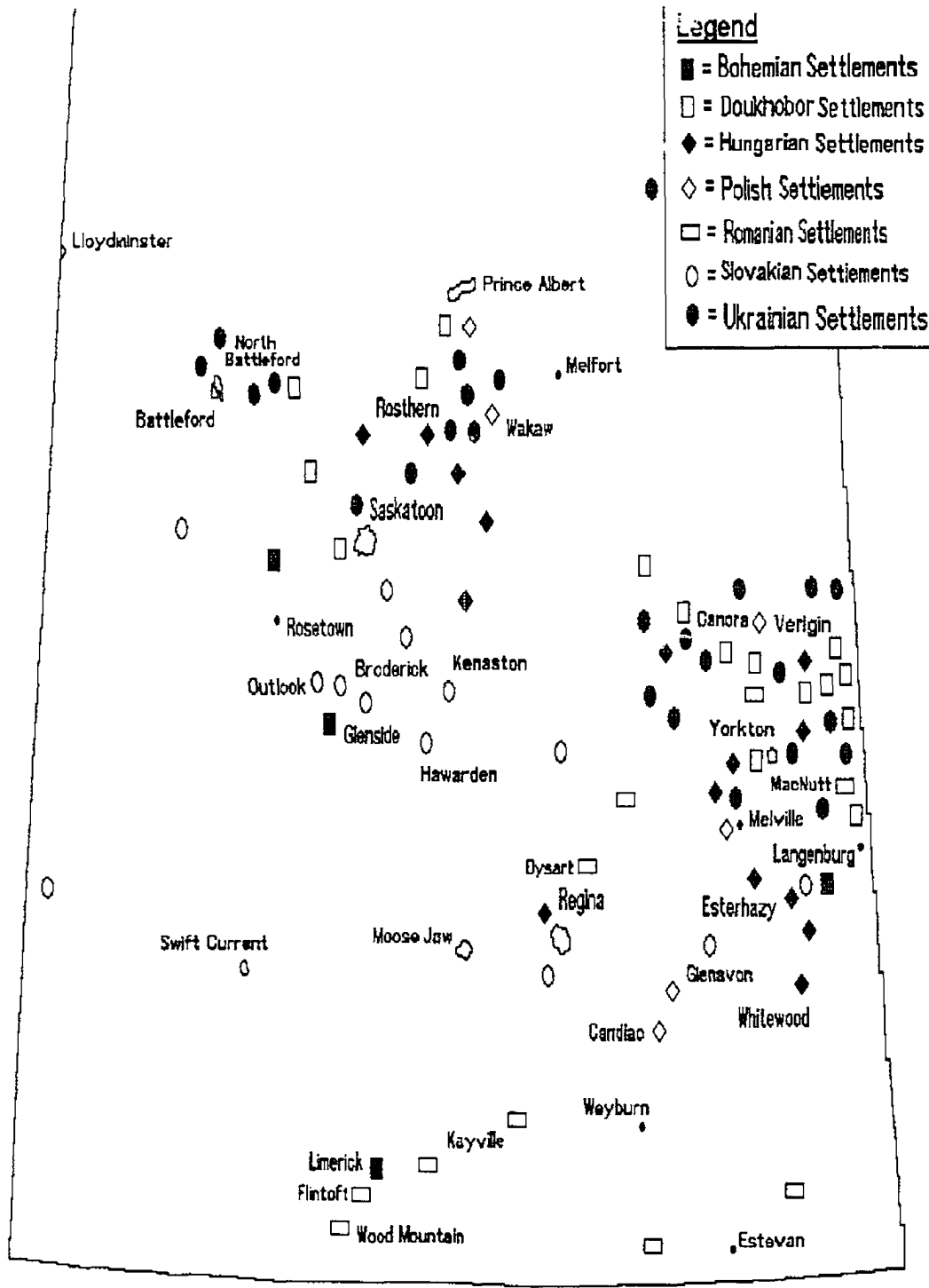
**Map 3.2** Settlements of French, Dutch/Belgian, and Italian Immigrants.



Map 3.3 Settlements of German Immigrants.



Map 3.4 Settlements of Scandinavian and Finnish Immigrants.



Map 3.5 Settlements of Eastern European Immigrants.

### 3.4 Demographics

In 1981 Saskatchewan had a population of 968,313, of which 58 percent is urban and 42 percent rural (compare Canada: 76 percent urban, 24 percent rural) (Census of Canada (93-980) 1981:2-1). In the previous section, I stated that agriculture and development of the railway influenced settlement of the province, along with the government's encouragement of immigration. In this section, I examine the current population figures of ethnic groups in several communities in order to demonstrate that descendants of the original ethnic settlers continue to make up a substantial portion of the population.

The Park Belt is a region, running more or less diagonally across the province from the southeastern area towards the northwestern area, that is appropriate for large scale agriculture. Wheat and mixed grain farming is found throughout the Park Belt while other areas, such as the southwestern region which lies outside the Park Belt, are used for grazing. As illustrated in Map 3.6 (see p. 103), the railway was constructed in the southern portion of the province rather than farther north, and one can see that the twelve cities in Saskatchewan are located along the main railway line in the south and through the Park Belt towards the northwest.<sup>7</sup> An examination of the population figures for the census divisions indicates that the

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<sup>7</sup> An urban area is defined as being "an area having a population concentration of 1,000 or more and a population density of 400 or more per square kilometre." (1981 Census of Canada, Catalogue 93-908 (Volume 2 - Provincial Series) : vii.).

number of people per square kilometre is far less in the southwestern region than in the area through the Park Belt. Consequently, the average size of farms in the southwestern area is larger than in other areas of the province. Thus, the current population pattern clearly follows the initial settlement pattern along the railway line and through the Park Belt.

Tables 3.1 - 3.5 (see pp. 104-114), which summarize the current ethnic breakdown of the population in various communities, reveal that descendants of the ethnic settlers who established these colonies make up a substantial portion of the population. Because the British were the ethnic group which settled the most evenly across the province, one would expect most localities to have a substantial British population, and in fact, residents of British origin are found in nearly every community included on these tables. The tables reveal that where French, German, Polish and Ukrainian settlers originally established communities, people of these ethnic groups still predominate while the Scandinavians have been largely overwhelmed by other groups.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

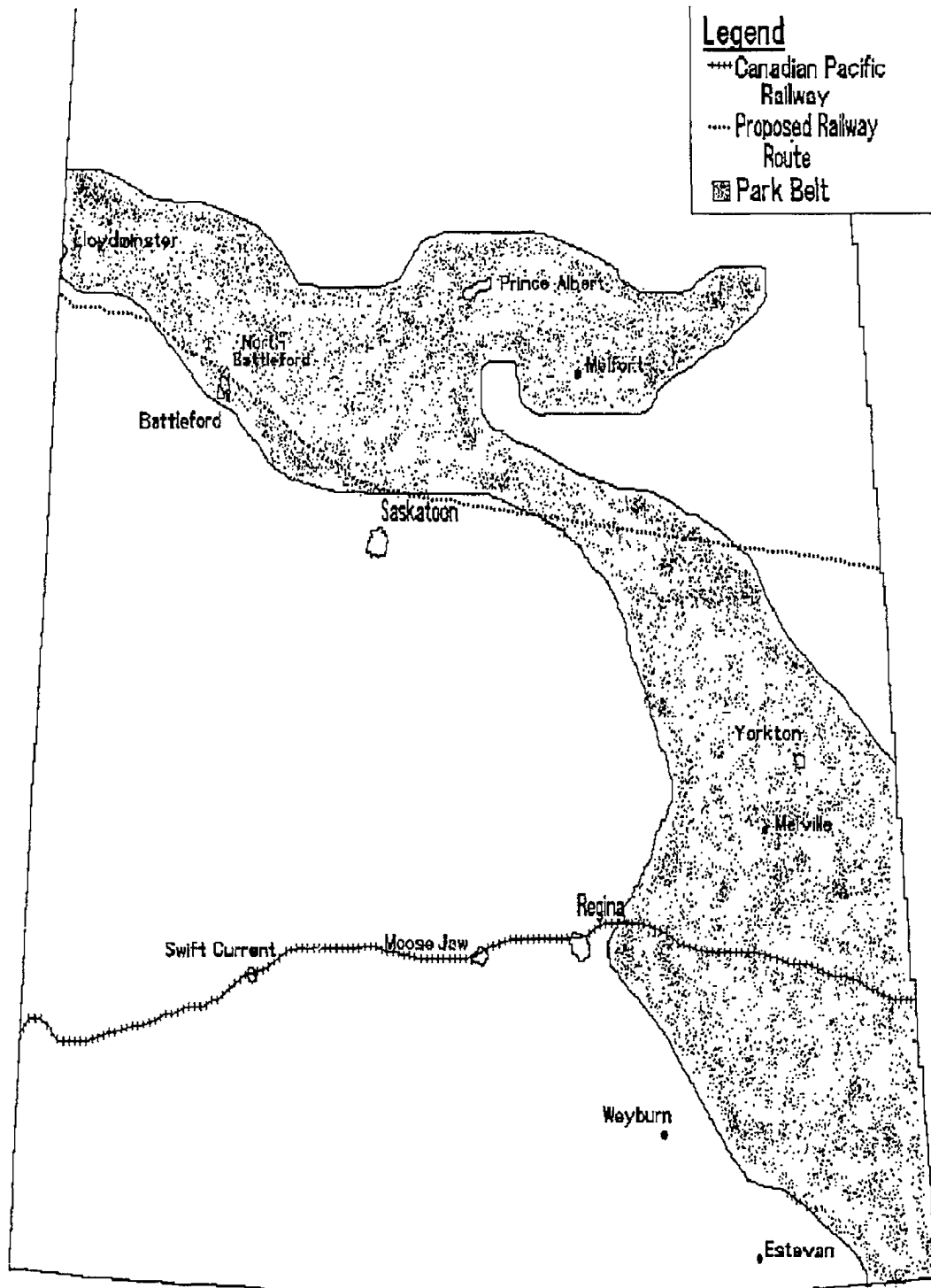
Saskatchewan has had a very rapid and complex settlement. As a result of the government's effort to settle the West residents from a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds are spread throughout the province. While the British were the largest

group to settle in the West, they were not the majority, and no area of the province was settled exclusively by any single group. Thus, the massive immigration of non-English-speaking immigrants may have influenced the English spoken in the province.<sup>8</sup>

Many residents of Saskatchewan whom I have spoken with are aware that people from various areas of the province "sound different". Whether this difference is related to ethnicity or some other factor (or combination of factors) is yet to be determined.

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<sup>8</sup> As stated in section 2.5.7.3 Graham (1957) found that the second generation Canadian descendants of German immigrants in Luseland, Saskatchewan had lost all linguistic trace of their ethnic background, and furthermore, no German words had been borrowed into the Canadian English spoken in the community.



Map 3.6 The Route of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Park Belt.

**Table 3.1** Current Ethnic Population of British Settlements.

Location	Total	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian	Other Origin	Multiple Origin
Churchbridge (t)*	965	270	15	10	260	-	5	90	130	105	85
Churchbridge (rm)*	1,115	200	15	40	480	-	35	95	90	70	85
Lumsden (t)*	1,200	690	35	40	155	5	25	35	40	25	215
Lumsden (rm)*	1,235	725	15	80	155	-	35	35	40	40	90
Lloyminster	5,965	2,805	300	90	875	25	40	190	215	385	805
Wapella	450	255	5	-	80	-	15	20	5	50	25

\* rm=rural municipality, t=town

Source: 1981 Census of Canada. 1981. *Population by Ethnic Origin and Sex*. (SDC8 1B13). Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Table 3.2 Current Ethnic Population of French Settlements.

Location	Total	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian	Other Origin	Multiple Origin
Debden	460	25	300	-	20	-	5	-	10	5	25
Duck Lake (t)*	780	65	390	10	60	-	-	-	5	15	10
Duck Lake (rm)*	1,040	330	110	10	120	-	10	50	135	90	110
Forget	75	15	20	-	10	-	5	-	-	15	15
Gravelbourg (t)*	1,285	250	745	-	115	-	-	20	10	45	100
Gravelbourg (rm)*	605	160	225	-	125	-	5	30	10	-	60
Lafleche	600	240	135	-	35	-	-	-	25	-	20
Marcelin	260	55	80	-	15	5	-	-	15	55	30
Meyronne	65	30	15	-	20	-	-	-	-	-	-
Montmartre (vl)*	510	95	170	10	105	-	20	5	75	5	25
Montmartre (rm)*	960	140	95	-	275	-	130	-	180	45	90
Ponteix	665	80	495	5	5	-	-	10	-	20	35

Table 3.2 (continued)

Location	Total	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian	Other Origin	Multiple Origin
Prince Albert	30,590	11,925	3,060	445	2,285	5	745	1,335	3,165	1,200	4,270
Prud'homme	215	10	35	-	25	-	5	-	120	15	-
St. Brieux	355	35	210	15	10	-	-	5	-	50	30
Spiritwood (t)*	930	320	155	5	115	-	10	110	20	75	80
Spiritwood (rm)*	1,950	685	300	25	245	-	20	80	110	115	360
Swift Current (c)*	14,370	5,730	520	915	3,325	35	130	865	350	975	1,475
Swift Current (rm)*	1,885	565	45	220	800	-	-	45	-	100	110
Vonda	280	25	70	-	25	5	15	-	85	-	55
Willow Bunch (t)*	505	150	165	-	50	-	-	10	20	10	75
Willow Bunch (rm)*	575	175	225	-	45	-	-	80	-	-	45
Zenon Park	235	30	155	-	15	-	-	-	-	10	20

\* c=city, rm=rural municipality, t=town, vl=village

Source: 1981 Census of Canada. 1981. *Population by Ethnic Origin and Sex*. (SDC8 1B13). Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

**Table 3.3** Current Ethnic Population of German Settlements.

Location	Total	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian	Other Origin	Multiple Origin
Cupar (t)*	445	95	10	-	125	-	-	-	5	180	20
Cupar (rm)*	905	215	35	10	350	-	10	20	40	120	95
Doddsland	245	140	-	-	45	-	-	5	-	30	35
Dundurn	630	255	30	5	160	-	25	25	-	75	45
Ebenezer	205	55	10	-	50	-	5	25	30	5	20
Edenwold	1,835	590	15	25	710	-	30	60	35	90	250
Fox Valley (vl)*	400	70	5	-	240	10	10	-	5	25	30
Fox Valley (rm)*	490	65	-	-	370	-	-	15	10	5	20
Herbert	905	170	-	160	320	-	-	40	20	70	90
Humboldt (t)*	4,700	995	85	20	2,205	5	55	90	350	280	615
Humboldt (rm)*	1,240	210	10	-	890	-	10	5	40	25	30

Table 3.3 (continued)

Location	Total	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian	Other Origin	Multiple Origin
Langenburg (t)*	1,405	360	55	5	625	-	20	40	40	120	85
Langenburg (rm)*	1,035	210	-	10	325	-	30	50	30	200	170
Lanigan	1,585	400	45	35	550	-	45	100	120	70	215
Leader	1,155	270	5	5	700	-	-	15	45	15	105
Leask (t)*	530	200	75	-	90	-	5	5	20	60	50
Leask (rm)*	1,095	255	100	-	270	-	5	110	35	135	175
Lipton (vl)*	360	110	-	-	175	-	30	-	20	20	-
Lipton (rm)*	780	235	10	5	325	-	15	5	40	105	20
Lloydminster	5,965	2,805	300	90	875	25	40	190	215	385	805
Melville	4,935	1,410	115	15	1,230	-	295	155	685	530	445
Middle Lake	295	45	20	5	160	-	15	-	10	35	5

Table 3.3 (continued)

Location	Total	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian	Other Origin	Multiple Origin
Muenster	390	45	-	-	295	-	-	-	5	10	40
Odessa	200	15	10	5	140	-	-	-	-	10	20
Oxbow	1,220	730	35	15	215	-	15	35	30	50	60
Prince Albert	30,590	11,925	3,060	445	2,285	5	745	1,335	3,165	1,200	4,270
Regina	160,865	63,220	5,790	2,080	29,065	1,200	2,975	4,305	9,810	15,440	21,365
Rosthern (t)*	1,575	140	20	160	650	-	25	45	215	110	185
Rosthern (rm)*	1,940	155	25	230	1,305	-	-	-	75	25	115
St. Benedict	175	5	60	-	50	-	-	-	10	35	15
St. Brieux	355	35	210	15	10	-	-	5	-	50	30
St. Walburg	855	275	95	10	220	-	35	40	30	55	55
Saskatoon	152,270	58,855	6,520	3,520	22,745	695	2,915	5,760	14,590	11,895	21,290

Table 3.3 (continued)

Location	Total	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian	Other Origin	Multiple Origin
Sheho	305	55	-	-	10	5	10	-	215	5	5
Swift Current (c)*	14,370	5,730	520	915	3,325	35	130	865	350	975	1,475
Swift Current (rm)*	1,885	565	45	220	800	-	-	45	-	100	110
Tramping Lake (vl)*	200	35	10	-	115	-	5	-	-	10	10
Tramping Lake(rm)*	435	120	5	-	215	-	20	5	10	5	55
Wapella	450	255	5	-	80	-	15	20	5	50	25
Warman	2,010	395	105	350	775	-	-	30	100	90	140
Yorkton	14,980	3,960	270	100	2,095	10	495	330	4,715	1,095	1,595

\* c=city, rm=rural municipality, t=town, vl=village

Source: 1981 Census of Canada. 1981. *Population by Ethnic Origin and Sex*. (SDC8 1B13). Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

**Table 3.4** Current Ethnic Population of Scandinavian Settlements.

Location	Total	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian	Other Origin	Multiple Origin
Canwood	335	90	-	-	75	-	-	95	15	35	25
Carrot River	1,065	500	25	65	235	-	-	10	50	45	70
Elbow	320	110	15	25	5	-	-	80	30	20	45
Humboldt (t)*	4,700	995	85	20	2,205	5	55	90	350	280	615
Humboldt (rm)*	1,240	210	10	-	890	-	10	5	40	25	30
Hyas	185	35	-	-	-	-	-	-	140	-	10
Kelliher	475	290	20	5	15	-	45	35	55	5	-
Langenburg (t)*	1,405	360	55	5	625	-	20	40	40	120	85
Langenburg (rm)*	1,035	210	-	10	325	-	30	50	30	200	170
Melville	4,935	1,410	115	15	1,230	-	295	155	685	530	445

Table 3.4 (continued)

Location	Total	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian	Other Origin	Multiple Origin
Outlook	1,995	765	60	10	275	-	25	235	80	245	290
Pelly	375	95	-	-	50	-	5	50	110	50	5
Redvers	865	280	185	-	25	5	5	90	30	135	100
Yorkton	14,980	3,960	270	100	2,095	10	495	330	4,715	1,095	1,595

\* rm=rural municipality, t=town

Source: 1981 Census of Canada. 1981. *Population by Ethnic Origin and Sex*. (SDC8 1B13). Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Table 3.5 Current Ethnic Population of Polish and Ukrainian Settlements.

Location	Total	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian	Other Origin	Multiple Origin
Foam Lake	1,065	205	5	40	55	-	25	100	500	35	100
Hafford	545	25	20	-	15	-	80	-	320	30	50
Kelliher	475	290	20	5	15	-	45	35	55	5	-
Krydor	60	-	-	-	-	-	35	-	25	-	-
Melville	4,935	1,410	115	15	1,230	-	295	155	685	530	445
N. Battleford (c)*	13,800	5,265	1,105	100	2,075	30	320	390	1,200	1,005	1,710
N. Battleford(rm)*	930	450	35	5	40	-	35	35	100	110	125
Pelly	375	95	-	-	50	-	5	50	110	50	5
Preeceville (t)*	1,140	255	15	5	35	-	50	170	455	55	80
Preeceville (rm)*	1,645	525	35	20	115	-	80	215	475	90	85

Table 3.5 (continued)

Location	Total	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian	Other Origin	Multiple Origin
Prince Albert	30,590	11,925	3,060	445	2,285	5	745	1,335	3,165	1,200	4,270
Rosthern (t)*	1,575	140	20	160	650	-	25	45	215	110	185
Rosthern (rm)*	1,940	155	25	230	1,305	-	-	-	75	25	115
Saskatoon	152,270	58,855	6,520	3,520	22,745	695	2,915	5,760	14,590	11,895	21,290
Vonda	280	25	70	-	25	5	15	-	85	-	55
Wakaw	935	120	85	5	125	-	20	-	360	190	20
Yorkton	14,980	3,960	270	100	2,095	10	495	330	4,715	1,095	1,595

\* rm=rural municipality, t=town

Source: 1981 Census of Canada. 1981. *Population by Ethnic Origin and Sex*. (SDC8 1B13). Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

## Chapter 4

### METHODOLOGY

#### 4.1 Introduction

Data for this study, which seeks to provide information regarding English-speaking Canadians born and raised in Saskatchewan, were collected between the fall of 1986 and the summer of 1987 by means of both a postal questionnaire and personal interviews. The following sections outline the motivation for choosing the linguistic and social variables studied, the justification for postulating the *a priori* hypotheses, the reasons for choosing the geographic areas surveyed, the methods of data collection and sampling, and the procedures used to analyze the data.

#### 4.2 The Linguistic Variables

On the basis of previous research (for example, Allen 1959; Avis 1954, 1955, 1956; Chambers 1973; Gregg 1957a, 1957b, 1973a, 1973b, 1975, 1984; Hamilton 1958; Nylvek 1984; Scargill 1954, 1955, 1974; Scargill and Warkentyne 1972;

Warkentyne 1973), phonological and lexical variables that are known to vary in Canadian English were chosen for this study. *The Survey of Canadian English* reveals that a few variables, such as the pronunciation of *slough* ([slu] versus [slau]) and the use of the term *bluff*, are used differently in the prairie provinces. On the other hand, many variables show a tendency to vary throughout the country according to age or sex, as is exemplified by data from *The Survey of Canadian English* indicating that students in all provinces show a stronger tendency than their parents to use the pronunciation [luténənt] *lieutenant* as opposed to [lefténənt]. Therefore, while a few variables may be characteristic of the prairie provinces, one can expect to find several features of Canadian English in Saskatchewan which are also common in other areas of the country. In his comments regarding Canadian English in New Brunswick, Kinloch (1985: 61) says "much that is stated to be true of New Brunswick dialect will probably be found to be true of other Canadian dialects as well. But such shared features are not on that account any less true of New Brunswick dialect, or any less important as features of the speech of the province". Similarly, while many features of Canadian English in Saskatchewan are shared with other regions of the country, this does not in any way lessen their importance as features of the speech of this province. Some examples of the phonological and lexical variables examined in this study are presented in 4.2.1 and

4.2.2 respectively, while a full discussion of the variables may be found in Chapters 5 and 6.

#### 4.2.1 Phonological Variables

Several phonological variables have been examined in this study, including the distribution of palatalized (/yʊ/) versus nonpalatalized (/u/) variants in words such as *dew*, *due*, *knew*, *new*, *tune*, and *student*, the intervocalic voicing or flapping of "/t/ ([D])" in words such as *butter* and *latter*, the voicing or loss of /t/ following /n/ in words such as *twenty* and *centre*, the distribution of the allophones of /aɪ/ (for example, [ɾaɪt] *write* versus [raɪd] *ride*) and /aʊ/ (for example, [laʊt] *loud* versus [laʊd] *loud*), and the distribution of the variants [w] and [hw] in words such as *whine* and *which*. In addition, the pronunciations of several individual words, such as *anti-*, *athlete*, *congratulate*, *film*, *genuine*, *lieutenant*, *missile*, *neither*, *poor*, *ration*, and *zebra*, have been examined. Many of the individual words examined display divided British/American pronunciations (e.g. *lieutenant*), while others contrast standard versus nonstandard pronunciations (e.g. [fɪlɪn] ~ [fɪləm] *film*) or the operation of a phonological rule such as intervocalic voicing (e.g. [kəŋgræçələt] ~ [kəŋgræjələt] *congratulate*).

#### 4.2.2 Lexical Variables

Several of the lexical variables chosen indicate divided British/American usage of word pairs such as *autumn/fall*, *station/depot*, *holiday/vacation*, and *tap/faucet*. Others also display divided usage, although not necessarily with forms associated specifically with British or American English. For example, *dinner* is likely to be used by rural residents to refer to the noon meal while urban residents are more likely to use *lunch*. While it is usually assumed that the term *bluff* is well known in the prairie provinces to refer to ‘a group of trees’ (Allen 1959; Lovell 1958; Stobie 1967), my previous fieldwork indicates this is no longer true. Thus, the lexical variables chosen include some that display divided British/American usage and some that may have a distinctly prairie distribution.

#### 4.3 The Social Variables

While the first studies of language variation concentrated on regional differences to the exclusion of social differences (see 1.1), most studies today acknowledge the importance of social variables. The following sections outline the social variables considered in this study.

### 4.3.1 Age

As stated in section 1.3, language variation associated with age is often interpreted as indicating change in progress from the apparent time perspective. Trudgill (1983: 181) concludes that the large age differentiation he found "confirms that a linguistic change is in fact taking place in Norwich." Similarly, Milroy and Milroy (1978) used apparent time data to conclude that a sound shift is taking place in Belfast. While some concerns have been raised regarding using age as an indication of linguistic change (see 1.3), without data with which to make a real time comparison, the age variable must suffice.

Several studies of Canadian English have revealed that age has an important association with many linguistic variables (Chambers 1985; Clarke 1985; de Wolf 1988; Gregg 1973b, 1984; Nylvek 1984; Rodman 1974/75; Scargill 1974; Scargill and Warkentyne 1972; Warkentyne 1973; Woods 1979) and in fact many of the *a priori* hypotheses presented in section 4.4 posit a linguistic relationship with the age variable. Consequently, age is a very important social variable in this study.

### 4.3.2 Sex

All sociolinguists acknowledge that language differences related to the sex of the speaker are an important linguistic fact. Many studies (for example Cheshire 1982a, 1982b; Labov 1966; Lakoff 1977; Milroy 1980, 1982, 1987; Trudgill 1974)

indicate that females generally use linguistic forms closer to the standard and/or of a higher prestige than do males, while at the same time, males use more stigmatized forms than do females. Several studies of Canadian English (de Wolf 1988; Gregg 1984; Woods 1979) have found similar indications and one would expect that a similar phenomenon also exists in the sociolinguistic realization of Canadian English in Saskatchewan.

#### **4.3.3 Urban versus Rural**

Because a large portion of Saskatchewan's population is rural, one might wonder what influence this has had on the speech of its inhabitants, and thus a comparison of urban and rural speech is an important component of this study. However, because of increased mobility, linguistic distinctions between urban and rural residents may not be as numerous as they once were. The rural population of Saskatchewan has been decreasing, a fact which several researchers attribute to the modernization of farming techniques (Conway 1984; Dale 1977; Paul 1977). Conway (1984: 101-2) points out that small scale farmers must become larger and more productive if they hope to survive and compete with larger operations, and consequently, farm size is increasing while rural population is decreasing. In addition, Paul (1977: 65) points out that "a small but growing percentage of grain farmers now make their permanent residence in cities, towns and villages and

commute to work on the farm, and others live on their farms only for short periods of the year, or perhaps for most of the summer." Thus, in Saskatchewan, many rural residents are not isolated from urban centres and from urban speech. These facts coupled with the reality that rural residents are exposed daily to urban dialects through the mass media must lead one to wonder if any linguistic differences which existed in the past may have eroded or are in the process of being eroded.

Several different criteria may be used to categorize subjects as urban or rural. For example, subjects could be coded according to their birthplace, the area where they grew up, or their current place of residence. Coding according to birthplace presents difficulty because many people in Saskatchewan were not born in the area where they currently reside or where they were raised. Many rural residents were born in nearby cities or towns, which in eastern Saskatchewan, may actually be across the border in Manitoba. Coding according to the region where the subject was raised presents a more realistic variable; however, it does not seem intuitively reasonable to code someone according to the area where he or she was raised when in fact the subject has been living in another area for many years. Consequently, two variables have been created to contrast subjects on the basis of urban and rural environment. First, subjects are coded by their current place of residence, and second, they are coded as having 'always lived in an urban environment', as having 'always lived in a rural environment', or as having 'lived in both an urban and a rural

environment'. Using these two variables one can contrast geographic areas and at the same time obtain information regarding urban/rural differences.

#### 4.3.4 Education

When Warkentyne (1973: 197) analyzed the data from *The Survey of Canadian English* according to the education levels of the parents, he found that, predictably, use of nonstandard forms increases as education level drops. In *The Survey of Canadian English*, the education variable was categorized by one of three levels: not beyond high school, beyond high school by self-education, and beyond high school by attending college or university. This study uses the same categories and adds a category to encompass those individuals who had not attended high school.

#### 4.3.5 Ethnic Identity

Milroy (1987: 103) defines ethnicity as "an individual's sense of belonging to a distinctive group whose members share a common history and culture" but points out that it does not necessarily lead to a "*linguistic* distinctiveness". Labov (1972: 281) found that native-born residents of New York City may keep their ethnic identity while at the same time show no trace of it in their speech. In a study of Northern Ireland, Larsen (1982) found that residents retained their ethnic identity;

however, Milroy (1987: 103) points out that this sense of distinctiveness was not manifested in their speech.

Thus, while ethnic identity has been chosen as a social variable with which to analyze the data, it is not clear if this variable will be reveal possible relationships with the linguistic variables.

#### **4.3.6 Language**

While it was a requirement that English be the mother tongue of all subjects in this study, it was also anticipated that, because of the ethnic variety of the population of Saskatchewan, many subjects would have grown up in an environment where a language in addition to English was spoken. Thus, the data have been analyzed to investigate possible linguistic differences between subjects who were raised in a monolingual English environment and subjects who were raised in a bilingual (or multilingual) environment.

#### **4.3.7 Generation**

It was anticipated that the number of generations a family had lived in Saskatchewan could be related to language use. Anderson (1982a: 190) found that ethnic identity retention "seems to decline from generation to generation." His study also reveals that during the past several decades the proportion of the population

able to speak the language of their ethnic group has been dramatically declining, while at the same time, the exclusive use of English has been increasing generation by generation (Anderson 1982a: 179-80). Thus, 'generation in Saskatchewan' may have an influence on Canadian English usage.

#### **4.3.8 Social Class**

Many studies (Labov 1966; Shuy et al. 1968; Trudgill 1974; Horvath 1985) have used some measure of social class in analyzing the linguistic variables. However, there are several problems associated with developing a social class variable. Peñalosa (1981: 134) states that "social class is one of the most highly developed and explored concepts in the social sciences, yet there is widespread disagreement as to how to conceptualize it and how to study it." Guy (1988: 39) explains that "while our social intuitions about differences in status and power enable us to distinguish professionals from unskilled laborers, or white-collar workers from blue-collar, they are not adequate for empirical research." Consequently, in order to define the variable objectively, researchers must develop a social class index usually using one or more indicators such as occupation, housing, income, and education, weighting them if necessary to reflect their significance, in order to assign a numerical score to each subject (Milroy 1987: 30). Hudson (1980: 174) questions whether one can use such indicators to divide a society into separate groups and

states that "the different possible bases for defining the classes are likely to conflict, which means in effect that each criterion defines a different set of classes". Milroy (1987: 32) points out that linguists are actually interested in status, not class, since people of the same class may have different status depending on their city's class structure, and consequently, a scale appropriate for one city may not be suitable for another city. Pringle et al. (1985: 484-5) explain that other problems are encountered if an attempt is made to apply a social class index to a less stratified Canadian city and furthermore, that one cannot justify using such a scale in a rural area:

Sociolinguistic studies of urban areas assume that language co-varies with socioeconomic status. This is clearly the case in highly stratified European cities such as Norwich and Berlin, and in large but compact North American cities, notably New York. It is more difficult to demonstrate in smaller Canadian cities, such as Ottawa. For such cities, again, there is a potential danger that the appearance of patterning revealed by a sociolinguistic study which builds in very strong theoretical assumptions by taking over a methodology designed originally for a more stratified city, or for one stratified in a quite different way, may in fact be a purely coincidental product of the sampling procedure, and actually fail to reveal the real sociolinguistic patterns of the city. But even if the methodologies borrowed from highly stratified European and North American cities really can be applied to smaller Canadian cities, that still does not constitute a valid claim that they can be applied directly to rural areas in Canada. There is in fact no known basis for prestratifying a rural area such as the Ottawa Valley in advance of designing a sociolinguistically valid sampling procedure.

Consequently, because this study surveyed two small Canadian cities and two rural areas, it would have been futile to attempt to construct a social class index to apply to these communities. Thus, no attempt was made to stratify the subjects according to their class or status.

#### 4.4 The *a priori* Hypotheses

Previous research in Canadian English (and language variation in general), as outlined in the preceding sections, led me to postulate several *a priori* hypotheses. Statistical tests were performed to determine if the data would allow rejection of the null hypotheses, which state that no significant relationship exists between the independent and dependent variables, and thus support the assertions of the *a priori* hypotheses. Except where otherwise noted, the justification for many of these hypotheses is primarily based on my previous research in Saskatchewan (Nylve 1984) which uncovered several possible significant relationships between the social and linguistic factors examined. Many of the sociolinguistic relationships postulated are also valid for other regions of the country, and consequently, other studies, as noted below, provide support in many instances for the theorization of these assertions.

The hypotheses, along with a brief discussion of their respective justifications, are as follows:

Hypothesis 1: Younger speakers are more likely to voice /č/ and /kš/ in the words *congratulate* and *luxury*.

Results from *The Survey of Canadian English* indicate that teenagers use the variants [kəngræʃəlèt] and [lágžəri] more frequently than adults do. In fact, while parents overwhelmingly seem to prefer the pronunciation [kəngræčəlèt], in many provinces the majority of students report a preference for [kəngræʃəlèt] (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972; Kinloch 1973; Nylvek 1984). The results pertaining to the possible pronunciations of *luxury* are less decisive; however, they still indicate that the variant with the voiced phoneme has greater usage among teenagers.

Hypothesis 2: Older speakers are more likely to use the pronunciation [kárki] *khaki* while younger speakers are more likely to pronounce this word [káki].

As mentioned in section 1.4.2.1, the pronunciation [kárki] is distinctly Canadian, contrasting with the British pronunciation [ká:ki] and the American [káki]. As McConnell (1979: 27) explains, this pronunciation developed because "Canadians probably first heard the word through Britishers and, accustomed to the Englishman's omission of *r* before consonants, inserted an *r* sound". My research (Nylvek 1984) indicates that while younger speakers prefer to use the American variant, use of the Canadian variant increases among older speakers, a phenomenon that McConnell attributes to less frequent use of *khaki* and to the influence of the American mass media.

Hypothesis 3: Older speakers are more likely to make a distinction between *marry* and *merry* while younger speakers are less likely to make such a distinction.

Gregg (1957a, 1957b, 1975) and Avis (1973b) observe that younger speakers tend not to make a distinction between *marry* and *merry* (see section 1.4.1.2), but use the same vowel ([e]) for each, while older speakers are more likely to use the distinguishing pronunciations [má:ri] *marry* and [mé:ri] *merry*. Data from Saskatchewan (Nylvek 1984) indicate a similar distribution of use of these variants among younger and older speakers.

Hypothesis 4: Older speakers are more likely to make a distinction between *poor* and *pour* while younger speakers are less likely to make this distinction.

Hypothesis 5: The pronunciation [skɒnz] *scones* is used more frequently by younger speakers while the pronunciation [skʌnz] is used more frequently by older speakers.

Hypothesis 6: The pronunciation [zébɾə] *zebra* is used more often by older speakers while the pronunciation [zibrə] is used by younger speakers.

Hypothesis 7: Older speakers are more likely to make a distinction between words such as *which* ([hwič]) and *wich* ([wič]), and *whine* ([hwayn]) and *wine* ([wayn]), while younger speakers are less likely to make such a distinction, and thus the words are homophonous ([wič], [wayn]).

Several studies (Gregg 1957b, 1975, 1984; Scargill and Warkentyne 1972; de Wolf 1988) have found evidence that younger speakers do not make a distinction

between words such as *which* and *witch*, while older speakers do make such a distinction.

Hypothesis 8: Older speakers are more likely to use palatalized pronunciations of words such as *new* ([nyu]), *tune* ([tyun]), and *student* ([styúdənt]) while younger speakers use the non-palatalized forms ([nu], [tun], [stúdənt]).

Data from several studies (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972; Gregg 1984; Nylvek 1984; de Wolf 1988) reveal that widespread use of the palatal glide /y/ following the consonants /t/, /d/, and /n/ is found among older speakers; however, the nonpalatalized variants are preferred by younger speakers.

Hypothesis 9: Pronunciations and lexical variants associated with American English are more prevalent among younger speakers than among older speakers.

As discussed in section 1.4.2, Canadian English is a combination of features of both British and American English. More than fifty years ago, Ayearst (1939) predicted that Canadian English would continue to assimilate to American English and studies conducted in the past thirty-five years indicate that a definite trend for increased use of variants associated with American English is evident among the younger generation (see for example Scargill 1955; Scargill and Warkentyne 1972; Warkentyne 1973, 1985; Warkentyne and Brett 1981a; Nylvek 1984; de Wolf 1988). In a study in which he subjected the data from *The Survey of Canadian English* to statistical analyses, Warkentyne (1985: 182) states that "students show a highly

significantly [sic] greater tendency towards U.S. usage on pronunciation and vocabulary than do parents." Thus, if use of variants associated with American English continues to increase, it is conceivable that use of variants associated with British English may eventually disappear from the lexicon of Canadian English.

Hypothesis 10: Of the lexical variants *chips*, *fries*, and *french fries*, *french fries* is used by all groups while *chips* is used most often by older speakers and *fries* is used most often by younger speakers.

Hypothesis 11: While the lexical variant *living room* is preferred by all age groups, the term *parlour* is used most often by older speakers.

*The Survey of Canadian English* (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972) and my previous research (Nylvek 1984) indicate that the term *living room* is strongly preferred by all groups while *parlour* is used minimally by all groups, but most often by older individuals.

Hypothesis 12: The term *serviette* is used more often when referring to the paper variety than to the cloth variety, although *napkin* is preferred by younger speakers for both the paper and cloth varieties, while *serviette* is used more often by older speakers.

The relationship stated above was found both in the data from *The Survey of Canadian English* (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972) and in data from my research in Saskatchewan (Nylvek 1984).

Hypothesis 13: Of the lexical variants *bath* (vb.), *bathe*, and *wash*, one can expect a relationship with both the age and sex variables.

- a. Younger speakers use *bath* more frequently than older speakers.
- b. Females use *bathe* more frequently than males, while males use *wash* more frequently than females.

Results from *The Survey of Canadian English* indicate that while *bath* (vb.) is used by the majority of subjects in most provinces, a substantial proportion also report use of *bathe* (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972). In fact, in most provinces, more students than adults reported use of *bathe*, although the opposite was true for the Saskatchewan subjects. My previous data (Nylvek 1984) strongly indicate that, in Saskatchewan, *bathe* is used more frequently by older speakers than by younger speakers. Furthermore, evidence also exists to suggest that *wash* may be used in the same context by some speakers, particularly by males. Thus, while both male and female speakers seem to prefer *bath*, a higher proportion of females than males use *bathe*, while more males than females use *wash*.

Hypothesis 14: Use of the term *bluff* to refer to 'a group of trees' is related to the sociological variables age, sex, and urban/rural.

- a. Older speakers use *bluff* more frequently than younger speakers.
- b. Males use *bluff* more frequently than females.
- c. Rural residents use *bluff* more frequently than urban residents.

Evidence from *The Survey of Canadian English* reveals that, as expected, greater use of the term *bluff* is found in the prairie provinces than in other areas of the country. However, the authors (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972: 98) state that use of *bluff* may be deteriorating because "there is a sharp decrease from one category

to the next in the order: fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters" which implies a relationship with both age and sex. I have also found evidence that this term, as might be expected, is used by rural residents more frequently than by urban residents (Nylvek 1984).

Hypothesis 15: Use of *dinner* in reference to the noon meal is used with more frequency by rural residents than by urban residents.

While data from my previous research in Saskatchewan (Nylvek 1984) indicate that *lunch* is frequently used in both urban and rural environments, strong evidence suggests that *dinner* in reference to the noon meal is used more frequently by rural residents.<sup>1</sup> Because of increased mobility of rural residents (see section 4.3.3), I suspect that this urban/rural distinction may not be as well-defined as it once was. Consequently, if the analysis of responses from rural residents indicates that *lunch* is used more frequently by younger speakers than by older speakers, such evidence would provide an indication that this urban/rural distinction is breaking down.

Hypothesis 16: Females use fewer non-standard pronunciations and more prestige pronunciations than males.

In section 4.3.2, I mentioned several studies which provide evidence to support the above hypothesis. Some non-standard or stigmatized linguistic variants

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<sup>1</sup> In rural areas the main meal of the day is often served at noon.

examined in this study include the pronunciations [æθəlɪt] *athlete*, [kəŋgræʃəlèt] *congratulate*, [fɪləm] *film*, and [ʒɛnyuəɪn] *genuine*. Therefore, if the above statement is supported by the data, these pronunciations would be used more frequently by males than females, who, on the other hand, would be more likely to use the corresponding standard pronunciations [æθlɪt], [kəŋgræʃəlèt], [fɪlm], and [ʒɛnyuən]. At the same time, females are more likely to use the prestige pronunciations [ʌnt] *aunt*, [aɪðər] *either*, [lɛftənənt] *lieutenant*, [ʃéd-] *schedule*, and [vəz] *vase*.

Hypothesis 17: Subjects with a high level of education use fewer non-standard forms than those with less education.

Warkentyne (1972) examined data from *The Survey of Canadian English* and found that use of non-standard forms increases as education level decreases (see 4.3.4) Consequently, one also expects those non-standard forms mentioned above (in reference to Hypothesis 16) to be used less frequently by subjects with a high level of education and more frequently by those with a lower level of education.

While these hypotheses define several relationships that the data are expected to confirm, much of the analysis carried out in this study is exploratory, that is, analysis performed in order to identify possible significant relationships (see also 1.3) which may then be substantiated in a subsequent study if desired. This portion of the analysis is not to be considered less important than the hypothesis testing,

although it carries less validity, but an important step in obtaining further insight into Canadian English in Saskatchewan. Although the above hypotheses are as specific as possible given the information that is currently available, further insight from this study may provide information which will allow one to postulate similar but more specific hypotheses. Thus, the results from the data analyses presented in Chapter 5 serve not only to provide evidence to support (or refute) the above hypotheses, but also, to suggest other possible relationships between the linguistic and the social variables.

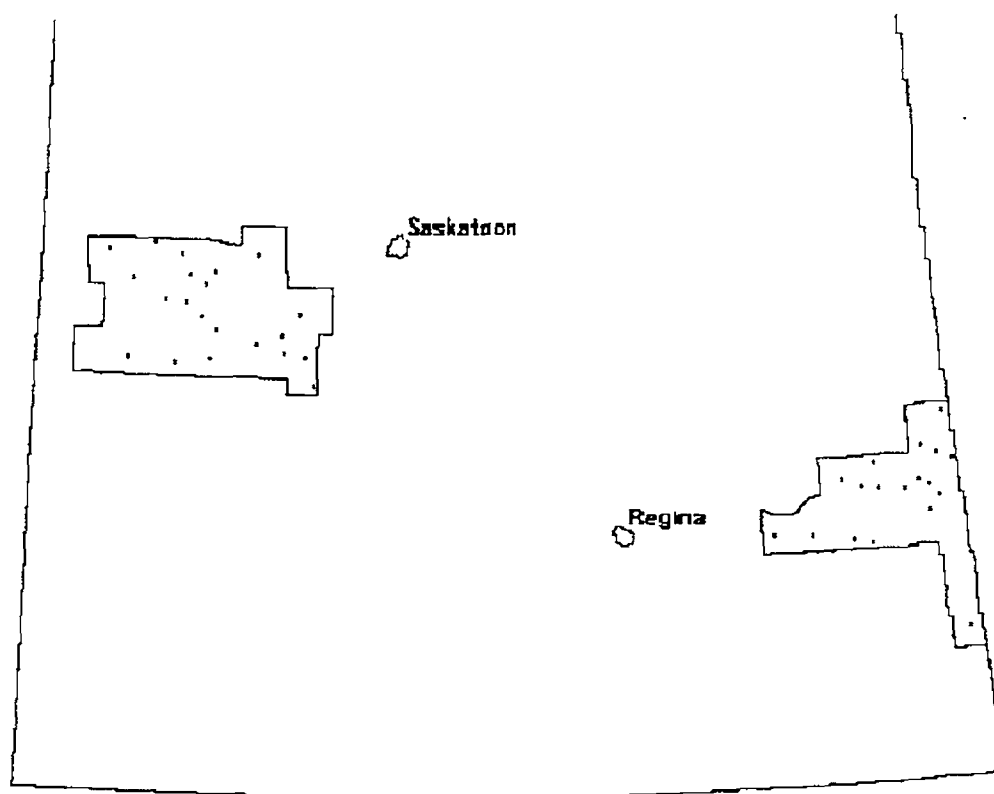
#### **4.5 Data Collection**

Data for this study were collected both indirectly, with the aid of a postal questionnaire, and directly, by means of personal tape-recorded interviews, which required each subject to read aloud a reading passage. Once the linguistic and social variables to be investigated had been established, the postal questionnaire, which can be found in Appendix B, was constructed to elicit the desired information. Subjects were asked to provide detailed biographical information so that each questionnaire could be coded according to the appropriate social variables. While the questions concerning phonological and pronunciation variables were multiple-choice, fashioned after those of *The Survey of Canadian English* (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972), questions concerning vocabulary were phrased as fill-in-the-blank

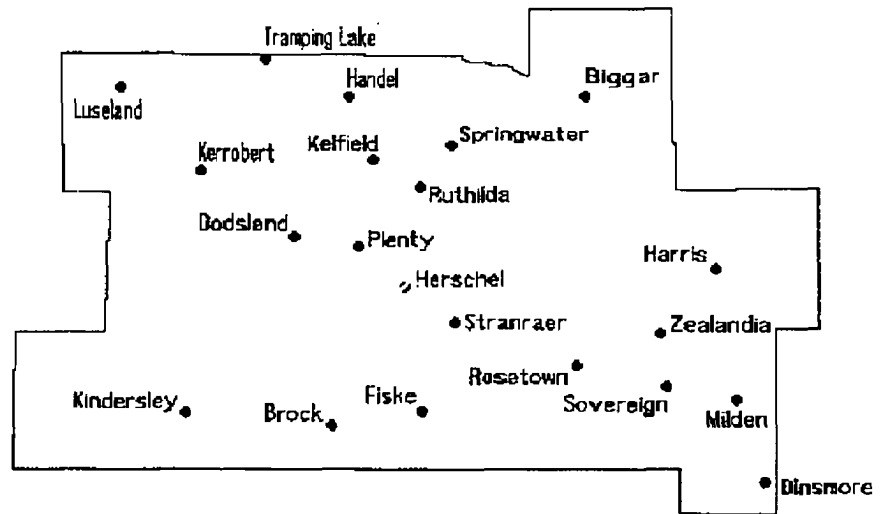
questions so that no variants would be suggested to the subjects. While such questionnaires are sometimes criticized because the subjects judge their own speech, this format was utilized in order to obtain, as efficiently as possible, the large amount of data needed for the statistical analyses. Because of the shortcomings of this procedure, a number of direct interviews were conducted as well in order to compare the data collected indirectly with that collected directly; thus, if similar results were obtained from both samples, one could then be more confident in the results of the analyses of the data collected indirectly. Because it was not possible to construct multiple-choice questions for some phonological variables, such as Canadian Raising, data for a few variables comes solely from the direct interviews. Subjects interviewed personally were asked to complete the first section of the postal questionnaire, which requests biographical information, and the third and fourth sections, which deal with the lexical variables. Each subject was also asked to read aloud a short story, found in Appendix C, which was constructed so that it contains key words necessary to obtain the relevant phonological data. Each subject was tape-recorded while reading the story and during any subsequent conversation that took place.

In order to compare speech from various regions of the province, data were collected from two urban and two rural areas. While Saskatoon and Regina were chosen as the urban areas simply because they are the two largest metropolitan

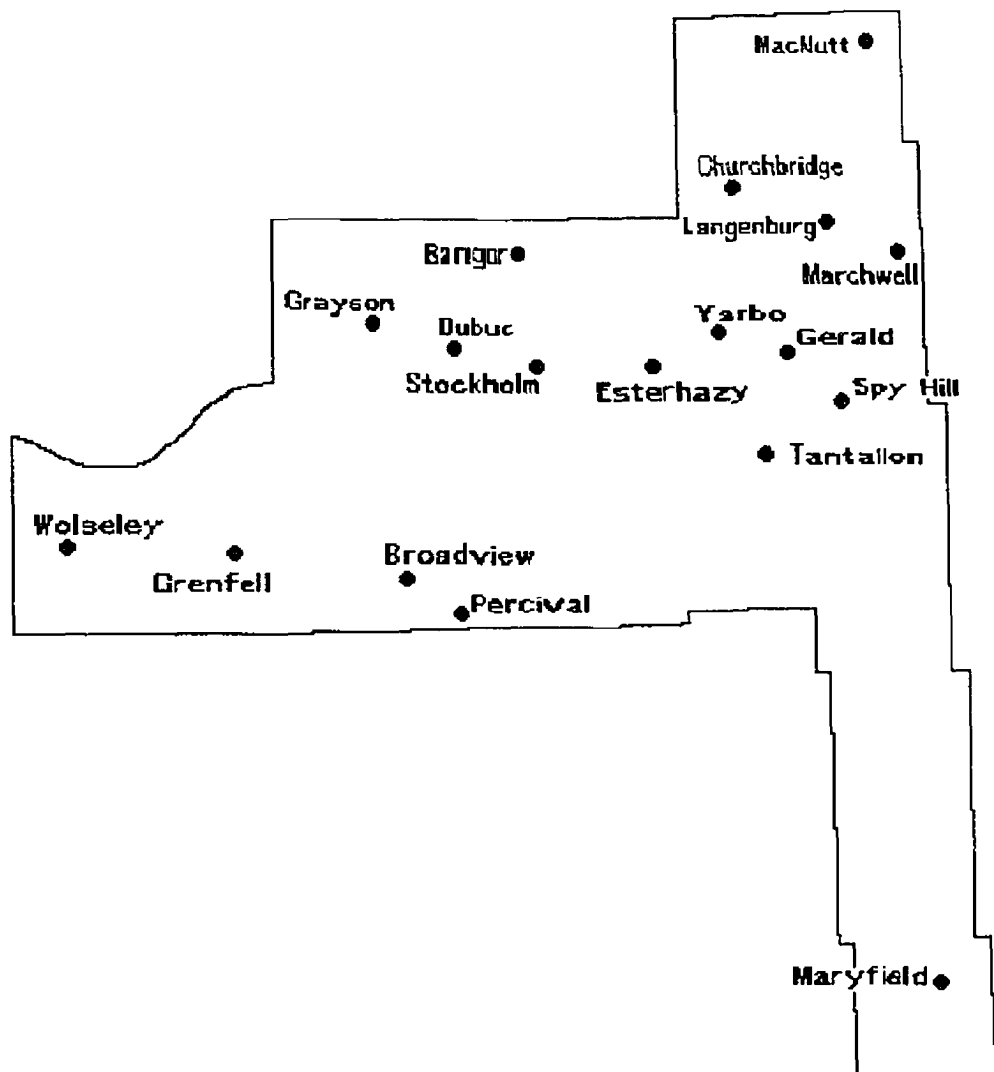
areas in Saskatchewan, the rural areas, the boundaries of which are outlined on Map 4.1, were chosen for the following reasons: they are both located within the park belt, and thus are among the most populated of the rural areas, providing ample opportunity for securing the required volunteers; they are geographically separated; and each is located in the vicinity of one of the urban areas which may serve as a linguistic focal point for the adjacent rural area. The actual communities from which data were collected within each rural area are displayed on Maps 4.2 and 4.3.



**Map 4.1** The Locations of the Two Urban and Two Rural Areas Surveyed.



**Map 4.2** The Communities Surveyed in the Western Rural Area.



Map 4.3 The Communities Surveyed in the Eastern Rural Area.

Subjects for this study were required to have been born and raised in Saskatchewan, to be native English-speakers, and to be at least 15 years of age.<sup>2</sup> It was also decided that the sample would include at least 150 written questionnaires supplemented with at least 50 personal interviews. The desired sample size is always a matter of debate, but, as Davis (1983: 70) points out, most linguistic studies are based on small samples (for example Labov 1966 with 88 subjects). Milroy (1987: 21) states that "large samples tend not to be as necessary for linguistic surveys as for other surveys. This is apparently because linguistic behaviour is more homogeneous than many other types of behaviour studied by surveys -- such as, for example, dietary or television programme preferences". Sankoff (1980: 52) also asserts that large samples are not required:

The literature, as well as our own experience, would suggest that even for quite complex communities samples of more than about 150 individuals tend to be redundant, bringing increasing data-handling problems with diminishing analytical returns.

Thus, a total sample of 200 subjects was felt to be sufficient for the purposes of this study. In order to be assured that at least 150 questionnaires would be returned, and to allow for questionnaires that were returned but unusable (see 5.2 for an explanation of why some questionnaires could not be used), 2000

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<sup>2</sup> Fifteen years of age was chosen as the youngest age for participation because it was felt that students of this age would be mature enough to complete the questionnaire with some degree of accuracy. Also, this age corresponds to the Grade 9 students surveyed in *The Survey of Canadian English* (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972).

questionnaires were distributed. In preparation for distribution of the questionnaires, I wrote a letter to each school board within the four regions to be sampled, requesting permission to distribute my questionnaire through their schools. In all, I wrote to 16 school districts and received responses from 10, of which only one declined permission. In the fall of 1986 I mailed 1375 questionnaires to the schools for distribution.<sup>3</sup> In order to obtain responses from individuals of various ages, the schools were instructed to give each participating student two questionnaires, one to be completed by the student, and the other to be completed by a parent, grandparent, or any other person who had been born and raised in Saskatchewan. In order to obtain a sufficient number of completed questionnaires from older individuals, I also wrote letters to 11 senior citizen organizations, from which I received three replies and to whom I ultimately sent 55 questionnaires. The remaining questionnaires (570) were distributed through individuals who were interested in the study and volunteered to circulate some questionnaires among their acquaintances.

Statistical theory requires that data be collected through random sampling, that is, a procedure whereby each individual in the population has an equal chance of being chosen, and thus the resulting selection of subjects is said to be

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<sup>3</sup> Many of the school districts agreed to participate on the condition that their participation would remain anonymous; therefore, the identity of **all** participating school districts will remain anonymous.

representative; however, for several reasons, random sampling often is not a viable procedure in dialect research. To begin with, because voters' lists record only those residents who are of voting age (and have registered) and telephone directories list only the head of the household, rarely does there exist a complete list of the population in question from which one could randomly choose subjects. Also, in dialect research, participants are often required to possess certain characteristics, such as being a native speaker of English; consequently, again, no appropriate list of the population can be acquired. Milroy (1987: 23) states that of those studies which have attempted to achieve representativeness through random sampling, because of "data-handling problems," most have resulted in little linguistic analysis, and "thus, there appears to be a point where careful sampling actually becomes counterproductive". Consequently, today few sociolinguistic studies strive for true representativeness:

A realistic discussion of sociolinguistic sampling needs . . . to distinguish strict statistical representativeness from the rather weaker kind of representativeness attained in most urban surveys. Certainly, it is by no means clear that strict representativeness would necessarily give greater insights into sociolinguistic structure. . . . What seems to be critical is that researchers decide which type of representativeness is sufficient -- or attainable -- for them (Milroy 1987: 20-1).

As a consequence of the problems associated with random sampling, most dialect studies employ the procedures of judgement sampling where the researcher decides which social characteristics should be represented, such as age, sex, social

status and so on, and then looks for appropriate speakers to fill each cell (Davis 1983: 70; Linn 1983: 239-42; Milroy 1987: 26). While this strategy does not provide a truly representative sample, it does allow the researcher to ensure that the relevant social variables are represented. Because such a sample is not representative, the conclusions may be criticized if one generalizes to the entire population; therefore, one must be aware of the limitations, and as Davis (1983: 70) states "we must never lose sight of the fact that our results are valid only for our sample, and another study could conceivably produce results different from ours". However, if the study is replicated with a different sample and similar results are found, then the researcher can have more confidence in the conclusions.

Subjects selected for the personal interviews were chosen according to the procedures of judgement sampling stratifying for age and sex (the social variables on which most of the *a priori* hypotheses are based). While an attempt was also made to select individuals of all ages and both sexes from each of the four areas, because of the smaller sample size, it is not possible to stratify by a third variable and have sufficient representation per cell to perform the statistical analyses. The main effects of the other social variables were also examined (see 4.3); however, owing to financial and time limitations, no attempt was made to stratify for these factors (which were included in this study solely for exploratory research).

While an attempt was made to obtain completed written questionnaires from both sexes, in all age groups, and from all four regions, once the questionnaires were sent to the schools, the senior citizen organizations, and the individual volunteers, there was no control over who ultimately completed them. For example, some schools apparently distributed the majority of their questionnaires to students for completion during class, and consequently, did not distribute as many questionnaires to adults as was desired. As a result, in some regions more questionnaires were returned by students and fewer by adults (see 5.2 for a detailed description of the sample). Nevertheless, enough questionnaires were returned from each group to make the desired statistical analyses possible.

The names of individuals who completed the written questionnaire were not requested; therefore, their identities are unknown. In addition, while I am aware of the identities of those individuals interviewed personally, their names will remain strictly confidential.

#### **4.6 Data Analyses**

Upon the return of the questionnaires, the responses were tabulated and entered into a computer data file in preparation for the statistical analyses. The biographical information was coded according to sex (male or female), age (15-19, 20-29, 30-44, 45-64 or 65+), area of residence (Saskatoon, Regina, the western area,

or the eastern area), the environment(s) in which the individual has lived (urban, rural, or both urban and rural), if the individual grew up in an English only environment or if another language was spoken at home (English only or the second language), the ethnic group, if any, which the individual identifies with, the number of generations the subject's family has lived in Saskatchewan (one, two, or three+), and the person's educational level, (no high school, high school graduate, university graduate, or student). Numerical values were assigned to each multiple choice response and each different fill-in-the-blank response. Similarly, upon completion of the personal interviews, the tape recordings were transcribed and the data tabulated by assigning a numerical value to each distinct response and entering the data into a computer file. Because all subjects completed the fill-in-the-blank questions (parts III and IV), data concerning these questions from both the postal questionnaires and the interviews were combined into one data file.

All statistical studies must, in advance, specify the probability level at which the null hypothesis, which states that no relationship exists between or among variables, may be rejected, thus allowing the researcher to assert the research or *a priori* hypothesis. In social science research, this criterion is usually set at  $\alpha=.05$ , giving the researcher a 95% confidence level that she is making the correct decision in rejecting the null hypothesis and asserting the research hypothesis. There is, then, still a 5% risk that the result could have occurred by chance alone. A more

stringent probability level could be set at  $\alpha=.01$  or  $\alpha=.001$  where the risk that the result had occurred by chance alone was only 1% or .1% respectively; however, because social science research does not involve life-and-death decisions, a more rigorous criterion, which would be vital in medical research for example, is not necessary. Thus, the probability level chosen for this study is  $\alpha=.05$ .

As mentioned earlier, social variables do not exist in isolation and as Wolfram and Christian (1976: 15) state, "although it may be theoretically possible to isolate various social variables for the sake of study, it must be understood that this is often an artifact of the way in which a study is conducted, for it is the interaction of various social factors that ultimately accounts for linguistic diversity". Consequently, a method of analysis was needed which would allow examination of various interactions of the social variables with each linguistic variable. Because the data collected are qualitative, i.e. not numerical, the most appropriate procedure was determined to be a loglinear type of analysis in which the observed and expected frequencies for each cell are compared and contrasted in order to provide chi-square values for all main effects and all possible interactions; these can in turn be examined to determine if any significant outcomes result. The CATMOD procedure of SAS was employed to carry out this part of the analysis, since it has the further advantage of allowing one to contrast specific groups in order to determine the precise nature of the significance. For example, if an analysis of a 2 x 2 x 2 table

indicated significant interactions of the social variables *sex*, *age*, and *place of residence*, then one could contrast various subgroups, such as urban male teenagers versus rural male teenagers or urban females versus urban males, in order to discover which group or groups differ significantly, and consequently, are yielding the significant interaction. An example of output from the CATMOD procedure is found in Appendix D.

Because the results of such analyses are more intelligible when the procedure is applied to dichotomous variables, the adult age categories were collapsed in order to compare the responses of teenagers with those of adults. Also, those individuals who grew up speaking another language in addition to English were grouped together to compare with those who spoke only English. Because various responses were obtained from the question concerning ethnic identity, only the four most numerous categories (Canadian, British, German, and Slavic) were included in the analysis. In addition, the educational level of the adults was dichotomized to compare university graduates with those who had not attended university. Owing to the format of the fill-in-the-blank lexical questions, for several questions numerous diverse responses were obtained; therefore, the analyses of the lexical variables were restricted to the most popular choices based on response frequency.

Because of restrictions concerning the number of individuals per cell in a multidimensional table, analyses of the multiple-choice questions from the postal

questionnaire and the combined lexical data were restricted to three-way interactions contrasting the variables *sex* and *age* with every other social variable (*residence, environment, ethnic identity, second language effects, and generation*) except education, which because it concerned adults only, was limited to a two-way comparison with the variable *sex*. The CATMOD procedure produces a chi-square value for the three-way interaction, each two-way interaction, every main effect, and any specified contrasts. This statistical procedure also computes a response probability for each variant for each subgroup which can then be plotted on a graph to help indicate the nature of the relationship.<sup>4</sup> For example, one might plot the response probabilities of a linguistic variable for each of the following subgroups: male teenagers, male adults, female teenagers, and female adults. Because the data are qualitative no continuous scale exists along the horizontal axis of the graphs; however, in order to facilitate interpretation of the distribution of the responses, lines have been drawn on the graphs to connect related points. Lines that are parallel indicate no interaction between variables, while lines that cross or converge indicate the possibility of a significant interaction and suggest which subgroup (or groups) is the prevailing factor.

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<sup>4</sup> A response probability is the percentage of responses for a particular variant by a subgroup. For example, of 223 female teenagers, 68 selected the pronunciation /levər/ *lever*; thus, the response probability is 68 divided by 223, or .305, indicating that, among those sampled, slightly more than 30% of the female teenagers used this pronunciation.

Any significant main effects or interactions found in the analyses of the multiple-choice questions were compared with similar analyses of the tape-recorded data in order to determine if data from the two samples followed similar patterns. If the statistical analyses of the tape-recorded data did not show a similar trend, then the possible significant results found within the multiple-choice question data were cast in doubt and thus have not been reported. Therefore, the results presented in Chapter 5 include only those findings in which both samples showed similar trends.

Because data for each phonological variable were collected from several different words all relevant to the phonological phenomenon in question, a score was calculated for each individual for each phonological variable based on his or her response for each pertinent word. The group scores were then compared by means of t-tests to determine if any important differences in use were revealed between the two sexes, the various age groups, urban and rural residents and so on. Thus, rather than comparing the distribution of responses for each word, as was done with the pronunciations of individual words and the lexical data, the data from several words were grouped together in order to determine an average score for each subject.

#### **4.7 Conclusion**

As a result of earlier research, it is apparent that certain linguistic features are likely to vary in Canadian English, and that certain social variables are related

to such variation. While some relationships are more evident than others, and can therefore be formulated as an *a priori* hypothesis, other relationships are yet to be discovered. It is only through study of social dialects that one is able to observe the nature of language variation and gain a better understanding of it. As Trudgill (1982: 240) states "the more we know about a variety, the more insights we obtain about its nature and structure, and the more we know what questions to ask ourselves next in planning further research". Consequently, this study will answer some questions based on previous knowledge and, perhaps more importantly, will provide insight into language variation in Saskatchewan, which will in turn, provide invaluable information for future studies.

## Chapter 5

### RESULTS OF THE ANALYSES

#### 5.1 Introduction

Presented in the following sections are the specifications of the sample and the major results of the data analyses for the pronunciation variables (individual words), the phonological variables, and the lexical items. For ease of reference the various items are, for the most part, presented in alphabetical order, except when similar variables (such as *anti* and *semi* or *either* and *neither*) are grouped together. As previously mentioned, the significance level chosen for this study is  $\alpha=.05$ ; however, when reporting results the actual probability is provided.

Miles and Huberman (1984: 21) state that in reports, data for qualitative studies are often displayed in narrative text, and that while such a procedure is likely to overload the reader, it is also likely that it will lead the researcher to make hasty and unfounded conclusions because the data are not presented simultaneously. Therefore, because "a graph is worth a thousand numbers" (Kennedy 1983: 43),

important results are represented graphically and are appended to the end of the chapter.<sup>1</sup>

## 5.2 The Sample

Of the 2000 questionnaires distributed (see 4.5), 993 were returned; however, 332 of these questionnaires could not be included in the analyses for one of the following reasons: English was not the person's first language (109), the person had lived outside Saskatchewan for an extended or undetermined period of time (89), the questionnaire was incomplete and thus too much information was missing for it to be included in the analysis (108), the person had not taken the questionnaire seriously, and consequently the responses could not be taken as valid (26, of which 12 contained expletives). The distribution, with respect to the variables *sex*, *age*, and *residence*, of the 661 questionnaires used for the analyses is found in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 indicates that the sample contains unequal cell sizes; however, because the chi-square analysis compares the proportional distribution of responses, it does not require equal sized cells. While it would be possible to take a random sample from the questionnaires for each cell so that one could retain, for example, ten subjects per cell (for a total of 160 subjects), and thus have equal sized cells,

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<sup>1</sup> The graphs are presented together at the end of the chapter in order to facilitate easy accessibility from the following chapters.

keeping the additional data is more beneficial to the study than creating equal cells.<sup>2</sup> That more females than males responded is also apparent from Table 5.1; it is however, a pervasive pattern in dialect studies that females tend to respond more readily than males (see Scargill and Warkentyne 1972 for a similar response pattern).

**Table 5.1** The Distribution of the Sample from Questionnaires.

Residence	Teenagers		Adults		Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Saskatoon	28	50	67	95	240
Regina	31	54	11	33	129
West	50	68	19	37	174
East	27	52	11	28	118
Total	136	224	108	193	661

In addition to the written questionnaires, 75 individuals were interviewed personally while being tape recorded. The distribution of these subjects, stratified by *age* and *sex*, is presented in Table 5.2. As mentioned previously (see 4.5), because of the smaller number of individuals sampled, it is not possible to stratify

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<sup>2</sup> Personal communication from Dr. Richard B. May, Department of Psychology, University of Victoria, and from Mr. Patrick Konkin, Statistical Consultant, University of Victoria.

this group by a third variable (namely *residence*), although an effort was made to include individuals of all ages and both sexes from each of the four regions. Also, while considerably more adults were interviewed than teenagers, one must keep in mind that the adults are distributed across four age groups.

**Table 5.2** The Distribution of the Sample from Recorded Interviews.

Sex * Age	Teenagers	Adults	Total
Males	5	32	37
Females	7	31	38
Total	12	63	75

### 5.3 Analyses of the Pronunciation Variables (Individual Words)

#### adult

The two possible pronunciations of *adult*, [ædʌlt] and [ədʌlt], correspond to a shift in stress from the first syllable to the second respectively. The two variants also indicate divided use of American and British pronunciations since Webster's lists [ədʌlt] first while Oxford lists [ædʌlt] first, and therefore data concerning this variable is applicable to Hypothesis 9, which states that variants associated with American English are used more often by younger speakers than older speakers (see 4.4). Graph 5.1 illustrates that the pronunciation [ædʌlt] is used more often by

adults than by teenagers, and in particular, most often by female adults.<sup>3</sup> In fact, the analysis indicates a significant two-way interaction with *age* and *sex* ( $p=0.0215$ ). An analysis of subgroups reveals that female adults reported using the pronunciation [ædɔlt] significantly more often than female teenagers ( $p=0.0001$ ) and significantly more often than male adults ( $p=0.0088$ ). Therefore, the significant interaction is due to the more frequent use reported by the female adults.

Analysis of the recorded interviews also reveals that adults use the pronunciation [ædɔlt] more often than teenagers ( $p=0.0016$ ). In addition, analysis of the parallel pronunciation variants of *address*, that is [ædres], with stress on the first syllable, and [ədrés], with stress on the second, indicates that, again, adults seem to significantly prefer the variant with stress on the first syllable ( $p=0.0338$ ).

### again

Scargill and Warkentyne found that while the pronunciation [əgɛn] was used by the majority of adults in all provinces, the form [əgɛn] was used more frequently by students than adults, and in a few provinces, by the majority of students. This

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<sup>3</sup> When a dichotomous variable is represented graphically it is only necessary to present the value of one variant since the response probabilities for each subgroup for the two variants must equal one. For example, in Graph 5.1, the response probability for the response [ædɔlt] for the female teenagers is approximately .85 as plotted on the graph. Consequently, the response probability for the variant [ədɔlt] for this particular group must be .15. Therefore, so as not to clutter the graph with needless information, this value need not be plotted.

distribution led them to conclude that the pronunciation [əgén] "is definitely giving way to" the pronunciation [ægén] (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972: 60). Their conclusion is supported by the data represented in Graph 5.2 which indicates that the pronunciation [ægén] is preferred by both male and female teenagers. Statistical analysis of this distribution indicates that male teenagers used [ægén] significantly more often than male adults ( $p=0.0100$ ), while female teenagers used it significantly more often than female adults ( $p=0.0001$ ).

Analysis of the data collected from individuals interviewed personally reveals a similar tendency, although not significant ( $p=0.2109$ ), for teenagers to use the pronunciation [ægén] more often than adults.

### **almond**

Data from questions 32 and 33 in Part II of the written questionnaire (see Appendix B) were combined to represent the four possible variants [æmænd], [ʊmænd], [ælmænd], and [ʊlmænd]; however, because of the low frequency of the variants retaining the [l] (8.0% and 3.8% respectively) these two pronunciations were eliminated from the statistical analyses.<sup>4</sup> A comparison of the remaining variants [æmænd] and [ʊmænd] reveals possible significant results as illustrated in Graphs 5.3 and 5.4. Graph 5.3 illustrates that male teenagers use the pronunciation [æmænd]

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<sup>4</sup> Scargill and Warkentyne (1972: 67) note that the orthographic *l* in *almond* was introduced during Middle English and "has not usually been pronounced".

significantly more often than male adults ( $p=0.0001$ ), while female teenagers use it significantly more often than female adults ( $p=0.0001$ ). Similarly, the teenagers interviewed directly display a tendency, although not to a statistically significant degree, to use [æmænd] more frequently than adults ( $p=0.3678$ ).

Graph 5.4 illustrates the possible significant main effects of *education* ( $p=0.0323$ ). As can be seen in this graph, it appears that university graduates, particularly female graduates ( $p=0.0102$ ), use [æmænd] more often than those without a university education. The tendency for those with a university education to use the pronunciation [æmænd] was also found among those interviewed directly, although the distribution was not statistically significant ( $p=0.4377$ ).

### anti- and semi-

Of the pronunciation variants of *anti-* and *semi-*, [ænti] and [sémi] are generally used by speakers of British English, while [æntaɪ] and [sémaɪ] are associated with American English even though the British pronunciations are also used by speakers of American English. Thus, because both pronunciations are used by speakers of Canadian English (although [ænti] and [sémi] are preferred), the analyses of these two linguistic variables are relevant to Hypothesis 9, which proposes that variants associated with American English are used more frequently by younger speakers than older speakers (see 4.4). Graph 5.5, which contrasts the

response probabilities for *age* and *sex*, indicates that the pronunciation [æntaɪ] is used minimally by all groups; however, it appears to be used significantly more often by male teenagers than by male adults ( $p=0.0019$ ) or by female teenagers ( $p=0.0003$ ), thus producing a significant two-way interaction with *age* and *sex* ( $p=0.0007$ ).

Graph 5.6, contrasting *age* and *sex* for *semi-*, indicates that the pronunciation [sémaɪ] is used less frequently than the pronunciation [æntaɪ], but is, in general, used significantly more often by males than by females ( $p=0.0016$ ), and more specifically, as was the case for *anti-*, is used significantly more often by male teenagers than by female teenagers ( $p=0.0043$ ). The data recorded personally revealed that of the 75 subjects participating, only two used the pronunciation [æntaɪ], one male teenager and one female adult, while no one used the pronunciation [sémaɪ]. Consequently, it was neither feasible nor worthwhile to perform statistical analyses of these data. The Saskatchewan data from *The Survey of Canadian English* (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972: 55) indicate a similar tendency for the variant [sémaɪ] to be used less frequently than the corresponding variant [æntaɪ], and in addition, that the pronunciation [æntaɪ] is used most often by male teenagers (15%), while the pronunciation [sémaɪ] is used most often by male adults (10%).

**arctic**

While speakers of British English generally use the pronunciation [árktík], speakers of Canadian (and American) English may use this variant or the alternate form [ártík], where the medial [k] is deleted. This variant is usually considered non-standard, and thus, data pertaining to this linguistic variable is relevant to Hypothesis 17, which asserts that subjects with a higher level of education use fewer non-standard forms than those with less education (see 4.4). Graph 5.7 illustrates that the distribution of responses among the adults surveyed indicates a possible significant relationship with *education* ( $p=0.0001$ ). As is clearly displayed in this graph, both male and female university graduates prefer the pronunciation which retains the medial [k], while the corresponding male and female groups who do not have a university education use [árktík] less than 40% of the time (male graduates versus other males  $p=0.0064$ ; female graduates versus other females  $p=0.0020$ ). Analysis of the subjects interviewed personally reveals a remarkably similar distribution, and although it is not statistically significant ( $p=0.2679$ ), a larger sample may have produced a significant result.

**athlete**

While the standard pronunciation of this word is [æθlit], the three syllable non-standard variant [æθəlɪt] is also heard in Canadian English, and thus data

concerning this variable is pertinent to Hypothesis 17, which proposes that subjects with a higher level of education use fewer non-standard forms than those with less education (see 4.4). Analysis of this linguistic variable reveals that the two syllable form [æθlit] is used significantly more often by urban residents than by rural residents ( $p=0.0004$ ). As is displayed by Graphs 5.8 and 5.9, this relationship holds true for both *sex* and *age* (and these tendencies were also found among those interviewed personally). In addition, as displayed in Graph 5.10, while the variant [æθlit] is preferred by all groups, it appears to be used more frequently by those subjects who are university graduates than by those who do not have post-secondary education ( $p=0.0023$ ), and again, while not significant ( $p=0.4496$ ), this tendency was also found among those interviewed personally.

### **aunt**

*The Survey of Canadian English* (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972: 66) indicates that, in Saskatchewan, the variant [ænt] (as opposed to [vnt]) is used by approximately 80% of those individuals responding. Data from the current study indicates that, of those interviewed by means of the postal questionnaire, 90% reported use of the pronunciation [ænt], while of those interviewed personally, 99% used [ænt]. Consequently, one must conclude that the pronunciation [ænt] is used by the vast majority in Saskatchewan.

**bury**

As Scargill and Warkentyne (1972: 56) point out, while *bury* retains the spelling of the Southwestern dialect area of England, the two pronunciation variants, [béri] and [búri], are geographically distributed, the first being used in southeastern England and the second in southwestern. Data from *The Survey of Canadian English* reveal that parents in all provinces except Saskatchewan strongly favour the pronunciation [béri] over [búri]; however, in Saskatchewan, they are equally divided between the two variants (males 48% [béri] versus 48% [búri]; females 49% [béri] versus 48% [búri]).<sup>5</sup> While students in most provinces also seem to prefer the pronunciation [béri], in Saskatchewan, the majority of both males (53%) and females (55%) reported use of [búri]. The distribution of responses from this study indicates, as is illustrated in Graph 5.11, that, among those individuals responding by means of the postal questionnaire, the majority of both teenagers and adults prefer the pronunciation [búri], with teenagers using it significantly more often than adults ( $p=0.0008$ ). Similarly, the distribution of responses collected from those individuals interviewed personally indicates that teenagers strongly prefer [búri] and use it significantly more often than adults ( $p=0.0379$ ).

The distribution of responses for this linguistic variable also seems to have a relationship with the number of generations the subjects' families have lived in

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<sup>5</sup> The remaining parents (4% and 3% respectively) responded "either way."

Saskatchewan. As illustrated in Graph 5.12, the significant main effects of *generation* ( $p=0.0481$ ) indicate that first generation Saskatchewanians prefer the pronunciation [búri] and use it significantly more often than second generation residents ( $p=0.0225$ ), while, at the same time, very little difference in use was found between subjects of second and third generation.

It is unclear whether the preference in Saskatchewan for the pronunciation [búri] is a reflection of a true dialect difference or if it is a possible reflection of the spelling. When interviewing subjects, I noticed that when the individuals were reading the passage, several of them paused when they came to the word *bury* and then questioned the correct pronunciation by uttering a statement such as "Is it [búri] or [béri]? It looks like it should be [búri]." Consequently, owing to such observations, one must wonder if the spelling is influencing the pronunciation.

### collie

The distribution of responses for the alternate pronunciations [kóli] and [kóli], indicates relationships with the *urban/rural* and *education* variables. As illustrated in Graph 5.13, the variant [kóli] is used significantly more often by rural residents than urban residents ( $p=0.0001$ ), and more specifically, is used significantly more often by rural males than urban males ( $p=0.0001$ ), and more frequently by rural females than urban females ( $p=0.0001$ ). The distribution of responses collected

from those individuals interviewed personally indicates that the majority of rural residents (74%) use the variant [kóli], while the majority of urban residents (75%) use the pronunciation [kólí] ( $p=0.0004$ ).

The data displayed in Graph 5.14 also reveals that the pronunciation [kóli] is used significantly more often by rural teenagers than by urban teenagers ( $p=0.0001$ ), and more often by rural adults than urban adults ( $p=0.0001$ ). Consequently, it appears that the variant [kóli] is used by the vast majority of rural residents, while urban residents tend to prefer the pronunciation [kólí].

In addition to the significant relationship found between urban residents and rural residents, an interesting significant relationship was found when comparing those individuals who have lived in only urban areas, only rural areas, or both urban and rural areas ( $p=0.0001$ ). Graph 5.15 illustrates that the pronunciation [kóli] is used most often by those individuals who have always lived in a rural environment, followed by those who have lived in both urban and rural areas, and is used least often by those who have always lived in an urban environment. Analysis of the data collected through interviews also indicates a significant relationship ( $p=0.0026$ ) with the variable environment. One finds that while [kóli] is used by the majority of individuals who have only lived in rural areas (70%), the pronunciation [kólí] is used by the majority of those who have lived in both urban and rural areas (68%) and the majority of those who have only lived in urban areas (81%). Although the

statistical tests used here merely determine if a correlation exists between variables and does not imply a cause and effect relationship, one might speculate that exposure to an urban environment increases use of [kóli], while contact with a rural locale increases use of [kólí].

As illustrated by Graph 5.16, a significant relationship also exists with the *education* variable ( $p=0.0021$ ) where the pronunciation [kóli] is used more often by those individuals who have not graduated from university than by those who are university graduates. This relationship seems to be particularly important among the female respondents since the analysis reveals that [kóli] is used significantly more often by females who have not attended university than by female graduates ( $p=0.0003$ ). Similarly, analysis of the data collected during the personal interviews reveals that the majority of university graduates (67%) prefer the pronunciation [kólí], while the majority of those individuals who did not attend university (71%) prefer the variant [kóli], and thus, a significant relationship may exist ( $p=0.0137$ ).

### **congratulate**

The two possible pronunciations, [kəngræčələt] and [kəngræjələt], contrast the use of [č] or [j] for the sound corresponding to the first orthographic *t*. Data from *The Survey of Canadian English* (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972: 69) reveals that, in Saskatchewan, parents preferred the form with the voiceless consonant, while

students preferred that with the voiced consonant. My previous research in Saskatchewan (Nylvek 1984) reveals a similar relationship, and in addition, Gregg (1984) and Woods (1979) found, in their respective studies, that the majority of those subjects in the young age group preferred [kəngræʃəlèt]. Thus, evidence from these three studies led to the postulation of Hypothesis 1, which states that younger speakers are more likely to voice /ç/ in *congratulate* (see 4.4). Woods (1979: 304) found evidence which indicates that [kəngræʃəlèt] is a stigmatized form, and thus, data for this linguistic variable is also relevant to Hypothesis 16, which states that females use fewer non-standard pronunciations and more prestige pronunciations than males, and Hypothesis 17, which states that subjects with a high level of education use fewer non-standard forms than those with less education (see 4.4). Graph 5.17 indicates that teenagers use the form [kəngræʃəlèt] significantly more often than adults ( $p=0.0001$ ), a relationship that remains true for both males and females (male adults versus male teenagers  $p=0.0001$ ; female adults versus female teenagers  $p=0.0001$ ). This relationship was also found to be significant in the data collected from the personal interviews ( $p=0.0267$ ).

Graph 5.18 illustrates the apparent significant main effect of *generation* ( $p=0.0121$ ), namely that use of [kəngræʃəlèt] by both teenagers and adults increases as the number of generations in Saskatchewan increases. Similar significant main effects of *generation* ( $p=0.0499$ ) were found among those individuals who were tape-

recorded, although, while first generation subjects used [kəngræjəlèt] least often (40%), no difference in use was found between second (70%) and third (69%) generation subjects.

### **either and neither**

Of the possible pronunciations of these words, [áíðər] and [náíðər] are usually associated with British English, while [íðər] and [níðər] are associated with American English. In addition, Woods (1979: 304) found that the pronunciation [áíðər] is used most often by older individuals, and that [áíðər] (and the corresponding [náíðər]) are considered prestige forms. Therefore, data concerning these two words are relevant to Hypothesis 9, which states that use of variants associated with American English are used more often by younger speakers than older speakers, and Hypothesis 16, which asserts that females use fewer non-standard pronunciations and more prestige forms than males (see 4.4).

Based on the data collected for *The Survey of Canadian English*, Scargill and Warkentyne (1972: 63) predicted that, because of the large portion of parents using the pronunciation [íðər], and the even larger percentage of students preferring this form, the variant [áíðər] would eventually disappear, being replaced completely by [íðər]. Similarly, Gregg (1984: 70) found that [áíðər] and [náíðər] are used most often by older speakers, but not by the majority (35%). Data from the current

study, as illustrated in Graph 5.19, indicate that while both teenagers and adults prefer [íðær] and [níðær], teenagers use these pronunciations significantly more often than adults (*either*  $p=0.0506$ ; *neither*  $p=0.0009$ ), and thus, follow the trend predicted by Scargill and Warkentyne. In addition, although the results were not significant, analyses of the data collected during personal interviews also indicate that teenagers use the pronunciations [íðær] and [níðær] more frequently than adults.

Although the forms [áiðær] and [náíðær] are prestige forms, and therefore, one anticipates that they may be used more frequently by females than by males (see Hypothesis 16, section 4.4), the data collected during this study indicate that both males and females prefer the forms [íðær] and [níðær], and use these variants to almost the same degree ([íðær] males=65% females=66%; [níðær] males=71% females=73%). Consequently, based on this data, use of the prestige forms of *either* and *neither* does not appear to be associated with *sex*; however, as illustrated by Graph 5.20, although all groups prefer the pronunciations [íðær] and [níðær], the prestige forms seem to be used more often by those who have graduated from university (*either*  $p=0.1261$ ;<sup>6</sup> *neither*  $p=0.0341$ ). Among the data collected by tape-recording, a significant relationship with *education* was also found for the variable *neither* ( $p=0.0318$ ) where the trend was also for those with a university education

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<sup>6</sup> Although the distribution of responses with education is not significant for *either*, the pattern is very similar to that of *neither*, and therefore is included in the graphic presentation.

to use the form [náɪðər] more often than those who did not attend university. In addition, although the analysis of *either* did not prove to be significant, it too followed this pattern.

### **film and elm**

Of the pronunciation variants of these words, the one syllable forms, [film] and [elm], are considered standard, while the two syllable forms, [fíləm] and [éləm], are nonstandard;<sup>7</sup> therefore, data for these items are relevant to Hypothesis 16, which asserts that females use fewer non-standard pronunciations and more prestige pronunciations than males, and Hypothesis 17, which proposes that subjects with a higher level of education use fewer non-standard forms than those with less education (see 4.4). As illustrated by Graph 5.21, while the one syllable form [film] is preferred by all groups, it is used most often by urban residents, and in turn, rural residents use the two syllable pronunciation [fíləm] more often than urban residents. While the difference in use appears to be small, about 5%, it was found to be statistically significant ( $p=0.0267$ ). In addition, data for *film* and *elm* collected from personal interviews reveals a similar trend, that is, for rural residents to use the nonstandard forms more often than urban residents (*film*  $p=0.0040$ ; *elm*  $p=0.0899$ ).

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<sup>7</sup> Woods (1979: 304) states that [fíləm] is a stigmatized form.

While no significant relationship was found with the social variable *sex* (as anticipated by Hypothesis 16, section 4.4), a significant relationship was found with the *education* variable. As illustrated by Graph 5.22, the standard form, [film], is used most often by university graduates, and thus, the nonstandard form, [fíləm], is used most often by those who are not university graduates. Interestingly, while no significant relationship was found with the variable *sex*, the effects of *education* appear to be most significant for males (male university graduates versus males with no university  $p=0.0237$ ).

This trend was reinforced by the data collected personally which also indicates that those without a university education use the nonstandard forms more often than university graduates (*film*  $p=0.0299$ ; *elm*  $p=0.3328$ ).

### **genuine**

While Scargill and Warkentyne (1972: 53) discovered that the pronunciation [ ʒényuàɪn] was preferred by the majority of Canadians, they also noted that the pronunciation [ ʒényuən] was used more often by women than by men. Of the two possible pronunciations, [ ʒényuən] is considered standard, while [ ʒényuàɪn], although it is used by a large segment of the population, is often considered stigmatized (Woods 1979; Avis et. al. 1983). Therefore, data concerning pronunciation of this word are relevant to Hypothesis 16, which claims that females

use fewer non-standard pronunciations than males, and Hypothesis 17, which proposes that subjects with a higher level of education use fewer non-standard forms than those with less education (see 4.4).

The statistical analyses did not reveal any significant difference related to the social variable *education*, or to the variable *sex* when considering the population as a whole; however, there appears to be a possible significant difference in use between urban and rural residents ( $p=0.0235$ ), which indicates that rural residents use the form [ʃényuàin] more often than urban residents (a trend also found within the data collected personally), and furthermore, among only the rural population, a significant difference in use appears to be related to the variable *sex*. As Graph 5.23 illustrates, virtually no difference in use between urban males and urban females, or between urban females and rural females was revealed; however, among rural residents, males use the stigmatized form [ʃényuàin] significantly more often than females ( $p=0.0259$ ). Therefore, it appears that, at least for this variable, the difference in use related to the social variable *sex* is manifested only within the rural population.

### **guarantee**

While data from *The Survey of Canadian English* (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972: 71) indicate that the pronunciation [gʌrənti] is used by a small portion of

Canadians (17%), and thus, is likely disappearing from Canadian English, data specific to Saskatchewan indicate that the pronunciation [gérənti] is preferred by female students (76%), male students (64%), and female parents (52%), while male parents prefer the variant [górənti] (50%). Data from the current study reveal that the pronunciations [gêrənti] and [górənti] were used minimally by those individuals surveyed (7% and 10% respectively) and thus, responses corresponding to these variants were grouped together in order to compare their distribution with that of the preferred form [gérənti].

As illustrated by Graph 5.24, all groups prefer the pronunciation [gérənti]; however, it is used significantly more often by teenagers than adults ( $p=0.0001$ ) and significantly more often by females than males ( $p=0.0082$ ). Data collected from subjects interviewed personally reveal that the pronunciation [gérənti] was used by all the teenagers, by 97% of the female adults and by 81% of the male adults.

As illustrated in Graph 5.25, further analysis of the variants of *guarantee* indicates a significant relationship with *generation* ( $p=0.0134$ ), where one finds that individuals of second and third generation use the pronunciation [gérənti] significantly more often than first generation residents (first generation versus second generation  $p=0.0071$ ; first generation versus third generation  $p=0.0140$ ).

### **Italian**

Of the variant pronunciations of *Italian*, [itʰɛlyən] is considered standard while [ʰitʰɛlyən] is considered nonstandard; therefore, data concerning this linguistic variable are relevant to Hypothesis 16, which claims that females use fewer non-standard pronunciations than males, and Hypothesis 17, which declares that those with a higher level of education use fewer non-standard forms than those with less education (see 4.4). While statistical analyses did not indicate any significant relationships with the social variables *sex* or *education*, the analyses did reveal, as illustrated in Graph 5.26, that urban residents use the standard pronunciation significantly more often than rural residents ( $p=0.0008$ ). A similar trend, although not significant ( $p=0.1725$ ), was found within the data collected through personal interviews, which revealed that the variant [itʰɛlyən] was used by 75% of the urban residents but by only 58% of the rural residents.

### **khaki**

As mentioned above (see 1.4.2.1 and 4.4), the pronunciation variant [kárki] is distinctly Canadian; however, previous research indicates that the majority of speakers of Canadian English, particularly younger speakers, prefer the American variant [káki] (Gregg 1984: 71), while [kárki] is used most often by older speakers (Woods 1979: 304). In addition to being a distinctly Canadian pronunciation, the

variant [kárki] is also a prestige form (Woods 1979: 304). Therefore, analysis of this linguistic variable is relevant to Hypothesis 2, which maintains that older speakers are more likely to use the pronunciation [kárki] while younger speakers are more likely to use [káeki], and Hypothesis 16, which states that females use more prestige pronunciations than males (see 4.4).

Statistical analyses of the data reveal that, as displayed in Graph 5.27, teenagers use the pronunciation [káeki] significantly more often than adults ( $p=0.0001$ ), and that females use this form significantly more often than males ( $p=0.0007$ ). Therefore, it appears that, for the sample as a whole, the pronunciation [kárki] is used most often by adults and by males; however, when the sample was stratified for urban and rural residence, the statistical analyses revealed a significant three-way interaction (*sex x age x urban/rural*,  $p=0.0301$ ). As illustrated in Graph 5.28, this significant interaction results from the distribution of responses from rural female adults who appear to deviate from the overall pattern. Among urban residents, male adults use the pronunciation [kárki] most often; however, it seems that among rural residents, it is the female adults who use [kárki] most often.

Analysis of the data collected during the personal interviews corresponds to the pattern of these findings. Within this data set, urban male adults used the

pronunciation [kárki] more often than urban female adults (21% versus 10%), while rural female adults used it more often than rural male adults (70% versus 67%).<sup>8</sup>

In addition, a significant relationship, as represented in Graph 5.29, was found related to the social variable *generation* ( $p=0.0120$ ). The analysis reveals that the pronunciation [kárki] is most common among first generation Saskatchewan residents who use this form significantly more often than residents of second ( $p=0.0133$ ) and third ( $p=0.0109$ ) generation.

Similarly, analysis of the data tape-recorded reveals that within this data set the pronunciation [kárki] was used by 50% of first generation individuals, by 14% of those of second generation, and by no subjects of third generation.

### **leisure**

Analysis of the distribution of responses from *The Survey of Canadian English* (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972: 61) led to the conclusion that although the pronunciation [lížər] was used by the majority of the population, a trend for students to use [léžər] was evident. While Webster's lists [lížər] first and [léžər] second, Oxford only lists [léžər]; therefore, Canadian use displays divided use of the preferred American variant and the British form, and consequently data pertaining to this variable are relevant to Hypothesis 9, which states that forms associated with

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<sup>8</sup> The teenagers in this data set used the pronunciation [kæki] exclusively.

American English are used more often by younger speakers than older speakers (see 4.4).<sup>9</sup> Analysis of the current data set reveals, as illustrated in Graph 5.30, that even though the pronunciation [lížər] is preferred by the vast majority of the sample, significant usage differences related to the social variables *age* ( $p=0.0001$ ) and *sex* ( $p=0.0201$ ) were evident. The distribution indicates that the variant [léžər] is used significantly more often by males than females and significantly more often by adults than by teenagers. While this last finding is inconsistent in comparison with that of earlier research, the distribution of results collected through the personal interviews reveals a similar pattern in use of the form [léžər] (male teenagers 20%; female teenagers 14%; male adults 22%; female adults 16%). Thus, while use of [léžər] may be increasing, it is not clear from this sample that, in Saskatchewan, teenagers are leading this change.

### lever

Of the two possible pronunciations of *lever*, [lívər] is associated with British English, while [lévər] is associated with American English; therefore, analysis of the data pertaining to this variable is relevant to Hypothesis 9, which asserts that variants associated with American English are used more frequently by younger speakers than by older speakers (see 4.4). Scargill and Warkentyne (1972: 51) found

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<sup>9</sup> Webster's also lists a third variant [léžər].

that fewer students than adults were using the pronunciation [lívər] which in turn may lead to an increase in use of the variant [lévər]. As displayed in Graph 5.31, significantly more teenagers than adults indicated use of the American variant [lévər] ( $p=0.0001$ ), and furthermore, comparison of individual groups indicates that this important difference in use, which is related to *age*, is true for both males ( $p=0.0007$ ) and females ( $p=0.0072$ ). A similar trend for the pronunciation [lévər] to be used more often by teenagers than by adults was also found within the data collected by means of the reading passage.

### **lieutenant**

The variants of *lieutenant* also show divided use of forms associated with British English ([lefténənt]) and American English ([luténənt]),<sup>10</sup> and thus, data concerning this linguistic variable are relevant to Hypothesis 9, which states that variants associated with American English are used more often by younger speakers than by older speakers (see 4.4). Because the pronunciation [lefténənt] is also considered a prestige form (Woods 1979: 304), this data is relevant to Hypothesis 16, which states that females use fewer non-standard pronunciations and more prestige pronunciations than males. Previous research in Canadian English (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972; Gregg 1984) indicates that the American pronunciation

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<sup>10</sup> The first vowel may be realized as [ə] by some speakers of both British and American English.

[luténənt] is used most often by younger speakers and [lefténənt] most often by older speakers (Woods 1979:304), and data from this study, as illustrated in Graph 5.32, provide further evidence that a very definite trend exists for speakers of Canadian English to use the American rather than the British variant. While all subgroups appear to prefer [luténənt], teenagers use this form significantly more often than adults ( $p=0.0001$ ), and furthermore, female adults appear to use this form significantly more often than male adults ( $p=0.0498$ ). In addition, the distribution of responses from the data collected during personal interviews indicates that the pronunciation [luténənt] was used by 78% of the male adults, by 65% of the females adults, and by 100% of the male and female teenagers.

Further analyses of the data reveal a significant three-way interaction, as displayed in Graph 5.33, with the variables *sex*, *age*, and *urban/rural* residence ( $p=0.0286$ ), and indicates that the pronunciation [lefténənt] is used most often by rural adults and by urban male adults. Analysis of the tape-recorded data also exhibits evidence that the pronunciation [lefténənt] is used most often by rural adults (males 67%; females 64%).

Lastly, as illustrated by Graph 5.34, the pronunciation [lefténənt] appears to be used more often by first generation Saskatchewanians, than by second and third generation residents ( $p=0.0437$ ). Data collected by means of the reading passage displays a remarkably similar distribution of response frequencies with use of the

form [luténənt] being used by 85% and 84% of the respective third and second generation individuals, but by only 60% of the first generation subjects.

### luxury

Evidence from previous studies concerning Canadian English (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972; Nylvek 1984) indicate that while the pronunciation [lɪkʃəri] is used by the majority of the populations sampled, teenagers use the pronunciation [lɪgʒəri] more often than adults; therefore, data pertaining to this linguistic variable is applicable to Hypothesis 1, which states that younger speakers are more likely to use the variant with the voiced medial consonant (see 4.4).

As illustrated in Graph 5.35, the teenagers sampled in the current study do in fact use the variant [lɪgʒəri] significantly more often than adults ( $p=0.0001$ ). While not significant, data from the personal interviews also indicate a trend for teenagers to use this form more frequently than adults.

### marry

As stated in Hypothesis 3, more older speakers than younger speakers make a distinction between *marry* and *merry* (see 4.4). As illustrated by Graph 5.36, the majority of those people surveyed indicate preference for the pronunciation [méri] (*marry*) and thus treat *marry* and *merry* as homophones. Nevertheless, it appears

that significantly more teenagers than adults use [méri] ( $p=0.0015$ ), and in addition, that significantly more males than females prefer this form ( $p=0.0095$ ). Of those subjects interviewed personally, all but two subjects (both female adults) used the pronunciation [méri].

### missile

Of the two variant pronunciations of this word, the form [mísəl] is associated with American English, while [mísəl] is identified with British English; therefore, analysis of this variable is relevant to Hypothesis 9, which states that pronunciations associated with American English are used more often by younger speakers than by older speakers (see 4.4). Graph 5.37 illustrates that, of those individuals sampled for this study, the majority preferred the American variant [mísəl]; however, at the same time, teenagers appear to use it significantly more often than adults ( $p=0.0431$ ). This trend, although not quite significant, was also evident within the data collected by means of personal interviews ( $p=0.0581$ ).

### poor

As stated in Hypothesis 4 (see 4.4), older speakers are more likely to make a distinction between *poor* and *pour* ([pʊr] versus [pɔr]), while younger speakers are less likely to make this distinction using the pronunciation [pɔr] for both. Graph

5.38 illustrates that, among those individuals surveyed, the pronunciation [pɔr] (for *poor*) is used significantly more often by teenagers than by adults ( $p=0.0001$ ). This same distinction was also found to be significant within the data collected during personal interviews ( $p=0.0043$ ).

**progress** (noun)

While the two possible pronunciations of this word occur in both American and British English, the preference in American English is [prɔ́gres], while the usual pronunciation associated with British English is [prɔ́gres]. Thus, the analyses of this linguistic variable are relevant to Hypothesis 9, which asserts that pronunciations associated with American English are used more often by younger speakers than by older speakers (see 4.4). Scargill and Warkentyne (1972: 67) found that while parents tended to prefer the British variant, students preferred the American pronunciation, although by slim margins in both cases. As illustrated by Graph 5.39, data from this study indicates that teenagers use the American variant [prɔ́gres] significantly more often than adults ( $p=0.0001$ ).

In addition, while the female teenagers use this form significantly more often than female adults ( $p=0.0001$ ), it appears that female teenagers may also use it significantly more often than male teenagers ( $p=0.0038$ ). Data collected by means of the reading passage also indicate that the American variant [prɔ́gres] is used most

often by the female teenagers, and in general, more frequently by teenagers than by adults.

### ration

Although the two possible pronunciations of *ration* occur in both British and American English (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972: 70), [réʃən] is generally associated with American English while [ræʃən] is identified with British English. Therefore, this variable is also applicable to Hypothesis 9, which states that pronunciations associated with American English are used more often by younger speakers than by older speakers. As illustrated by Graph 5.40, even though the variant [réʃən] is used by a minority of those sampled, it was used by significantly more teenagers than adults. The distribution of responses collected during the personal interviews indicates a similar significant relationship with the variable *age* ( $p=0.0476$ ).

### route

Although the pronunciation [raʊt] is often associated with American English, and the alternate variant [rut] with British English, both pronunciations occur in each of these varieties of English.<sup>11</sup> While the pronunciation [rut] has most frequent use in British English, the variant [raʊt] is used in the military (Scargill and Warkentyne

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<sup>11</sup> The corresponding Canadian pronunciation is [rʌʊt], since the diphthong is raised by the operation of the phonological rule of Canadian Raising.

1972: 68; The Concise Oxford Dictionary 1990: 1051). In American English the pronunciation [rut] is also common, with [raut] usually used in reference to a newspaper route. Avis et al. (1983: 979) notes that [rut] is most common in Canadian English; however, [raut] is also used, again, often in reference to a newspaper route. Woods (1979: 304) states that the pronunciation [raut] may be a stigmatized form, and thus, data for this variable are relevant to Hypothesis 16, which states that females use fewer non-standard pronunciations and more prestige pronunciations than males, and Hypothesis 17, which states that subjects with a high level of education use fewer non-standard forms than those with less education.

While the data collected by means of the reading passage did differentiate between the two different referents of *route*, no significant difference in use was detected between the two contexts. However, a significant two-way interaction was found with the social variables *age* and *urban/rural* residence ( $p=0.0021$ ). As illustrated by Graph 5.41, virtually no difference in use between urban and rural teenagers exists; however, significantly more rural adults than urban adults use [raut] ( $p=0.0001$ ). Also, as can be seen in Graph 5.42, the pronunciation [raut] is used most often by male and female rural adults. Data from the personal interviews also indicate that [raut] is used most often by rural adults.

Graph 5.43 illustrates another significant two-way interaction, this time with *age* and the *urban/rural* environment variable. As can be seen, little difference in

use was found to be related to the environments in which teenagers have lived; however, the adults who have only lived in a rural environment use [rʌʊt] significantly more often than those who have only lived in an urban environment ( $p=0.0004$ ) and significantly more often than those who have lived in both urban and rural environments ( $p=0.0011$ ). Among those individuals interviewed personally, those from a rural background used [rʌʊt] most often (50%), followed by those subjects who have lived in both environments (32%), and least often by those from an urban background (15%) ( $p=0.0449$ ).

Lastly, as displayed in Graph 5.44, the analyses also reveal a possible significant relationship with *education* in which those adults who did not attend university use the variant [rʌʊt] significantly more often than those who are university graduates ( $p=0.0001$ ). Similarly, although not significant, a trend for university graduates to use [rʌʊt] less frequently than those who did not attend university was also found in the data set collected by means of the personal interviews.

### **schedule**

Pronunciations of this word show divided British and American usage based on the realization of the first consonant. Thus, the form [ʃéd-] is associated with British English, while [skéd-] is associated with American English. Furthermore,

Woods (1979: 304-5) states that [šéd-] is a prestige pronunciation and he found it was used most often by older speakers. Additionally, Gregg (1973b: 112; 1984: 68) found that the British pronunciation [šéd-] was used most often by older speakers and by males. Therefore, analysis of this word is applicable to Hypothesis 9, which states that pronunciations associated with American English are used more frequently by teenagers than by adults, and Hypothesis 16, which states that females use fewer non-standard pronunciations and more prestige pronunciations than males (see 4.4). As illustrated by Graph 5.45, the current data indicate that while all groups prefer [skéd-], significantly more teenagers than adults use this American variant ( $p=0.0001$ ). In addition, it appears that the adult males use this form least often, and thus, use the British variant more often than the other groups. The data collected from the personal interviews also reveal a trend for teenagers to use the American variant more often than adults.

### scones

My previous research of Canadian English in Saskatchewan (Nylvek 1984) led to the formulation of Hypothesis 5, which states that the pronunciation [skonz] is used more frequently by teenagers than by adults, and conversely, that the alternate form [skɒnz] is used more frequently by adults than by teenagers. While both forms occur in British and American English, Webster's lists [skonz] first while Oxford lists

[skɒnz] first; therefore, Canadians display divided use of preferred American and British forms and data from this item is also relevant to Hypothesis 9, which states that variants associated with American English are used more often by younger speakers than older speakers (see 4.4). Graph 5.46 illustrates that, among those surveyed, all groups prefer the pronunciation [skɒnz]; however, this variant is used by significantly more teenagers than adults ( $p=0.0001$ ), and more specifically, by more male teenagers than male adults ( $p=0.0002$ ) and by more females teenagers than female adults ( $p=0.0001$ ). Again, this trend was also found within the data collected through personal interviews.

Further analysis reveals that the data have a possible significant relationship with urban versus rural residents. As displayed in Graph 5.47, while the apparent difference in use is not large (less than 10%), statistical analysis indicates that the pronunciation [skɒnz] is used significantly more often by urban residents than by rural residents, and the distribution of responses from the data set collected during the personal interviews further supports this finding.

### **slough**

Of the two variant pronunciations of this word, [slau] is the common form used in Ontario, while [slu] is used in the prairie provinces (Avis 1956: 49). Data

from this study indicate that, as displayed in Graph 5.48, adults use [slu] almost exclusively and significantly more often than teenagers ( $p=0.0011$ ).

Analysis of the data collected personally indicates that, among those interviewed, the pronunciation [slu] was used by all the rural residents and the majority of the urban residents; however, during the interviews it became apparent that several urban teenagers were unfamiliar with the term, and guessed that pronunciation was [slo]. While the analyses of the questionnaire data did not reveal a significant relationship with *urban/rural* residence, this is perhaps a result of the nature of the questions on the postal questionnaire, where if one was unfamiliar with a term one could always guess and choose one of the available options. Thus, based on the data collected personally, one must consider the possibility that there may in fact be *urban/rural* differences, at least for the teenage population.

### soot

Scargill and Warkentyne (1972: 70) found that while the majority of the population surveyed preferred the pronunciation [sut], there appeared to be a trend for students to use [sut] more often than parents. While *age* was not found to be a significant factor in the current study, as displayed in Graph 5.49, there does appear to be a possible significant relationship between the distribution of responses and *urban/rural* residence ( $p=0.0023$ ) where one finds that [sut] is used more often

by rural residents than by urban residents, particularly more often by rural males than by urban males ( $p=0.0061$ ). In addition, while there seems to be virtually no difference in use between rural males and rural females, urban females appear to use [sut] significantly more often than urban males ( $p=0.0382$ ), which in turn indicates that urban males use the variant [sut] most often. The data collected during the personal interviews also indicate that rural residents tend to use [sut] more frequently than urban residents.

Further evidence to suggest that urban males use [sut] more often than any other subgroups is revealed by a possibly significant two-way interaction with *sex* and the *urban* versus *rural* environment variable ( $p=0.0333$ ), which, as displayed in Graph 5.50, indicates that while an urban, a rural, or an urban/rural background has little relationship to use of [sut] or [sut] among the females surveyed, among the males, those who have lived in only an urban environment appear to use [sut] less often than males who have lived only in a rural environment, or in both urban and rural environments.

### **threshing**

A comparison of the pronunciations [θrésʃɪŋ] and [θrášʃɪŋ] reveals a possible significant relationship with *urban/rural* residence, which, as illustrated in Graph 5.51, indicates that while the variant [θrésʃɪŋ] is preferred by all groups, it is used

significantly more often by urban residents than by rural residents ( $p=0.0096$ ). Analysis of the data set collected by means of the reading passage also indicated that this relationship has possible significance ( $p=0.0027$ ). An analysis with the *urban/rural* environment variable also indicates possible significant main effects ( $p=0.0061$ ) which indicate, as displayed in Graph 5.52, that [θrɛʃɪŋ] is used most often by those from an urban only background. Similarly, the distribution of the responses collected during the personal interviews indicates significant main effects, where one finds that, among the individuals surveyed, [θrɛʃɪŋ] is used most often by those with an urban background, followed by those who have lived in both urban and rural environments, and least often by those from a rural background ( $p=0.0038$ ). In addition, there appears to be a significant relationship between the pronunciation of *threshing* and the speaker's level of education, which, as illustrated in Graph 5.53, indicates that [θrɛʃɪŋ] is used more often by university graduates than by those individuals who did not attend university ( $p=0.0447$ ). Similarly, the data set collected by personal interviews also indicates that university graduates use [θrɛʃɪŋ] most often ( $p=0.0019$ ).

### vase

Of the three most common pronunciations in Canadian English, data from *The Survey of Canadian English* (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972: 54) indicate that the

most frequent variant is [vɒz], followed by [vez], and then [ves]. Data from the current study, as displayed in Graph 5.54, indicate that although both teenagers and adults use [vez] to about the same degree, more adults than teenagers use [vɒz],<sup>12</sup> while more teenagers than adults use [ves] ( $p=0.0001$ ). The data set collected during personal interviews also indicates that adults are more likely than teenagers to use the variant [vɒz].

## Z

The choice of what to call the last letter of the alphabet shows divided use of the American variant [zi] and the British [zed], and thus analysis of this linguistic variable is applicable to Hypothesis 9, which states that pronunciations and lexical variants associated with American English are used more frequently by younger speakers than by older speakers (see 4.4). While Scargill and Warkentyne (1972: 54) found that [zed] was used by the majority of those surveyed, Gregg (1984: 69) found that young speakers use [zi] more often than older speakers. Data from the current study, as illustrated in Graph 5.55, indicate that while the vast majority of adults prefer [zed], almost half the teenagers report preference for [zi], a difference which produces significant main effects of *age* ( $p=0.0001$ ). Of those individuals

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<sup>12</sup> This variant is represented in Graph 5.54 as /vaz/ since limitation of the graphics program prevents use of the symbol /v/.

interviewed personally, the majority of adults used [zed] while the majority of teenagers used [zi] ( $p=0.0002$ ).

Further analysis also reveals that, as presented in Graph 5.56, the variant [zi] is used by significantly more individuals of second and third generation than by first generation residents ( $p=0.0055$ ), a trend that is also apparent from the data collected personally.

### **zebra**

Earlier research in Canadian English (Gregg 1973b; Woods 1979; Nylvek 1984) led to the formulation of Hypothesis 6, which states that the pronunciation [zébrə] is used more often by older speakers, while the pronunciation [zibrə] is used by younger speakers (see 4.4). The current data, as illustrated in Graph 5.57, indicate that while [zibrə] is preferred by all groups, it is used by teenagers almost exclusively and significantly more often than by adults ( $p=0.0001$ ), a trend that is also evident within the data collected personally. In addition, although virtually no difference in use between male and female teenagers was revealed, female adults use [zibrə] significantly more often than male adults ( $p=0.0023$ ). Therefore, the variant [zébrə] appears to be used most often by male adults; however, as displayed in Graph 5.58, urban adults use [zibrə] more often than rural adults, a difference which produces statistically significant main effects of *urban/rural* residence

( $p=0.0109$ ). Among those individuals interviewed personally, the variant [zibrə] was used by 100% of the urban residents, but by only 74% of the rural residents, indicating significant main effects of *urban/rural* residence ( $p=0.0148$ ).

In addition, as illustrated in Graph 5.59, while exposure to only urban, only rural, or both urban and rural environments does not seem to be related to the distribution of responses given by teenagers, it does appear that, for the adults surveyed, exposure to such environments is related to use of [zibrə] or [zébrə] ( $p=0.0297$ ).

Lastly, statistical analysis also reveals a possible significant relationship with *education*, which indicates that, as depicted by Graph 5.60, university graduates use [zibrə] significantly more often than those who have not graduated from university ( $p=0.0048$ ), a trend which is also supported by the distribution of responses found in the data set collected by means of personal interviews.

#### 5.4 Analysis of the Phonological Variables

##### /VtV/

Intervocalic voicing of /t/ in words such as *latter* and *butter*, which results from partial assimilation to the preceding (stressed) and following (unstressed) vowels, is a common feature of North American English, and as Wells (1982: 248) notes "to

English people it sounds like /d/ rather than /t/"; however, he also points out that "phonetically it is usually a rapid tap rather than a more deliberate plosive; it is also frequently voiced. But it is an oversimplification just to call it [d]." Avis (1956: 54) regards this phenomena as "one of the major linguistic changes taking place in North American English" and notes:

Since this process is far from being complete and since it affects a very wide range of words indeed, there is a great deal of diversity from speaker to speaker and from word to word. The situation, moreover, is made more complex by the currency of several consonants intermediate between fortis, voiceless /t/ and lenis, voiced /d/.

Thus, data for this study were coded to specify voiceless [t] and voiced [d], and in addition, the flap [D] was used to indicate those sounds between [t] and [d].

Sociolinguistic studies of Canadian English indicate that such intervocalic voicing is a feature found more often in the speech of younger speakers than older speakers (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972; Gregg 1984; Woods 1979), more often in the speech of males than females (Gregg 1984), and in addition, that [t] is retained most often by older females (Gregg 1984; Woods 1979).

For analysis of this variable, data from nine words, *beauty*, *better*, *bitter*, *butter*, *city*, *daughter*, *latter*, *little* and *waiting* were grouped to produce a numerical score for each individual which ranged from nine, indicating sole use of [t], to 27, indicating

exclusive use of [d].<sup>13</sup> Several t-tests were then performed to determine if any significant differences exist between the mean scores of the various groups (see 4.6).

Graph 5.61 displays the mean and error factor (see 4.6) for each of four age groups, and indicates that because the younger age groups have the highest mean scores, the variant [d] is used most often by those under 29 years of age and its use appears to decrease as age increases. Comparisons of the means of each age group indicate that the average score of those individuals over 45 years of age differs significantly from that of the teenagers ( $p=0.001$ ), from that of those between 20 and 29 years old ( $p=0.000$ ), and from that of those between 30 and 44 years old ( $p=0.046$ ).

While this analysis appears to indicate that voicing of /t/ occurs more often in the speech of those under 45 years of age, the mean score for those over 45 years of age is also quite high, indicating that voicing and flapping must also occur often in their speech. Graphs 5.62 to 5.65 present the response frequencies of the three possible variants, [t], [D], and [d] for each word examined for each age group. Graphs 5.62, 5.63, and 5.64 indicate that while voicing and flapping are used almost exclusively by teenagers and by those between 20 and 29 years of age, and

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<sup>13</sup> Because each occurrence of [t] was coded as 1, each occurrence of [D] coded as 2, and each occurrence of [d] coded as 3, when the score is calculated for each individual, by adding the appropriate values for each of the nine words, the minimum possible score is 9, while the maximum possible score is twenty-seven.

extensively by those between the ages of 30 and 44, Graph 5.65 reveals a tendency for voicing to decrease as use of [t] increases among those over 45 years of age.

While a comparison of the mean scores for the males and females did not reveal a significant difference in use of the three variants, the mean for the males was slightly higher, possibly indicating a trend for males to voice intervocalic /t/ more often than females. In addition, it is interesting to note that the majority of instances where intervocalic /t/ remained voiceless [t] were found in the speech of females over 45 years of age. Thus, the distribution of responses found in this study seems to parallel the conclusions made in earlier studies that intervocalic voicing occurs more often in the speech of younger individuals than in that of older individuals.

### /ntV/

Voicing of /t/ also frequently occurs in words such as *centre* and *twenty* where /t/ follows the alveolar nasal /n/ and precedes an unstressed vowel; however, in addition to voicing, in this environment /t/ may also be deleted entirely. Thus, the phonetic realization of *twenty* may be [twénti],<sup>14</sup> with voiceless [t], [twéndi], with voiced [d], or [twéni], with zero realization.<sup>15</sup> Woods (1979) and de Wolf (1988)

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<sup>14</sup> The vowel [ɛ] would also be nasalized.

<sup>15</sup> Chambers (1975: 87 n.8) considers the nasal consonant resulting from this phonological rule to be an alveolar nasal flap [N] and thus would represent this

found that the voiced variant was used most often by males while females preferred use of the more formal standard /t/.

Analysis of this variable included data from the words *centre*, *ninety*, *rental*, *seventy*, and *twenty* which were grouped to produce a numerical score for each individual, which in this case ranged from five, indicating sole use of [t], to 15, indicating consistent deletion of /t/ in all words. Graph 5.66 illustrates that the mean score for the males is significantly greater than that of the females ( $p=0.003$ ) indicating that males voice or delete /t/ in the environment of a preceding nasal and following unstressed vowel more often than females, and thus, females use the voiceless variant more often than males.

In addition, Graph 5.67 illustrates a tendency for the mean score to decrease as age increases, and thus provides evidence to suggest that older speakers use the standard /t/ more often than younger speakers, who are in turn more likely to voice or delete /t/ in the environment /ntV/. Comparisons of the mean scores of each age group reveal that, in fact, the teenagers average a score significantly higher than that of the group over 45 years of age ( $p=0.036$ ).

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realization of *twenty* as [twéNi].

### Canadian Raising

The process known as *Canadian Raising*, which refers to the distribution of the allophones of the diphthongs /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ (see 2.4), was also examined. When the diphthong occurs before a voiced consonant, in words such as *advise* or *loud*, one finds use of the allophones [aɪ] and [aʊ]; however, when the diphthong occurs before a voiceless consonant, in words such as *advice* and *loud*, one expects to find use of the allophones [ʌɪ] and [ʌʊ]. Previous studies of Canadian English have found evidence to suggest that the raised allophones [ʌɪ] and [ʌʊ] are used more often by older speakers than by younger speakers, and more often by males than by females (Woods 1979; de Wolf 1988).

Analyses of the data collected for this study indicate that use of the raised diphthongs [ʌɪ] and [ʌʊ] before a voiceless consonant is very high, averaging over 90% for all groups, and thus, no significant relationships were found with any of the social factors.

### /hw/ versus /w/

The initial consonant in words such as *wheel*, *where*, and *whine* may be realized as voiceless [hw] or voiced [w]. Although British English has generally lost the voiceless variant [hw] while American English has not (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972: 71), use of the two variants will be found in both American and British

English. Previous research in Canadian English (Gregg 1984; de Wolf 1988) led to the postulation of Hypothesis 7, which states that older speakers are more likely to make a distinction between words such as *which* [hwič] and *witch* [wič], while younger speakers are less likely to make such a distinction (see 4.4). Thus, older speakers are more likely to retain the voiceless variant [hw], while younger speakers are more likely to have lost it.

Analysis of this variable grouped data from the words *whee'*, *where*, *whether*, *which*, *while*, *whine*, *whistling*, and *white* in order to produce a numerical score for each individual. For this variable, scores ranged from eight, indicating sole use of [hw], to 16, indicating exclusive use of [w]. Using several t-tests, the mean scores for various groups were then compared to determine if any significant differences exist. Graph 5.68 illustrates the distribution of the mean scores for four age groups. As can be seen, the large mean scores for the three youngest age groups indicate extensive, or for the teenagers exclusive, use of the voiced variant [w], while the mean score for those over 45 years of age is considerably lower, indicating greater use of the voiceless variant [hw]. Comparison of the individual groups indicates that the mean score of the group over 45 years of age differs significantly from that of the teenagers ( $p=0.000$ ), those between the ages of 20 and 29 ( $p=0.000$ ), and those between 30 and 44 years of age ( $p=0.002$ ). In addition, comparison of the mean

score of the teenagers and that of the group between the ages of 30 and 44 indicates borderline significance ( $p=0.053$ ).

Further analyses reveal that the distribution of [w] and [hw] may also differ significantly for urban as opposed to rural residents. As illustrated by Graph 5.69, the urban residents have a significantly higher mean score ( $p=0.014$ ), indicating greater use of [w], while the lower mean score of the rural residents indicates greater use of [hw].

In addition, as illustrated by Graph 5.70, significant different mean scores also appear to be related to the *generation* variable. As displayed in this graph, the first generation individuals appear to use the voiceless variant [hw] significantly more often than those of second generation ( $p=0.002$ ) and third generation ( $p=0.005$ ).

#### /yu/ versus /u/

This phonological variable contrasts palatalized and non-palatalized pronunciations of words such as *dew* ([dyu] versus [du]), *tune* ([tyun] versus [tun]), and *new* ([nyu] versus [nu]) which exhibit presence or absence of the palatal glide /y/. As Wells (1982: 206-7) explains, in the eighteenth century, this process, which is often referred to as yod dropping, resulted in loss of the glide in three environments: following palatals, such as in the word *chew*; following /r/, such as in *rude*; and after a consonant plus /l/, such as in *blue* or *flew*. Wells (1982: 247)

goes on to explain that in General American English this process has been extended to occur after all consonants except labials, as in *beauty*, and velars, as in *cute*. However, variation within American English remains, so that one finds, in certain areas, that the glide following /d/, /t/, and /n/ is retained. As Kurath and McDavid (1961: 174) note, /u/ is predominant in the northeastern states, while pronunciations that retain the glide have "general currency in the South and the South Midland (south of the Potomac and the Kanawha)". They also point out that although, in the northern states, use of variants retaining the glide are "infrequent", such pronunciations are "preferred by some cultured speakers, as in Metropolitan New York."

Consequently, in general the non-palatalized variant /u/ is associated with American English, while the palatalized variant is identified with British English. Previous studies in Canadian English (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972; Woods 1979; Gregg 1984; Nylvek 1984; de Wolf 1988) provide evidence to suggest that the glide is used most often by older speakers, and thus led to the assertion of Hypothesis 8, which states that older speakers are more likely to use palatalized pronunciations, such as [nyu] *new* and [tyun] *tune*, while younger speakers use the corresponding non-palatalized forms [nu] and [tun] (see 4.4). Because this variable displays divided usage, the data are also relevant to Hypothesis 9, which states that forms associated with American English are used more often by younger speakers than older speakers

(see 4.4). In addition, some studies (Woods 1979; Gregg 1984; de Wolf 1988) also provide evidence to suggest that the glide is retained more often by females than by males.

Analysis of this variable required grouping data from the words *dew*, *due*, *knew*, *new*, *student*, *Tuesday*, and *tune* in order to provide a numerical score for each individual, which for this variable will range from seven, indicating sole use of non-palatalized variants, to 14, indicating exclusive use of palatalized forms. Because data for these words were collected from both the postal questionnaire and the personal interviews, the tables that follow present the distribution of responses found in the data from the postal questionnaires that is also supported by analyses of the interview data.

Graph 5.71, which displays the mean scores for the age groups, illustrates that use of the palatalized variants appears to increase as *age* increases, and in fact, t-tests which compared the average scores of the various groups indicate several significant differences as follows: teenagers versus those 20 to 29 years old ( $p=0.005$ ); teenagers versus those 30 to 44 years old ( $p=0.000$ ); teenagers versus those over 45 years of age ( $p=0.000$ ); those 20 to 29 years old versus those 30 to 44 years old ( $p=0.000$ ); and, those 20 to 29 years old versus those over 45 years of age ( $p=0.001$ ).

In addition, as displayed in Graphs 5.72 and 5.73, significant relationships also appear to exist between the distribution of responses and the social variables *urban/rural* residence and *generation*. As Graph 5.72 illustrates, the slightly, but significantly, higher mean score of the urban residents indicates that they use palatalized forms to a greater degree than do rural residents ( $p=0.023$ ).

Graph 5.73 indicates that use of non-palatalized forms increases as number of generations increase. T-tests indicate that significant differences exist between the mean scores of first generation versus second generation ( $p=0.007$ ), first generation versus third generation ( $p=0.000$ ), and between second generation and third generation ( $p=0.001$ ).

## 5.5 Analysis of the Lexical Variables

### bathe / bath / wash

Data from *The Survey of Canadian English* (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972: 79) reveal that both parents and students prefer to use the verb *bath* rather than the verb *bathe*. My previous research in Saskatchewan (Nylvek 1984) provided evidence that the verb *wash* was also used in the same context by some individuals, particularly by males. Consequently, this evidence led to the assertion of Hypothesis 13, which states that *bath* is used more frequently by younger speakers than by older

speakers, and that females use *bathe* more often than males, while males use *wash* more frequently than females (see 4.4).

Graph 5.74, which illustrates the response probabilities for these three variants with respect to *age*, indicates that adults appear to use *bath* and *bathe* more often than teenagers, while teenagers seem to use *wash* more frequently than adults. Statistical analysis indicates that while no significant difference in use of *bath* versus *bathe* was found related to *age*, the distribution of *wash* differs significantly according to *age* in comparison with both *bath* ( $p=0.0001$ ) and *bathe* ( $p=0.0001$ ). Thus, it appears that teenagers use *wash* significantly more often than adults.

The response probabilities presented in Graph 5.75 illustrate a similar distribution where one finds that no significant difference according to *sex* between use of *bath* and *bathe* was uncovered; however, the distribution of *wash* does appear to be related to *sex* and differs significantly from that of *bath* ( $p=0.0001$ ) and *bathe* ( $p=0.0001$ ). Thus, males appear to use *wash* significantly more often than females.

In addition, as illustrated by Graph 5.76, a comparison of the distribution of responses for urban as opposed to rural residents reveals that while use of *wash* appears to be very similar in both environments, and although *bath* is preferred by both groups, urban residents appear to use *bathe* more frequently than rural residents, while rural residents use *bath* more often than urban residents ( $p=0.0066$ ).

behind / (in) back of

*The Survey of Canadian English* (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972: 79) indicates that in comparing the phrases *behind*, *in back of*, and *back of*, *behind* is preferred by the vast majority of speakers of Canadian English. For analysis of the current data, owing to low response frequencies, and to create a dichotomous variable, occurrences of *in back of* and *back of* were grouped together to compare with the distribution of *behind*. Because "*behind* is the more usual usage in the UK" and "the prepositional phrase *(in) back of* is reported to be commonly heard in the US" (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972: 79), data pertaining to this comparison may be considered relevant to Hypothesis 9, which states that variants associated with American English are used more often by younger speakers than by older speakers.

The distribution of responses presented in Graph 5.77 indicates that, although *behind* is preferred by the majority of both adults and teenagers, adults do report significantly greater use of this variant than do teenagers ( $p=0.0064$ ), and in particular, greater use of *behind* was reported by the female adults than by the female teenagers ( $p=0.0039$ ). In addition, a comparison of the distribution of responses reveals a possible significant relationship with *education*. As illustrated by Graph 5.78, *behind* appears to be used significantly more often by those individuals who have graduated from university than by those who did not attend university

( $p=0.0061$ ), and again, this difference appears to be particularly significant among the females surveyed ( $p=0.0060$ ).

### **bluff**

Although the term *bluff* to refer to 'a group of trees' is peculiar to the prairie provinces,<sup>16</sup> my research in Saskatchewan (Nylvek 1984) has led me to believe that its use may not be as extensive as it once was. This belief, plus other research in Canadian English (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972; Nylvek 1984) led to the formulation of Hypothesis 14, which states that older speakers use *bluff* more often than younger speakers, that males use *bluff* more frequently than females, and that rural residents use *bluff* more often than urban residents (see 4.4). In order to answer two questions, namely "What terms do Saskatchewan residents use to refer to 'a group of trees?'" and "Do Saskatchewan residents recognize use of the term *bluff* to refer to trees?", two questions were included on the questionnaire (see Appendix B, questions IV-4 and IV-11).

Graphs 5.79, 5.80, and 5.81 present the response probabilities for the five most common terms reported to refer to 'a group of trees', namely *bluff*, *bush*, *clump*, *forest*, and *grove*, in relation to the social variables *age*, *sex*, and *urban* versus *rural* residence. Comparison of these distributions reveals that while no one term

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<sup>16</sup> Allen (1959: 22) also records this use of *bluff* in North Dakota.

is used by a majority of speakers, the adults, the males, and the rural residents tend to use *bluff* most often, while the teenagers, the females, and the urban residents appear to use *forest* most often.

In response to the second '*bluff*' question on the questionnaire, which asked the respondents to describe what "a *bluff*" meant to them, the most common responses were 'trees' and 'some sort of deception'. Thus, statistical analyses were conducted in order to discover if any significant relationships exist with the various social variables and these two responses.

Graph 5.82 illustrates that while the majority of adults, particularly male adults, report use of *bluff* to refer to trees, less than half the teenagers report such use, although use by the male teenagers appears to be close to 50%, and thus, reveals a significant relationship to *age* ( $p=0.0001$ ). In addition, the males report this use of *bluff* significantly more often than the females ( $p=0.0003$ ). Comparison of specific groups reveals the following significant results: male adults versus male teenagers ( $p=0.0001$ ); female adults versus female teenagers ( $p=0.0001$ ); and male adults versus female adults ( $p=0.0008$ ).

Graphs 5.83 and 5.84 indicate that place of residence may also be an important factor in use of *bluff*. As Graph 5.83 illustrates, comparison of responses from urban as opposed to rural residents appears to indicate that *bluff* to refer to 'trees' is used significantly more often by rural residents (both teenagers and adults)

than by urban residents ( $p=0.0001$ ). Graph 5.84 indicates that while adults in both rural areas surveyed reported use of *bluff* to refer to 'trees' more often than teenagers, teenagers in the western rural area appear to use this term significantly more often than teenagers in the eastern rural region ( $p=0.0128$ ).

In addition, comparisons of responses given by those individuals who have only lived in a rural environment, only in an urban environment, and in both environments provide further evidence that use of *bluff* to refer to 'trees' is related to place of residence. As illustrated by Graph 5.85, use of *bluff* for 'trees' appears to be used most often by individuals from a rural only background, followed by those who have lived in both environments, and least often by those from an urban only background.

### **chesterfield / couch / sofa**

Studies by Scargill and Warkentyne (1972: 86) and Gregg (1984: 92, 94) indicate that Canadians appear overwhelmingly to prefer the term *chesterfield*,<sup>17</sup> and therefore Canadian use contrasts with both the British and American use of *sofa*, and American use of *davenport*. The three most common responses found in the current study were *chesterfield*, *couch*, and *sofa*, and as displayed in Graph 5.86, it appears that although *couch* is preferred by both teenagers and adults, it is used

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<sup>17</sup> However, in his study of the Kootenay region, Gregg (1973: 112) found that while adults preferred *chesterfield* (83%), teenagers preferred *couch* (69%).

more often by teenagers than by adults, while adults use *chesterfield* more often than teenagers ( $p=0.0001$ ). *Sofa* appears to have about the same frequency of use for each group.

A comparison of responses from urban residents with those from rural residents reveals an apparent significant three-way interaction ( $p=0.0244$ ) which, as illustrated by Graph 5.87, appears to be the result of responses from rural female adults who seem to deviate from the pattern of all other groups. It appears from the distribution of responses that although frequency of the term *couch* decreases as *age* increases, the rural female adults are the only group that prefers use of *chesterfield* over *couch*.

Further analyses also reveal possible significant relationships between use of *chesterfield* and *couch* and the social variables *generation* and *education* as displayed in Graphs 5.88 and 5.89. Graph 5.88 illustrates that while second and third generation individuals appear to prefer the term *couch*, first generation individuals appear to differ by their preference for *chesterfield* ( $p=0.0166$ ). Also, as illustrated by Graph 5.89, *couch* appears to be the preferred term among university graduates, while *chesterfield* is used slightly more often than *couch* by those individuals who did not attend university ( $p=0.0004$ ).

creek / stream

Data from *The Survey of Canadian English* reveal that while *brook* is used widely among speakers in Atlantic Canada, all subgroups from Ontario west preferred the term *creek* (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972: 91).<sup>18</sup> The two most popular responses from the current study were *creek* and *stream*. Graph 5.90 illustrates that while adults preferred *creek* (although just slightly more than 50% of the female adults chose *creek*), teenagers preferred *stream* ( $p=0.0001$ ). In addition, males in general appear to use *creek* more often than females ( $p=0.0056$ ), particularly male adults in comparison with female adults ( $p=0.0024$ ).

fall / autumn

Scargill and Warkentyne (1972: 86) note that *fall* is associated with American English, while *autumn* is used primarily by speakers of British English, and they found, in *The Survey of Canadian English*, that the majority of Canadians in each subgroup preferred *fall*. Data concerning these lexical items are therefore relevant to Hypothesis 9, which states that variants associated with American English are used more often by younger speakers than by older speakers (see 4.4). Graph 5.91 illustrates that both adults and teenagers prefer *fall* over *autumn*; however, it appears that males may use *fall* more often than females ( $p=0.0006$ ). There may

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<sup>18</sup>In Saskatchewan the reported use of creek was as follows: male parents, 78%; female parents, 74%; male students, 70%; female students, 58%.

also be a significant interaction between *age* and *residence* ( $p=0.0252$ ) as illustrated by Graph 5.92, where one can see that although little variation was found regarding use by teenage residents, there may be a tendency for urban adults to use *fall* more often than rural adults.

### french fries / fries / chips

As Scargill and Warkentyne note, *chips* is associated with British English while *french fries* and *fries* are used in North America (1972: 94). Therefore, this linguistic variable is relevant to Hypothesis 9, which states that pronunciations and lexical variants associated with American English are used more frequently by younger speakers than by older speakers (see 4.4). My previous research (Nylvek 1984) revealed a tendency for *chips* to be used most often by subjects over 45 years of age, while *fries* was used most often by speakers under 45 years of age. The data for this study, presented in Graph 5.93, indicate that *age* is indeed a significant factor ( $p=0.0001$ ). While *french fries* appears to be the preferred term for both age groups, the significance lies in the distribution of subjects using *chips* and *fries*. This graph illustrates that while few teenagers use the term *chips*, almost 30 percent use *fries*. On the other hand, while adults use both *chips* and *fries*, they use *chips* considerably more often and *fries* somewhat less often than the teenagers.

**holiday / vacation / trip**

The question designed to elicit information regarding use of the term *holiday*, usually associated with British English, and the term *vacation*, often associated with American English, reveals that a large portion of the sample used the term *trip* instead, and thus, analysis of data included the three responses. Because this variable also shows divided use of the British English term *holiday* and the American English term *vacation*, the data is relevant to Hypothesis 9, which states that variants associated with American English are used more often by younger speakers than by older speakers (see 4.4). The data displayed in Graph 5.94 represents the significant age distribution ( $p=0.0001$ ) and illustrates that *vacation* is used most often by teenagers (55%), while *holiday* is used most often by adults (50%). In addition, while adults also appear to use *vacation* frequently (40%) and *trip* somewhat less often (10%), the data representing the teenagers indicate that this group prefers *trip* (26%) over *holiday* (19%).

The data displayed in Graph 5.95 indicate that *education* may be significant as well ( $p=0.0294$ ). While *holiday* is preferred by both groups, *vacation* appears to be used more frequently by university graduates than by those who have not attended university.

### living room / parlour

Data from *The Survey of Canadian English* indicate that *living room* is the preferred term among participants in all provinces with *front room* being the second most popular response (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972: 99). Scargill and Warkentyne also note that *parlour* is used most often in Prince Edward Island and Quebec, but the figures indicate minimal use in the prairie provinces. Data from my previous study (Nylvek 1984) indicate that while *living room* is the preferred term of all groups, *parlour* is used most often by older speakers (see 4.4). Thus, analyses of this variable is relevant to Hypothesis 11, which states that *parlour* is used most often by older speakers. Data from the current study reveals that the two most popular responses are *living room* and *parlour* with only one occurrence of *front room*.

The analyses indicate that although both teenagers and adults prefer the term *living room*, *age* may be a significant factor ( $p=0.0175$ ) related to use of *living room* or *parlour*. Graph 5.96 illustrates that teenagers appear to use *living room* slightly more often than adults and in particular, the male teenagers appear to use it considerably more often than the male adults ( $p=0.0316$ ).

A comparison of the data collected from rural residents, as displayed in Graph 5.97, indicates a significant distribution of use between the western and eastern rural areas surveyed ( $p=0.0467$ ). Although *living room* is used by the vast majority of teenagers in both the western (92%) and eastern (90%) rural areas, and

by the vast majority of adults from the western area (88%), adults from the eastern area appear to use *living room* considerably less often (56%), and correspondingly, use *parlour* more often than any other subgroup.

### lunch / dinner

My previous research in Saskatchewan (Nylvek 1984: 125) revealed a tendency for rural residents to use the term *dinner* in reference to the noon meal more often than urban residents. Thus, data pertaining to this variable are relevant to Hypothesis 15, which states that rural residents use *dinner* in reference to the noon meal more frequently than urban speakers (see 4.4).

Analyses reveals that use of *lunch* or *dinner* may be related to *age* and *sex* ( $p=0.0296$ ). Graph 5.98 illustrates that although virtually no difference in use exists between female teenagers and adults (*lunch* 42%; *dinner* 58%), male teenagers prefer *lunch* (55%), while male adults prefer *dinner* (62%).<sup>19</sup>

Further analyses, as displayed in Graph 5.99, indicate a significant relationship between use of *lunch* or *dinner* with urban versus rural residence ( $p=0.0293$ ). As the data reveal, regardless of age, urban residents prefer the term *lunch*, while rural residents prefer *dinner*. In addition, a comparison of western rural residents with eastern rural residents, as displayed in Graph 5.100, reveals that while *lunch* is not

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<sup>19</sup> In reference to the evening meal, use of *supper*, which was reported by 89% of the participants, appears to be preferred over use of *dinner* (11%).

preferred by any subgroup, it appears to be used least often by teenagers residing in the eastern rural area surveyed ( $p=0.0300$ ).

A comparison of responses given by those individuals who have lived only in a rural environment, only in an urban environment, and in both environments provides further evidence that use of *lunch* and *dinner* is related to place of residence ( $p=0.0001$ ). The data displayed in Graph 5.101 indicate that the term *lunch* is used most often by individuals who have lived only in an urban environment and least often by those who have only lived in a rural environment. Use of *lunch* by those who have lived in both an urban and a rural environment appears to fall somewhere between the two extremes.

As illustrated in Graph 5.102, a possible significant relationship with *education* is also revealed ( $p=0.0095$ ); however, because a university education also implies exposure to an urban environment, these data may be confounded. Nevertheless, the distribution of these data indicate that while *education* may be related to use of *lunch* and *dinner* by males ( $p=0.0035$ ), it appears to have little association with use by females.

### mailman / postman

Of these terms, *postman* is usually associated with British English and *mailman* with American English. Therefore, these data are relevant to Hypothesis

9, which states that variables associated with American English are used more frequently by younger speakers than by older speakers (see 4.4). Scargill and Warkentyne (1972: 95) state that although *mailman* was preferred by participants in all provinces, "the young people use *mailman* more consistently than their parents." The data presented in Graph 5.103 illustrates the distribution of *mailman* with *age* and *sex*, and although *mailman* is preferred by all groups, it is used significantly more often by teenagers than by adults ( $p=0.0082$ ).

A comparison of responses from urban versus rural residents, displayed in Graph 5.104, indicates that while teenagers use *mailman* more often than adults, urban residents appear to use it more often than rural residents ( $p=0.0003$ ).

In addition, a comparison of participants who have only lived in an urban environment, only in a rural environment, or in both an urban and a rural environment also reveals a possible significant relationship ( $p=0.0007$ ). As illustrated in Graph 5.105, urban residents appear to use *mailman* most often, while rural residents use it least often. Use of *mailman* by those participants who have lived in both an urban and rural environment appears to fall somewhere between the frequencies of the other two groups.

napkin / serviette

Data from *The Survey of Canadian English* indicate that while the terms *napkin* and *serviette* may be used for either the fabric or paper variety, students from Saskatchewan appear to prefer *napkin* regardless of the material from which it is made. On the other hand, adults from the same province tend to use *serviette* more often for the paper variety and *napkin* more often when the item is made from fabric (Scargill and Warkentyne 1972: 89-90). The data concerning these variables are relevant to Hypothesis 12, which states that *serviette* is used more often when referring to the paper variety than to the cloth variety, although *napkin* is preferred by younger speakers for both the paper and cloth varieties, while *serviette* is used more often by older speakers (see 4.4).

The data presented in Graph 5.106 indicate that both adults and teenagers prefer to use *napkin* in reference to the fabric variety; however, teenagers use this term significantly more often than adults ( $p=0.0001$ ). An analysis of subgroups indicates that among those individuals participating in the study, male teenagers use *napkin* significantly more often than male adults ( $p=0.0081$ ), and correspondingly, female teenagers use this term significantly more often than female adults ( $p=0.0004$ ).

Analysis of the data concerning the paper variety reveals that *age* is again a significant factor ( $p=0.0001$ ). Graph 5.107 illustrates that while all groups prefer to

use *napkin* when referring to the paper type, far more teenagers use this term for this particular item than do adults. Contrasts of subgroups again reveal significant differences in use between male teenagers and male adults ( $p=0.0001$ ) and between female teenagers and female adults ( $p=0.0001$ ). A comparison of Graph 5.107 with Graph 5.106 indicates that far fewer adults use *napkin* in reference to the paper type than they do in reference to the fabric kind.

Analysis of the data with respect to urban or rural residence reveal a significant interaction with *age* ( $p=0.0003$ ). Graph 5.108 illustrates that although *napkin* is preferred by teenagers regardless of residence, *napkin* is used for the paper variety more often by urban residents than by rural residents, and in fact, the data indicate that among the rural adults, *serviette* may be the preferred term for the paper item.

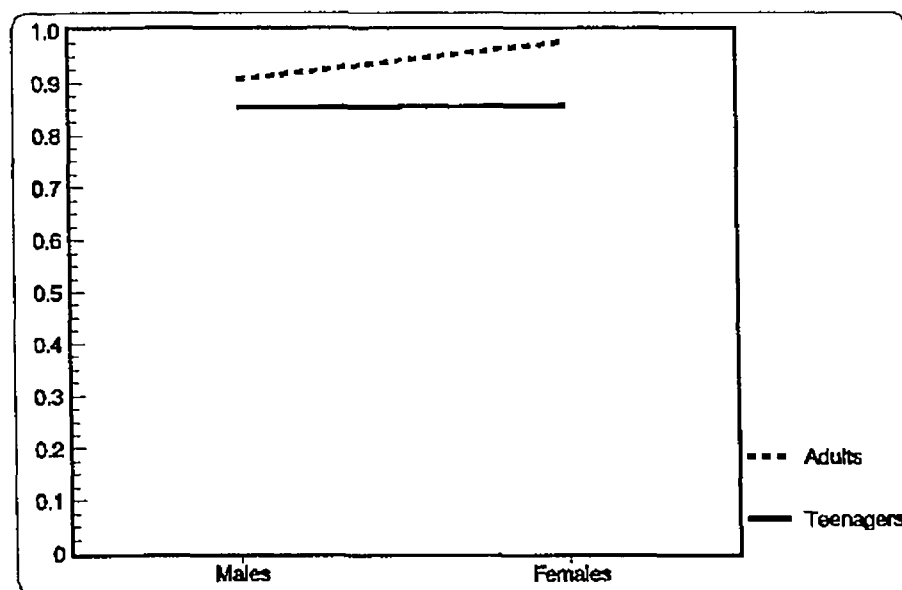
### pits / stones

Scargill and Warkentyne (1972: 93) state that "*stone* is the most frequent form in the US and the only one used in Britain" and also note that *pit* is used in the Northern area of the United States. Their data reveal that participants from Saskatchewan appear to use *stone* slightly more often than *pit*. Data from this study indicate that *age* is a significant factor related to use of *pit* or *stone* ( $p=0.0023$ ). Graph 5.109 illustrates that while *pit* was preferred by all groups, adults appear to

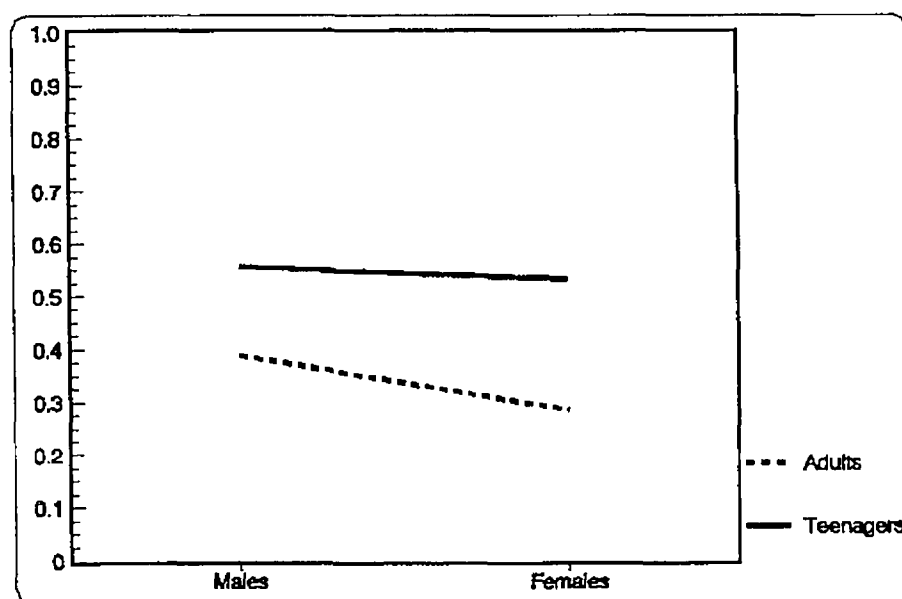
use it significantly more often than teenagers, and therefore, teenagers use *stone* more often than adults.

## 5.6 Conclusion

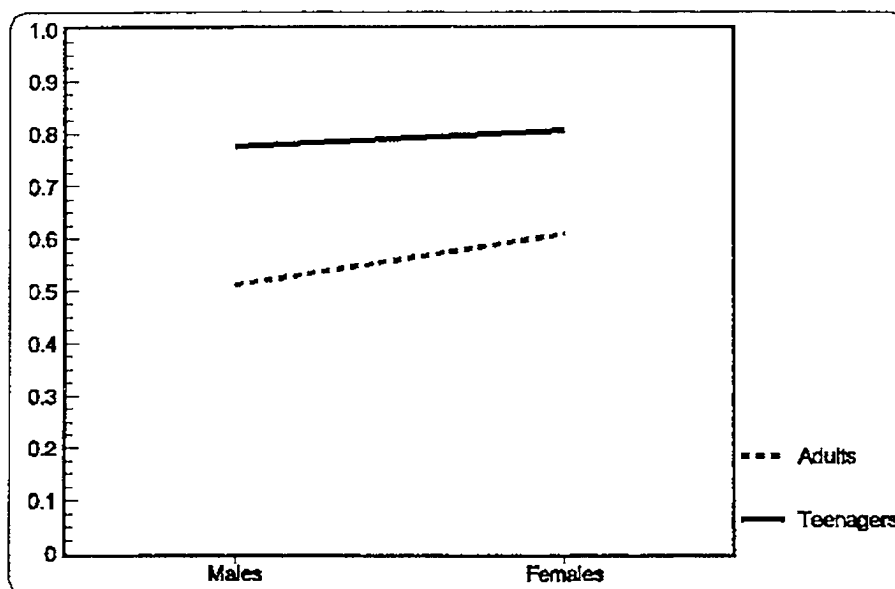
The results presented in this chapter indicate that a good deal of variation exists in the language of speakers of Canadian English in Saskatchewan. Much of this variation appears to be associated with one or more of the social variables *age*, *sex*, *urban/rural*, *generation*, and *education*. While some of the analyses were carried out in order to provide information relevant to the *a priori* hypotheses (see 4.4), much is exploratory. The following chapter includes a discussion of the results with reference to the *a priori* hypotheses, and summarises the important outcomes concerning relationships discovered through the exploratory analyses.



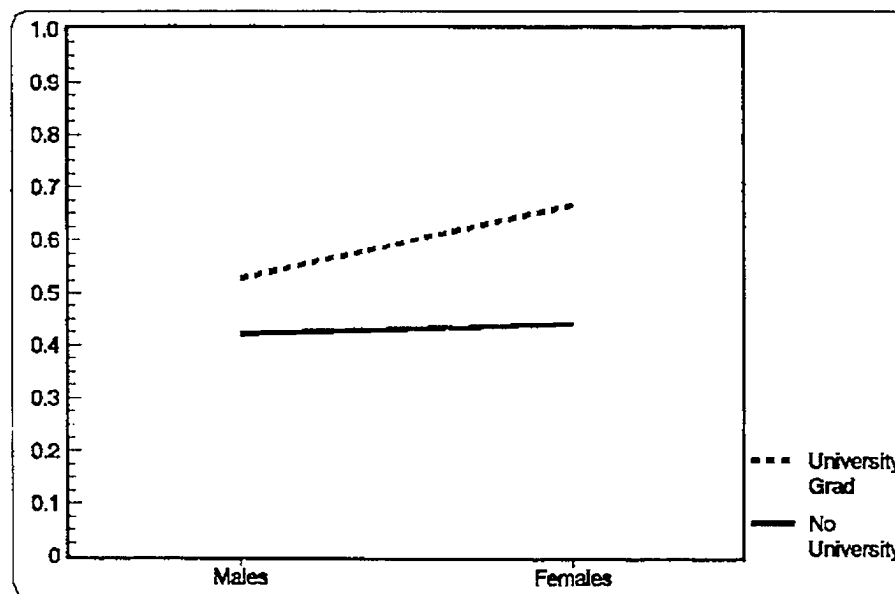
**Graph 5.1** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [ædɔlt] *adult* with Sex and Age.



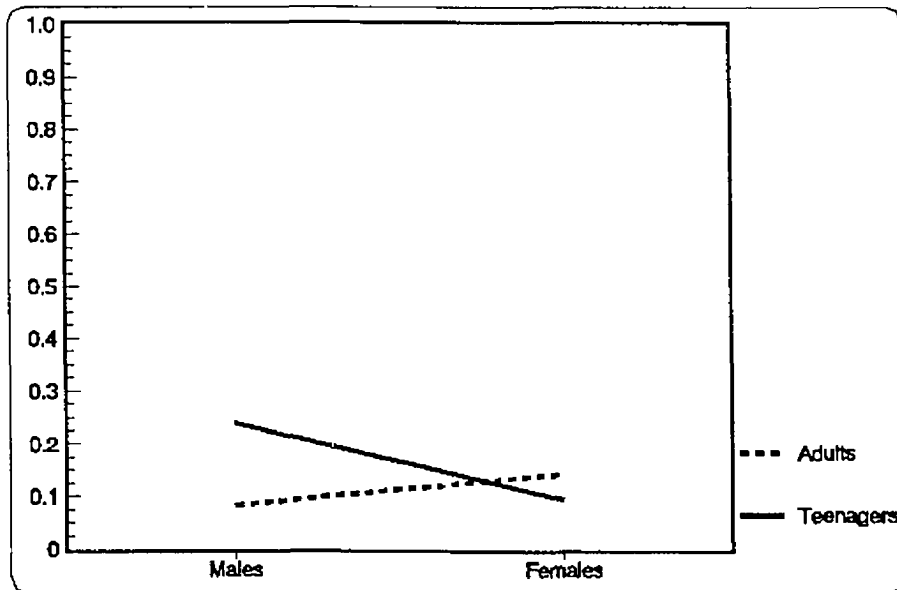
**Graph 5.2** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [əgɛn] *again* with Sex and Age.



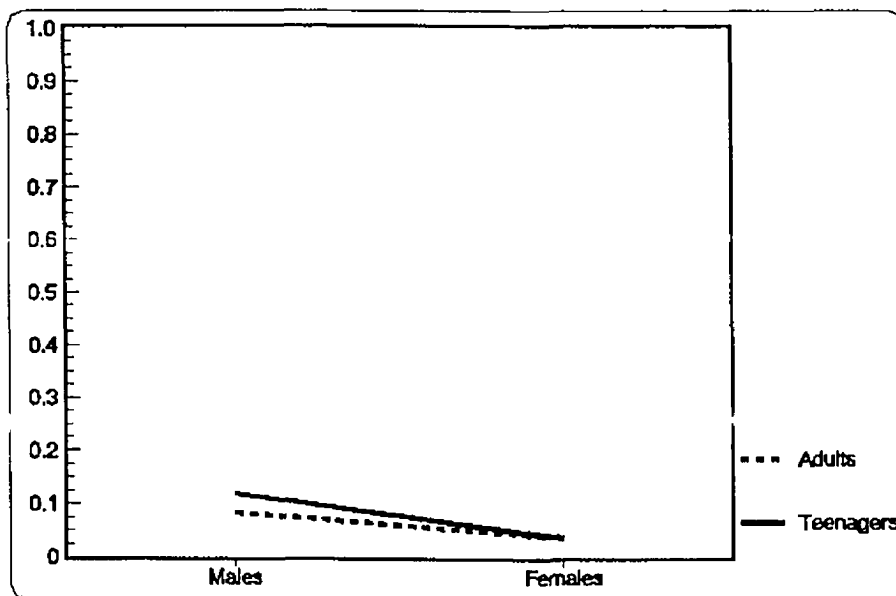
Graph 5.3 The Distribution of the Pronunciation [æmɒnd] *almond* with Sex and Age.



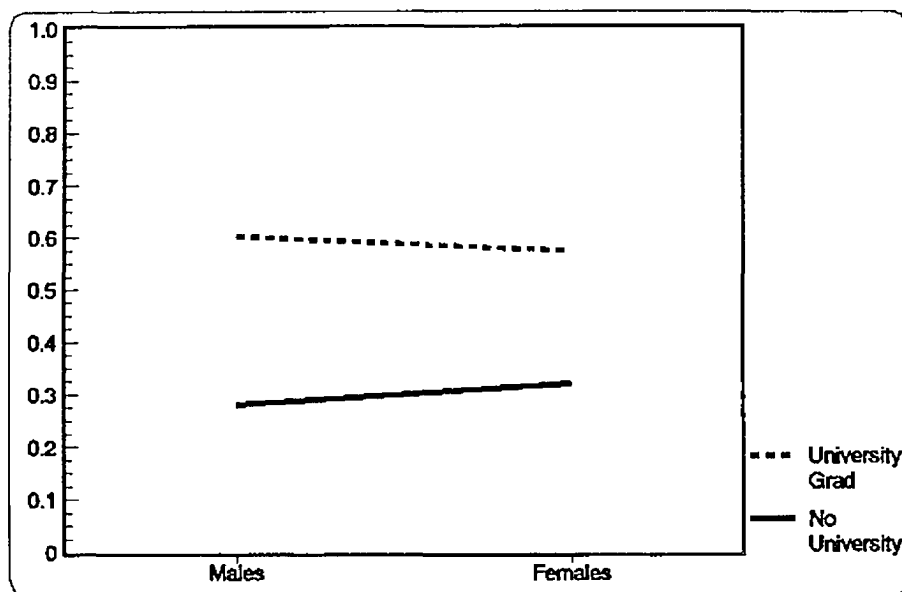
Graph 5.4 The Distribution of the Pronunciation [æmɒnd] *almond* with Sex and Level of Education.



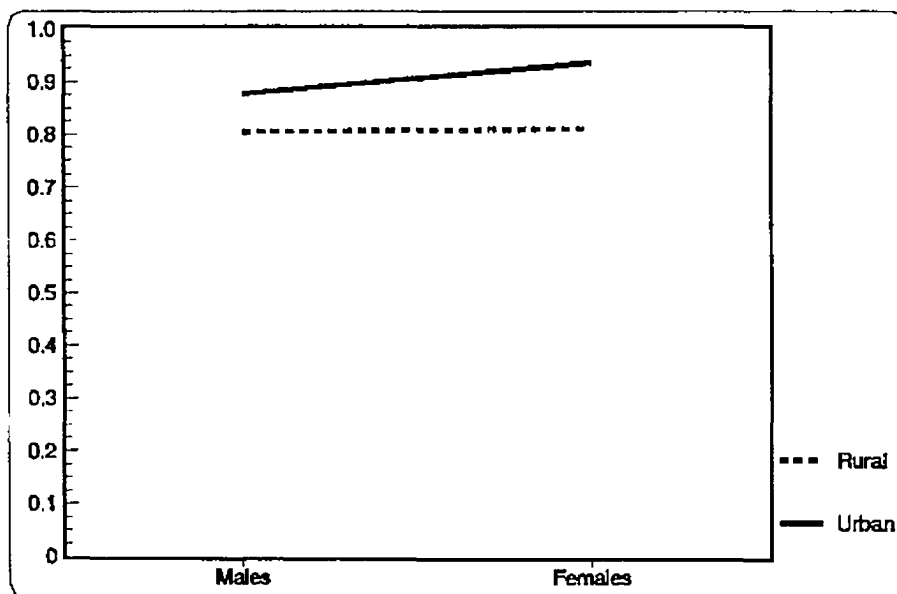
**Graph 5.5** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [ãntai] *anti-* with Sex and Age.



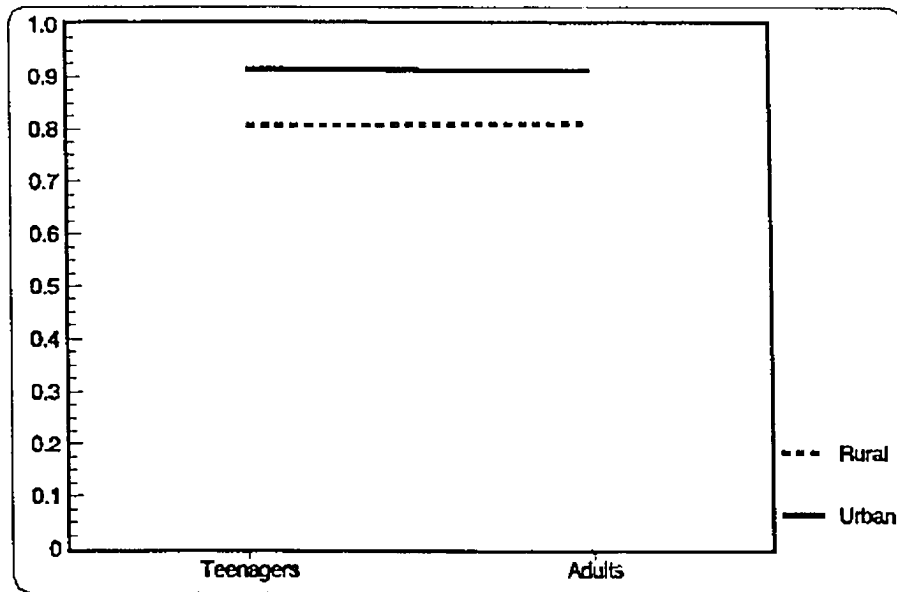
**Graph 5.6** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [sémai] *semi-* with Sex and Age.



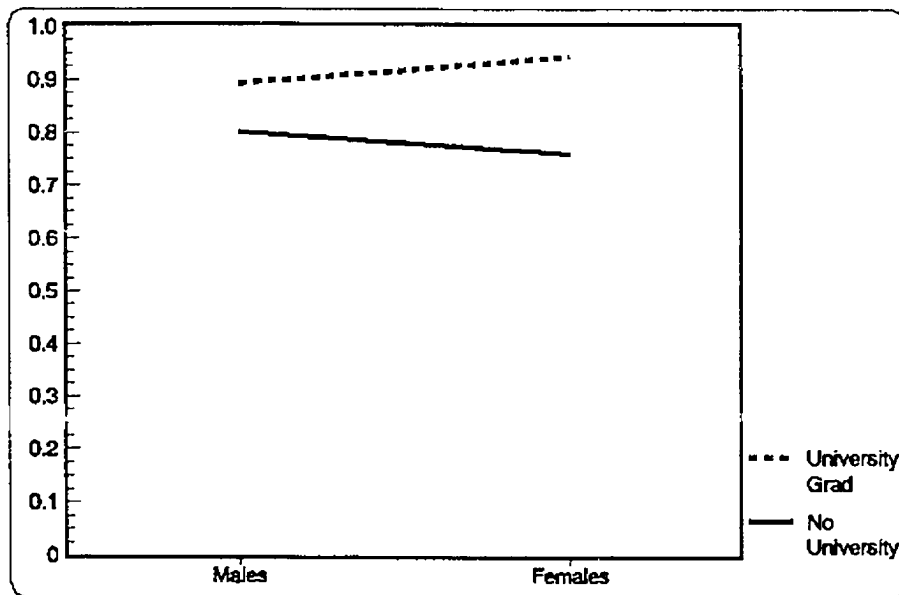
Graph 5.7 Distribution of the Pronunciation [árktɪk] *arctic* with Sex and Education.



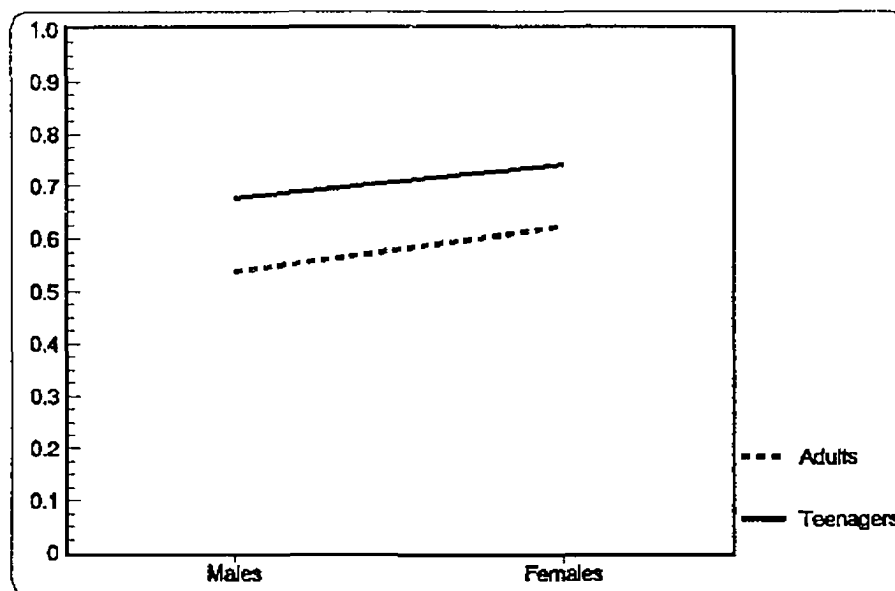
Graph 5.8 The Distribution of the Pronunciation [áθlit] *athlete* with Sex and Urban/Rural Residence.



**Graph 5.9** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [æθlit] *athlete* with Age and Urban/Rural Residence.



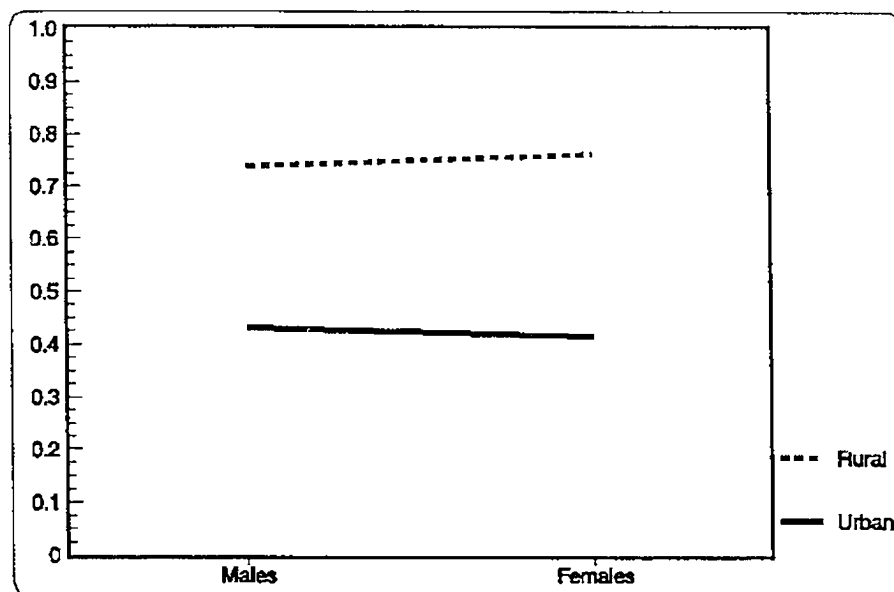
**Graph 5.10** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [æθlit] *athlete* with Sex and Education.



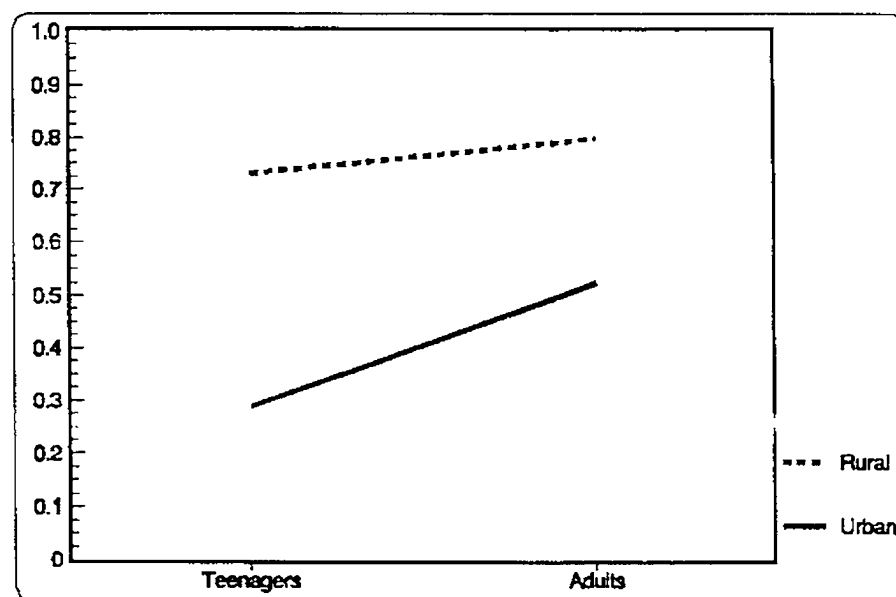
**Graph 5.11** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [búri] *bury* with Sex and Age.



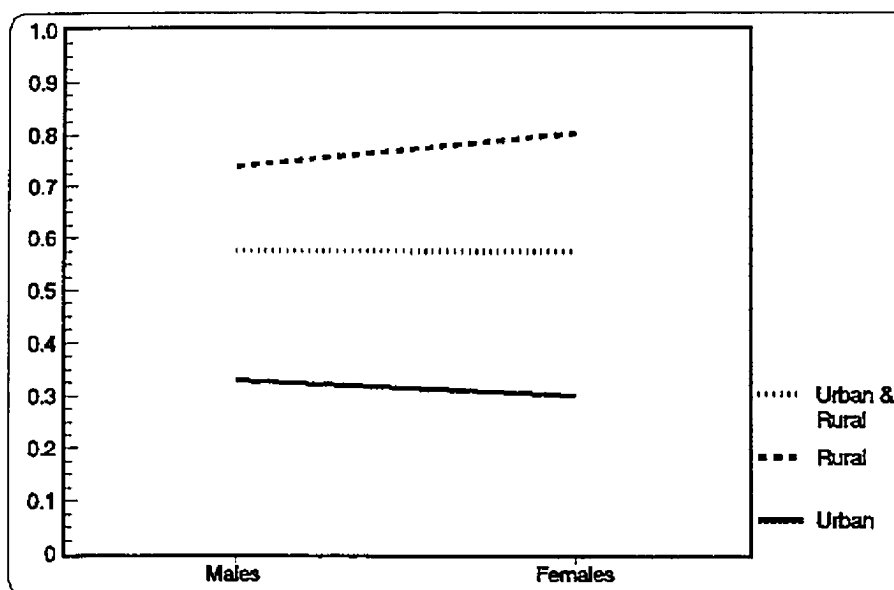
**Graph 5.12** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [búri] *bury* with Generation.



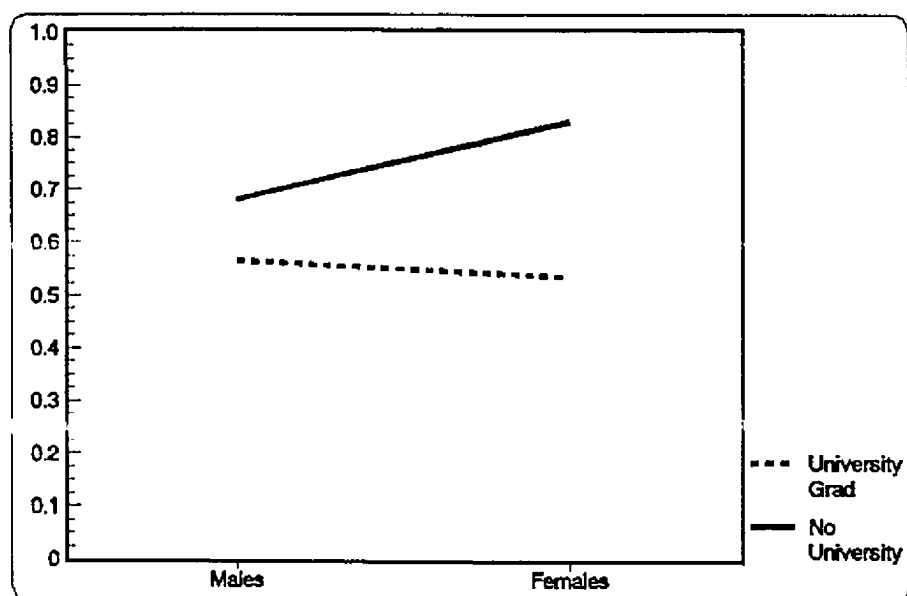
**Graph 5.13** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [kóli] *collie* with Sex and Urban/Rural Residence.



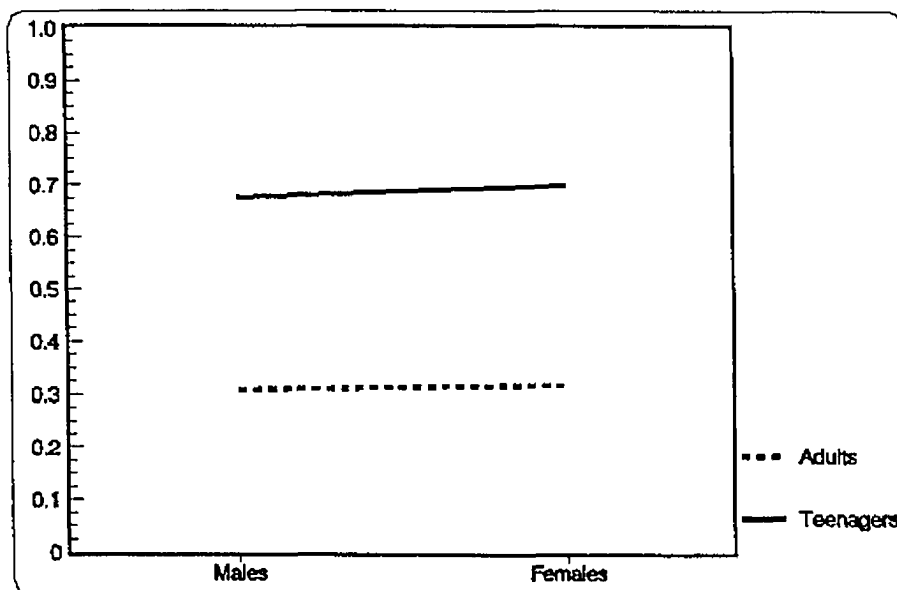
**Graph 5.14** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [kóli] *collie* with Age and Urban/Rural Residence.



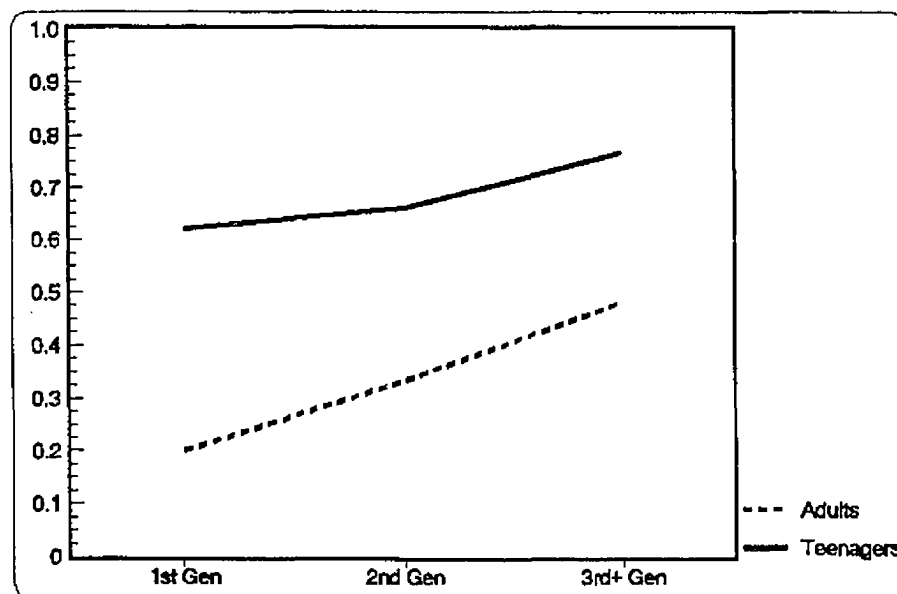
Graph 5.15 The Distribution of the Pronunciation [kóli] *collie* with Sex and Environment.



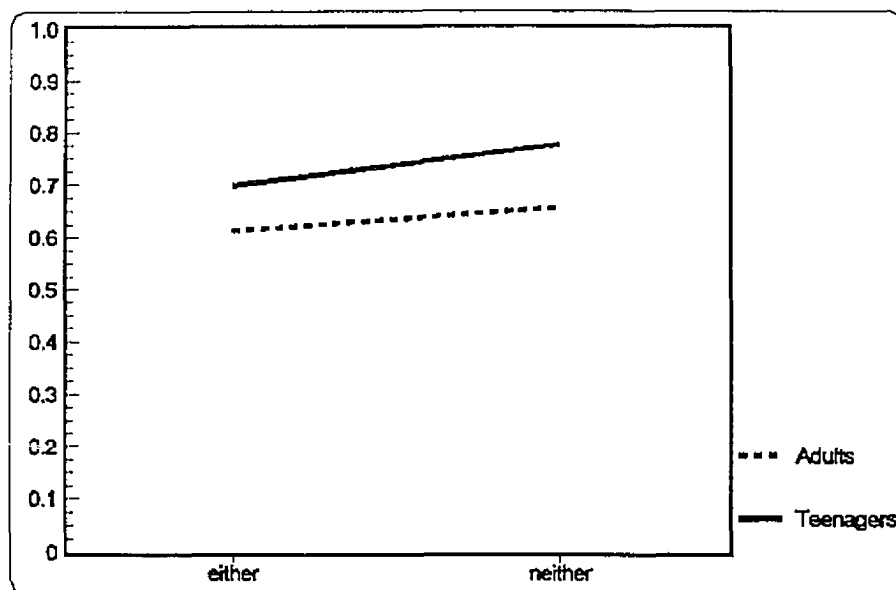
Graph 5.16 The Distribution of the Pronunciation [kóli] *collie* with Sex and Education.



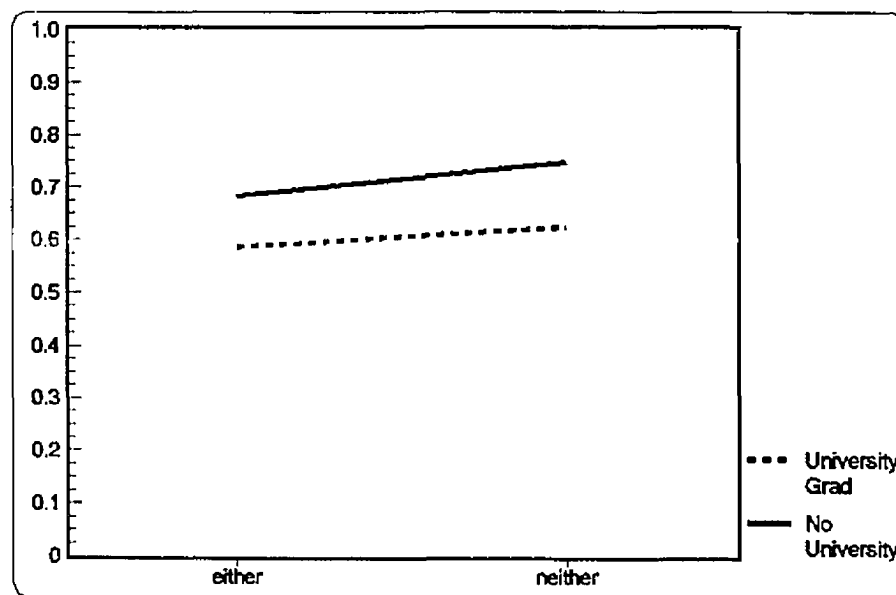
**Graph 5.17** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [kəŋgræʃələt] *congratulate* with Sex and Age.



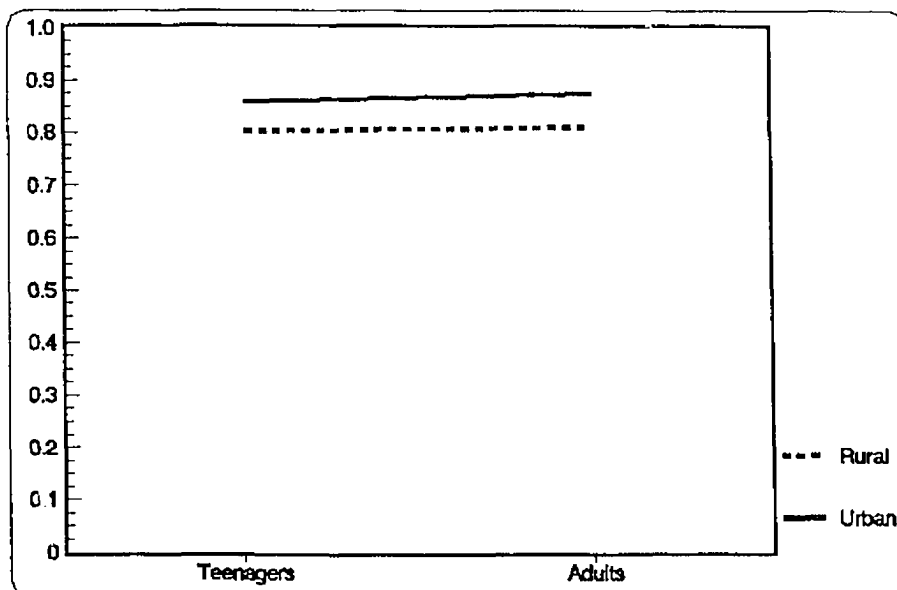
**Graph 5.18** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [kəŋgræʃələt] *congratulate* with Age and Generation.



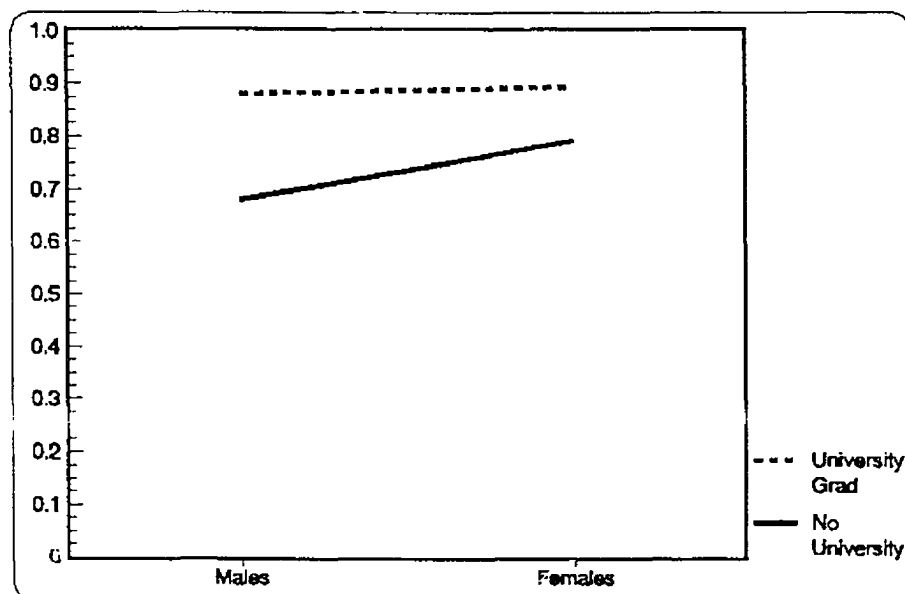
Graph 5.19 The Distribution of the Pronunciations [iðər] *either* and [niðər] *neither* with Age.



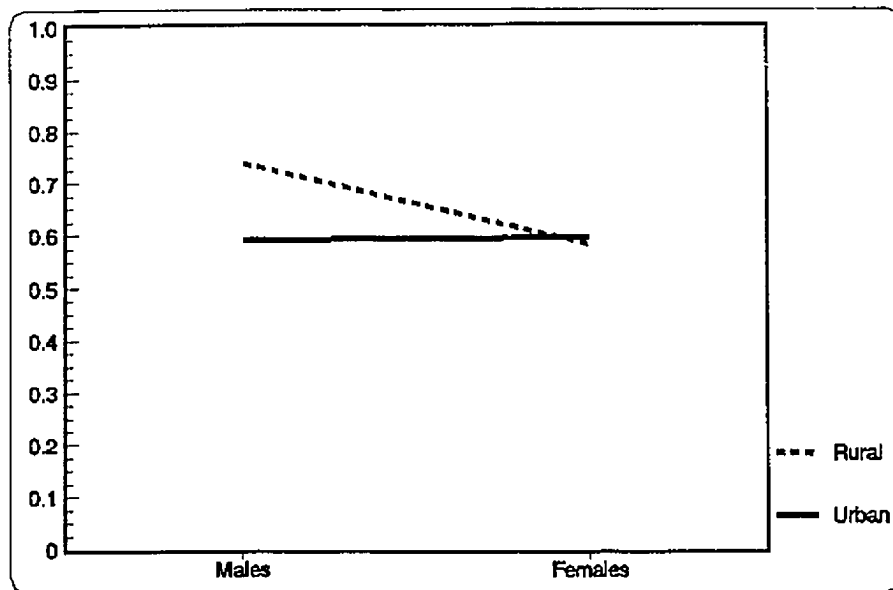
Graph 5.20 The Distribution of the Pronunciations [iðər] *either* and [niðər] *neither* with Education.



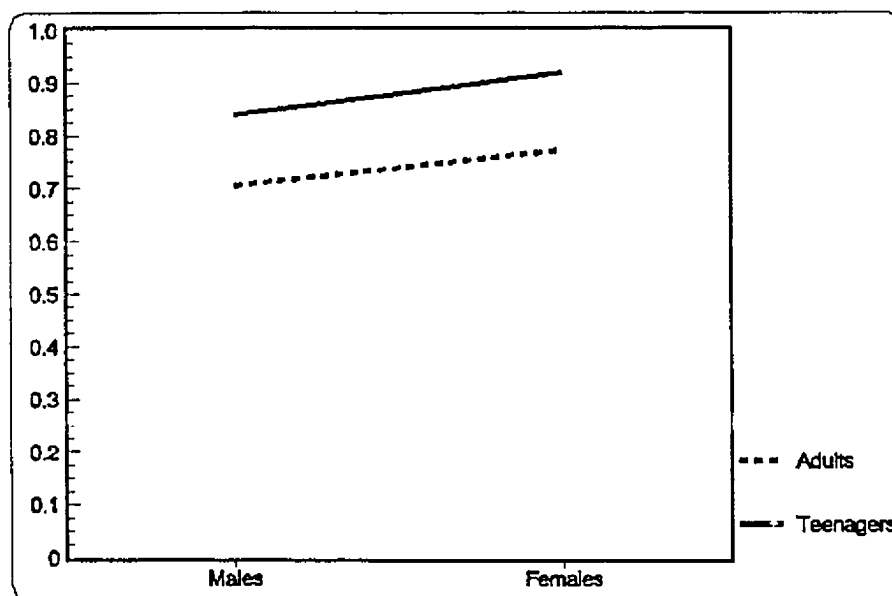
**Graph 5.21** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [film] *film* with Age and Urban/Rural Residence.



**Graph 5.22** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [film] *film* with Sex and Education.



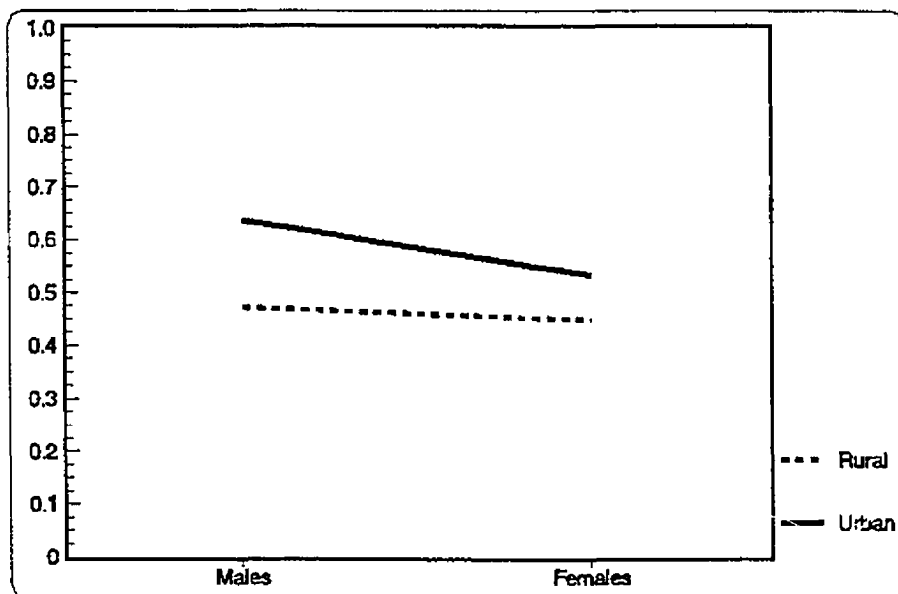
**Graph 5.23** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [jényuàn] *genuine* with Sex and Urban/Rural Residence.



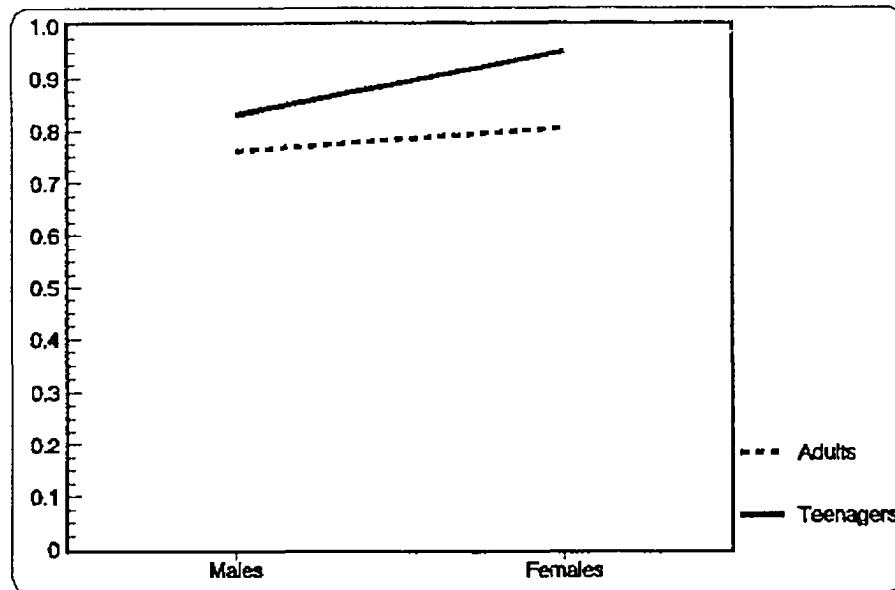
**Graph 5.24** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [gérəntì] *guarantee* with Sex and Age.



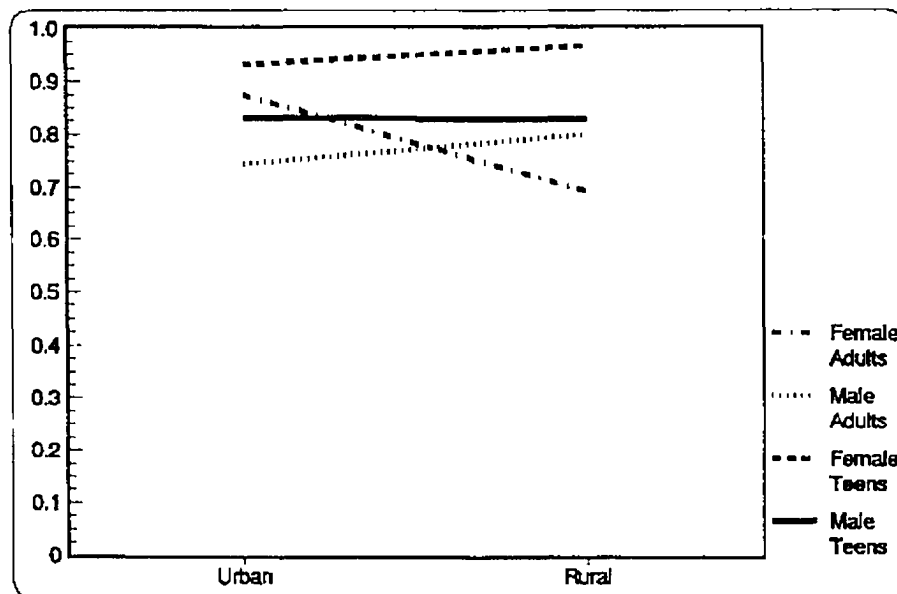
**Graph 5.25** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [gérənti] *guarantee* with Generation.



**Graph 5.26** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [itælyən] *Italian* with Sex and Urban/Rural Residence.



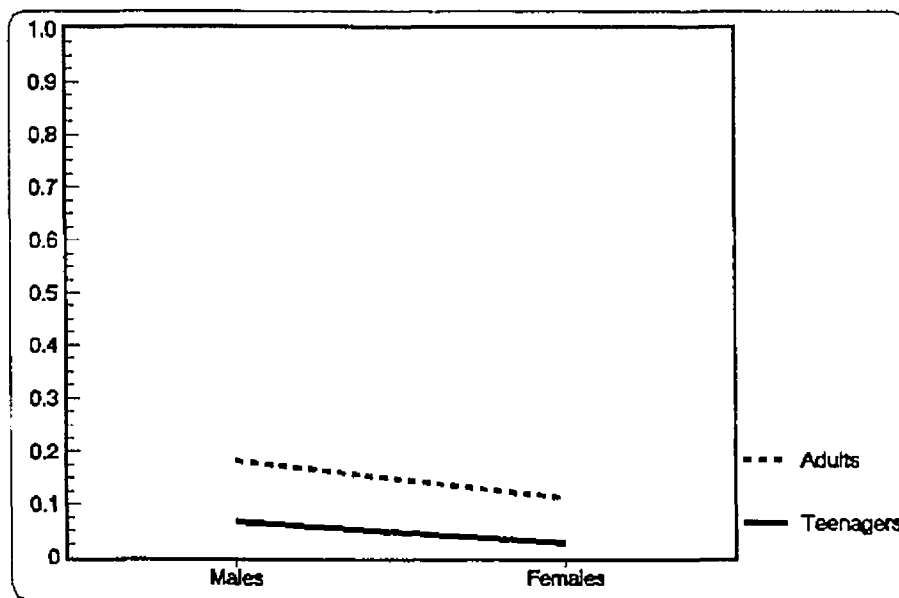
Graph 5.27 The Distribution of the Pronunciation [kæki] *khaki* with Sex and Age.



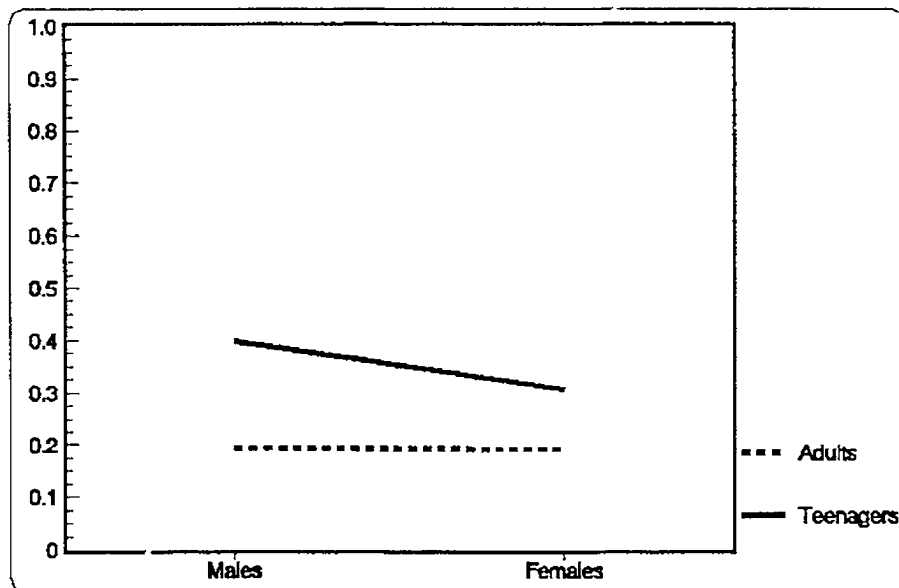
Graph 5.28 The Distribution of the Pronunciation [kæki] *khaki* with Sex, Age, and Urban/Rural Residence.



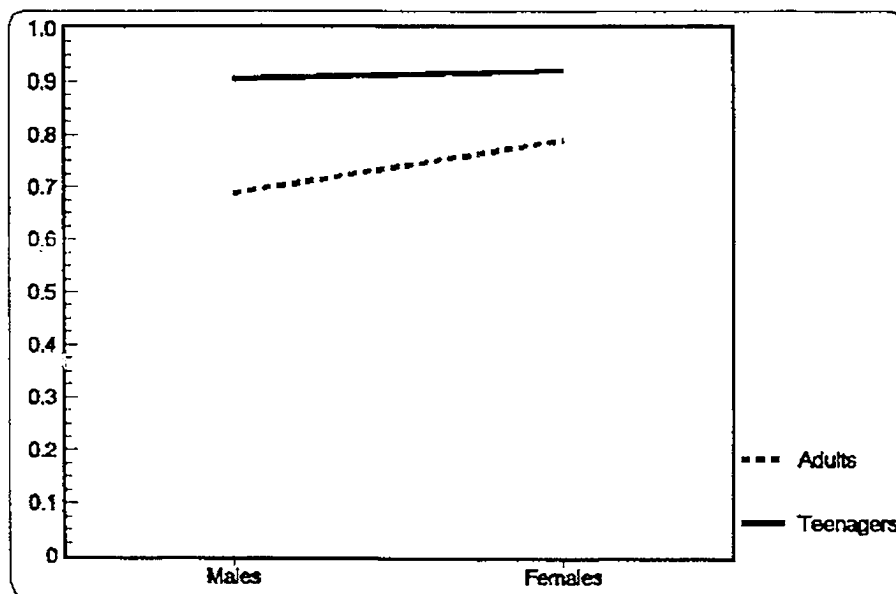
**Graph 5.29** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [kæki] *khaki* with Generation.



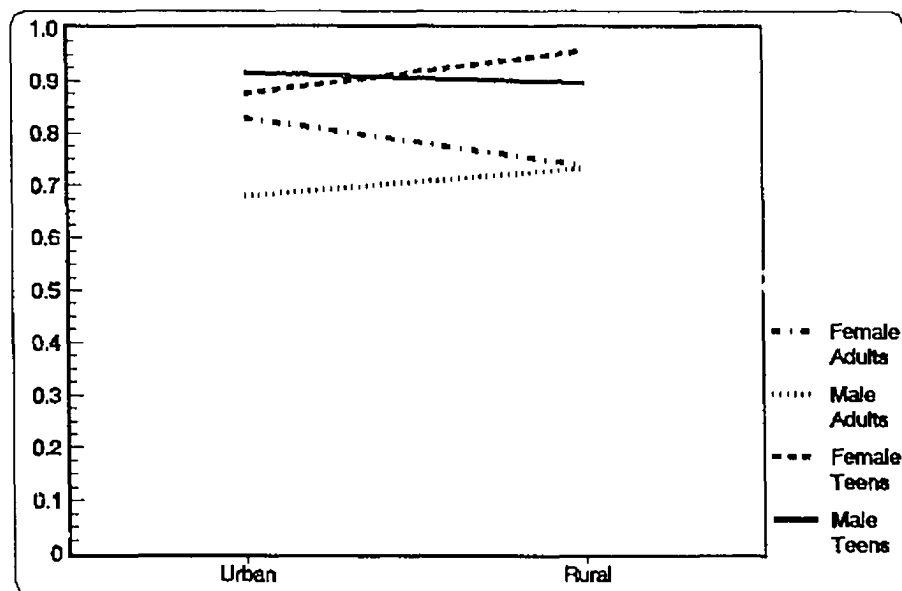
**Graph 5.30** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [léžər] *leisure* with Sex and Age.



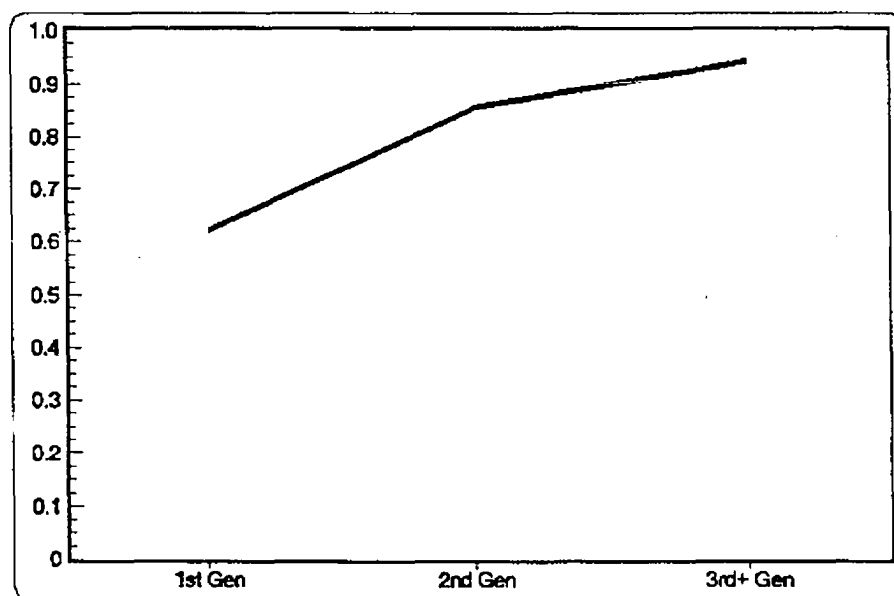
Graph 5.31 The Distribution of the Pronunciation [lévər] *lever* with Sex and Age.



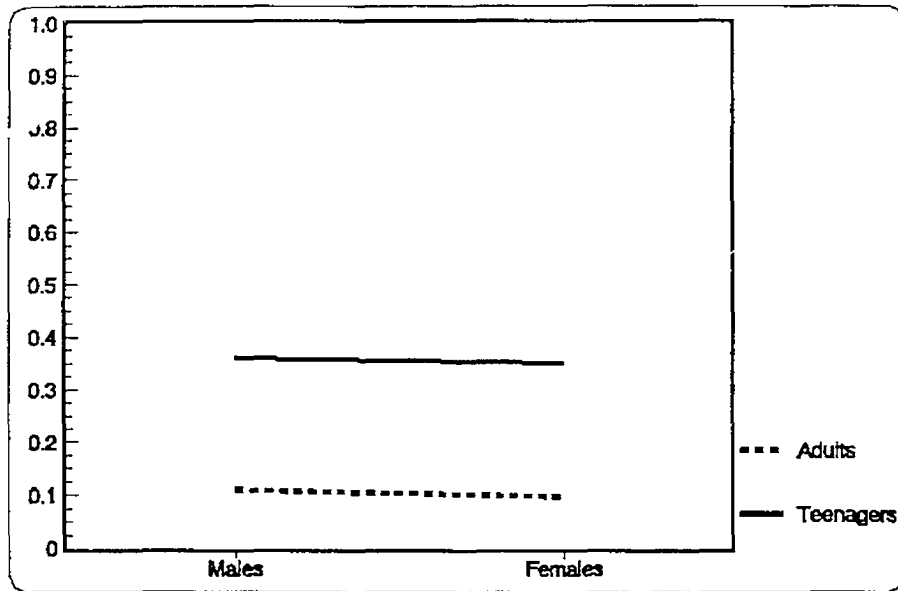
Graph 5.32 The Distribution of the Pronunciation [luténənt] *lieutenant* with Sex and Age.



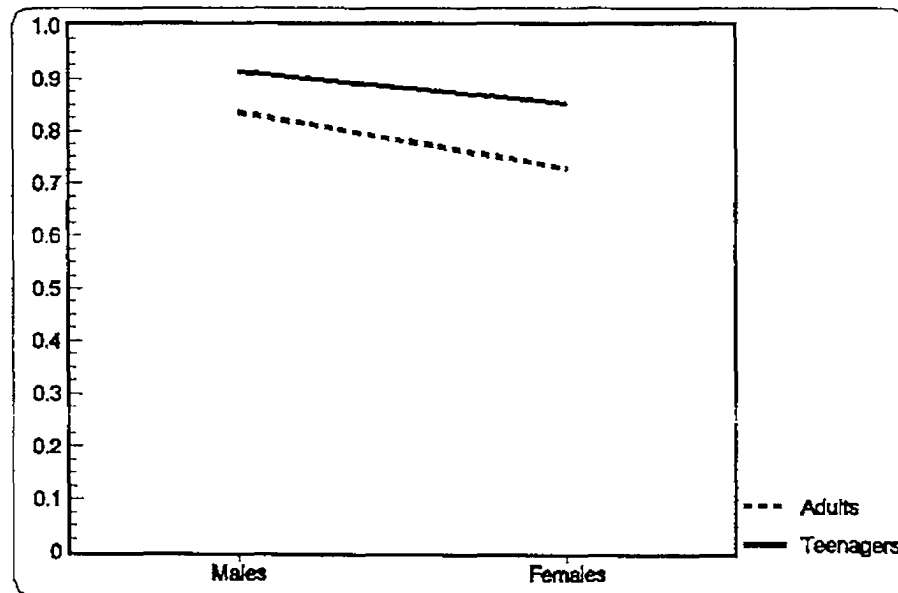
**Graph 5.33** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [luténənt] *lieutenant* with Sex, Age, and Urban/Rural Residence.



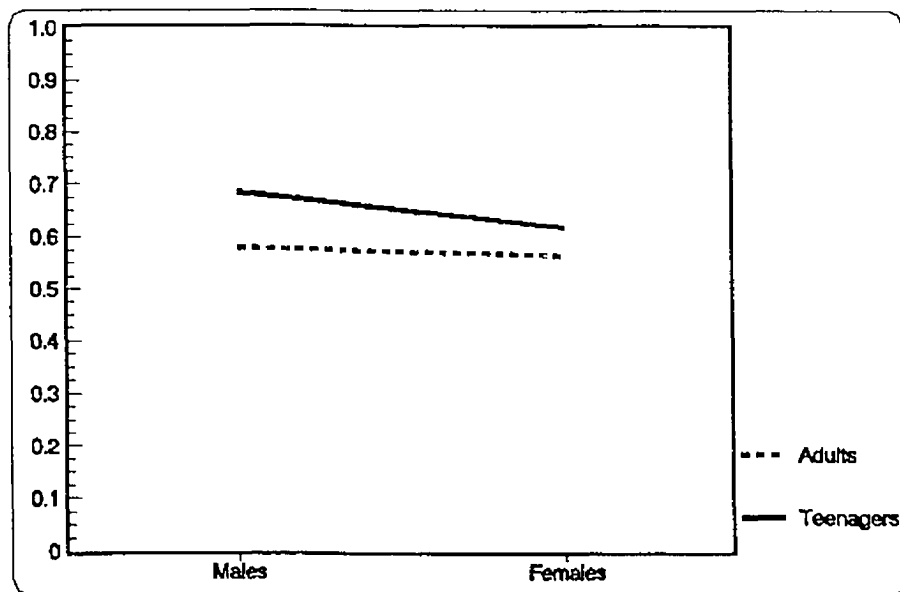
**Graph 5.34** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [luténənt] *lieutenant* with Generation.



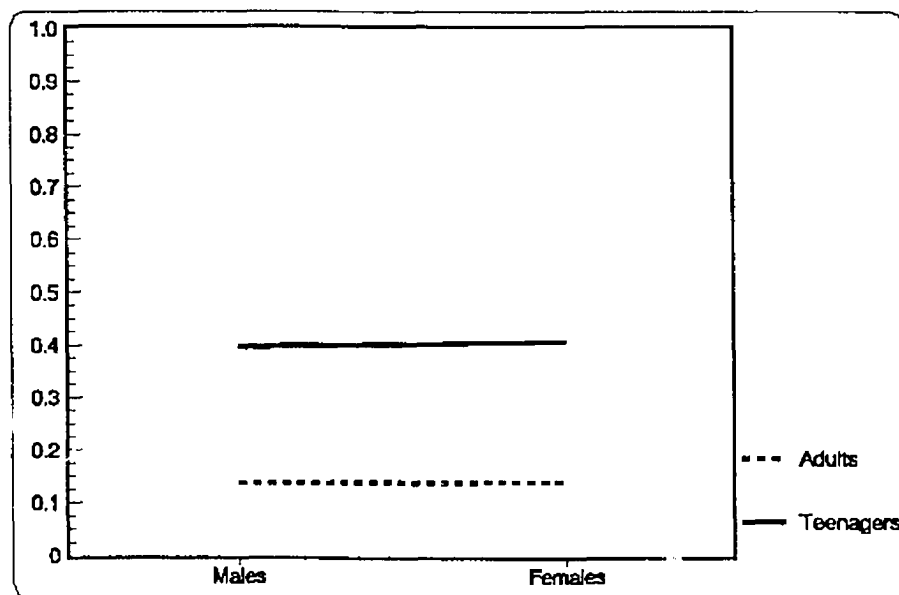
**Graph 5.35** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [lɔgžəri] *luxury* with Sex and Age.



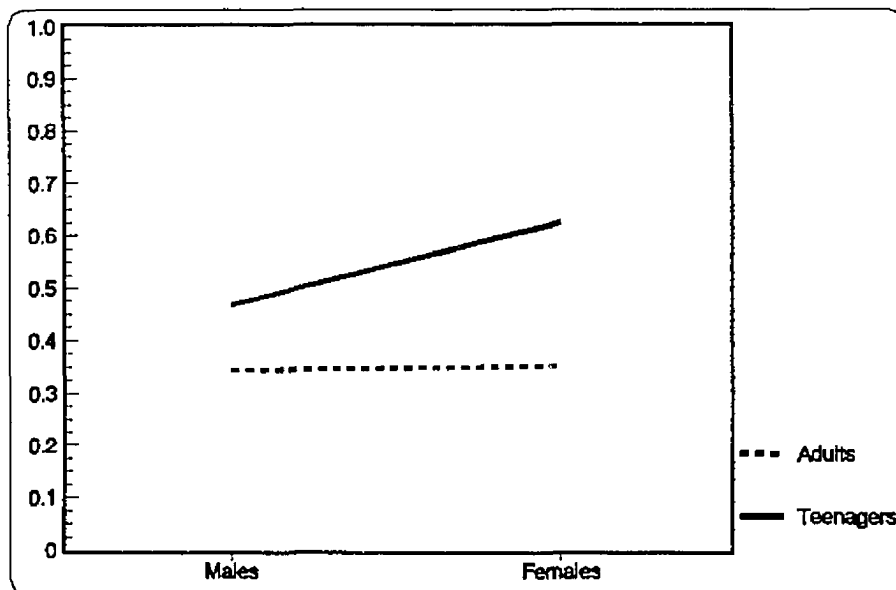
**Graph 5.36** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [méri] *marry* with Sex and Age.



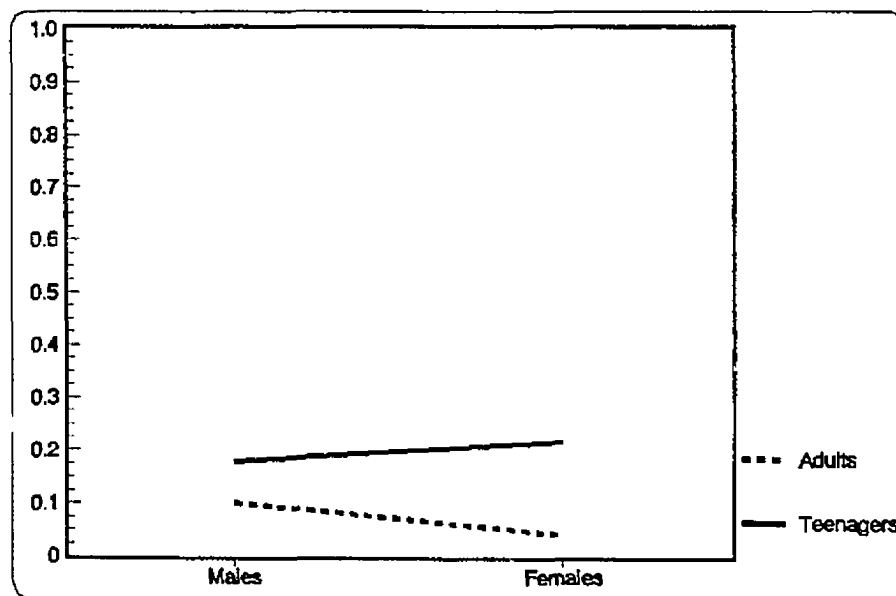
Graph 5.37 The Distribution of the Pronunciation [mɪsəl] *missile* with Sex and Age.



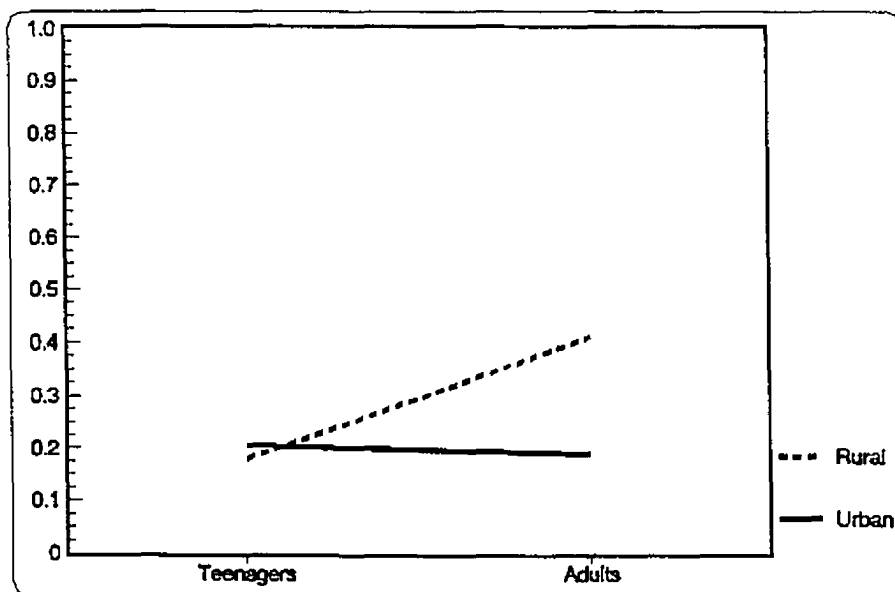
Graph 5.38 The Distribution of the Pronunciation [pɔr] *poor* with Sex and Age.



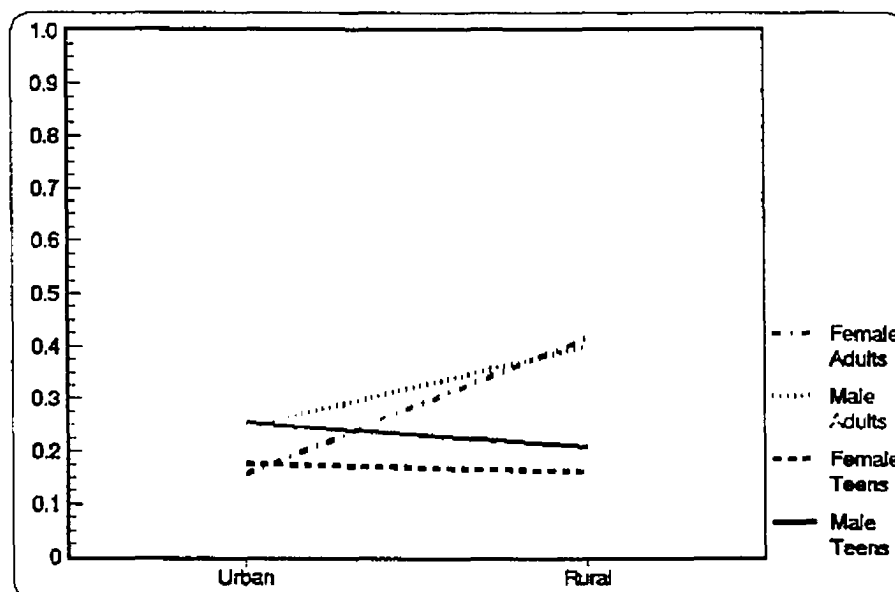
**Graph 5.39** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [prógres] *progress* with Sex and Age.



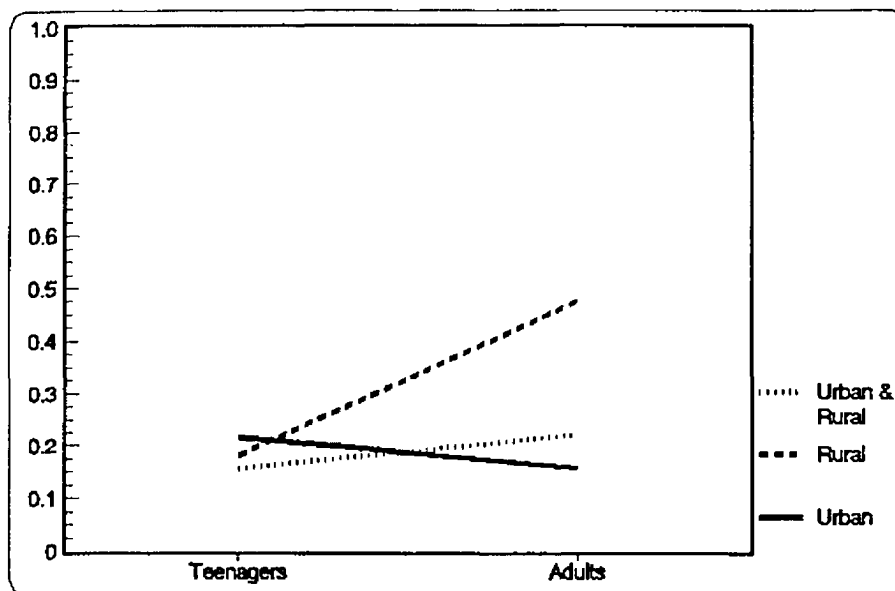
**Graph 5.40** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [réʃən] *ration* with Sex and Age.



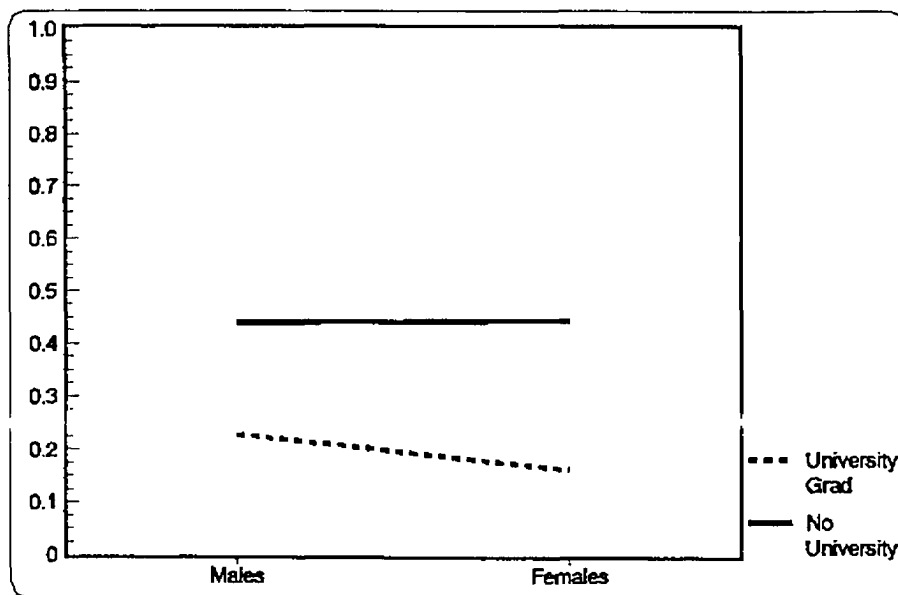
**Graph 5.41** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [ɾʌʊt] route with Age and Urban/Rural residence.



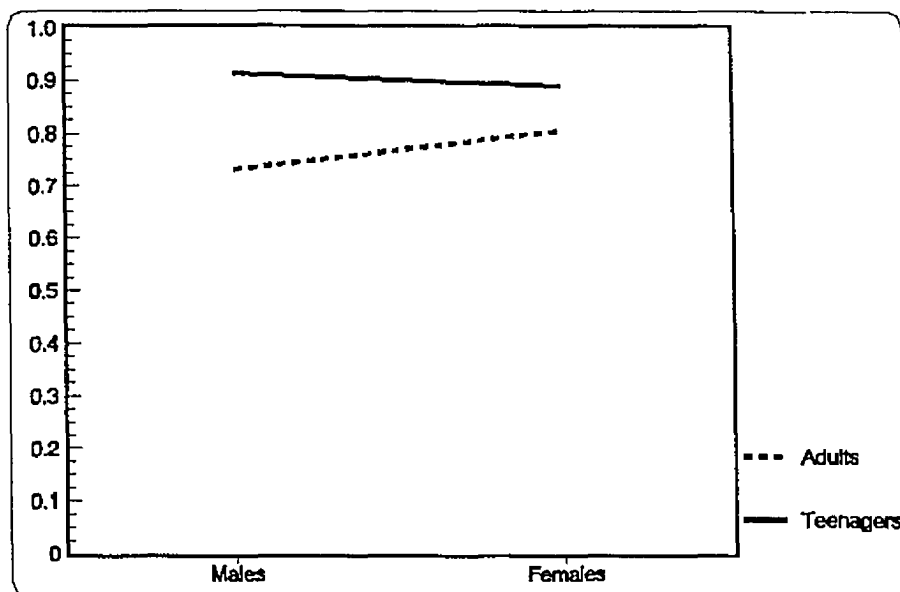
**Graph 5.42** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [ɾʌʊt] route with Sex, Age and Urban/Rural Residence.



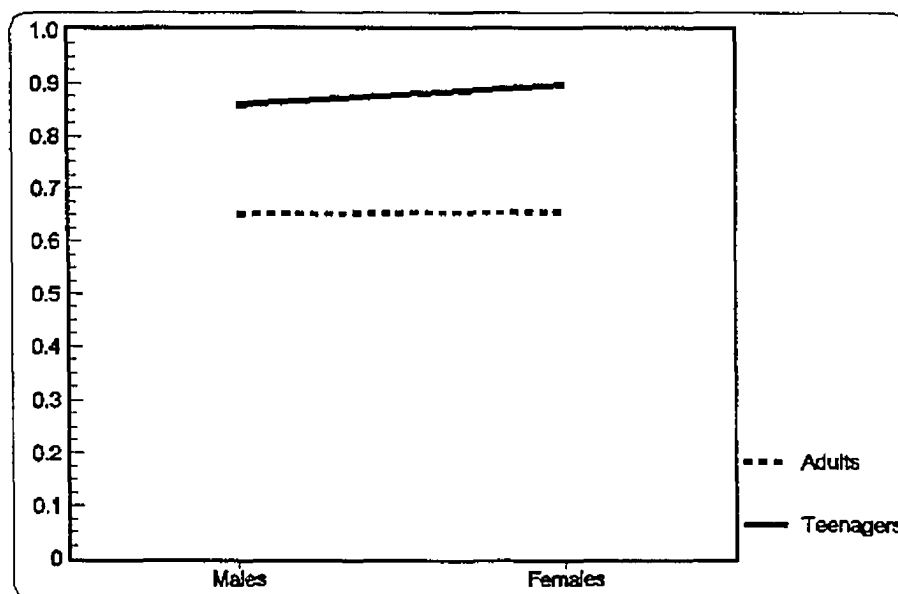
**Graph 5.43** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [ɾʌʊt] *route* with Age and Environment.



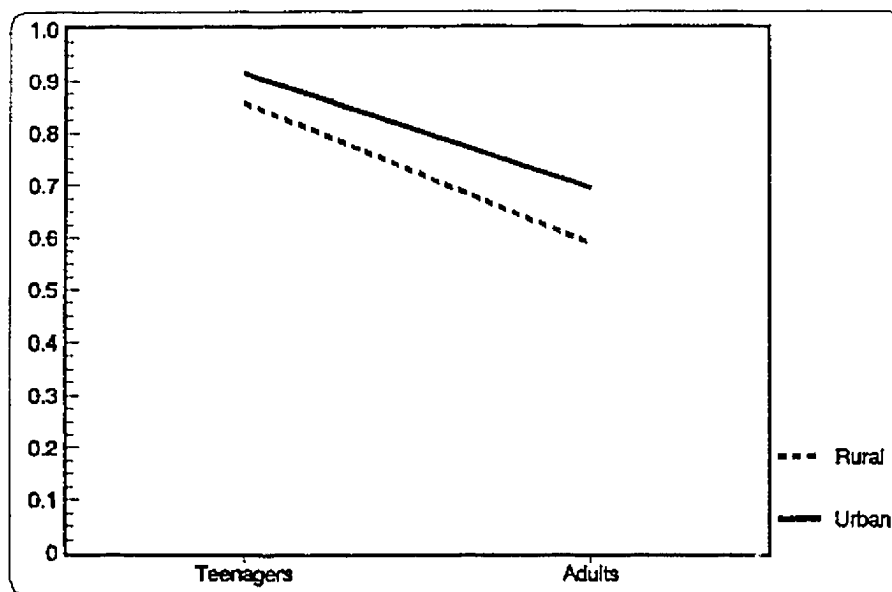
**Graph 5.44** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [ɾʌʊt] *route* with Sex and Education.



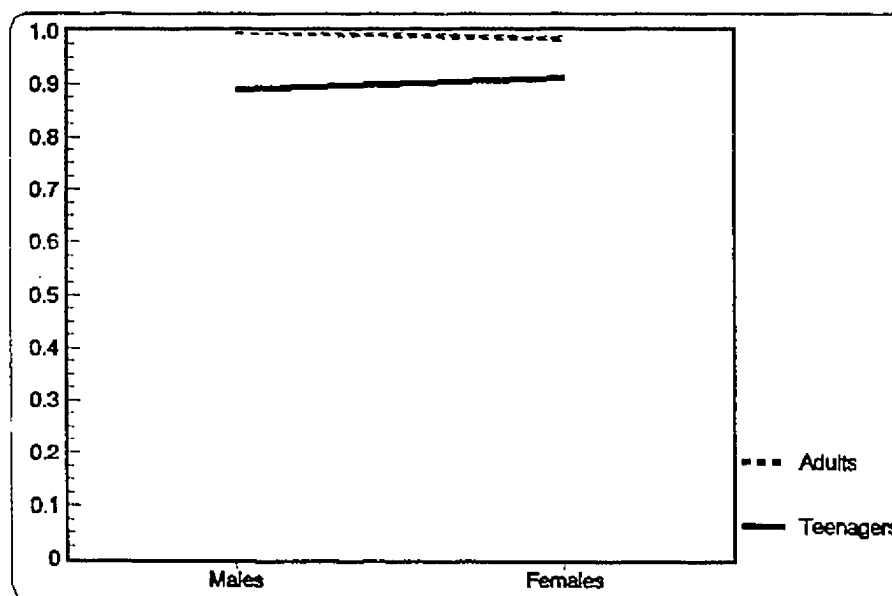
**Graph 5.45** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [skéd-] *schedule* with Sex and Age.



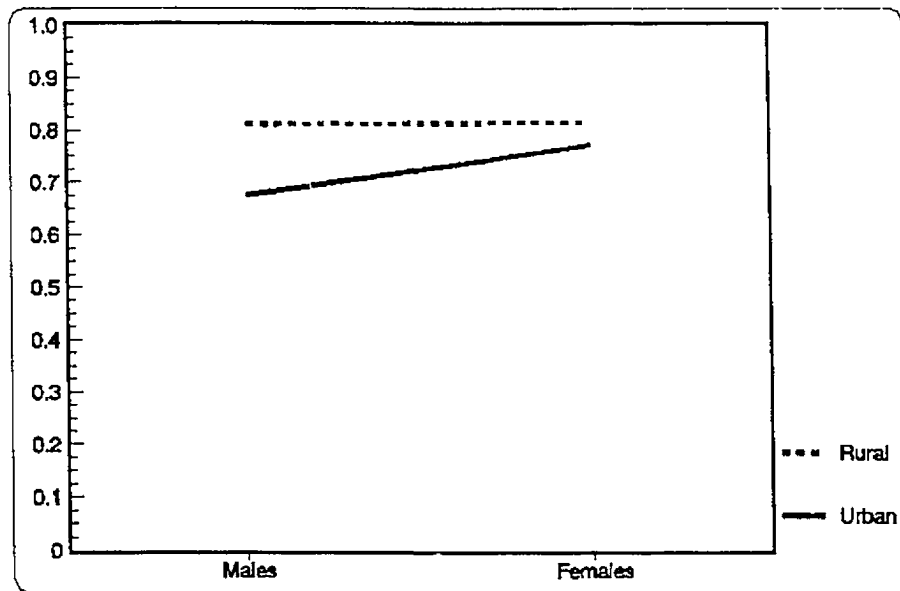
**Graph 5.46** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [skonz] *scones* with Sex and Age.



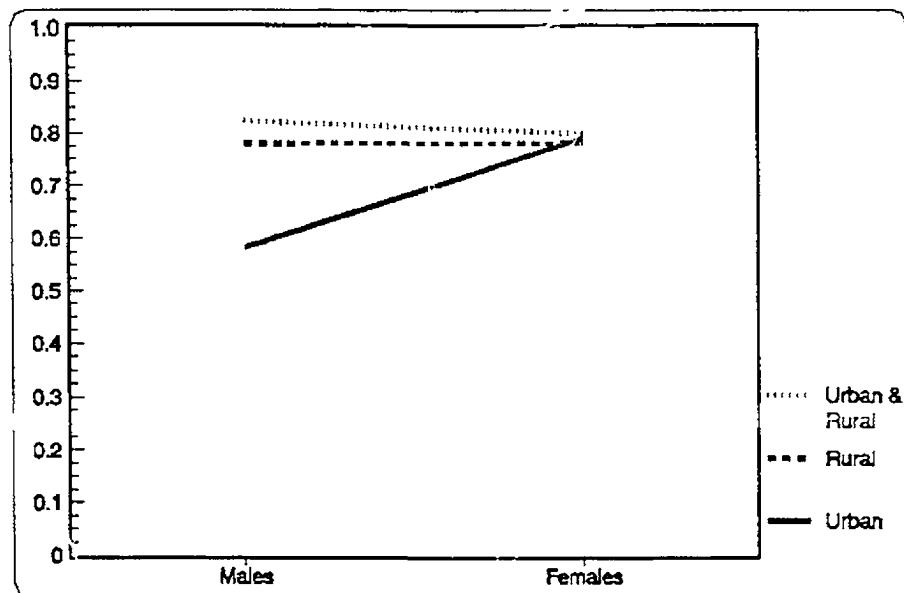
**Graph 5.47** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [skonz] *sones* with Age and Urban/Rural Residence.



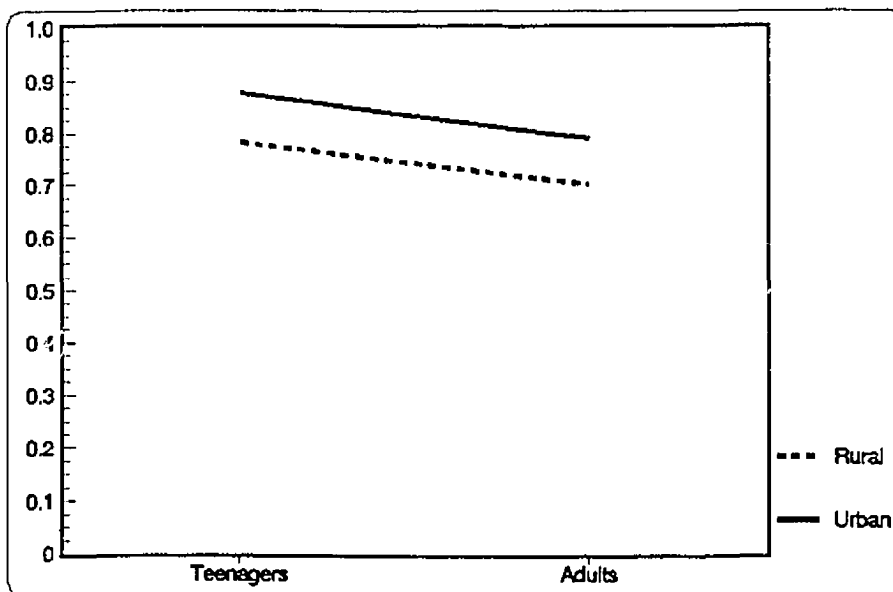
**Graph 5.48** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [slu] *slough* with Sex and Age.



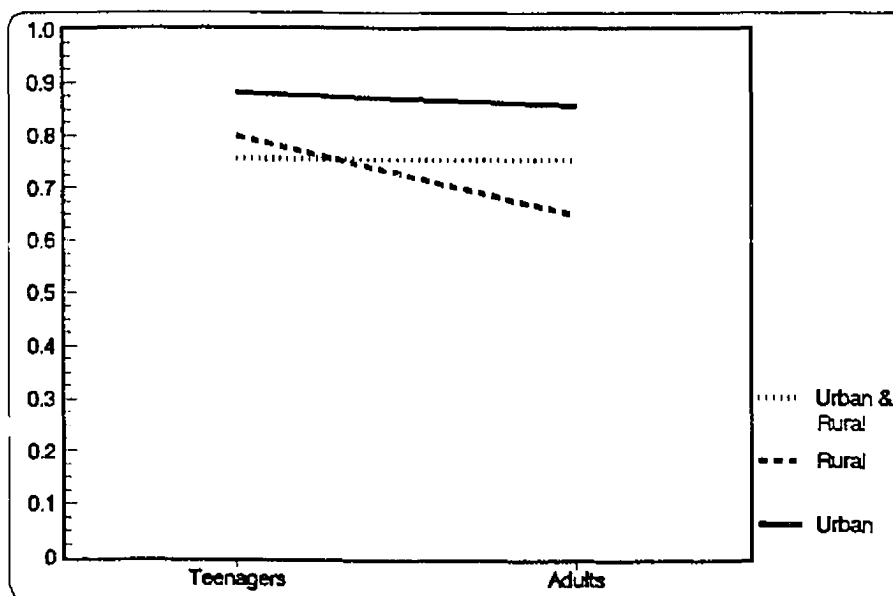
**Graph 5.49** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [sut] *soot* with Sex and Urban/Rural Residence.



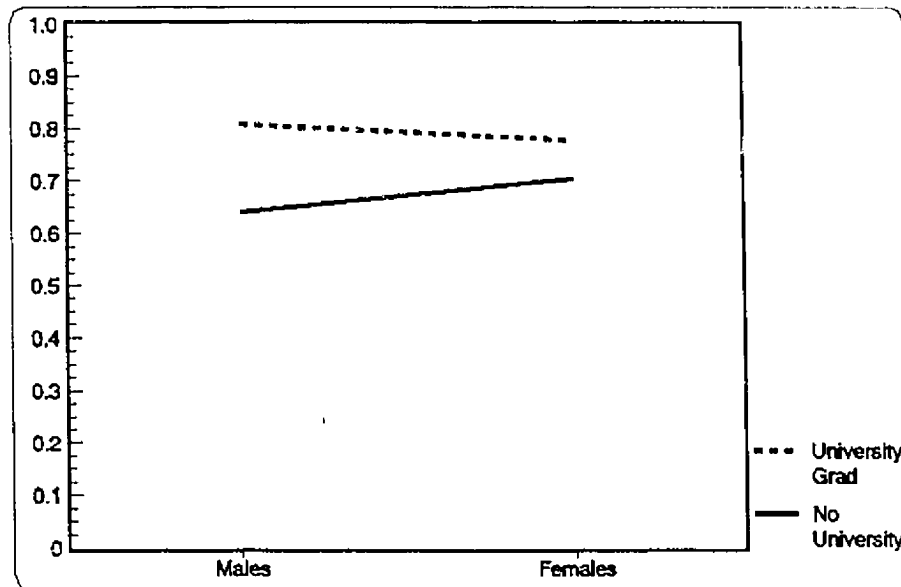
**Graph 5.50** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [sut] *soot* with Sex and Urban, Rural or Urban/Rural Environment.



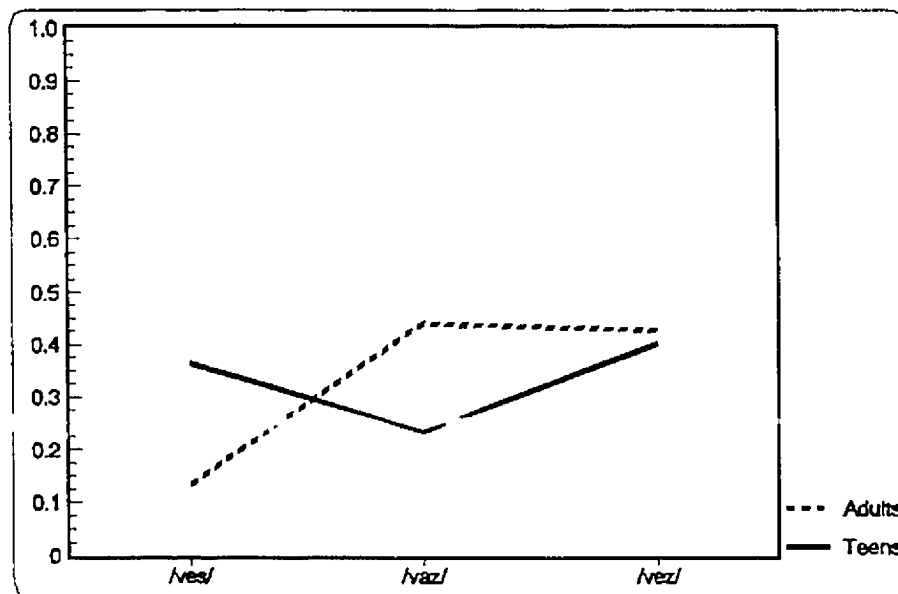
Graph 5.51 The Distribution of the Pronunciation [θrěšɪŋ] *threshing* with Age and Urban/Rural Residence.



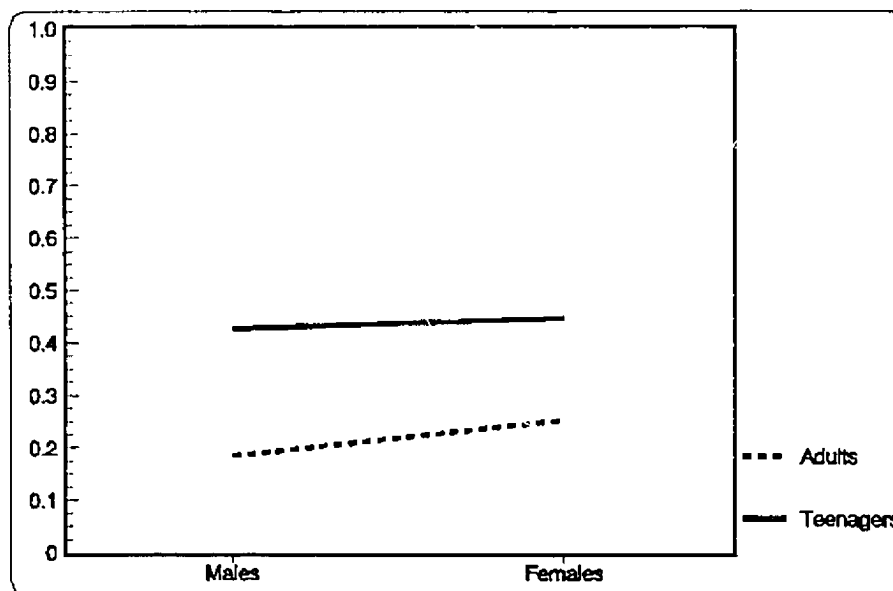
Graph 5.52 The Distribution of the Pronunciation [θrěšɪŋ] *threshing* with Age and Urban, Rural or Urban/Rural Environment.



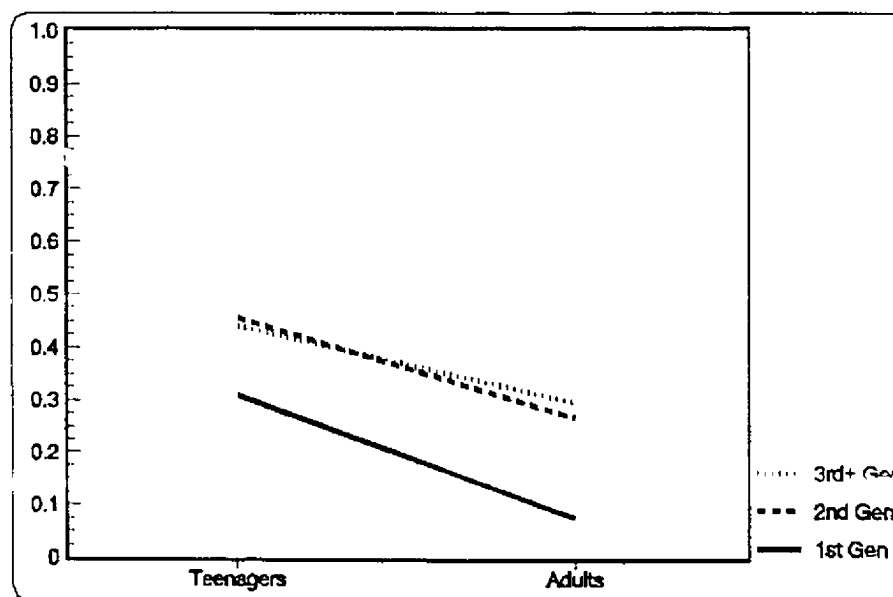
Graph 5.53 The Distribution of the Pronunciation [θréʃɪŋ] *threshing* with Sex and Education.



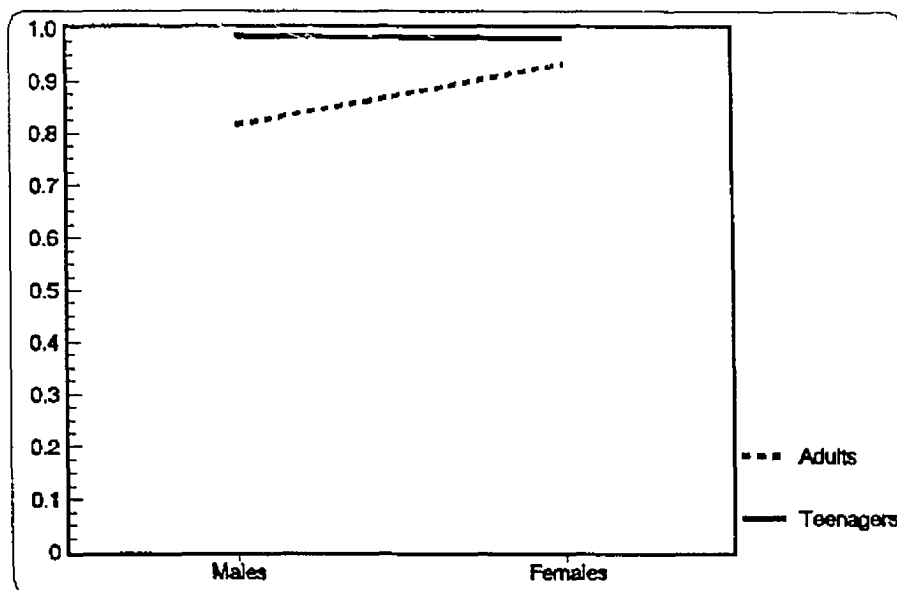
Graph 5.54 The Distribution of the Pronunciations [vɔz], [vez], and [ves] *vase* with Age.



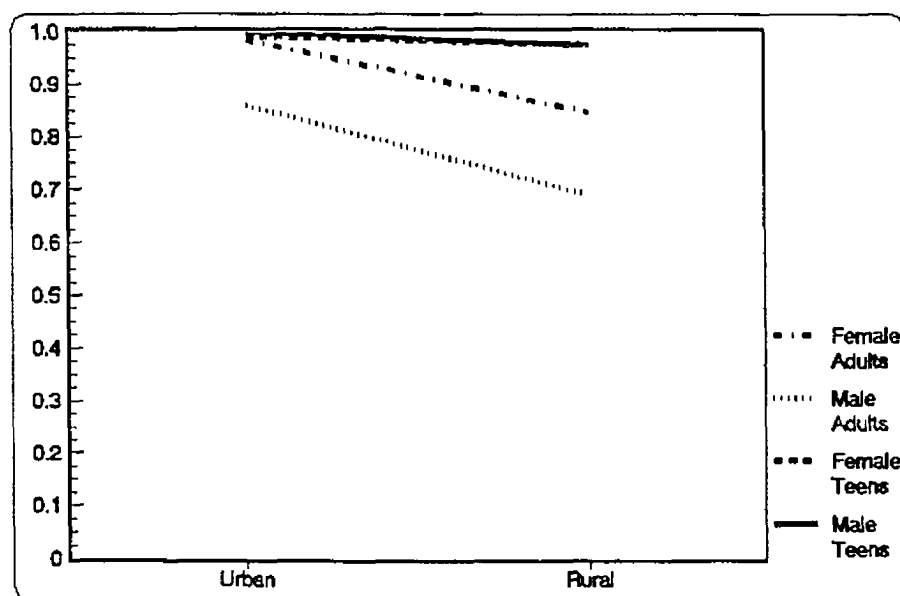
Graph 5.55 The Distribution of the Variant [zi] Z with Sex and Age.



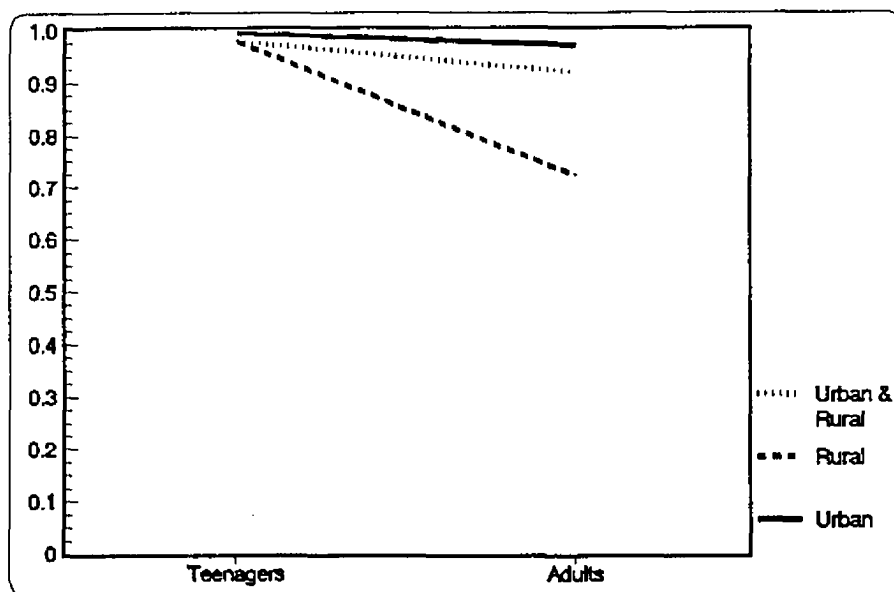
Graph 5.56 The Distribution of the Variant [zi] Z with Age and Generation.



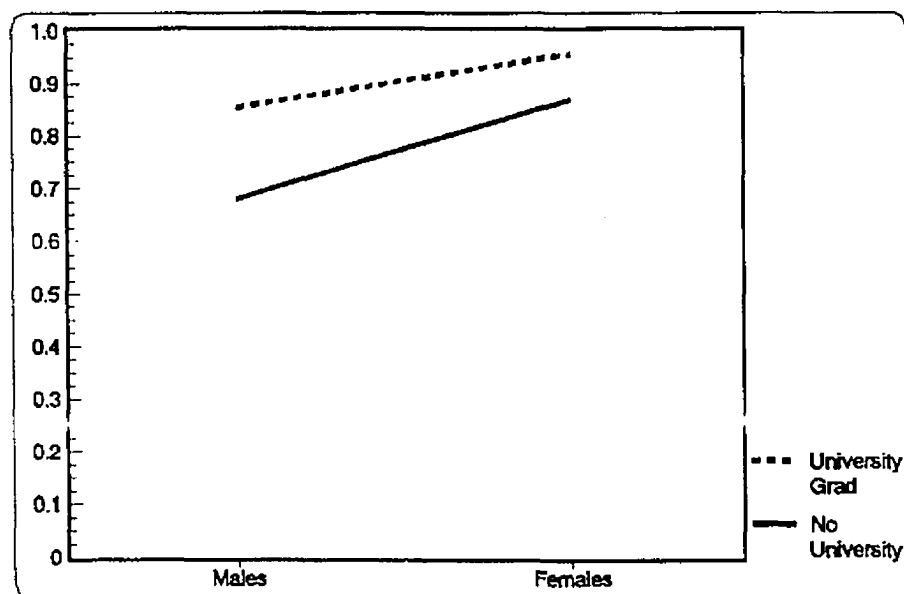
**Graph 5.57** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [zɪbrə] *zebra* with Sex and Age.



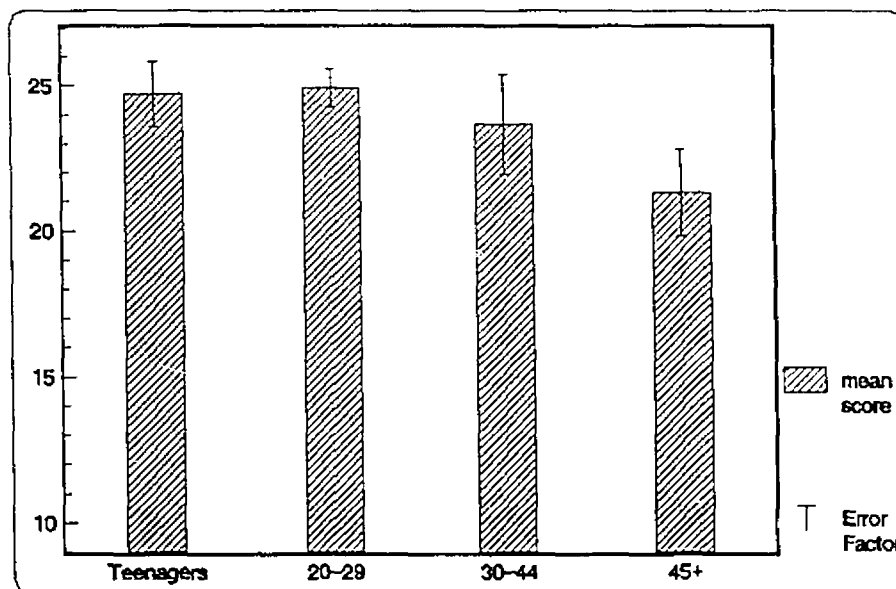
**Graph 5.58** The Distribution of the Pronunciation [zɪbrə] *zebra* with Sex, Age, and Urban/Rural Residence.



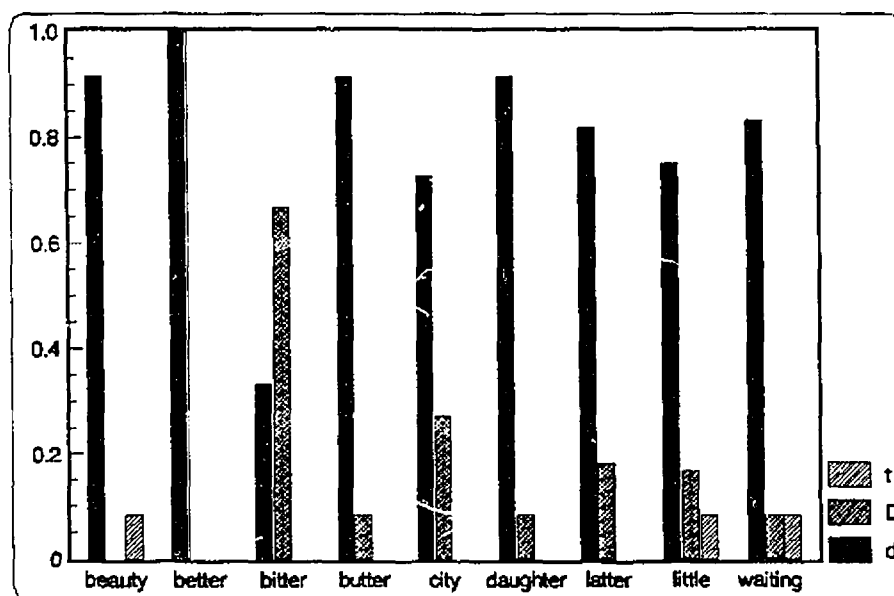
Graph 5.59 The Distribution of the Pronunciation [zɪbrə] zebra with Age and Urban, Rural, or Urban/Rural Environment.



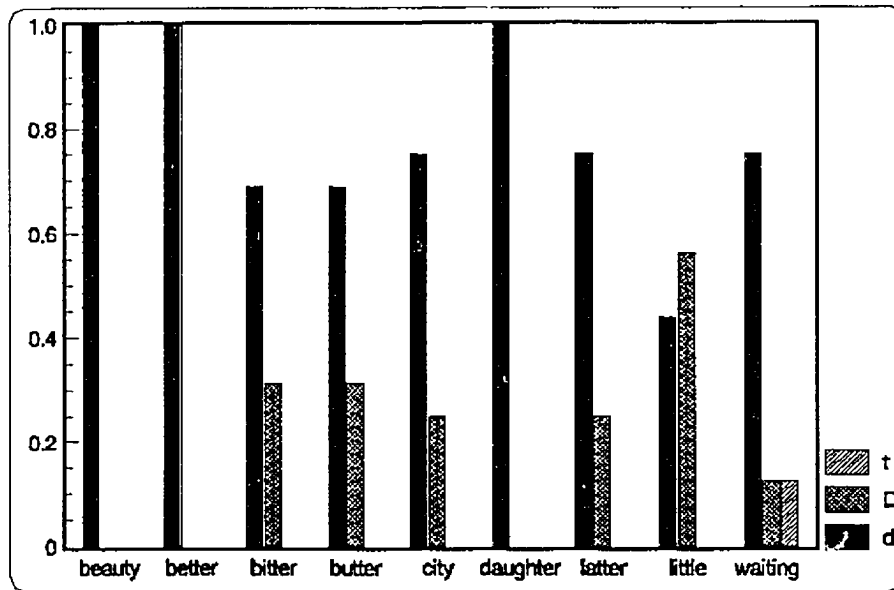
Graph 5.60 The Distribution of the Pronunciation [zɪbrə] zebra with Sex and Education.



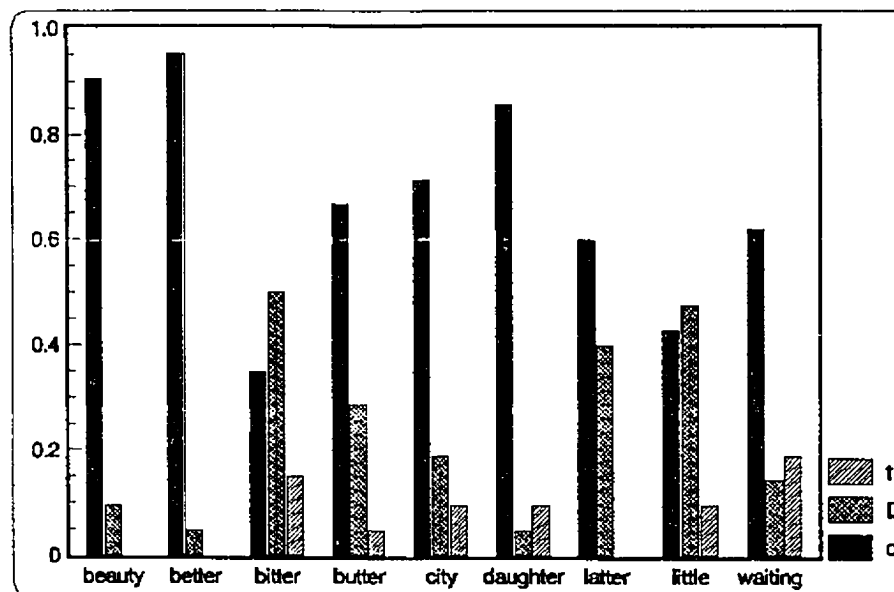
**Graph 5.61** The Mean Scores for Each of Four Age Groups Comparing Use of the Three Possible Variants of Intervocalic /t/.



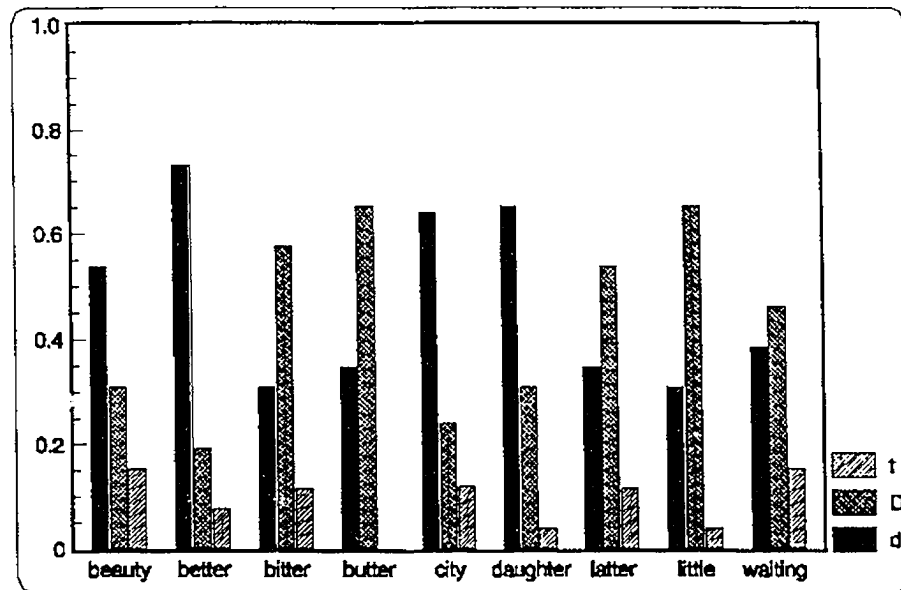
**Graph 5.62** The Response Frequencies of the Teenagers for the Three Possible Variants of Intervocalic /t/.



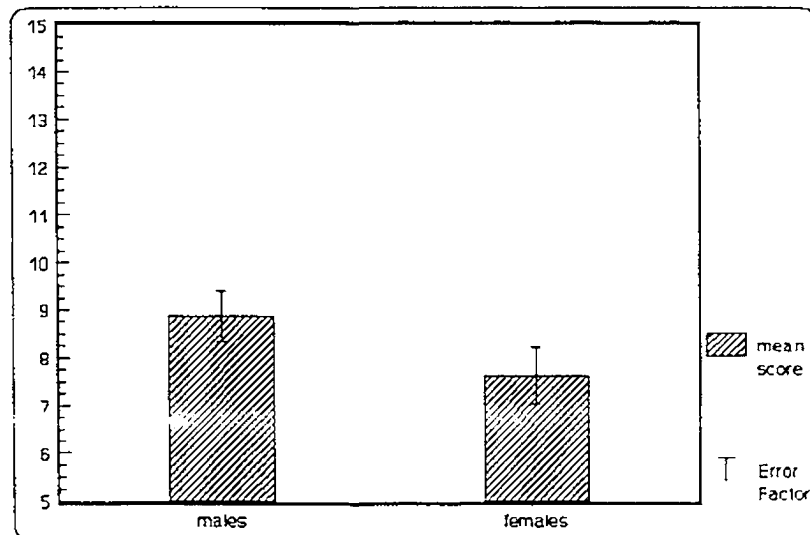
Graph 5.63 The Response Frequencies of those 20 to 29 Years Old for the Three Possible Variants of Intervocalic /t/.



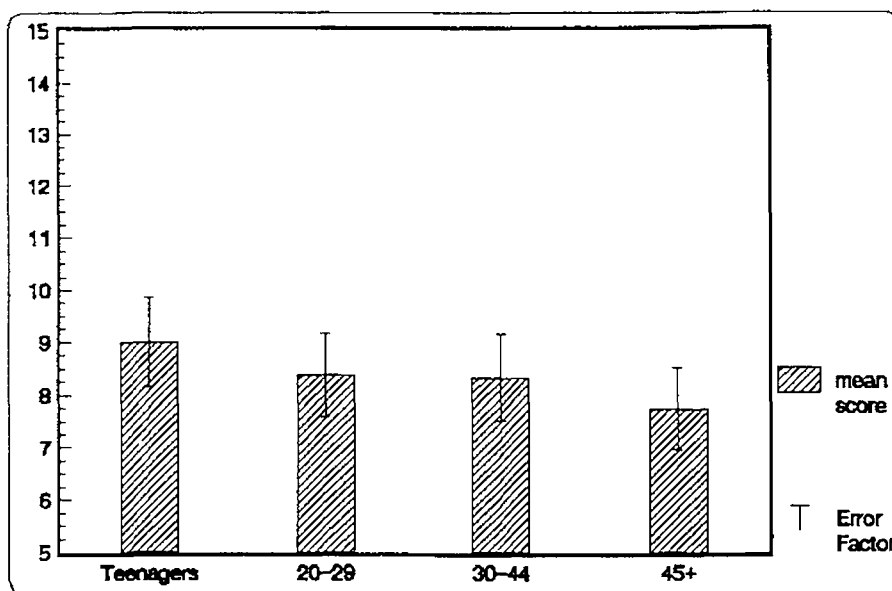
Graph 5.64 The Response Frequencies of those 30 to 44 Years Old for the Three Possible Variants of Intervocalic /t/.



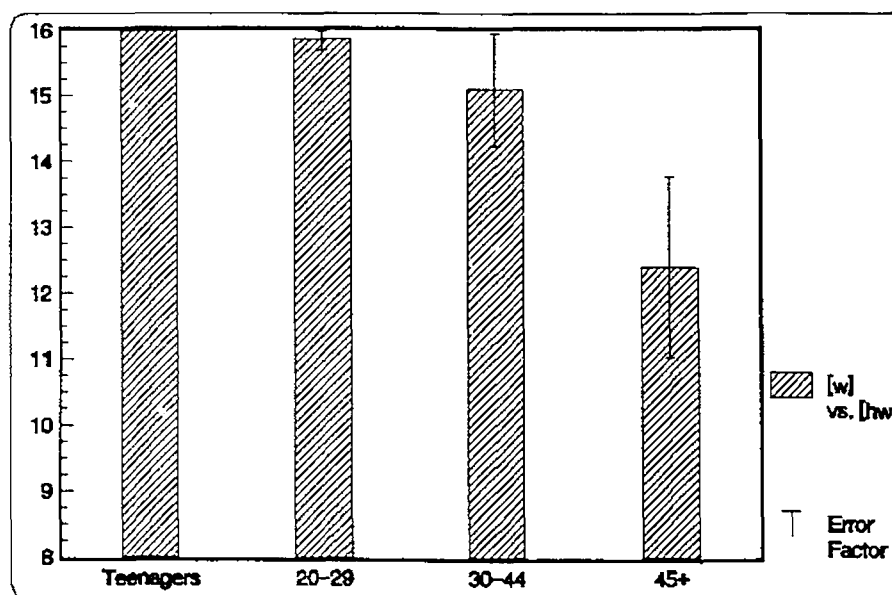
**Graph 5.65** The Response Frequencies of those Over 45 Years Old for the Three Possible Variants of Intervocalic /t/.



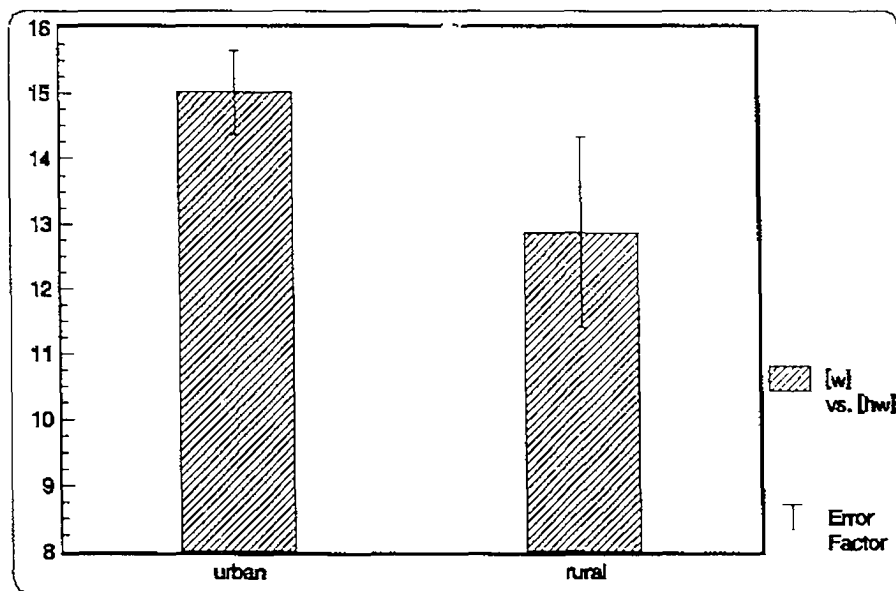
**Graph 5.66** The Mean Scores for Males and Females Comparing Use of the Three Possible Variants of Medial /t/ in the Environment /ntV/.



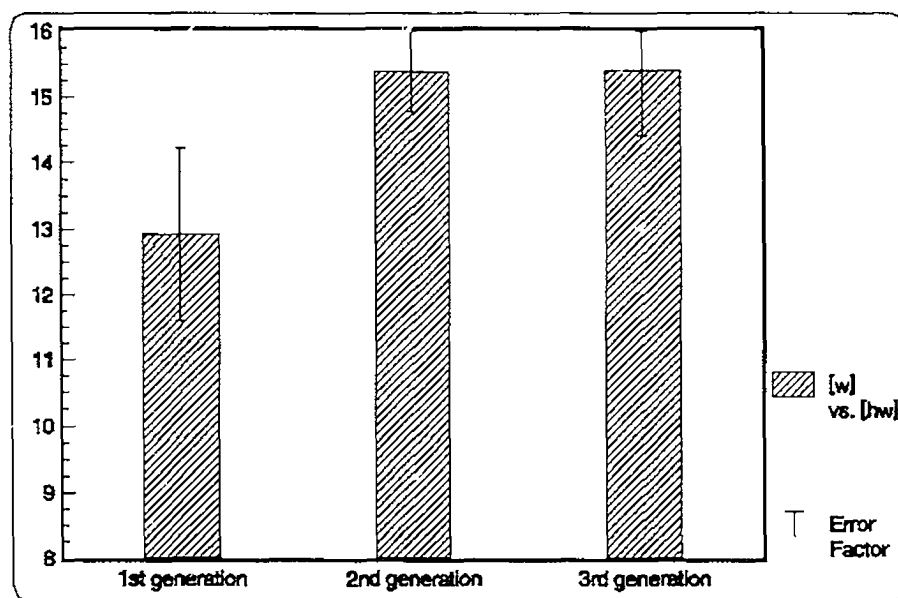
**Graph 5.67** The Mean Scores for Each of Four Age Groups Comparing Use of the Three Possible Variants of Medial /t/ in the Environment /ntV/.



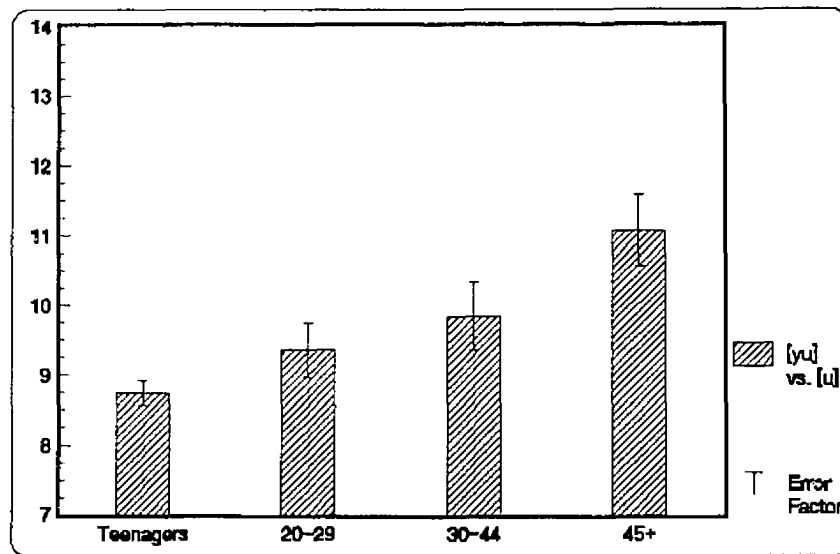
**Graph 5.68** The Distribution of Mean Scores for Each of Four Age Groups Comparing Use of [hw] and [w].



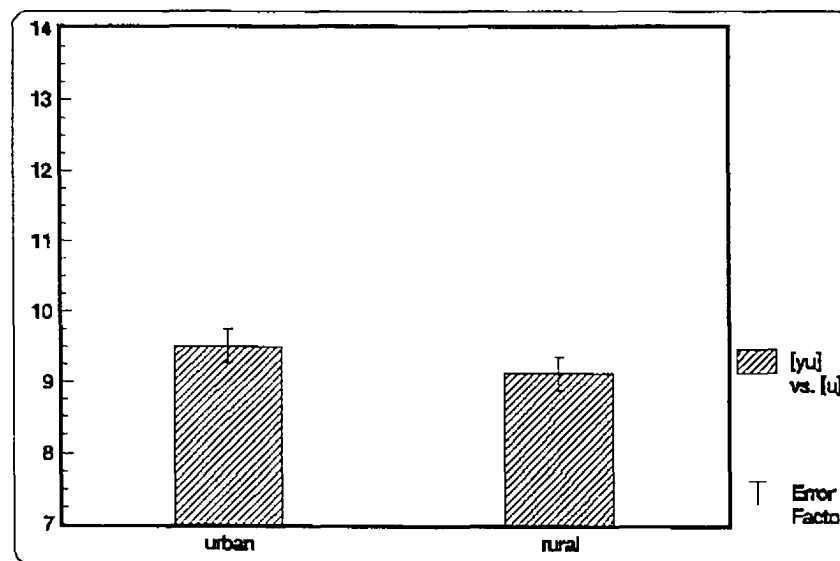
**Graph 5.69** The Distribution of Mean Scores for Urban and Rural Residents Comparing Use of [hw] and [w].



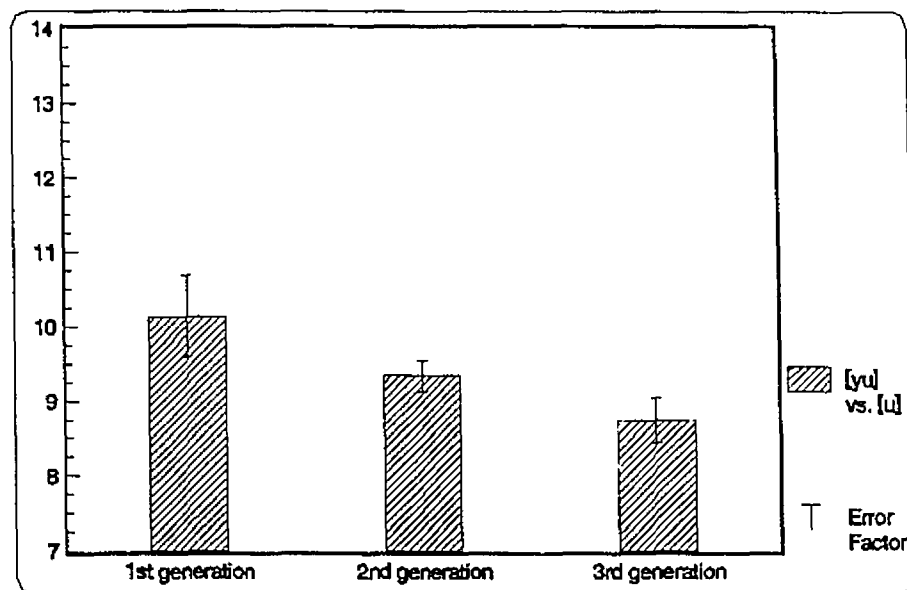
**Graph 5.70** The Distribution of Mean Scores for Each of Three Generations Comparing Use of [hw] and [w].



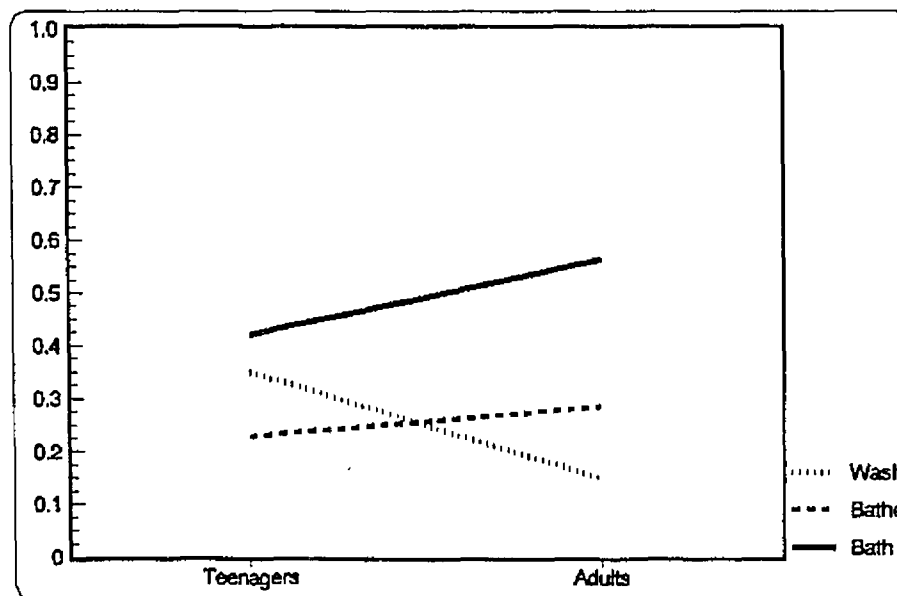
**Graph 5.71** The Distribution of the Mean Scores for Each of Four Age Groups Comparing Use of Palatalized [yu] versus Non-palatalized [u] Variants.



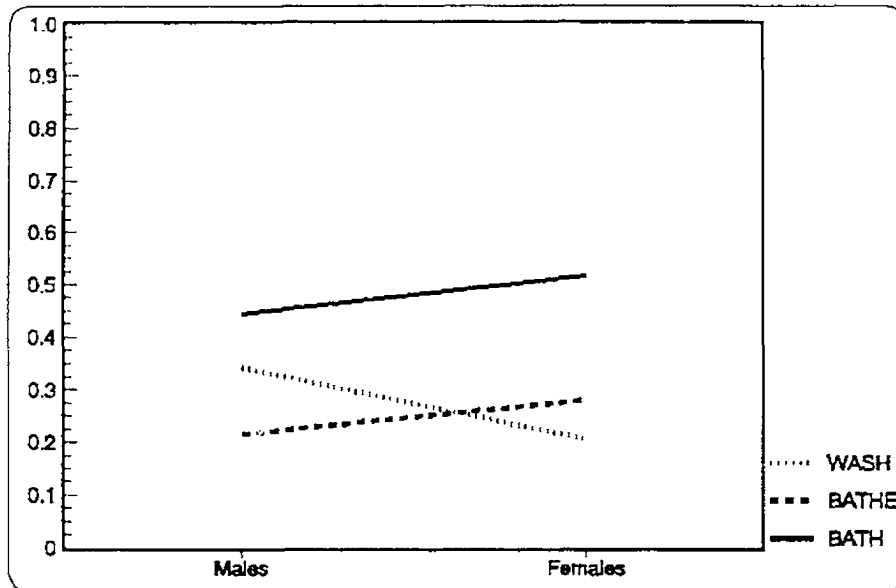
**Graph 5.72** The Distribution of Mean Scores for Urban and Rural Residents Comparing Use of Palatalized [yu] and Non-palatalized [u] Variants.



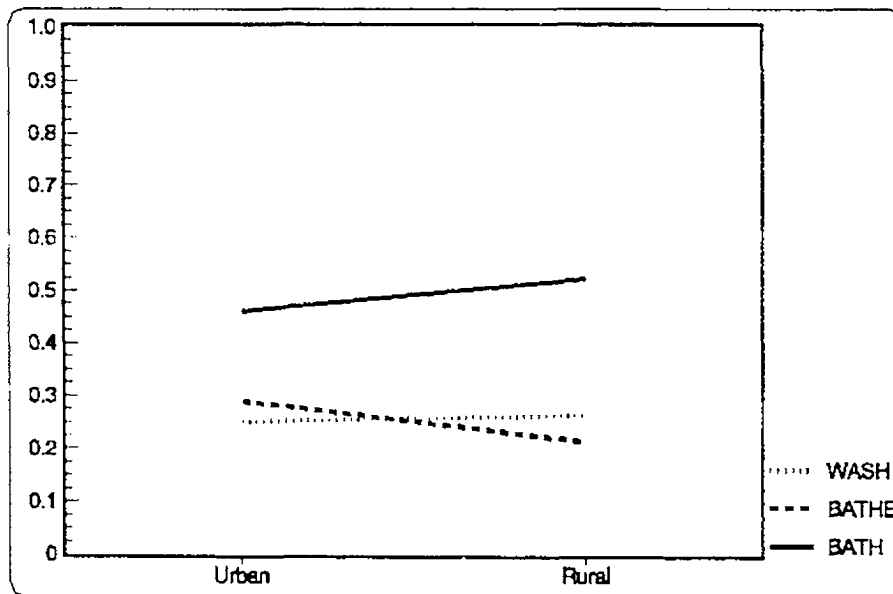
**Graph 5.73** The Distribution of Mean Scores for Each of Three Generations Comparing Use of Palatalized [yu] and Non-palatalized [u] Variants.



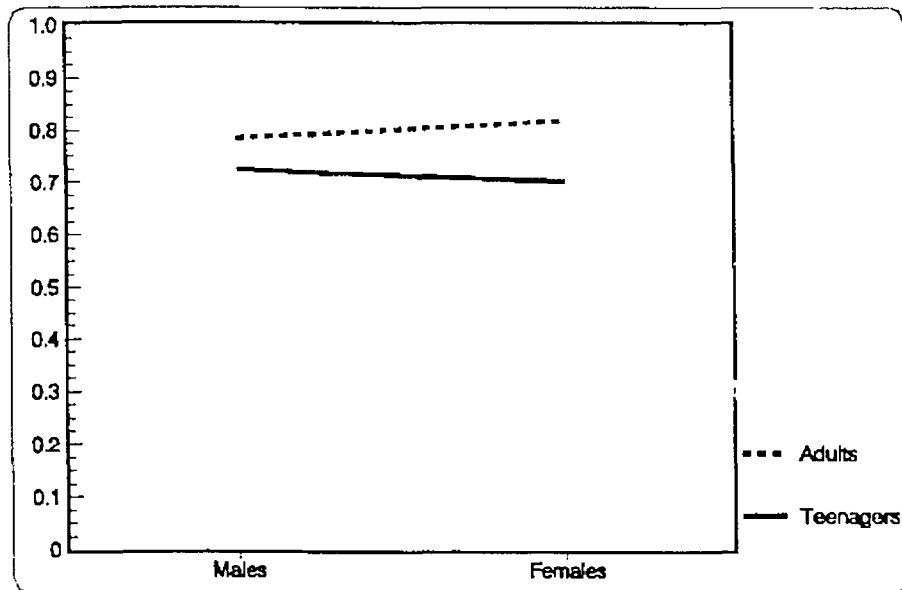
**Graph 5.74** The Distribution of Response Probabilities for the Lexical Variants *bath*, *bathe*, and *wash* According to Age.



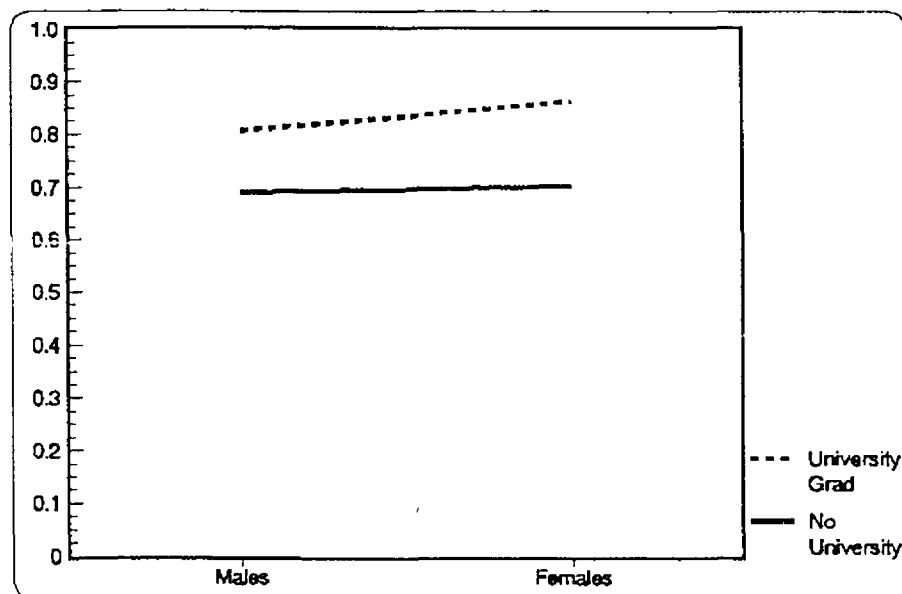
Graph 5.75 The Distribution of Response Probabilities for the Lexical Variants *bath*, *bathe*, and *wash* According to Sex.



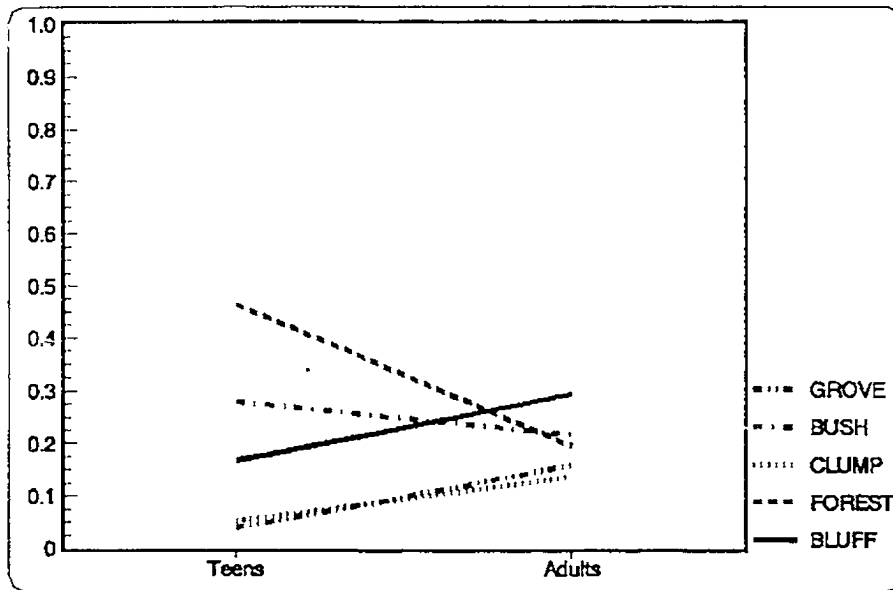
Graph 5.76 The Distribution of Responses Probabilities of the Lexical Variants *bath*, *bathe*, and *wash* Comparing Urban and Rural Residence.



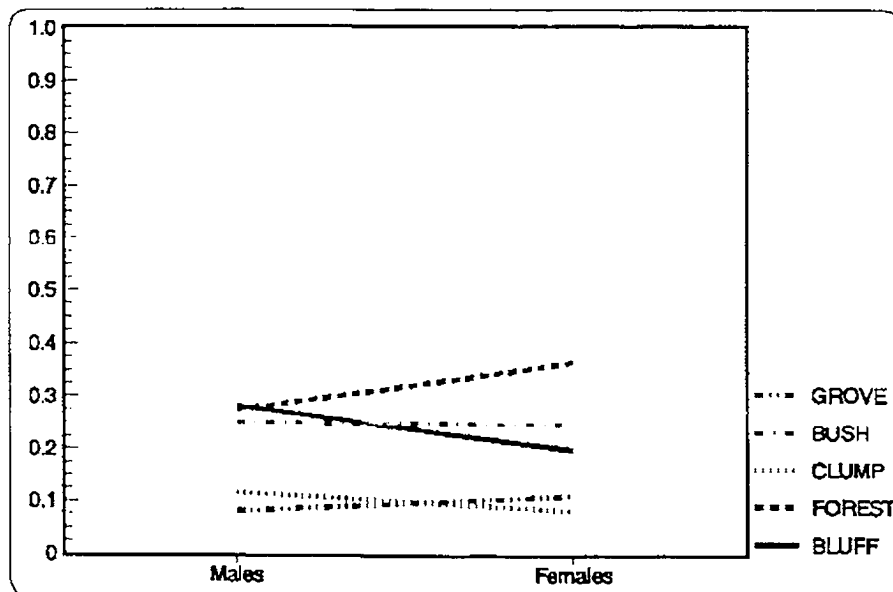
**Graph 5.77** The Distribution of the Response Probabilities for *behind* (as Opposed to *(in) back of*) with Age and Sex.



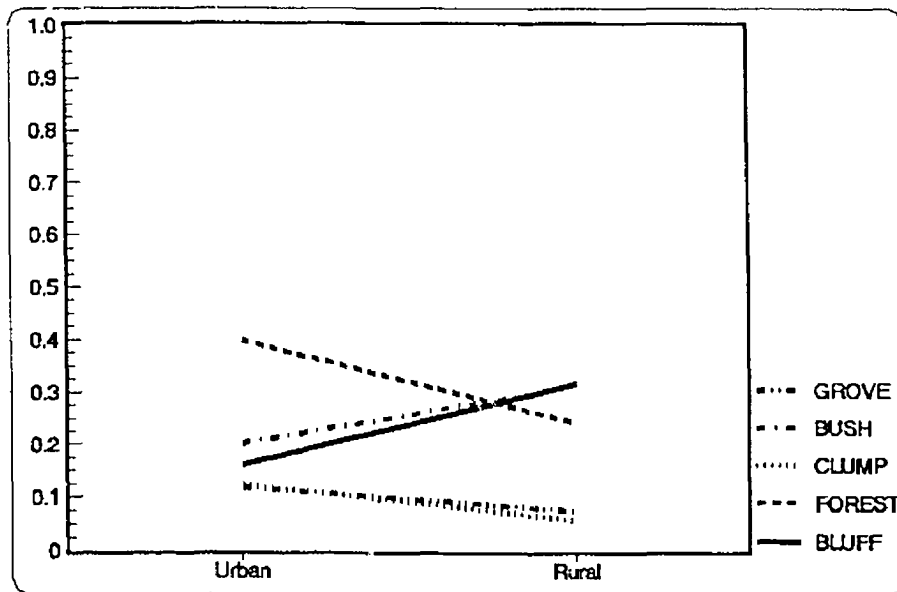
**Graph 5.78** The Distribution of Response Probabilities for *behind* (as Opposed to *(in) back of*) with Sex and Education.



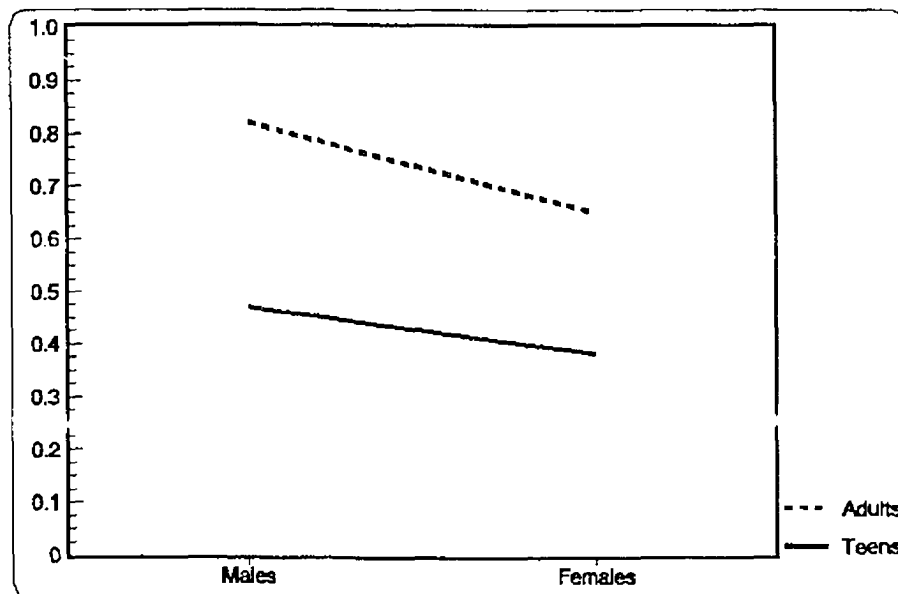
Graph 5.79 The Distribution of the Response Frequencies for the Terms *bluff*, *bush*, *clump*, *forest*, and *grove* with Age.



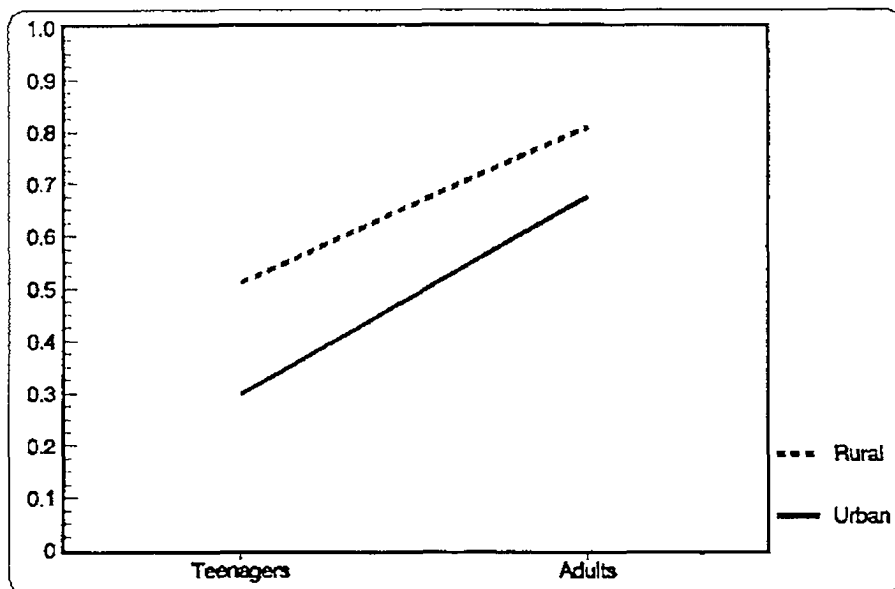
Graph 5.80 The Distribution of the Response Probabilities for the Terms *bluff*, *bush*, *clump*, *forest*, and *grove* with Sex.



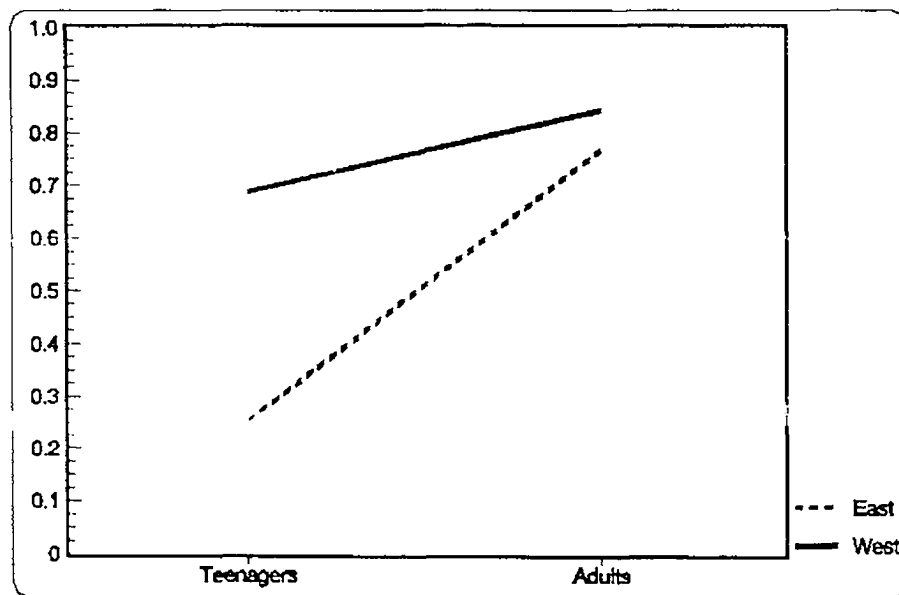
**Graph 5.81** The Distribution of the Response Probabilities for the Terms *bluff*, *bush*, *clump*, *forest*, and *grove* with Urban/Rural Residence.



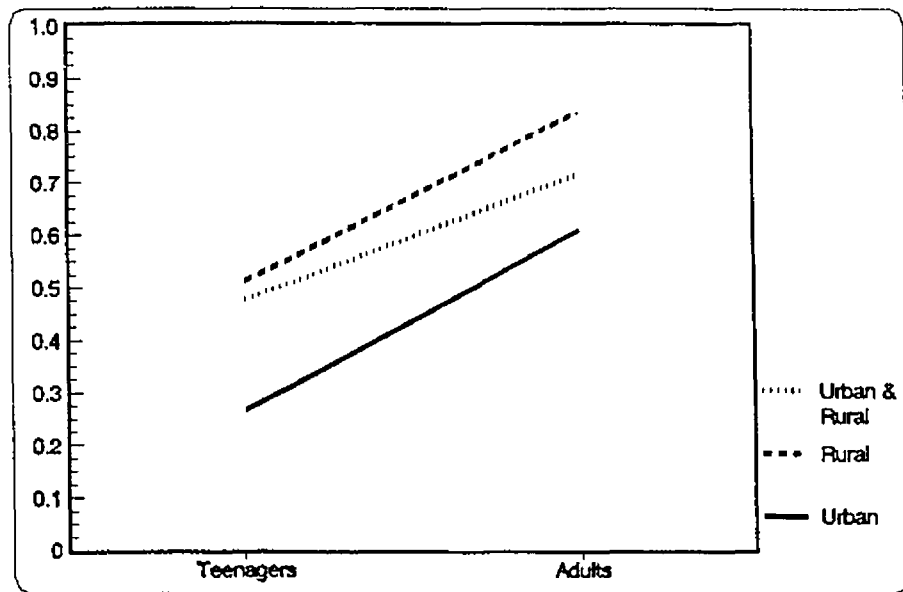
**Graph 5.82** The Distribution of the Response Probabilities for *bluff* in Reference to 'Trees' (as Opposed to 'Deception') with Age and Sex.



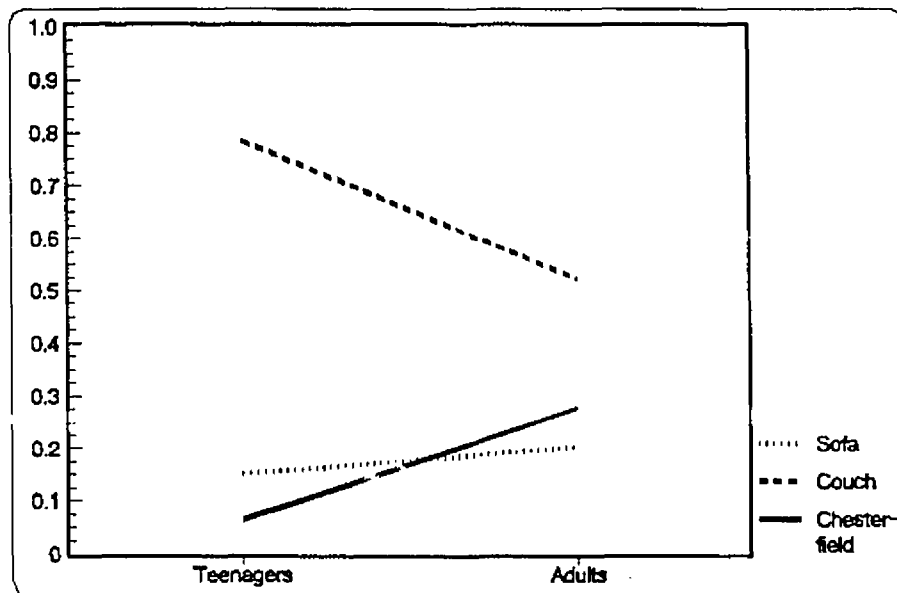
Graph 5.83 The Response Probabilities for *bluff* in Reference to 'Trees' (versus 'Deception') with Age and Urban/Rural Residence.



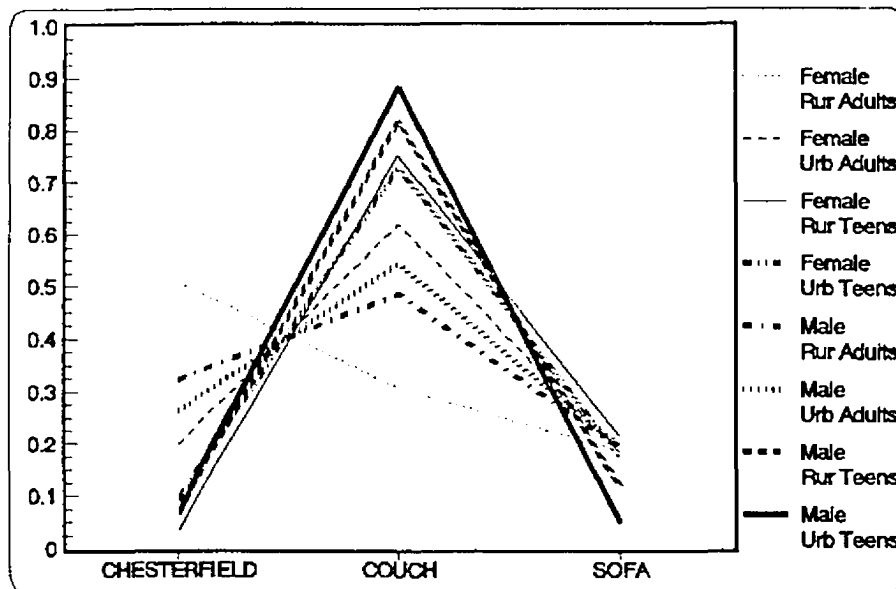
Graph 5.84 The Response Probabilities for *bluff* in Reference to 'Trees' (versus 'Deception') with Age and Rural Residence.



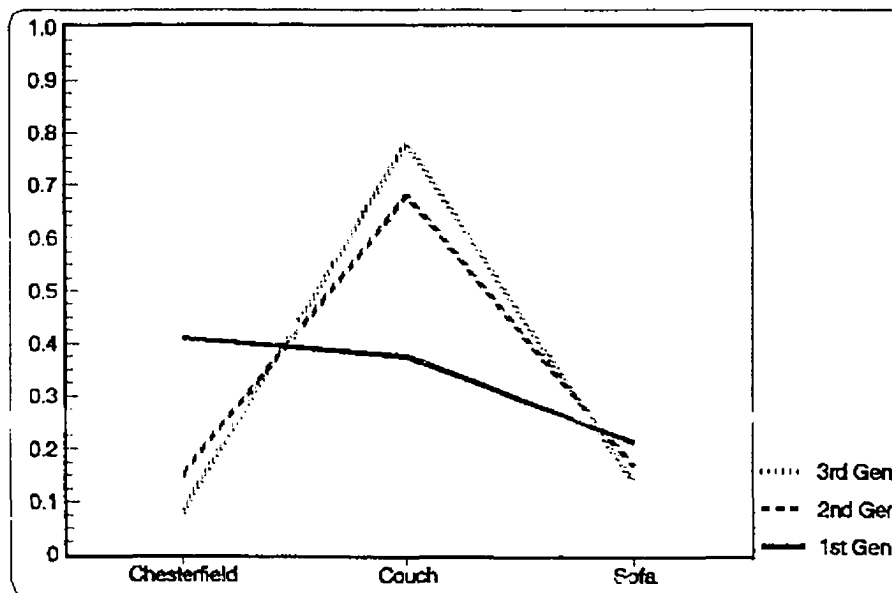
**Graph 5.85** The Response Probabilities for *bluff* in Reference to 'Trees' (versus 'Deception') Comparing Urban, Rural, and Urban/Rural Environments with Age.



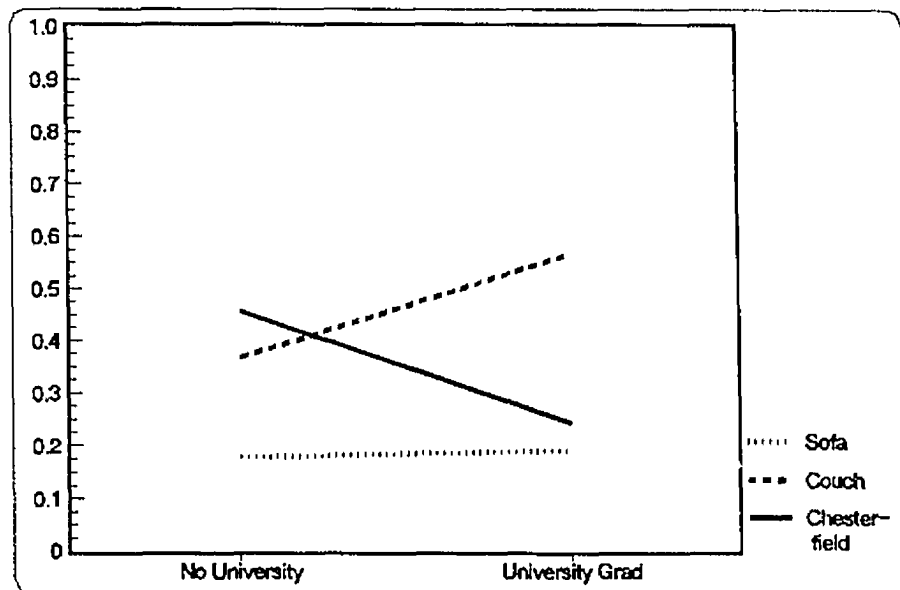
**Graph 5.86** The Distribution of Response Probabilities for *chesterfield*, *couch*, and *sofa* with Age.



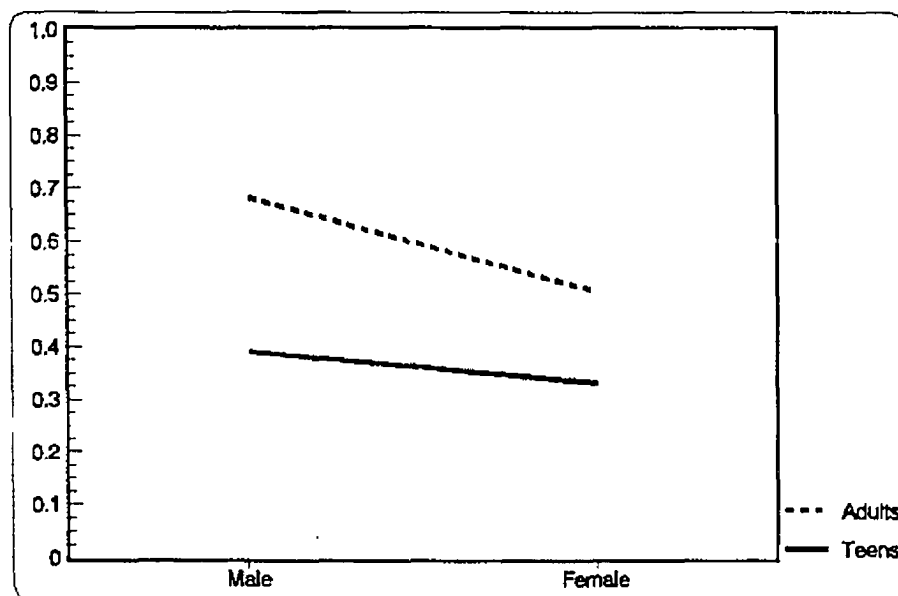
Graph 5.87 The Distribution of Response Probabilities for *chesterfield*, *couch*, and *sofa* with Age, Sex, and Urban/Rural Residence.



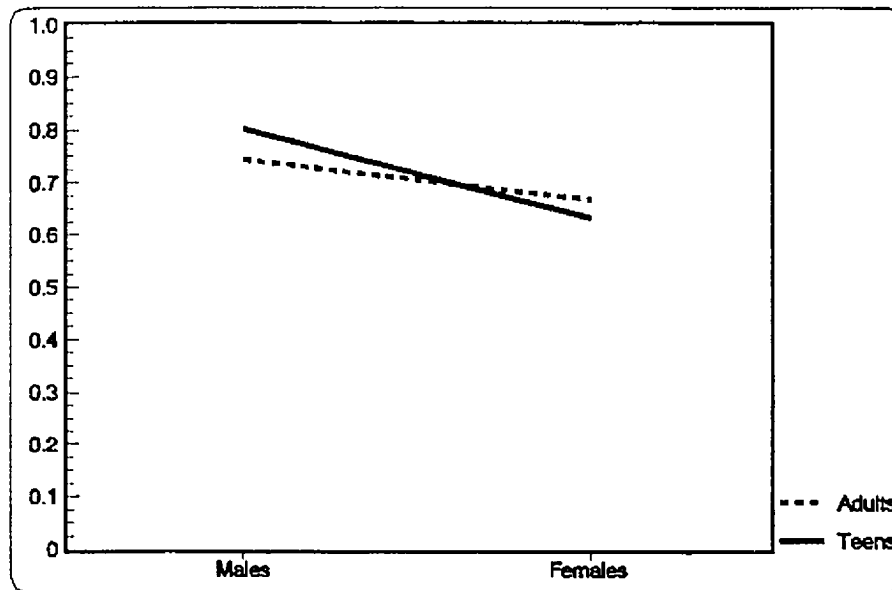
Graph 5.88 The Response Probabilities for *chesterfield*, *couch*, and *sofa* with Generation.



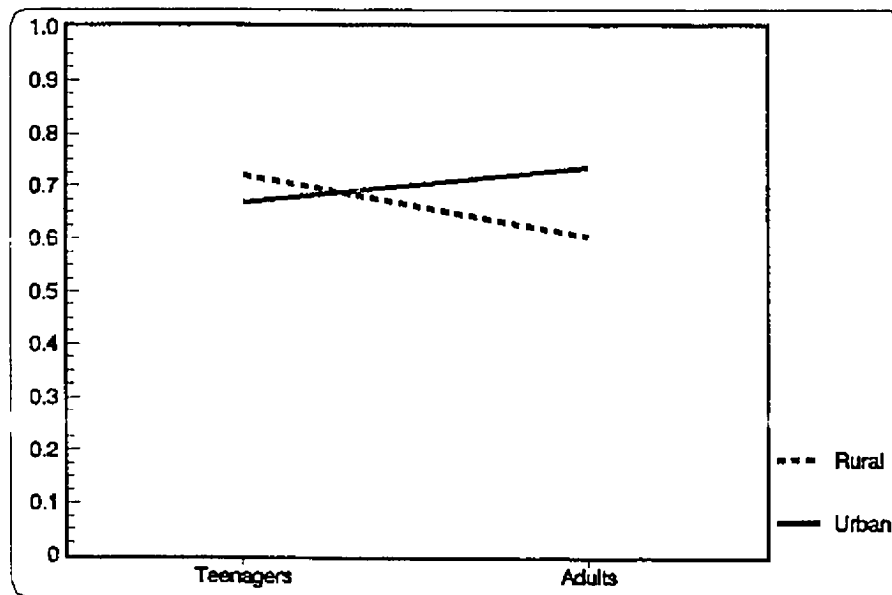
**Graph 5.89** The Distribution of Response Probabilities for *chesterfield*, *couch*, and *sofa* with Education.



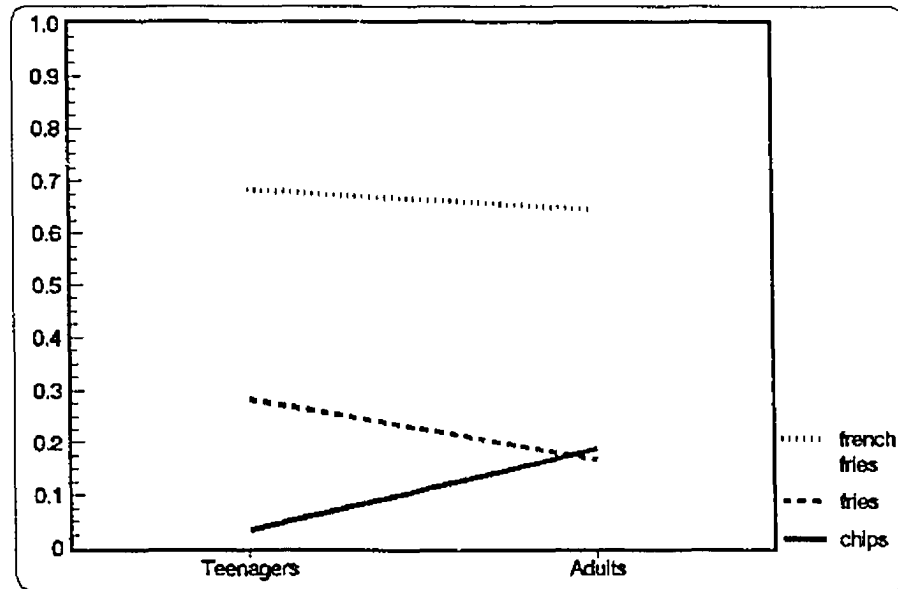
**Graph 5.90** The Distribution of Response Probabilities for *creek* with Sex and Age.



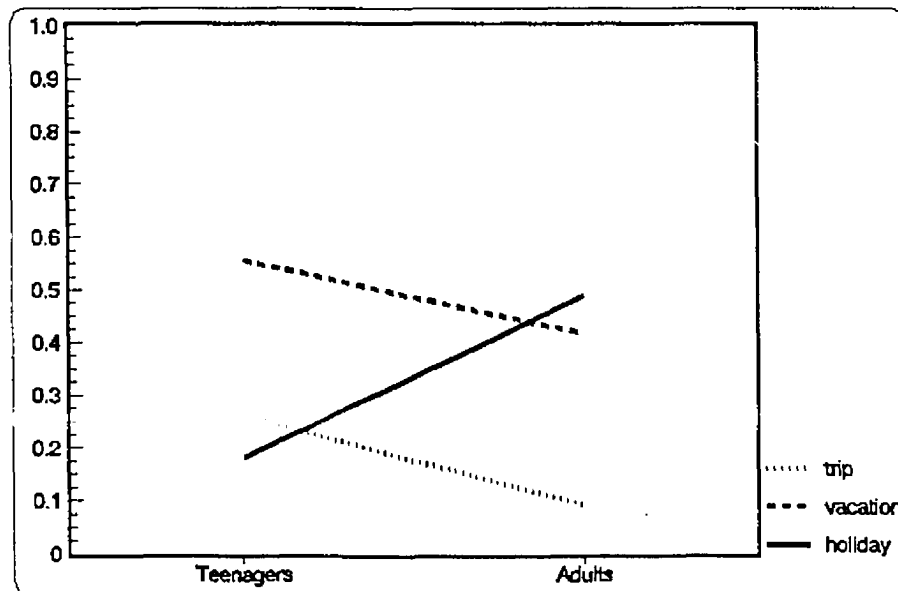
Graph 5.91 The Distribution of the Response Probabilities for *fall* with Sex and Age.



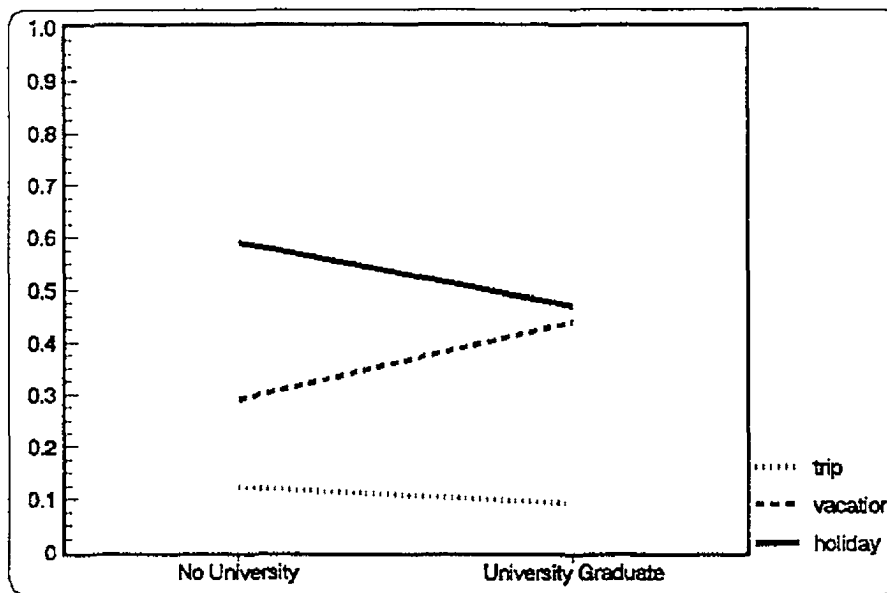
Graph 5.92 The Distribution of Response Probabilities for *fall* with Age and Urban/Rural Residence.



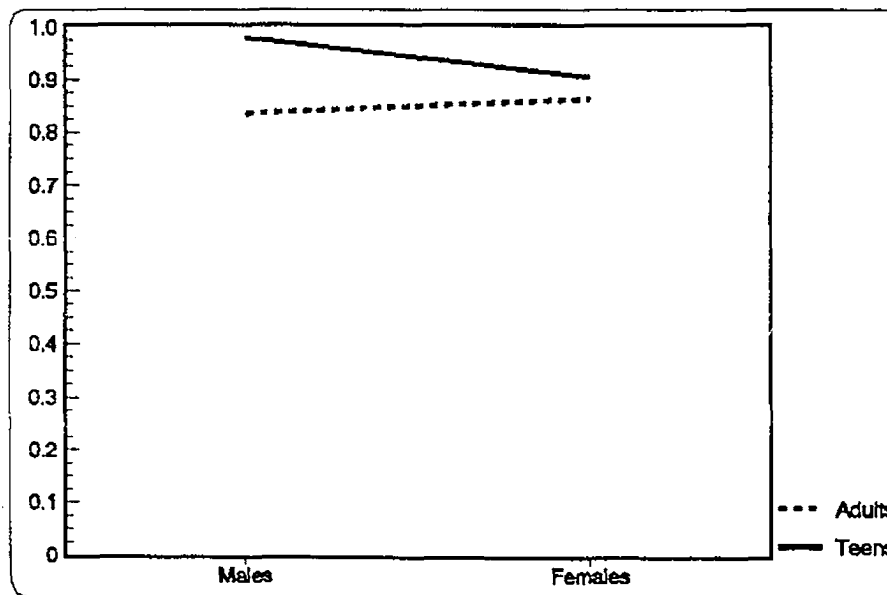
Graph 5.93 The Distribution of Response Probabilities for *french fries*, *fries*, and *chips* with Age.



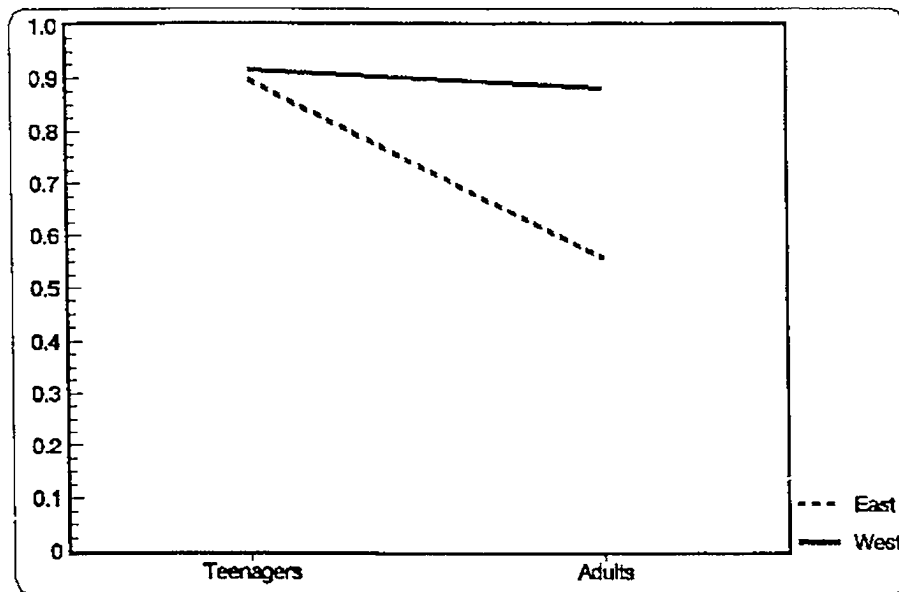
Graph 5.94 The Distribution of Responses *holiday*, *vacation*, and *trip* with Age.



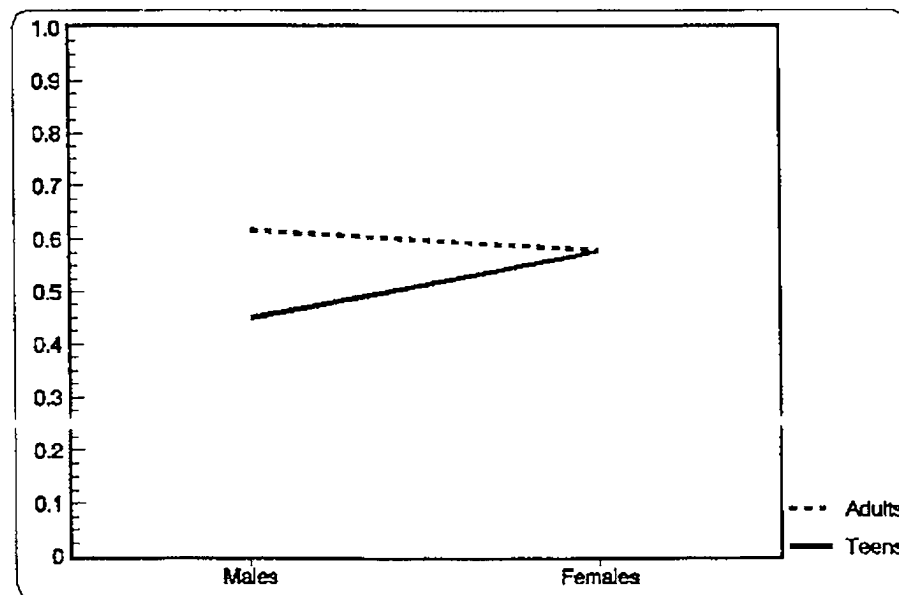
Graph 5.95 The Distribution of Responses *holiday*, *vacation*, and *trip* with Education.



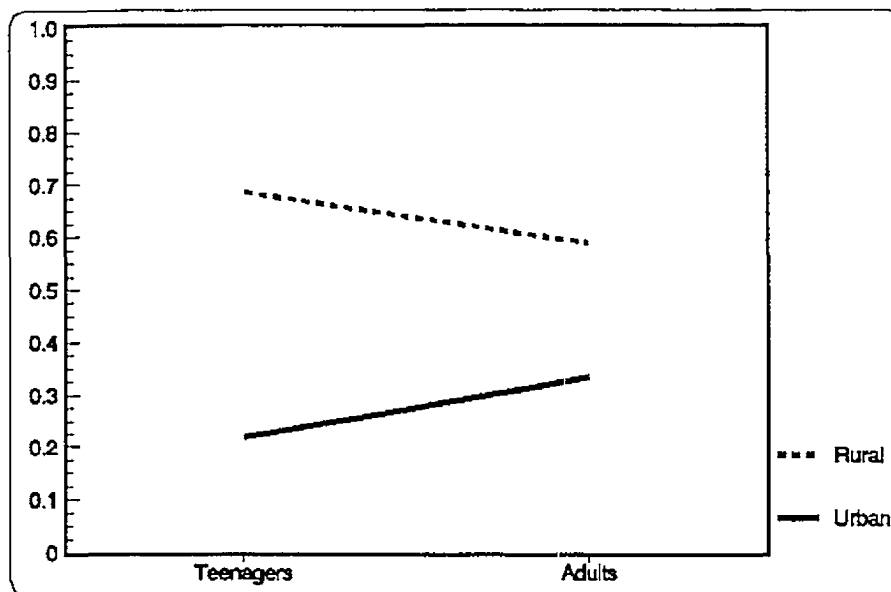
Graph 5.96 The Distribution of the Response *living room* with Sex and Age.



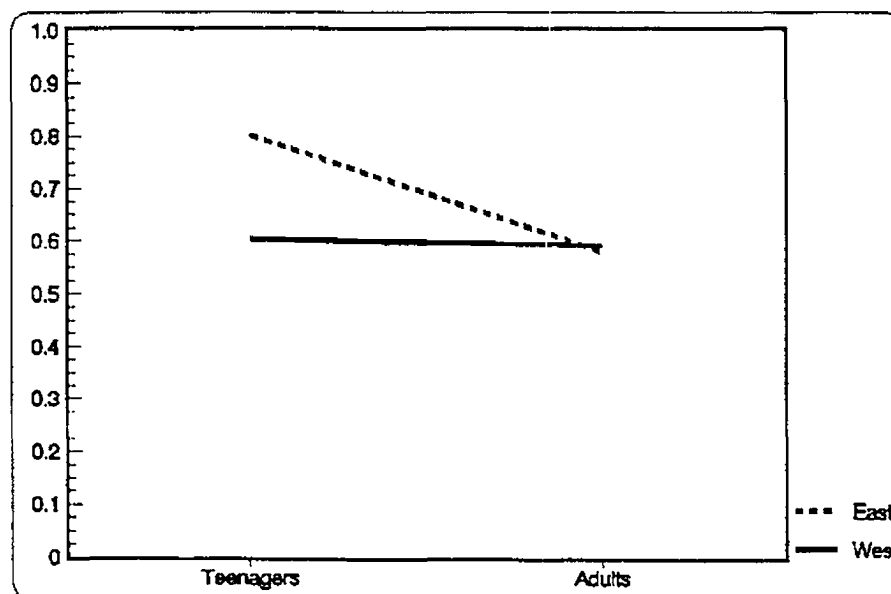
Graph 5.97 The Distribution of the Response *living room* with Age and Rural Residence.



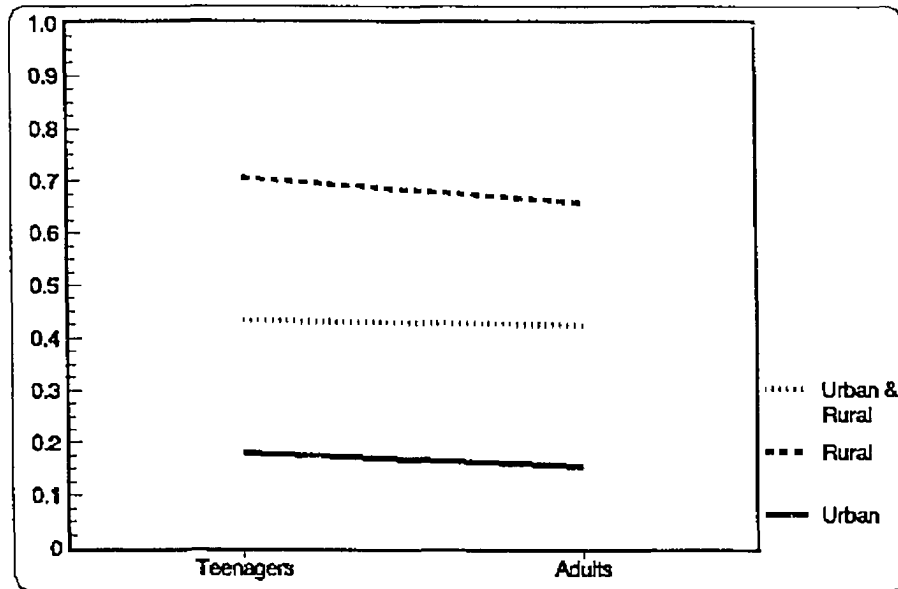
Graph 5.98 The Distribution of the Response *dinner* with Sex and Age.



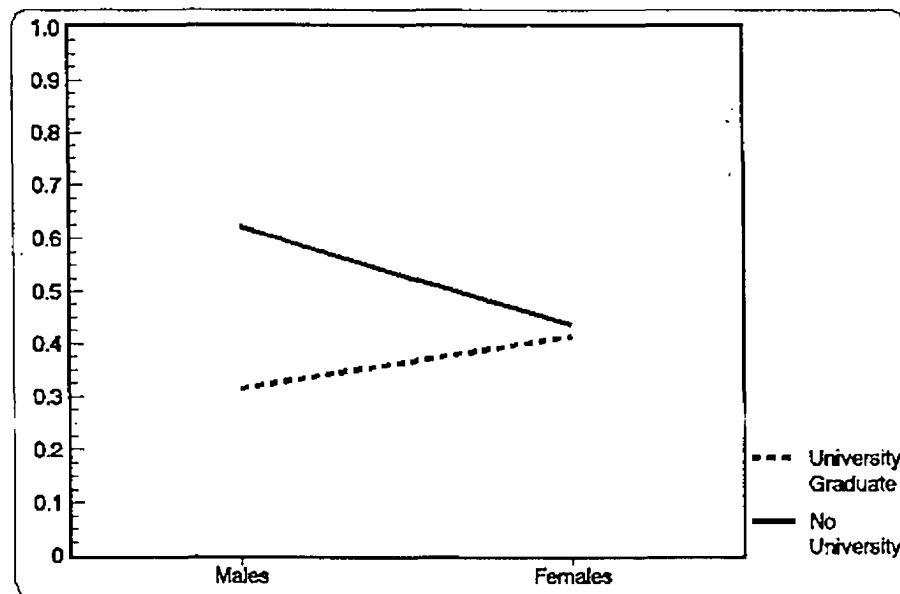
Graph 5.99 The Distribution of the Response *dinner* with Age and Urban/Rural Residence.



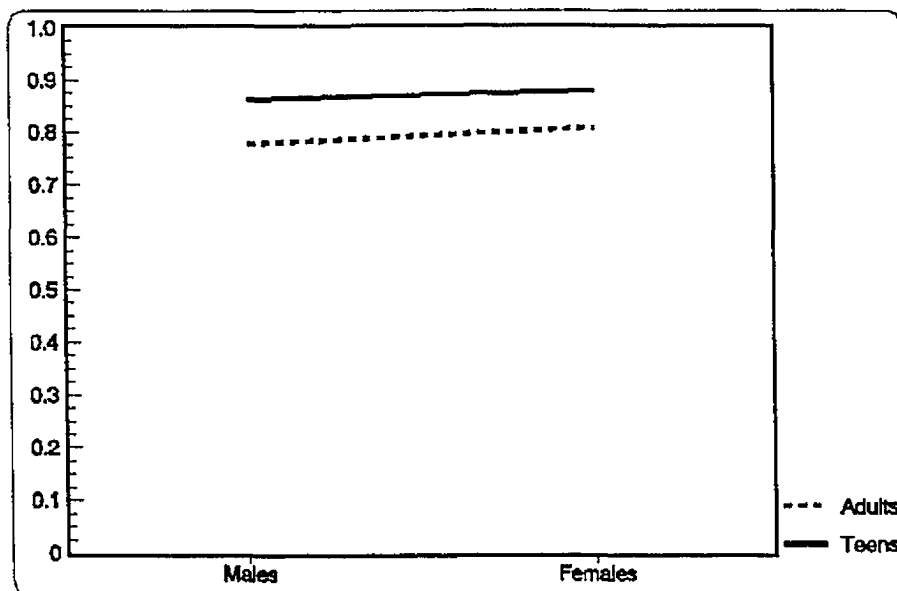
Graph 5.100 The Distribution of the Response *dinner* with Age and Rural Residence.



**Graph 5.101** The Distribution of the Response *dinner* Comparing Urban, Rural and Urban/ Rural Environments with Age.

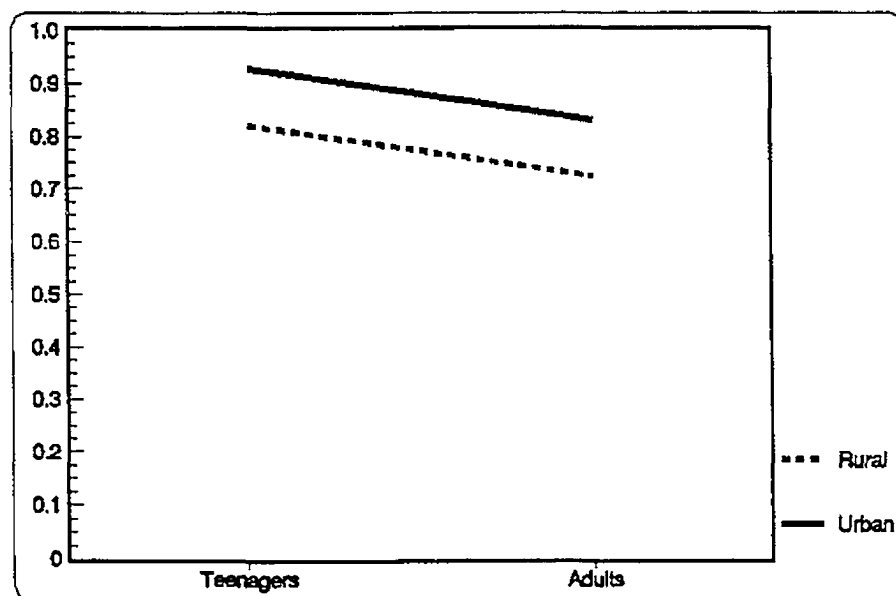


**Graph 5.102** The Distribution of the Response *dinner* with Sex and Education.



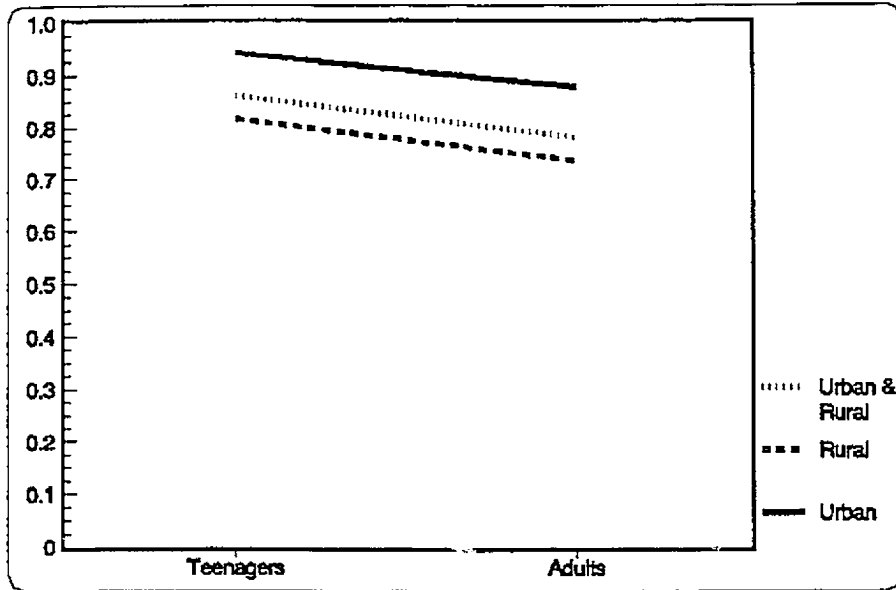
**Graph 5.103** The Distribution of the Response *mailman* with Sex and Age.

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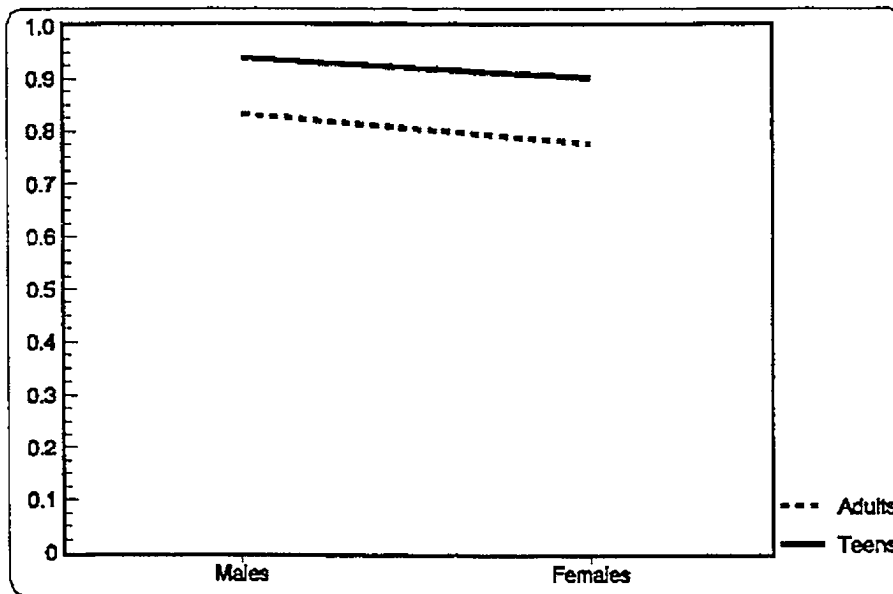


**Graph 5.104** The Distribution of the Response *mailman* with Age and Urban/Rural Residence.

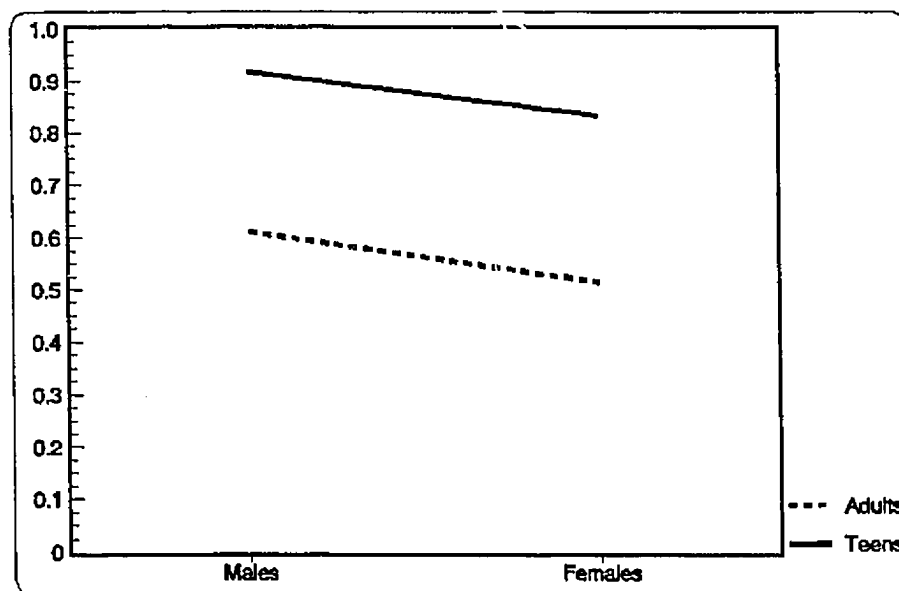
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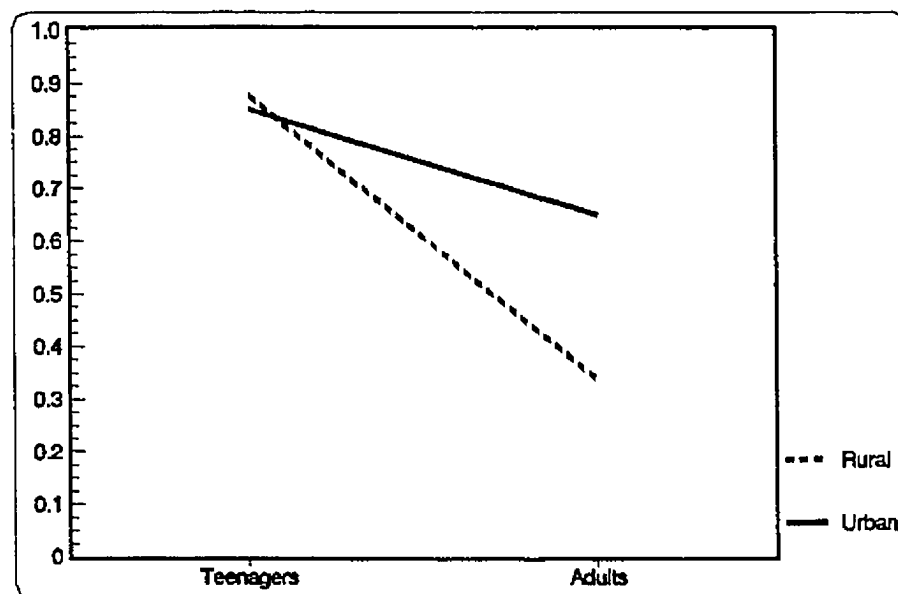
Graph 5.105 The Distribution of the Response *mailman* with Age and Urban, Rural, or Urban/Rural Environment.



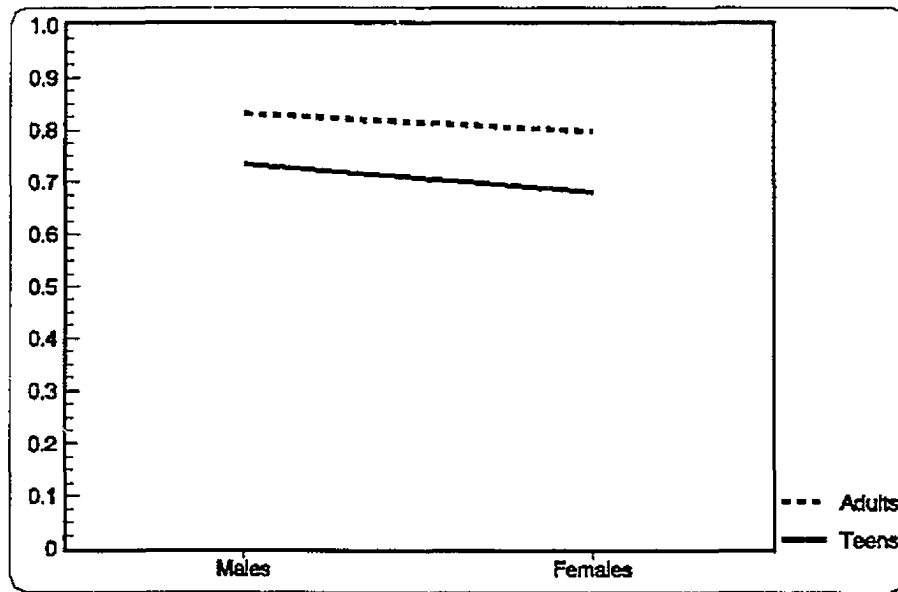
Graph 5.106 The Distribution of the Response *napkin (fabric)* with Sex and Age.



Graph 5.107 The Distribution of the Response *napkin* (paper) with Sex and Age.



Graph 5.108 The Distribution of the Response *napkin* (paper) with Age and Urban/Rural Residence.



Graph 5.109 The Distribution of the Response *pit* with Sex and Age.

## Chapter 6

### DISCUSSION

#### 6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlines the important results of the statistical analyses for many of the linguistic variables considered in this study. The multivariate statistical methodology employed is considered an important component of the study as it allows one to examine interactions of several social variables in conjunction with the linguistic variables. Although some of the linguistic variables researched yielded no potentially significant results, many significant or possibly significant associations were disclosed. Likewise, some social variables examined did not reveal important relationships with the linguistic variables; however, many relationships that may provide further insight into Canadian English were brought to light.

The following sections summarize the significant results presented in the preceding chapter. The first section addresses the *a priori* hypotheses, which constitute the confirmatory aspect of the study, and summarizes the relevant analyses

for each, thus revealing whether or not the current study allows one to accept the assertions made before the data collection. The second section summarizes other important results, which comprise the exploratory aspect of the study, and thus reveals those relationships which may be significant.

## 6.2 The *a priori* Hypotheses

The purpose of much of the data analysis in this study was to provide information that would indicate whether relationships hypothesized on the basis of previous studies are in fact manifested in the data distribution, and thus give the results of this and previous studies more validity. Because the data in this study were not collected through a random sample, it is not possible to generalize to the entire population; however, when the same result has been obtained in more than one study, the results have, in effect, been confirmed.

The following discussion presents the relevant results of the analyses for the assertions presented in the *a priori* hypotheses introduced in section 4.4. When significant results confirm the relationship suspected to exist, one may reject the corresponding null hypothesis, which states that the relationship does not exist; however, if appropriate significant results are not obtained, one must accept the null hypothesis, and thus, cannot confirm the relationship asserted.

Hypothesis 1: Younger speakers are more likely to voice /č/ and /kš/ in the words *congratulate* and *luxury*.

The data presented in Graphs 5.17 and 5.35 illustrate that the teenagers sampled did use the variant pronunciations [kəngræjəlèt] and [lɔgžəri] significantly more often than the adults. While the majority of the teenagers used the pronunciation [kəngræjəlèt] (about 70%), only about 40% indicated use of [lɔgžəri]; nevertheless, the statistically significant relationships between these linguistic variables and the variable *age* indicate support of Hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis 2: Older speakers are more likely to use the pronunciation [kárki] *khaki* while younger speakers are more likely to pronounce this word [kæki].

The data displayed in Graph 5.27 indicate that teenagers use the pronunciation [kæki] significantly more often than adults. While the form [kæki] appears to be used by the majority of both teenagers and adults, adults use [kárki] significantly more often than teenagers. Perhaps because the Canadian armed forces now wear green, younger speakers are not as aware of the colour and accordingly pronounce the word as it is spelled. Consequently, the statistical analyses indicate that the data support the assertion made in Hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 3: Older speakers are more likely to make a distinction between *marry* and *merry* while younger speakers are less likely to make such a distinction.

Graph 5.36 illustrates that although the pronunciation [méri] is preferred by both teenagers and adults, significantly more teenagers than adults used this form. Consequently, significantly more teenagers than adults treat *marry* and *merry* as homophones, while significantly more adults than teenagers make a distinction in pronunciation between these two words. Thus, the analyses indicate the data support the claim made in Hypothesis 3.

Hypothesis 4: Older speakers are more likely to make a distinction between *poor* and *pour* while younger speakers are less likely to make this distinction.

The data displayed in Graph 5.38 illustrate that while less than 50% of all subjects used the pronunciation [por] for *poor*, thus treating *poor* and *pour* as homophones, significantly more teenagers than adults used this variant. While the majority use distinctive pronunciations for these words (i.e. [pur] *poor* and [por] *pour*), it appears that significantly more adults than teenagers make the distinction. Therefore, the analyses of the data support Hypothesis 4.

Hypothesis 5: The pronunciation [skonz] *scones* is used more frequently by younger speakers while the pronunciation [skɒnz] is used more frequently by older speakers.

The data presented in Graph 5.46 illustrate that while the pronunciation variant [skonz] is preferred by the majority of all subjects, that is both teenagers and adults, it is used by significantly more teenagers than adults. Conversely, significantly

more adults than teenagers use the alternative pronunciation [skɒnz]. Thus, the statistical analyses indicate support of the assertion presented in Hypothesis 5.

Hypothesis 6: The pronunciation [zɛbrə] *zebra* is used more often by older speakers while the pronunciation [zɪbrə] is used by younger speakers.

Graph 5.57 illustrates that while the variant pronunciation [zɪbrə] is preferred by all groups, it is used almost exclusively by the teenagers, and consequently, by significantly more teenagers than adults. Therefore, significantly more adults than teenagers use the pronunciation [zɛbrə]. Thus, the analyses support Hypothesis 6.

Hypothesis 7: Older speakers are more likely to make a distinction between words such as *which* ([hwɪç]) and *witch* ([wɪç]), and *whine* ([hwayn]) and *wine* ([wayn]), while younger speakers are less likely to make such a distinction, and thus the words are homophonous ([wɪç], [wayn]).

The data presented in Graph 5.68 indicate that use of the variant [hw] in words such as *which* and *whine* decreases as the age of the speaker decreases. The data analyses reveal that speakers over 45 years of age use [hw] significantly more often than teenagers, than speakers between 20 and 29 years of age, and than speakers between 30 and 44 years of age. Therefore, the statistical analyses of the data provide evidence in support of the assertion presented in Hypothesis 7.

Hypothesis 8: Older speakers are more likely to use palatalized pronunciations of words such as *new* ([nyu]), *tune* ([tyun]), and *student* ([styúdənt]) while younger speakers use the non-palatalized forms ([nu], [tun], [stúdənt]).

Graph 5.71 illustrates that use of the palatalized pronunciations, such as [nyu] *new*, [tyun] *tune*, and so on, increases as age increases. Conversely, use of non-palatalized variants, such as [nu] *new*, [tun] *tune*, and so on, is more frequent among younger speakers. Thus, the analyses indicate that the data support the assertion made in Hypothesis 8.

Hypothesis 9: Pronunciations and lexical variants associated with American English are more prevalent among younger speakers than among older speakers.

Statistical analyses of data pertaining to this hypothesis include data from 20 linguistic items -- the pronunciation of 14 words, the distribution of one phonological variable and the use of variants of five lexical variables. Pronunciations associated with American English include the following: [ədʌlt] *adult*, [æntaɪ] *anti-*, [iðər] *either*, [lévər] *lever*, [lížər] *leisure*, [luténənt] *lieutenant*, [mísəl] *missile*, [níðər] *neither*, [prógres] *progress*, [réʃən] *ration*, [skonz] *scones*, [skéd-] as in *schedule*, [sémaɪ] *semi-*, [zi] for the letter *z*, and use of /u/ rather than /yu/ in words such as *tune* and *student*. Lexical items associated with American English include (*in*) *back of*, *fall*, *fries* or *french fries*, *vacation*, and *mailman*. Of these 20 linguistic variables, 17 show evidence of the predicted relationship. Graphs 5.19, 5.30, 5.32, 5.37, 5.45, 5.46, 5.91, 5.93, and 5.103 display data pertaining to *either/neither*, *leisure*, *lieutenant*, *missile*, *schedule*, *scones*, *fall*, *fries/french fries/chips*, and *mailman* respectively. Among these variables, the variant associated with American English is used by the

majority of both teenagers and adults, and furthermore, with the single exception of the *fall/autumn* contrast (in which teenagers and adults appear to use each form to the same extent), the American variant is used significantly more often by teenagers than by adults.

Graphs 5.39, 5.55, 5.71 and 5.94 display data concerning the variables *progress*, *z*, /u/ (versus /yu/), and *vacation* respectively. The distribution of the data indicate that the variants associated with American English are used by the majority of teenagers (/u/; *holiday*; *progress* - female teenagers) or close to the majority of teenagers (*z*; *progress* - male teenagers). However, in all cases, the American variant is used by significantly more teenagers than adults. Furthermore, data pertaining to the presence or absence of the palatalized glide in words such as *new* and *tune* indicate that use of the glide increases steadily as age increases (see Graph 5.71).

Data relating to the remaining variants, *adult*, *anti-*, *semi-*, *lever*, *ration*, and *(in) back of* represented in Graphs 5.1, 5.5, 5.6, 5.31, 5.40, and 5.77 respectively, indicate that variants associated with American English are used by the minority of the population, but nevertheless, the statistical analyses reveal that teenagers use the American English variants [ədʌlt] *adult*, [lɛvər] *lever*, [rɛʃən] *ration*, and *(in) back of* significantly more often than adults. Although the main effect of *age* is not significant for *anti-* or *semi-*, the pronunciation [ɛntaɪ] is used by significantly more male teenagers than male adults.

Consequently, while the relationship predicted in Hypothesis 9 is not supported by the analyses of all applicable linguistic variables, the distribution of responses for the vast majority, including *adult, either, neither, lever, leisure, lieutenant, missile, progress, ration, schedule, scones*, z, /u/ rather than /yu/ in words such as *due* and *knew, fries, holiday, mailman, (in) back of*, and to some extent *anti-*, does support the assertion made. Reasons why the responses pertaining to *semi-* and *fall/autumn* do not also follow this pattern were not revealed in this study; however, specific reasons were not being sought.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, one might speculate that *sex* rather than *age* is associated with pronunciation of *semi-* since, presumably, males are more interested in trucks than females, and consequently may be more likely to use the American form (see 6.3.2). In all, the analyses do reveal support for the statement made in Hypothesis 9; however, because of a few exceptions, one cannot claim absolute confirmation of the prediction. Nevertheless, if forms associated with American English continue to be used by the younger generation, and one accepts that differences in language use related to *age* reflect language change, then it is reasonable to anticipate that variants associated with American English will become

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<sup>1</sup> The discussion in Section 6.3.2, concerning possible relationships with the variable *sex*, reveals that the variables *anti-*, *semi-*, and *fall/autumn* may have important associations with male versus female speakers. Therefore, one might speculate that, for these variables, the sex of the speaker may be more influential than the age of the speaker.

more widespread in Canadian English, and consequently, Canadian English will share more features with American English and fewer with British English.

Hypothesis 10: Regarding the lexical variants *chips*, *fries*, and *french fries*, *french fries* is used by all groups while *chips* is used most often by older speakers and *fries* is used most often by younger speakers.

As illustrated by Graph 5.93, the analyses reveal that *french fries* is preferred by the majority of both teenagers and adults, being used by approximately 65 to 70% of the speakers in each group. However, while adults reported using the terms *fries* and *chips* to about the same extent (15 to 20%), more teenagers used *fries* (about 30%) than *chips* (about 5%). Consequently, while *french fries* is the preferred term, more adults than teenagers report use of *chips*, while more teenagers than adults claim use of *fries*. Therefore, the distribution of the data upholds the assertion made in Hypothesis 10.

Hypothesis 11: While the lexical variant *living room* is preferred by all age groups the term *parlour* is used most often by older speakers.

The data displayed in Graph 5.96 illustrate that although *living room* is used by the majority of both teenagers and adults, it is used by significantly more teenagers than adults, particularly by male teenagers. Consequently, while less than 20% of the adults and less than 10% of the teenagers reported use of *parlour*, this

variant is used by significantly more adults than teenagers. Hence, the analyses provide evidence in support of the statement presented in Hypothesis 11.

Hypothesis 12: The term *serviette* is used more often when referring to the paper variety than to the cloth variety, although *napkin* is preferred by younger speakers for both the paper and cloth varieties, while *serviette* is used more often by older speakers.

A comparison of the data presented in Graph 5.106, concerning the item when made from fabric, with that presented in Graph 5.107, concerning the item when made from paper, reveals that while the majority of both teenagers and adults prefer *napkin*, considerably fewer adults and somewhat fewer teenagers use *napkin* in reference to the paper variety than in reference to the fabric type. While both teenagers and adults prefer *napkin* regardless of the material from which it is made, when referring to the paper variety, only a slight majority of adults report use of *napkin* (females approximately 50%; males just over 60%). Therefore, while significantly more adults than teenagers use *serviette*, regardless of the material from which the item is made, the adults use it more often in reference to the paper type than the fabric kind. Consequently, analyses of the data support the statement made in Hypothesis 12.

Hypothesis 13: Concerning the lexical variants *bath*, *bathe*, and *wash*, one can expect a relationship with both the *age* and *sex* variables.

- a. Younger speakers use *bath* more frequently than older speakers.
- b. Females use *bathe* more frequently than males, while males use *wash* more frequently than females.

The data displayed in Graph 5.74 indicate that although *bath* is preferred by both teenagers and adults, this variant appears to be used more often by adults than by teenagers. Consequently, the distribution of the data contradicts the statement made in Hypothesis 13a.

Graph 5.75 illustrates that while *bath* is preferred by both males and females, significantly more males than females use *wash*, while there appears to be a tendency for more females than males use *bathe*. Thus, while the analysis does not support the statement made in 13a, it does support that made in 13b. Because three popular variants were used as responses for this variable, it was not possible to create a dichotomous variable; consequently, the distribution of responses may be confounded by the inclusion of *wash*. If a study limited the possible responses to *bath* and *bathe*, the resulting analyses might support the statement made in 13a.

Hypothesis 14: Use of the term *bluff* to refer to 'a group of trees' is related to the sociological variables *age*, *sex*, and *urban/rural*.

- a. Older speakers use *bluff* more frequently than younger speakers.
- b. Males use *bluff* more frequently than females.
- c. Rural residents use *bluff* more frequently than urban residents.

The data presented in Graphs 5.79 and 5.82 (see also 5.83 and 5.84) indicate that *bluff* is used by significantly more adults than teenagers, and in fact, as illustrated in Graph 5.82, while the majority of adults are aware of the use of *bluff* in reference to 'trees', slightly less than half of the teenagers reported awareness of this meaning. Graph 5.82, along with Graph 5.80, also illustrates that significantly

more males than females use *bluff*. Lastly, Graphs 5.81 and 5.83 reveal that significantly more rural residents than urban residents use the term *bluff*. Thus, analyses of the data reveal support for the three assertions made in Hypothesis 14.

Hypothesis 15: Use of *dinner* in reference to the noon meal is used with more frequency by rural residents than by urban residents.

The data displayed in Graph 5.99 illustrate that while the majority of rural residents use the variant *dinner* in reference to the noon meal, fewer than half the urban residents sampled reported this use. Graph 5.101 illustrates that individuals who have always lived in a rural environment report the greatest use of *dinner*, while those who have always lived in an urban environment report the least use of this variant. Those subjects who have lived in both urban and rural areas report use of *dinner* to a degree midway between the two extremes. The analyses of the data thus indicate a significant difference related to residence, which provides justification for the statement in Hypothesis 15.

Hypothesis 16: Females use fewer non-standard pronunciations and more prestige pronunciations than males.

Analyses of data pertaining to this assertion concern 12 linguistic variables, seven of which have non-standard forms and five of which have prestige forms. Pronunciations considered to be non-standard include the following: [ártík] *arctic*, [áθəlít] *athlete*, [kəngræʒəlèt] *congratulate*, [fíləm] *film* (and [éləm] *elm*), [jényuàin]

*genuine*, [àitælyən] *Italian*, and [rʌʊt] *route*. Prestige pronunciations are: [áɪðər] *either*, [náɪðər] *neither*, [kárki] *khaki*, [lefténənt] *lieutenant*, and [ʃéd-] as in *schedule*.

Among those variables with non-standard forms, the analyses did not reveal any evidence of significant main effects related to the sex of the subject; however, the analyses of one variable, *genuine*, indicates, as illustrated in Graph 5.23, that significantly fewer rural females than rural males reported use of the non-standard pronunciation [ ʒényuəm]. Similarly, the analyses indicate that only one of the linguistic variables which has a prestige form, namely *khaki*, revealed a significant relationship with the sex variable. However, as illustrated by Graph 5.27, the analyses reveal that slightly more females than males tend to use the pronunciation [kæki]; consequently, more males than females reported use of the prestige form. Therefore, the analyses do not support the assertion made in Hypothesis 16, and one is forced to accept the null hypothesis, specifically, that, for this sample, use of non-standard and prestige forms is not related to the sex of the speaker.

Hypothesis 17: Subjects with a high level of education use fewer non-standard forms than those with less education.

Analyses concerning this assertion concerns the same seven linguistic variables with non-standard pronunciations as those mentioned in reference to the previous hypothesis. Once again, the pronunciations considered to be non-standard include the following: [ártɪk] *arctic*, [æθəlit] *athlete*, [kəngræʒələt] *congratulate*, [fíləm] *film*,

[jɛnyuàɪn] *genuine*, [àitályən] *Italian*, and [rʌʊt] *route*. Of these linguistic variables, the analyses indicate that four, namely *arctic*, *athlete*, *film*, and *route*, display evidence of significant relationships with the education variable.

Graphs 5.7, 5.10, and 5.22 illustrate that university graduates use the standard pronunciations [árktɪk] *arctic*, [æθlɪt] *athlete*, and [fɪlm] *film* significantly more often than those who did not attend university. Therefore, those individuals with less education report greater use of the non-standard pronunciations [ártɪk], [æθəlɪt], and [fíləm]. The data presented in Graph 5.44 illustrate that use of the stigmatized form [rʌʊt] *route* was reported by more individuals who have not attended university than by those who are university graduates.

Thus, when the analyses reveal that *education* is related to the distribution of these seven variables, the prediction stated in Hypothesis 17 is fulfilled; however, because no significant relationship was found with three of the relevant linguistic variables, one cannot say that the data entirely support the assertion. This apparent lack of supporting evidence for the hypothesis may be a result of the way in which the education variable was defined, and the way in which the data were collected. While the analyses presented above are based on a distinction between individuals who are university graduates and individuals who did not attend university, a greater number of important relationships may have been revealed had the analyses involved a comparison of more dramatically distinct groups, such as university graduates

versus individuals who did not complete high school. Data collection regarding this variable is further complicated by the fact that well-educated individuals may be more willing to participate, and moreover, individuals with little education may lack the reading skills necessary to complete the written questionnaire or participate in the direct interview. Consequently, for the present time, one is forced to accept the null hypothesis; however, a different study using a different sample may find conclusive evidence in support of this assertion.

### 6.3 The Exploratory Analyses

While some analyses were carried out in order to address the *a priori* hypotheses, as mentioned previously, another purpose of the investigation was to discover possible relationships between the social variables and the linguistic variables. While some variables, such as *age* and *sex*, exhibit relationships with several other variables, others, such as *ethnic identity* and *language*, did not reveal potentially important relationships with the linguistic variables. This lack of correlations parallels findings of Graham (1957) (see 2.5.7.3), Labov (1972), and Milroy (1987) (see 4.3.5) who found in their respective studies that evidence of one's ethnic retention was not manifested in speech of their informants. Consequently, while the lack of such relationships was not hypothesized prior to the study, the absence of potentially important relationships between the social and linguistic

variables is in itself significant. The following sections summarize the important and potentially significant results of the exploratory analyses.

### 6.3.1 Age

The results presented in Section 6.2 describe several predicted associations with the variable *age*; however, *age* appears to be an important variable in relation to some other linguistic variables as well. The statistical analyses reveal evidence to suggest that more teenagers than adults use the following forms: [ədʌlt] *adult*, [əɡeɪn] *again*, [æmənd] *almond*, [bʊri] *bury*, [ɡerənti] *guarantee*, [liʒər] *leisure*, [slau] *slough*, [ves] *vase*, *couch*, *stream*, and *stone* (see Graphs 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.11, 5.24, 5.30, 5.48, 5.54, 5.86, 5.90, and 5.109 respectively). The data presented in Graphs 5.61 and 5.67 suggest that younger speakers are more likely to voice /t/ in the environments /VtV/ and /ntV/, while conversely, older speakers are more likely to use [t] in these environments.

In addition, the analyses of *route* and *lunch* indicate that *age* is a significant factor in combination with another social variable. A significant interaction between *age* and *urban/rural* residence was found in association with *route*, which as illustrated in Graphs 5.41 and 5.42, suggests that rural adults use the pronunciation [rʌʊt] more often than any other subgroup (see also 6.3.3). A significant interaction with *age* and *sex* was found in conjunction with the contrast *lunch/dinner*. As illustrated by

Graph 5.98, it appears that male adults use the variant *dinner* significantly more often than any other subgroup.

Thus, while many relationships with the variable *age* were predicted from previous research, and were thus included in the discussion of the confirmatory aspect of the study (see 6.2), evidence suggests some additional relationships that may be potentially significant, and which can be used as a basis for future predictions (see 7.2).

### 6.3.2 Sex

Statistical analyses suggest that the variable *sex* may have an important relationship with some of the linguistic variables. The distribution of the data indicates that this social variable may be a significant factor in relation to the following linguistic variables: *adult*, *anti-*, *guarantee*, *leisure*, *marry*, *progress*, *semi-*, *soot*, *zebra*, */ntV/*, *behind*, *chesterfield*, *creek*, *fall*, and *lunch*. Of these 15 linguistic variables, the analyses suggest that significant main effects of *sex* may be associated with seven, namely *guarantee*, *leisure*, *marry*, *semi-*, */ntV/*, *creek*, *fall*, while interactions involving the variable *sex* and at least one other social variable may be associated with the remaining eight linguistic variables.

Of those variables where the speaker's sex may have potentially significant main effects, evidence suggests that more females than males use the following

forms: [gérənti] *guarantee*, [lížər] *leisure*, [máeri] *marry*, [sémi] *semi-*, [t] in the environment /ntV/, *stream* (as opposed to *creek*), and *autumn* (as opposed to *fall*) (see Graphs 5.24, 5.30, 5.36, 5.6, 5.66, 5.90, and 5.91 respectively).

Concerning those instances in which the variable *sex* may be an important factor in conjunction with another social variable, in most cases the other seemingly important variable was *age*. As illustrated by the data presented in Graphs 5.1, 5.5, 5.39, 5.57, 5.77, and 5.98, in addition to the main effects of *age* discussed above (see 5.3.1), *sex* and *age* together appear to be important factors associated with the linguistic variables *adult*, *anti-*, *progress*, *zebra*, *behind*, and *lunch*. The analyses reveal the following potentially significant relationships: female adults use the pronunciation [ædɔlt] *adult* more often than any other subgroup (see Graph 5.1); male teenagers use [æntaɪ] *anti-* more often than any other group (see Graph 5.5); female teenagers use [prɔ́gres] *progress* more often than any other group (see Graph 5.39); the form [zébrə] *zebra* is used most often by male adults (see Graph 5.57); use of *behind* (as opposed to *(in) back of*) was reported most often by female adults and least often by female teenagers (see Graph 5.77); male teenagers use *lunch* most often, while male adults use *dinner* most often (see Graph 5.98).

Statistical analyses also suggest that the variable *sex* may have an important interaction with the *urban/rural* factor for two linguistic variables. The data displayed in Graph 5.49 indicate that [sut] *soot* may be used least often by urban males (see

also 6.3.3). In addition, a potentially significant three-way interaction was revealed in association with the distribution of the lexical variants related to *chesterfield* (see also 6.3.3). As illustrated in Graph 5.87, the distribution of the data indicates that the rural female adults may be the only subgroup to use *chesterfield* more often than *couch*.

### 6.3.3 Urban / Rural

The distribution of responses in relation to place of residence, i.e. urban or rural, appears to be an important factor in association with 19 linguistic variables. Of these, potentially significant main effects were revealed for 12 variables, while interactions of *urban/rural* with at least one other social variable were suggested for seven variables.

Potentially significant main effects of *urban/rural* residence were found for the following linguistic variables: *athlete*, *collie*, *film*, *Italian*, *scones*, *soot*, *threshing*, *zebra*, */hw/*, */yu/*, *bath*, and *mailman*. Use of the following forms was reported by more rural than urban residents (and, for some words, by more individuals who have lived in only rural environments): [æθəlit] *athlete* (Graphs 5.8 and 5.9), [kóli] *collie* (Graphs 5.13, 5.14 and 5.15), [fíləm] *film* (Graph 5.21), [àitʲélyən] *Italian* (Graph 5.26), [skʊnz] *scones* (Graph 5.47), [sut] *soot* (Graph 5.49), [θrʲáʃɪŋ] *threshing* (Graphs 5.51 and 5.52), [zébɾə] *zebra* (Graph 5.58), [hw] in words such as *wheel*,

*while*, and so on (Graph 5.69), /u/ in words such as *dew*, *student*, *Tuesday*, and so on (Graph 5.72), *bath* (Graph 5.76), and *postman* (Graphs 5.104 and 5.105).

In addition, two of these linguistics variables appear to be associated with potentially significant two-way interactions with *urban/rural* and another social variable. While the analyses did reveal significant main effects of *urban/rural* residence in association with *soot*, the converging lines illustrated in Graph 5.49 indicate the presence of an interaction. As can be seen in this graph, little difference in use of [sut] was found between the rural males and the rural females; however, the urban females appear to use [sut] significantly more often than urban males, hence the potentially significant interaction of *sex* and *urban/rural*. The distribution of the data concerning *zebra* also indicates evidence of a two-way interaction, but in this case it is with *age* and *urban/rural*. Graph 5.58 illustrates that urban adults appear to use [zɪbrə] significantly more often than rural adults. The data presented in Graph 5.59 add supporting evidence to this conclusion, since, as can be seen, *urban/rural* environment has no association with use of the variants of *zebra* among teenagers; however, exposure to only urban, only rural, or both environments does have a relationship with use of the variants by adults.

While no main effects of *urban/rural* were apparent from the analyses for the other seven variables mentioned above, evidence of interactions involving *urban/rural* were revealed. One of the linguistic variables appears to be associated with a two-

way interaction between *sex* and *urban/rural* (*genuine*), while three may be related to a two-way interaction between *age* and *urban/rural* (*route*, *fall*, and *napkin*), and three appear to be linked to a three-way interaction with *sex*, *age*, and *urban/rural* (*khaki*, *lieutenant*, and *couch*).

The data concerning *genuine*, displayed in Graph 5.23, indicate a potentially significant interaction between *sex* and *urban/rural* where use of [jényuàn] *genuine* was reported by more rural males than by any other subgroup. As mentioned above (see 6.2, Hypothesis 16), it was anticipated that more males than females would use the non-standard pronunciation [jényuàn]; however, the data indicate that this prediction was only revealed among the rural residents sampled.

The data presented in Graphs 5.41, 5.42, and 5.43 illustrate that the variant [ɾʌʊt] *route* is used most often by rural adults. While there appears to be little difference in use between urban and rural teenagers, or between teenagers and urban adults, rural adults appear to use [ɾʌʊt] significantly more often than the other subgroups, thus generating a potentially significant two-way interaction with *age* and *urban/rural*.

The crossed lines on Graph 5.92 also indicate the presence of a potentially significant two-way interaction between *age* and *urban/rural* regarding the use of *fall* as opposed to *autumn*. While little difference in use was discovered between urban and rural teenagers, more urban adults than rural adults reported use of *fall*.

Consequently, *autumn* may be used most often by rural adults. Likewise, the data presented in Graph 5.108, concerning use of *napkin* or *serviette* for the paper item, indicate that although little difference in use was revealed between urban and rural teenagers, considerably fewer rural adults than urban adults reported use of *napkin*. Therefore, while it appears that more adults than teenagers use the term *serviette*, it also appears that this variant may be used by more rural adults than urban adults.

Graph 5.28 illustrates the distribution of the data concerning the pronunciation variants of *khaki*. Among the urban residents, it appears that the form [kæki] is used most often by female teenagers, followed by female adults, male teenagers and least often by male adults; however, among the rural residents, while the pronunciation [kæki] was reported most often by female teenagers and less often by male teenagers and male adults, it was reported least often by female adults. Therefore, while the alternate pronunciation [kárki] is used most often by male adults among the urban population, it appears to be used most often by female adults among the rural population. Consequently, such a relationship has generated a potentially significant three-way interaction with *age*, *sex*, and *urban/rural*.

The data presented in Graph 5.33 concern the distribution of responses for *lieutenant* with *sex*, *age* and *urban/rural* residence, and the non-parallel lines suggest the existence of a potentially significant three-way interaction. Although the lines representing the teenagers' responses cross, little difference in use was found

between urban teenagers and rural teenagers. At the same time, while there appears to be little difference in use between male and female rural adults, urban female adults reported greater use of [luténənt] than urban male adults. The results then imply that the alternate pronunciation [lefténənt] is used most often by urban male adults and rural adults.<sup>2</sup>

Lastly, a potentially significant three-way interaction was found in relation to the variants *chesterfield*, *couch*, and *sofa* with the social variables *sex*, *age*, and *urban/rural* residence. An examination of the distribution of the data reveals that the important factor in generating this three-way interaction is the response pattern of the rural female adults. While use of *chesterfield* and *couch* appears to vary to a greater degree than use of *sofa*, the rural female adults are the only group to report greater use of *chesterfield* than *couch*. Thus, while rural female adults appear to prefer use of *chesterfield*, all other subgroups report preference for *couch*.

#### 6.3.4 Rural

Although no important differences in use were observed between speakers from the two urban areas, that is, Saskatoon and Regina, a few differences in use were detected between rural speakers from the western area and rural speakers

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<sup>2</sup> Dr. Sandra Clarke has suggested (personal communication) that the resulting distribution of the variants of *khaki* and *lieutenant* may indicate that the "American-like variants carry prestige for certain segments of the population, namely, urban residents" and particularly females.

from the eastern area. The data presented in Graph 5.84 indicate that although adults from the two rural regions recognized, to approximately the same extent, the use of *bluff* to refer to 'trees', teenagers from the western area surveyed appear to be more familiar with this use than teenagers from the eastern area. Consequently, the analyses revealed a potentially significant two-way interaction with *age* and *rural residence*.

Graph 5.97 illustrates the distribution of responses pertaining to use of *living room* as opposed to *parlour*. While the lines on this graph converge, suggesting the presence of an important interaction between *age* and *rural residence*, no potentially significant interaction was revealed by the statistical analyses; however, an examination of responses from the rural subjects did reveal potentially significant main effects of *residence*. Consequently, while it appears that *living room* is used least often by eastern adults, the only conclusion that can be drawn from the statistical analyses is that use of *living room* was reported less often by residents from the eastern area than by residents from the western area.

Lastly, a potentially significant two-way interaction was observed between *age* and *rural residence* in relation to the distribution of the data pertaining to *dinner* as opposed to *lunch* in reference to the noon meal. As illustrated in Graph 5.100, although the variant *dinner* is used to approximately the same extent by teenagers and adults from the western region and by adults from the eastern region, teenagers

from the eastern region appear to use *dinner* significantly more than any other subgroup.

### 6.3.5 Generation

While no *a priori* hypotheses were proposed in relation to the variable *generation*, it was felt that use of Canadian English in Saskatchewan might have a relation to number of generations a subject's family has resided in the province (see 4.3.7). Potentially significant main effects were observed with the following nine variables: *bury*, *congratulate*, *guarantee*, *khaki*, *lieutenant*, *Z*, */hw/*, *lyu/*, and *couch*. The distribution of data reveals that, for most of these variables, an important difference in use exists between first and second generations, and between first and third generations, but not between second and third generations. Consequently, the data imply that important differences in use may exist between those individuals whose parents were born outside of Saskatchewan (first generation) and those who have at least one parent (second generation) or one parent and one grandparent (third generation) born in Saskatchewan.

In general, the distribution of the data implies that use of the following variants increases as number of generations increase: [béri] *bury* (Graph 5.12), [kəngræjələt] *congratulate* (Graph 5.18), [gérənti] *guarantee* (Graph 5.25), [kæki] *khaki* (Graph 5.29), [luténənt] *lieutenant* (Graph 5.34), [zi] *Z* (Graph 5.56), [w] as

in *which*, *whine*, and so on (Graph 5.70), and [u] as in *tune*, *student*, and so on (Graph 5.73). In addition, as illustrated in Graph 5.88 while use of *sofa* does not appear to vary with *generation*, use of *couch* appears to increase as generation increases and corresponds to a decrease in use of *chesterfield*.

### 6.3.6 Education

While several linguistic variables that are associated with a non-standard form were hypothesized to be related to level of education (see 6.2, Hypothesis 17), the analyses indicate that *education* may also be a significant factor in relation to the following nine linguistic variables: *almond*, *collie*, *either*, *neither*, *zebra*, *behind*, *couch*, *holiday*, and *dinner*. The results indicate that significantly more university graduates than non-university graduates reported use of the following variants: [æmænd] *almond* (Graph 5.4), [kóli] *collie* (Graph 5.16), [zibrə] *zebra* (Graph 5.60), *behind* (Graph 5.78), *couch* (Graph 5.89), and *vacation* (Graph 5.95). In addition, a significant two-way interaction between *sex* and *education* may be related to *dinner*. As displayed in Graph 5.102, while virtually no difference in use of *dinner* was found associated with females and *education*, males who have graduated from university appear to use *lunch* more often than males who have not attended university.

## 6.4 Conclusion

The results of the analyses presented in the preceding sections reveal much evidence of linguistic variation among speakers of Canadian English in Saskatchewan. While the social factors do not exist in isolation, it does appear that some elements display a greater frequency of important statistical relationships with the linguistic variables.

In association with data from the 54 linguistic variables presented in sections 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5, *age* was found to be a significant or potentially significant factor for 44 variables. If one accepts the principle that differences in language use related to age reflect language change (see 1.3 and 4.3.1) then one can predict that forms used by teenagers will become more prevalent among speakers of Canadian English in Saskatchewan, while variants used more frequently by older speakers will decline in use. Therefore, one might anticipate that use of the following forms will increase with future generations: [ədʌlt] *adult*, [əɡeɪn] *again*, [æmənd] *almond*, [bʊəri] *bury*, [kɒŋgræʃjələt] *congratulate*, [iðər] *either*, [ɡerənti] *guarantee*, [kæki] *khaki*, [liʒər] *leisure*, [levər] *lever*, [lutənənt] *lieutenant*, [lʌgzəri] *luxury*, [məri] *marry*, [mɪsəl] *missile*, [niðər] *neither*, [pɔr] *poor*, [prɒɡres] *progress*, [reɪʃən] *ration*, [skɒnz] *scones*, [skéd-] as in *schedule*, [ves] *vase*, [zɪbrə] *zebra*, [zi] *Z*, (*in*) *back of*, *couch*, *fall*, *fries/french fries*, *holidʌy*, *living room*, *napkin*, *stream*, *stone*, /u/ rather than /yu/ in words such as *new* and *tune*, /w/ rather than /hw/ in words such as *whine* and *which*,

and [d] instead of [t] in the environments /*VtV*/ and /*ntV*/. Considering the number of linguistic variables displaying an association with *age* (80%), this variable may be the most important social factor.

The social variables *sex*, *generation*, and *education* also proved to be important, although they exhibit significant or potentially significant relationships with fewer linguistic variables. *Sex* was found to correlate in a statistically significant way with 20 linguistic variables, *generation* with nine, and *education* with 12. Consequently, *sex* had an important association with approximately 35% of the linguistic variables, *generation* with 15%, and *education* with 20%.

While no important linguistic differences were discovered concerning the two groups of urban residents, a few differences were found between the two groups of rural speakers, and more importantly, several differences in language use were revealed in association with urban as opposed to rural residents. While differences in language use between speakers from the eastern region and the western are were found in association with only five percent of the linguistic variables, *urban/rural* differences in use were associated with approximately 40% of the linguistic variables. Thus, while one might suspect that urban/rural language differences are diminishing (see 4.3.3), the results presented here indicate that several differences are apparent.

## **Chapter 7**

### **SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

The preceding chapters outline the motivation for this study, the studies that provide background information, the historical factors to be considered, the methodology employed and the results obtained. Because the study did not make use of a random sample, it is not possible to make generalizations regarding the entire population of Saskatchewan, or even the entire populations of each of the four areas researched. However, the study does provide much insight into the nature of Canadian English in Saskatchewan and supplies information upon which future research might be based. While some aspects were investigated in order to obtain supporting information and thus confirm hypotheses, many elements were explored simply in order to search for important and unknown relationships. With these new findings one may formulate additional hypotheses which a future study

may then attempt to confirm. The following section outlines some hypotheses suggested by the results from this study.

## 7.2 The *a posteriori* Hypotheses

As mentioned above, the purpose of this study was in part to examine the data in order to disclose important relationships between social and linguistic variables in association with speakers of Canadian English in Saskatchewan. While the data presented in Chapters 5 and 6 indicate evidence of linguistic variation among those individuals interviewed, the precise nature of the variation cannot be said to be valid for the population as a whole. However, the results obtained here will have greater legitimacy if they can be confirmed in a future study. Many of the *a priori* hypotheses formulated for this study were based on information regarding Canadian English in general, not information specific to Canadian English in Saskatchewan. Likewise, some of the information revealed in this study may pose relevant questions for the study of Canadian English in other regions of the country. The following list of hypotheses outline, on the basis of information acquired through this study, relationships which may deserve future consideration in the study of Canadian English.

- a. The following forms are used by more teenagers than adults: [ədʌlt] *adult*, [əɡeɪn] *again*, [æmənd] *almond*, [bʊri] *bury*, [ɡerənti] *guarantee*, [liʒər] *leisure*, [ves] *vase, couch, stream, and stone*.

- b. The word *slough* is unknown by many teenagers, particularly urban teenagers; therefore, the pronunciation [slu] is used by more adults than teenagers.
- c. Younger speakers are more likely to realize /t/ in the environments /VtV/ and /ntV/ as [d] or [D], while older speakers are more likely to use [t] in these environments.
- d. Rural adults use the pronunciation [ɾʌʊt] *route* more often than rural teenagers or urban residents.
- e. Taking the sample as a whole, male adults use the word *dinner* in reference to 'the noon meal' more often than teenagers or female adults, while male teenagers use *lunch* more often than adults or female teenagers. However, among only the rural residents, teenagers from the eastern rural region use *dinner* more frequently than other rural residents. In addition, males who have graduated from university use *lunch* more frequently than males who have not attended university.
- f. More females than males use the following forms: [gérənti] *guarantee*, [iɪʒər] *leisure*, [mæri] *marry*, [sémi] *semi-*, [t] in the environment /ntV/, *stream* (as opposed to *creek*), and *autumn* (as opposed to *fall*).
- g. Female adults use the pronunciation [ædɔlt] *adult* more often than teenagers or male adults.
- h. Male teenagers use the pronunciation [ántai] *anti-* more often than adults or female teenagers.
- i. Female teenagers use the pronunciation [prógres] *progress* more often than adults or male teenagers.

- j. The pronunciation [zébrə] *zebra* is used most often by rural male adults, and therefore, more frequently than urban male adults. In addition, rural female adults use [zébrə] more often than urban female adults, while teenagers use [zibrə] almost exclusively.
- k. The lexical variant *behind* (as opposed to *(in) back of*) is used most often by female adults and least often by female teenagers.
- l. The pronunciation [sut] *soot* is used least often by urban males, therefore, this group uses [sut] more often than females or rural males.
- m. Rural female adults are the only subgroup to use *chesterfield* more often than *couch*.
- n. The following forms are used by more rural residents than urban residents: [æθəlɪt] *athlete*, [kóli] *collie*, [fíləm] *film*, [ætítályən] *Italian*, [skɔnz] *scones*, [θræʃɪŋ] *threshing*, *bath*, *postman*, [hw] in words such as *wheel*, *while*, and so on, and /u/ in words such as *dew*, *student*, *Tuesday*, and so on.
- o. The pronunciation [jényuàn] *genuine* is used most often by rural males.
- p. More urban adults than rural adults use the term *fall*, and thus *autumn* is used most often by rural adults.
- q. More adults than teenagers use the term *serviette*; in addition, this term is also used by more rural adults than urban adults.
- r. The pronunciation [kárki] *khaki* is used more often by adults than teenagers, but most often by rural female adults.

s. The pronunciation [luténənt] *lieutenant* is used by more teenagers than adults, therefore, more adults than teenagers use [lefténənt]. Furthermore, [lefténənt] is used by more urban males adults than rural male adults, and by more rural female adults than urban female adults.

t. Teenagers from the western rural region surveyed are more familiar with use of the term *bluff* to refer to 'trees' than teenagers from the eastern rural area.

u. The lexical term *parlour* is use by more residents from the eastern rural area than by residents from the western rural area.

v. Use of the following variants is more frequent among subjects whose families have resided in Saskatchewan for more than one generation: [béri] *bury*, [kəngræjələt] *congratulate*, [gérənti] *guarantee*, [kæki] *khaki*, [luténənt] *lieutenant*, [zi] *Z*, [w] as in *which*, *whine*, and so on, and [u] as in *tune*, *student*, and so on.

w. Use of *couch* increases with generation, and corresponds to a decrease in use of *chesterfield*.

x. The following forms are used more often by individuals who have graduated from university than by individuals who have not attended university: [æmənd] *almond*, [kóli] *collie*, [zibrə] *zebra*, *behind*, *couch*, and *vacation*.

### 7.3 Conclusion

The analyses of the data collected for this study indicate that Canadian English in Saskatchewan does vary, and furthermore, that much of the variation is apparently related to social variables such as *age*, *sex*, *urban/rural* residence,

*generation*, and *education*. While linguists are mainly interested in overall patterns of linguistic variation, the use of statistical analyses, as employed in this study, serves to focus attention on important details, and in turn, reveals relationships which may otherwise be overlooked. At the same time, suspected relationships may be tested in order to provide parallel conclusions, and thus, statistical confirmation.

The results presented in the preceding chapters indicate that the majority of the *a priori* hypotheses are supported. A few exceptions to the expected trends prevented acceptance of Hypothesis 9, which states that variants associated with American English are used by a greater number of younger speakers than older speakers, Hypothesis 13a, which states that younger speakers use *bath* more frequently than older speakers, Hypothesis 16, which states that females use fewer non-standard pronunciations and more prestige pronunciation than males, and Hypothesis 17, which states that subjects with a higher level of education use fewer non-standard forms than those with less education. However, because these suspected relationships hold true for some linguistic variables, it would be worthwhile to consider these hypotheses in future studies in order to observe if the same results were obtained again, or if these social variables do not, in fact, demonstrate an important relationship with some of the applicable linguistic variables.

While these results provide statistically valid information because they are based on previous knowledge, several unhypothesized relationships were also found.

Although these results cannot be said to be statistically valid, they serve to provide a basis for questions which may be answered in future research. As a result, the *a posteriori* hypotheses, presented in Section 7.2 above, focus attention on questions which should be asked in the future. As stated in Section 4.7, Trudgill (1982: 240) recognises the importance of such information when he states "the more we know about a variety, the more insights we obtain about its nature and structure, and the more we know what questions to ask ourselves next in planning further research."

Thus, while this study has answered a few questions, it has resulted in the formulation of more questions than it answered. This is, however, the process by which we learn about language variation, and thereby, gain a better understanding of social dialects. Although the data on which the study is based were collected from speakers of Canadian English who were born and raised in Saskatchewan, many of the important insights revealed may also be relevant to language variation in other parts of the country. In all, this study provides the most thorough examination of Canadian English in Saskatchewan up to this time, and in fact, the most extensive done in any one of the prairie provinces. While its conclusions are not definitive, no study of language variation can provide ultimate explanations, but can, in the course of discovering new information, further our understanding of our language, and inevitably, of ourselves.

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## Appendix A

### ETHNIC SETTLEMENTS IN SASKATCHEWAN

**Table A.1** British and American Settlements.

English	Scottish	Patagonian Welsh	American
Churchbridge Lloydminster Qu'Appelle Shellbrook	Lumsden Saltcoats Wapella	Bangor Waldron	Maidstone Wilkie

**Table A.2** French Settlements.

French Canadian		European French and Belgian	
Assiniboia	Notre Dame	Alberville	St. Denis
Bellegarde	Ponteix	Bonne Madone	Spiritwood
Cochin	Prince Albert	Coteau	St. Isadore de
Dollard	St. Front	Debden	Bellevue
Davis	St. Hubert	Duck Lake	Victoire
Derrond	St. Louis	Kermaria	Vonda
Forget	St. Victor	Lac Pelletier	
Gravelbourg	Swift Current	Laventure	
Lafleche	Wauchope	Leoville	
Lisieux	Willow Bunch	Marcelin	
Meyronne	Zenon Park	Prud'homme	
Montmartre		St. Brieux	

Table A.3 Northern European Settlements.

General Scandinavian	Danish	Icelandic	Norwegian	Swedish	Finnish
Buchanan Conquest Duck Mountain Harrowby Humboldt Langenburg Macoun Milestone Melville Pelly Theodore Willowbrook	Redvers Yorkton	Churchbridge Dafoe Elfros Foam Lake Kandahar Langenburg Leslie Mozart Prince Albert Quill Lake Saskatoon Tantallon Wynyard	Birch Hills Canwood Elbow Glen Mary Hanley Outlook Parkside	Carrot River Hyas Kelliher Norquay Percival Stockholm Wadena Whitewood	North of Wapella  Northwest of North Battleford  South of Outlook

Table A.4 Dutch, Italian and Swiss-German Settlements.

Dutch	Italian	Swiss-German
Amsterdam Davidson Edam	West of Manito Lake Southeast of Prince Albert	Alsace Bismark Hohenholme

**Table A.5 German Settlements.**

undifferentiated	Lutheran	Catholic		Baptist	Hutterite	Mennonite	Jewish
Battleford	Brightholm	Allan	Leader	Ebenezer	Alsask	Blumenhof	Alsask
Dundurn	Davin	Annaheim	Leipzig	Edenwold	Leask	Chortitz	Cupar
Haultain	Duval	Balgonia	Macklin	Gorlitz	Lloydminster	Drake	Edenbridge
Herbert	Earl Grey	Bruno	Maple Creek	Hamton	Prince Albert	Edenburg	Hirsch
Holdfast	Edenezer	Claybank	Marysburg	Rhein	Regina	Gruenthal	Hoffer
Kipling	Edenwold	Cudworth	Mendham	Springside	Riverview	Hague	Lipton
Langenburg	Esk	Denzil	Muenster		Saskatoon	Laird	Melfort
Middle Lake	Hohenlohe	Dodsland	Odessa		Swift Current	Neuhorst	Oungre
Milestone	Jansen	Evesham	Peterson		Vanguard	Osler	Oxbow
Perdue	Kronaun	Fox Valley	Prellite		Waldeck	Rosthern	Summerfeld
Qu'Appelle	Lanigan	Francis	Primate			Swift Current	Wapella
St. Brieux	Leader	Golden	Rastadt			Warman	Yorkton
St. Walburg	Leask	Prairie	Regina				
Sheho	Lemberg	Grayson	Richmound				
	Markinch	Handel	Romance				
	Melville	Humboldt	Rosthern				
	Neudorf	Kelfield	St. Benedict				
	Rosthern	Kendal	Saskatoon				
	Runnymede	Kerrobot	Sedley				
	Southey	Kronau	Sinnett				
	Stornoway	Lake	Tramping				
	Strasbourg	Lenore	Lake				
	Togo	Lampard	Vibank				
	Yorkton	Lancer	Watson				

**Table A.6 Eastern European Settlements.**

Bohemian	Hungarian	Polish	Romanian	Ukrainian		Slovakian	Doukhobor
between Esterhazy and Langenburg Glenside Limerick Marriot	Bahovina Beaver Hills Bekever Canora Esterhazy Grayson Humboldt Kaposvar Lestock Melville Middle Lake Otthon Plunkett Regina Rosthern Saxon Hill Stockholm Touchwood Wakaw Whitewood Yorkton	Beaver Hills Candiac Canora Garden River Melville Prince Albert Wakaw	Assiniboia Balgonia Canora Dysart Elm Springs Flintoft Hirsch Hoffer Kayville Lipton MacNutt Pierceland Wood Mountain	Arran Beaver Hills Calder Canora Crooked Lakes Cudworth Foam Lake Garden River Hafford Insinger Ituna Kelliher Krydor Melville North Battleford Pelly Preeceville Rosthern Saskatoon Saltcoats Shoal Lake St. Julian Theodore Vonda Wakaw Whitkow	Wroxton Yellow Creek Yorkton	Bangor Biggar Broderick Candiac Dundurn Fox Valley Glenside Hawarden Henley Kenaston Lestock Outlook Regina Rudy Ferry Saskatoon Vidosa	Blaine Lake Buchanan Canora Kamsack Kylemore Langham Pelly Prince Albert Rosthern Swan River Saskatoon Thunderhill Verigin Wadena Watson Yorkton

**Appendix B**

**THE QUESTIONNAIRE**

## A SURVEY OF SASKATCHEWAN ENGLISH

This survey is being conducted as part of a Ph.D. program in the Department of Linguistics, University of Victoria, Victoria, B.C.

The purpose of this survey is to obtain information about the language of native-born English-speaking Canadians, particularly of those born and raised in Saskatchewan. The information collected will be analyzed to determine if there is language variation within Saskatchewan, and what factors influence language use. It is hoped that this survey will lead to a better understanding of Canadian English as it is spoken in Saskatchewan.

Participation in this survey is completely voluntary and the names of individuals are not requested.

You are eligible to participate in this study if you were born and raised in Saskatchewan and are 15 years of age or older. If you were not born in Saskatchewan, or are not yet 15 years of age, please give this questionnaire to someone who does fulfill these requirements.

When you have completed the questionnaire please mail it in the envelope provided. **No postage is necessary.**

Please read the instructions carefully before proceeding to answer each section.

## Part I

The biographical information requested in this section is necessary to enable proper analysis of the survey. Please answer each question as completely as possible.

Sex: M F

Age: 15 - 19 45 - 64

20 - 29 over 65

30 - 44

Birthplace: \_\_\_\_\_

Mother's Birthplace: \_\_\_\_\_

Father's Birthplace: \_\_\_\_\_

If you know your grandparents' birthplaces please indicate them as follows:

Mother's Mother \_\_\_\_\_

Mother's Father \_\_\_\_\_

Father's Mother \_\_\_\_\_

Father's Father \_\_\_\_\_

Do you identify yourself with a particular ethnic group?

\_\_\_\_\_

If so, which one? \_\_\_\_\_

Please specify if the ethnic group that you identify with is that of your mother's family or your father's family.

\_\_\_\_\_

What was the first language that you spoke? \_\_\_\_\_

While you were growing up, what other languages were spoken at home, if any? \_\_\_\_\_

Please list the cities, towns, or rural areas (towns or farms) where you have lived, and the number of years spent in each place. If you live, or have lived, in a rural area, please indicate the approximate distance from your residence to the nearest town. Please be as specific as possible.

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If you are a rural resident, do you live in a larger town or city for part of the year? \_\_\_\_\_

Did you (or do you) attend school in the area where you lived or did you go to another part of the province to go to school? (i.e. a city) \_\_\_\_\_

What type of school did (do) you attend?

- 1) public
- 2) private
- 3) church

What is your occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

If you have a spouse, what is his/her occupation?

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If you are a student, what is your father's occupation?

\_\_\_\_\_ What is your mother's occupation? \_\_\_\_\_

Optional: What is your level of education? Please circle one.

- 1) did not attend high school
- 2) not beyond high school
- 3) beyond high school by studying on my own
- 4) beyond high school by attending college, university, or a similar institution.

## Part II

This section consists of multiple choice questions. Please circle the letter to the left of the answer that you feel best represents your pronunciation. You may feel that you use more than one of the pronunciations listed. If this is the case, please choose the response that you feel you use most often. For each question, please choose only ONE response. There are no answers that are more correct than others, so please choose the response that you feel you do use, not what you think you should use.

1. How do you pronounce the o in collie?
  - A. like the o in cold
  - B. like the o in cot
2. How do you pronounce the first i in Italian?
  - A. like the i in hide
  - B. like the u in hut
  - C. like the i in it
3. How do you pronounce interesting?
  - A. with four syllables, as in in + ter + est + ing
  - B. with three syllables, as in in + trest + ing
4. What do you call the letter Z?
  - A. zee
  - B. zed
5. How do you pronounce the oo in hoof?
  - A. like the oo in hook
  - B. like the o in who
6. Does aunt rhyme with ant?
  - A. yes
  - B. no
7. Do you pronounce the first c in Arctic?
  - A. yes
  - B. no
8. How do you pronounce the o in oranges?
  - A. like the o in or
  - B. like the a in far
9. How do you pronounce dew?
  - A. to rhyme with do
  - B. to rhyme with cue

10. How do you pronounce the first a in fatality?
  - A. like the a in fate
  - B. like the u in but
  - C. like the a in fat
11. How do you pronounce the first a in granary?
  - A. like the ai in pain
  - B. like the e in pen
  - C. like the a in pan
12. Does marry rhyme with merry?
  - A. yes
  - B. no
13. How do you pronounce the ough in slough?
  - A. like the ew in flew
  - B. like the ow in cow
14. How do you pronounce the sch in schedule?
  - A. like the sch in school
  - B. like the sh in show
15. How do you pronounce the o in scones?
  - A. like the o in phone
  - B. like the o in fond
16. How do you pronounce athlete?
  - A. with two syllables, as in ath + lete
  - B. with three syllables, as in ath + e + lete
17. How do you pronounce the cou in coupon?
  - A. to rhyme with coo
  - B. to rhyme with cue
18. How do you pronounce khaki?
  - A. to sound like car-key
  - B. to sound like tacky
19. How do you pronounce the ile in missile?
  - A. to rhyme with full
  - B. to rhyme with file
20. Do bitter and bidder sound the same?
  - A. completely
  - B. to some extent
  - C. not at all

21. How do you pronounce due?
  - A. to rhyme with do
  - B. to rhyme with cue
22. How do you pronounce the e in threshing?
  - A. like the e in bet
  - B. like the a in bat
23. How do you pronounce the Tue in Tuesday?
  - A. to rhyme with two
  - B. to rhyme with cue
24. How do you pronounce genuine?
  - A. to rhyme with fin
  - B. to rhyme with fine
25. How do you pronounce the a in father?
  - A. like the o in bother
  - B. like the a in lather
  - C. like the a in farm
26. How do you pronounce greasy?
  - A. to rhyme with easy
  - B. to rhyme with fleecy
27. Does poor rhyme with pour?
  - A. yes
  - B. no
28. How do you pronounce the a in rather?
  - A. like the a in rat
  - B. like the o in rod
  - C. like the e in red
29. Does balm rhyme with bomb?
  - A. yes
  - B. no
30. How do you pronounce bury?
  - A. to rhyme with berry
  - B. to rhyme with hurry
31. How do you pronounce the last part of again?
  - A. to rhyme with pane
  - B. to rhyme with pen
  - C. to rhyme with pin

32. How do you pronounce the a in almond?  
A. like the a in cat  
B. like the o in cot
33. Do you pronounce the l in almond?  
A. yes  
B. no
34. How do you pronounce the car in caramel?  
A. to rhyme with car  
B. to rhyme with care
35. How do you pronounce caramel?  
A. with two syllables, as in car + mel  
B. with three syllables, as in car + a + mel
36. Does caught rhyme with cot?  
A. yes  
B. no
37. How do you pronounce the ei in either?  
A. like the i in ride  
B. like the ee in reed
38. How do you pronounce the a in tomato?  
A. like the a in pane  
B. like the a in part  
C. like the a in pat  
D. like the o in pot
39. How do you pronounce the u in tune?  
A. like the o in do  
B. like the ue in cue
40. How do you pronounce vase?  
A. to rhyme with aws  
B. to rhyme with pace  
C. to rhyme with jazz  
D. to rhyme with days
41. How do you pronounce the u in student?  
A. like the o in do  
B. like the ue in cue

42. How do you pronounce the a in adult?  
A. like the a in bat  
B. like the u in but
43. How do you pronounce new?  
A. to rhyme with do  
B. to rhyme with cue
44. How do you pronounce lever?  
A. to rhyme with cleaver?  
B. to rhyme with clever?
45. How do you pronounce the first part of lieutenant?  
A. like left  
B. like loot
46. How do you pronounce the e in zebra?  
A. like the ee in beet  
B. like the e in bet
47. How do you pronounce the o in progress, as in *We are making progress*.  
A. like the oa in coat  
B. like the o in cot
48. How do you pronounce the a in apricot?  
A. like the a in cape  
B. like the a in cap
49. How do you pronounce route?  
A. to rhyme with shoot  
B. to rhyme with shout
50. How do you pronounce soot?  
A. to rhyme with foot  
B. to rhyme with boot  
C. to rhyme with mutt
51. Does the first sound in the words which and whine sound the same as the first sound in the words witch and wine?  
A. yes  
B. no
52. How do you pronounce the i in the prefix semi-, as in semi-sweet?  
A. to rhyme with my  
B. to rhyme with me

53. How do you pronounce the first part of luxury?  
A. to rhyme with luck  
B. to rhyme with lug
54. How do you pronounce the a in ration?  
A. like the a in hat  
B. like the a in hate
55. How do you pronounce leisure?  
A. to rhyme with measure  
B. to rhyme with seizure
56. How do you pronounce the first a in guarantee?  
A. like the a in bat  
B. like the a in bar  
C. like the a in bare
57. How do you pronounce the a in calm?  
A. like the a in farm  
B. like the a in cat  
C. like the o in bomb
58. Do you pronounce the l in calm?  
A. yes  
B. no
59. How do you pronounce creek?  
A. to rhyme with pick  
B. to rhyme with peek
60. How do you pronounce knew?  
A. to rhyme with do  
B. to rhyme with cue
61. How do you pronounce film?  
A. with two syllables, as in fill 'em  
B. with one syllable
62. How do you pronounce the first t in congratulate?  
A. like the tch in batch  
B. like the dge in badge
63. How do you pronounce the j in the prefix anti-, as in anti-rust?  
A. to rhyme with my  
B. to rhyme with me

64. How do you pronounce the ph in nephew?  
A. like the f in fan  
B. like the v in van
65. How do you pronounce the ei in neither?  
A. like the i in ride  
B. like the ea in read
66. How do you pronounce the oo in roof?  
A. like the oo in hook  
B. like the o in who
67. How do you pronounce the ea in measure?  
A. like the e in let  
B. like the a in late
68. How do you pronounce the e in egg?  
A. like the a in late  
B. like the e in let

## Part III

Please fill in the blank with the appropriate word or words.

1. The leaves started to turn yellow and orange as the \_\_\_\_\_ season approached.
2. Jane had to be up by seven o'clock, so she set her alarm to go off at a quarter \_\_\_\_\_ seven.
3. The cook needed some water so she turned on the kitchen \_\_\_\_\_.
4. John went into the family room to relax and sat down beside his sister on the long comfortable \_\_\_\_\_.
5. The mother got the soap and water ready so that she could \_\_\_\_\_ the baby in the tub.
6. Betty went to catch the cross-country tour bus at the bus \_\_\_\_\_.
7. Cathy liked the cherries but wished they didn't have such hard \_\_\_\_\_ in the center.
8. Steven came home from a hard day's work and said, "Boy, am I \_\_\_\_\_."
9. Susan wondered if her friend had answered her letter yet so she went to see if the \_\_\_\_\_ had delivered anything.
10. The minister called on Mr. and Mrs. Smith and so they served him tea in the \_\_\_\_\_.
11. After the heavy rains, Bill got up on a ladder in order to clean out the \_\_\_\_\_ along the edge of the roof.
12. Mrs. Jones told her children to be back by 5:30 p.m. so they would have time to clean up before eating \_\_\_\_\_.
13. The man set up the lawn sprinkler and then turned on the \_\_\_\_\_ to start the water.
14. They went to catch the train at the train \_\_\_\_\_.
15. Terry wanted to cook some bacon so she put it in a \_\_\_\_\_ and turned on the stove.
16. Polly told her son to \_\_\_\_\_ up his room.

17. When her new stereo wouldn't work, Sue hoped the \_\_\_\_\_ would cover all repairs.
18. Their visitors arrived at noon, in time to eat \_\_\_\_\_.
19. Mr. and Mrs. Brown are looking forward to their \_\_\_\_\_ in Mexico.

#### Part IV

Please answer the following questions.

1. What do you call the sweet soft creamy mixture that covers some cakes?  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. What do you call the square of fabric that you can use to wipe your fingers and protect your clothes during a meal?  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Which phrase do you feel best fits in the blank in the following sentence?  
  
Jeff drove the car from the front yard down the driveway and around \_\_\_\_\_.  
  
A. behind the house  
B. in back of the house  
C. back of the house
4. What do you call a group of trees? \_\_\_\_\_
5. If you were about to put the tablecloth, silverware, and plates on the table you would say "I'm going to \_\_\_\_\_ the table."
6. If you were going to invite some friends or neighbours over in the morning you would ask them to "...come over for \_\_\_\_\_."  
If you were asking them to come in the afternoon you would ask them to "...come over for \_\_\_\_\_."
7. What do you call the hard sugary mixture that covers some cakes, like wedding cakes or some birthday cakes?  
\_\_\_\_\_

8. What do you call the square of paper that you can use to wipe your fingers and protect your clothes during a meal?

\_\_\_\_\_

9. What do you call the long deep-fried pieces of potato that you often eat with a hamburger? \_\_\_\_\_

10. What do you call a small, natural, slowly flowing body of water?

\_\_\_\_\_

11. Please describe, as best as you can, what you would consider to be "a bluff".

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

12. Do you think that people from different areas of Saskatchewan "sound different"? If so, please explain.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. Your cooperation is deeply appreciated and makes this study possible. If you have any comments regarding this survey, please feel free to include them.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Appendix C**

**THE READING PASSAGE**

## A DAY IN THE LIFE OF BOBBY WHITE

Mr. and Mrs. White and their son and daughter live in a small city found on the Canadian prairie. Their large powder blue house is located at ninety-five seventy Quebec Avenue, a quiet street not on the main route through town. Their house is not luxurious but it is comfortable. In their backyard there are raspberry bushes along the fence, and a neat garden with long rows of carrots, celery, lettuce and tomato plants. In one corner of the yard is an elm tree which provides shade for their collie on hot summer days. In the centre of the yard is a little lilac bush covered with mauve flowers.

Today is a beautiful, calm Saturday in spring, there is dew on the grass and not a cloud in the sky. Mrs. White is busy in the kitchen baking scones in the oven for breakfast. She had already put the orange juice, milk and butter on the table and was looking for the knives and forks when she heard a shout and a loud blast from a radio. She knew her teenagers would be invading her kitchen soon and there would no longer be any leisure this morning.

Bobby was the first one down for breakfast. He is a good student and a

strong athlete who enjoys the sports program at the high school. His older sister Mary followed close behind. She is a grade twelve student, interested in psychology, and looking forward to graduating in June. She also works part time as a clerk in the video rental store.

"Bobby, will you please pour the juice while I finish preparing breakfast," said Mrs. White, "and Mary, tell your father we're waiting for him."

Just then Mr. White entered the kitchen and the family ate their breakfast.

"What are you two planning to do today?" Mr. White asked his children.

"I haven't planned on anything for this morning," said Mary, "but this afternoon I'm taking the children from next door to the zoo. They want to see the elephants, giraffes and zebras. I'm sure not looking forward to taking them, the smallest one is such a pouter. It will be a miracle if I make it through the afternoon. I should be finishing the hypothesis for my science project that's due on Tuesday. Tonight I'm going to a dance with my friends."

"You should try to enjoy your baby-sitting duties," Mr. White advised, "and admire the beauty of the animals. What are you doing today, Bobby?"

"I have my paper route to do this morning."

"I want you to fix the fence around the garden so that you can guarantee the dog won't bury any more bones in there." said Mrs. White to Bobby, "And I want you to go to the store for me. Write these things down, from the grocery store we

need rice, apricots, a dozen eggs, semi-sweet chocolate, vanilla ice cream, a package of frozen berries, Italian spaghetti sauce, new potatoes, caramel flavouring, genuine maple syrup, and a half pound of almonds. There's a roll of film to be left at the photography store, and I need some cotton balls and lip balm from the pharmacy. I have some coupons you can take, I don't think we need anything else to tide us over the weekend."

Bobby's eyes looked discouraged at the thought of all he now had to do today.

"I have to pick up my suit that I'm wearing to the theatre tonight, and I need your advice on which tie to wear," Mr. White said to his wife, "and I must remember to buy a bottle of wine while I'm out."

Mary began to wash and rinse the dishes as the adults left to take care of their business. Bobby wondered where he had left his hammer and nails; he knew they were either in the workshop or the basement. Once he found them, he went outside to measure and repair the fence. The weather was so beautiful that he couldn't help whistling a tune while he worked; however, he would rather be playing with the dog. When he finished the device to fix the fence he tossed a ball in the air and the dog made a flying leap and caught it.

Pleased that he had made good progress with one of his chores, Bobby congratulated himself and went to the garage to get his bicycle. He realized that

one day soon he would have to clean up the garage and he wanted to avoid that bitter job as long as possible. He wondered how the junk could accumulate so quickly. In one corner there was a dead car battery, an empty can of antirust paint and a jar that was so greasy he couldn't tell what was in it. On the other side of the garage, near the ladder that was against the wall, was a broken mirror, a pipe covered with soot and an old cot with a broken leg that had a khaki-coloured cover over it. There were also several shelves that stored items such as a broken vase, a miniature merry-go-round, some old test tubes, a jar full of buttons, a picture of a mountain creek in the Arctic and a photo of some palm trees. Hanging on a nail on the wall was an interesting old farm calendar with pictures of ploughs, a threshing machine, horses and cows, a slough, a granary, a fertile field and other farm scenes. There was also a horseshoe that Bobby thought could be put to better use on a horse's hoof. He noticed that the wheel of his bicycle was bent so he used his knife as a lever to straighten it so that he could ride it to the store. He also made sure that the handlebars were tight as they often seem to work loose.

Bobby hurried to the store and back again so that he would be able to deliver his papers on schedule. His paper route took him all the way from Avenue S to Avenue Z. As he rode past the park he noticed people working near the shed that housed the gardening equipment. They seemed to be trying to remove a big root from the ground. When he turned the corner he saw a police car hiding behind

some bushes. Since the fatality occurred at this location last year the police had been giving out a lot of citations and using their clout to try and stop the psychos from speeding. Some of them drove as fast as a missile.

Today Bobby has to deliver a paper to a new address on Ration Street, the same street where his aunt lives; however, when he stopped to say hello he found that neither she nor his uncle were home. His next stop was the home of Lieutenant Bidder. The lieutenant, who Bobby thought was a lout, was working with his nephew trying to devise a way to keep the poor neighbour's cat off his roof. Bobby didn't know whether their system would work, but hypothetically, he thought that, considering the height of the tree nearby, the cat would probably succeed again.

Bobby could hear the whine of machinery working as he passed the site of the new twenty storey high-rise that was being built. The surrounding area was in such a mess that it looked as if a bomb had gone off. Across the street at the church Bobby noticed that there were a lot of men standing outside with their wives. It looked like the minister had several couples to marry today, and it was sure a nice day for weddings.

Looking down at his bundle of papers, Bobby realized that he was in the latter phase of his route. He was a mere three blocks from home and was looking forward to the luxury of relaxing this evening.

## **Appendix D**

### **AN EXAMPLE OF CATMOD**

## CATMOD PROCEDURE

## Response Probabilities

Sample	Response Probabilities	
	/nu/	/nju/
Urban Male Teens	.711864	.288136
Rural Male Teens	.740260	.259740
Urban Male Adults	.461538	.538462
Rural Male Adults	.433333	.566667
Urban Female Teens	.740385	.259615
Rural Female Teens	.708333	.291667
Urban Female Adults	.585938	.414063
Rural Female Adults	.476923	.523077

## Analysis of Contrasts

Contrast	Chi Square	Probability
Sex Main Effect	0.84	0.3603
Age Main Effect	31.51	0.0001
Residence Main Effect	0.63	0.4288
Urb Male Teens vs. Rur Male Teens	0.14	0.7124
Urb Male Adults vs. Rur Male Adults	0.07	0.7920
Urb Female Teens vs Rur Female Teens	0.29	0.5930
Urb Female Adults vs. Rur Female Adults	2.06	0.1514
Urb Male Teens vs. Urb Male Adults	8.35	0.0039
Rur Male Teens vs. Rur Male Adults	8.51	0.0035
Urb Female Teens vs. Urb Female Adults	5.97	0.0145
Rur Female Teens vs. Rur Female Adults	9.41	0.0022
Rur Male Teens vs. Rur Female Teens	0.24	0.6261
Urb Male Teens vs. Urb Female Teens	0.16	0.6936
Urb Male Adults vs. Urb Female Adults	3.00	0.0833
Rur Male Adults vs. Rur Female Adults	0.16	0.6922
Male Teens vs. Male Adults	16.70	0.0001
Female Teens vs. Female Adults	15.33	0.0001
Male Adults vs. Female Adults	1.63	0.2016
Male Teens vs. Female Teens	0.00	0.9732
Urban Male vs. Rural Males	0.00	0.9605
Urban Females vs. Rural Females	1.96	0.1620
Urban Males vs. Urban Females	1.92	0.1657
Rural Males vs. Rural Females	0.00	0.9771
SEX x AGE	0.92	0.3368
RESIDENCE x AGE	0.55	0.4582
SEX x RESIDENCE	0.76	0.3839
SEX x AGE x RESIDENCE	0.00	0.9758

## Appendix E

### LIST OF SUBJECTS

#### Key to Table D.1:

**Code:** Each subject was assigned a reference number.

**Data Source:** Postal questionnaire (P) or taped interview (T).

**Sex:** Male or Female

**Age:** 15-19            45-64  
          20-29            65+  
          30-44

**Residence:** The subject's current place of residence.

**Environment:** This category codes subjects according to the environments in which each has lived, that is, urban, rural, or both urban and rural.

**Second Language:** The second language spoken at home (if any).

**Generation:** This category codes the number of generations the subject's family has lived in Saskatchewan as follows:

first generation: Subject born in Saskatchewan but both parents born elsewhere.

second generation: Subject born in Saskatchewan and at least one parent born in Saskatchewan.

third generation: Subject born in Saskatchewan and at least one parent and one grandparent born in Saskatchewan.

**Education:** student = currently a student  
no h. school = did not attend high school  
high school = completed grade 12  
high school+ = completed grade 12 and some post-secondary study  
university graduate = graduated from a college or university

**Occupation:** The subject's current occupation.

Table D.1 List of Subjects.

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
1	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	German	second	student	student
2	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	student	student
3	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	third	student	student
4	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	third	student	student
5	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	Ukrainian	-	second	student	student
6	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	German	German	second	student	student
7	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	German	German	second	student	student
8	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	both	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	student	student
9	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	German	German	third	student	student
10	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	third	student	student
11	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	Ukrainian	second	student	student
12	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	both	Ukrainian	-	third	student	student
13	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	both	Canadian	-	second	high school +	music teacher
14	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	high school	homemaker
15	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	both	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	high school +	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
16	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	accountant
17	P	F	45-64	Saskatoon	both	-	-	-	high school	housewife
18	P	F	45-64	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	high school +	beautician
19	P	F	45-64	Saskatoon	urban	English	-	second	high school +	bookkeeper
20	P	F	45-64	Saskatoon	both	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	high school	housewife
21	P	F	45-64	Saskatoon	both	-	-	first	high school	housewife
22	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	student	student
23	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	both	-	-	third	student	student
24	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	third	student	student
25	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	German	-	third	student	student
26	P	M	30-44	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	foreman
27	P	M	30-44	Saskatoon	both	German	-	second	university	technologist
28	P	M	30-44	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	pr. investigator
29	P	M	45-64	Saskatoon	both	English	-	first	no h. school	truck driver
30	P	M	45-64	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	high school	truck driver

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
31	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	student	student
32	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	French	-	third	student	student
33	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	third	student	student
34	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	Hungarian	German	third	student	student
35	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	Czeck	-	third	student	student
36	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	first	student	student
37	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	Scottish	-	second	student	student
38	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	student	student
39	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	German	-	second	student	student
40	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	German	-	second	student	student
41	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	French	-	second	student	student
42	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	both	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	student	student
43	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	German	German	third	student	student
44	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	Norwegian	-	second	student	student
45	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	Polish	-	third	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
46	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	student	student
47	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	student	student
48	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	Polish	French	second	student	student
49	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	third	student	student
50	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	French	French	third	student	student
51	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	third	student	student
52	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	Hungarian	-	third	student	student
53	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	German	German	second	student	student
54	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	French	second	student	student
55	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	student	student
56	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	third	student	student
57	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	third	student	student
58	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	third	student	student
59	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	German	French	third	student	student
60	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
61	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	student	student
62	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	Ukrainian	-	third	student	student
63	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	student	student
64	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	both	-	-	third	university	teacher
65	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	university	teacher
66	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	German	-	third	student	student
67	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	third	student	student
68	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	Ukrainian	-	first	student	student
69	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	both	French	French	second	student	student
70	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	both	-	-	third	student	student
71	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	German	German	first	student	student
72	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	Norwegian	-	second	student	student
73	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	rural	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	third	student	student
74	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	student	student
75	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	German	-	second	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
76	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	German	first	student	student
77	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	French	second	student	student
78	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	student	student
79	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	student	student
80	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	student	student
81	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	German	-	second	student	student
82	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	Irish	-	second	student	student
83	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	first	student	student
84	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	French	second	student	student
85	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	third	student	student
86	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	German	German	second	student	student
87	P	M	30-44	Saskatoon	urban	English	-	second	university	teacher
88	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	both	-	-	third	student	student
89	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	German	German	second	university	dental assist.
90	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Canadian	-	second	university	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
91	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Scottish	-	third	university	student
92	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	English	-	second	student	student
93	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	German	-	third	student	student
94	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	second	student	student
95	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	Ukrainian	-	third	student	student
96	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	second	student	student
97	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	German	-	third	student	student
98	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	German	German	second	student	student
99	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	third	student	student
100	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	third	student	student
101	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	second	student	student
102	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	second	student	student
103	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	Ukrainian	-	second	student	student
104	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	student	student
105	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	Ukrainina	Ukrainian	third	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
106	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	first	student	student
107	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	third	student	student
108	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	second	student	student
109	P	F	15-19	Regina	both	Irish	-	second	student	student
110	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	first	student	student
111	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	second	student	student
112	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	third	university	nurse
113	P	F	20-29	Regina	urban	-	-	third	university	student
114	P	F	20-29	Regina	urban	Scottish	-	second	university	student
115	P	F	30-44	Regina	urban	Lebanese	Norwegian	second	university	teacher
116	P	F	30-44	Regina	both	German	-	second	university	nurse
117	P	F	30-44	Regina	urban	-	-	second	university	teacher
118	P	F	30-44	Regina	urban	-	German	second	high school	admin. assist
119	P	F	30-44	Regina	both	German	German	second	high school	homemaker
120	P	F	30-44	Regina	both	-	-	first	university	acc'ting clerk

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
121	P	F	30-44	Regina	urban	English	-	second	university	stenographer
122	P	F	45-64	Regina	both	-	-	first	high school	housewife
123	P	F	45-64	Regina	both	-	-	second	high school	office clerk
124	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	Ukrainian	-	third	student	student
125	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	third	student	student
126	P	M	15-19	Regina	both	-	-	second	student	student
127	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	Canadian	-	second	student	student
128	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	second	student	student
129	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	Swedish	-	second	student	student
130	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	second	student	student
131	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	-	German	third	student	student
132	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	Canadian	-	second	student	student
133	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	Canadian	-	second	student	student
134	P	M	15-19	Regina	both	-	-	second	student	student
135	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	second	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
136	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	second	student	student
137	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	second	student	student
138	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	second	student	student
139	P	M	20-29	Regina	both	-	-	third	university	solicitor
140	P	M	30-44	Regina	both	Canadian	-	second	no h. school	steel worker
141	P	M	30-44	Regina	urban	-	-	second	university	musician
142	P	M	30-44	Regina	urban	-	Romanian	first	high school	fire fighter
143	P	M	30-44	Wolseley	both	-	Norwegian	second	university	teacher
144	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	Canadian	-	third	student	student
145	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	German	German	second	student	student
146	P	F	15-19	Regina	both	-	-	second	student	student
147	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	Irish	-	first	student	student
148	P	F	15-19	Regina	both	Romanian	-	second	student	student
149	P	F	30-44	Regina	urban	German	-	second	high school	typist
150	P	F	30-44	Regina	urban	Hungarian	Hungarian	second	high school	housewife

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
151	P	F	30-44	Regina	both	German	German	second	high school	data entry
152	P	F	30-44	Regina	both	Canadian	-	second	high school+	hairdresser
153	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	German	-	second	student	student
154	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	German	German	first	student	student
155	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	Norwegian	-	third	student	student
156	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	Ukrainian	-	second	student	student
157	P	M	15-19	Regina	both	French	-	second	student	student
158	P	M	15-19	Regina	both	English	-	first	student	student
159	P	M	15-19	Regina	both	English	-	second	student	student
160	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	-	German	second	student	student
161	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	second	student	student
162	P	M	30-44	Regina	both	German	-	second	university	teacher
163	P	M	30-44	Regina	both	-	Ukrainian	second	high school+	mechanic
164	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	German	second	student	student
165	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	second	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
166	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	German	second	student	student
167	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	student	student
168	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	third	student	student
169	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	German	German	third	student	student
170	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	Ukrainian	-	second	student	student
171	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	third	student	student
172	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	German	-	second	student	student
173	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	second	student	student
174	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	Austrian	German	first	student	student
175	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	second	student	student
176	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	Italian	Italian	first	student	student
177	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	French	French	second	student	student
178	P	F	30-44	Regina	urban	German	-	second	university	secretary
179	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	Canadian	German	second	student	student
180	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	second	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
181	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	Canadian	French	second	student	student
182	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	second	student	student
183	P	M	15-19	Regina	both	Canadian	-	second	student	student
184	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	Irish	-	third	student	student
185	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	Spanish	first	student	student
186	P	F	15-19	Regina	both	German	German	first	student	student
187	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	German	German	third	student	student
188	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	Irish	-	first	student	student
189	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	English	-	first	student	student
190	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	French	French	second	student	student
191	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	Irish	-	first	student	student
192	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	German	Dutch	first	student	student
193	P	F	15-19	Regian	urban	Polish	French	second	student	student
194	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	second	student	student
195	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	second	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
196	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	second	student	student
197	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	-	-	third	student	student
198	P	F	15-19	Regina	both	-	-	third	student	student
199	P	F	15-19	Regina	urban	Austrian	-	third	student	student
200	P	F	30-44	Regina	urban	Irish	-	second	university	teacher
201	P	F	30-44	Regina	both	Irish	-	second	university	teacher
202	P	F	30-44	Regina	both	-	German	second	university	sales person
203	P	F	30-44	Regina	urban	Ukrainian	-	second	university	teacher
204	P	F	45-64	Regina	urban	-	-	second	university	librarian
205	P	F	45-64	Regina	urban	-	German	second	high school	secretary
206	P	M	15-19	Regina	urban	German	-	second	student	student
207	P	M	30-44	Regina	both	-	French	second	university	manager
208	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	student	student
209	P	F	15-19	Doddsland	rural	Scottish	-	second	student	student
210	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	English	-	second	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
211	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	high school+	accounting
212	P	F	20-29	Doddsland	both	Norwegian	-	second	university	farmer
213	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Norwegian	-	second	university	student
214	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	university	student
215	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	French	-	second	university	accounting
216	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	French	second	university	deaf intevener
217	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	Swedish	-	second	university	student
218	P	F	30-44	Doddsland	rural	-	German	second	university	homemaker
219	P	F	30-44	Doddsland	both	-	-	second	university	reg. nurse
220	P	F	30-44	Plenty	rural	-	-	second	university	teacher
221	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	both	-	-	third	university	office clerk
222	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	university	library tech.
223	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	loan officer
224	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	urban	English	-	first	university	P R manager
225	P	F	30-44	Doddsland	both	-	-	second	university	x-ray tech.

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
226	P	F	30-44	Doddsland	rural	-	-	second	university	housewife
227	P	F	30-44	Doddsland	rural	-	-	second	high school	homemaker
228	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	university	financial adv.
229	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	first	university	accountant
230	P	F	45-64	Doddsland	rural	-	-	second	high school	housewife
231	P	F	45-64	Doddsland	rural	Scottish	-	first	high school	housewife
232	P	F	45-64	Doddsland	rural	-	-	first	high school +	farmer
233	P	F	45-64	Doddsland	rural	English	-	first	university	bank clerk
234	P	F	45-64	Saskatoon	urban	English	-	first	university	office manager
235	P	F	45-64	Saskatoon	both	Scottish	-	first	university	teacher
236	P	F	65+	Regina	urban	-	-	first	university	retired
237	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	third	university	student
238	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	third	student	student
239	P	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	third	student	student
240	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	university	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
241	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	high school	telephone tech
242	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	university	student
243	P	M	20-29	Doddsland	both	Dutch	Dutch	first	university	administrator
244	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Austrian	Polish	second	high school	telephone tech
245	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	high school	copier tech.
246	P	M	20-29	Doddsland	rural	Norwegian	Norwegian	second	no h. school	farmer
247	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	researcher
248	P	M	30-44	Saskatoon	urban	Irish	-	second	university	engineer
249	P	M	30-44	Doddsland	both	Scottish	-	second	university	farmer
250	P	M	30-44	Doddsland	rural	-	-	second	university	farmer
251	P	M	30-44	Doddsland	both	-	-	second	university	farmer
252	P	M	30-44	Doddsland	rural	Canadian	-	second	high school+	farmer
253	P	M	30-44	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	first	university	insurance
254	P	M	45-64	Doddsland	rural	-	-	first	high school	farmer
255	P	M	45-64	Doddsland	rural	Scottish	-	first	no h. school	farmer

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
256	P	M	45-64	Kelfield	both	-	-	second	university	farmer
257	P	M	45-64	Druid	rural	-	-	first	high school	farmer
258	P	M	45-64	Saskatoon	urban	Irish	-	second	university	engineer
259	P	M	45-64	Saskatoon	urban	English	French	second	university	insurance
260	P	M	65+	Saskatoon	urban	English	-	first	university	office manager
261	P	F	65+	Saskatoon	both	English	-	first	high school+	writer
262	P	M	30-44	Saskatoon	both	French	-	second	high school	plumber
263	P	M	30-44	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	superintendent
264	P	M	30-44	Saskatoon	urban	-	French	second	university	engineer
265	P	M	45-64	Saskatoon	both	Canadian	-	second	university	administrator
266	P	M	45-64	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	teacher
267	P	F	15-19	Trmping Lk	rural	German	German	first	student	student
268	P	F	15-19	Trmping Lk	rural	Scottish	-	second	student	student
269	P	F	15-19	Trmping Lk	rural	German	-	second	student	student
270	P	F	15-19	Trmping Lk	both	Canadian	-	second	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
271	P	F	15-19	Trmping Lk	rural	German	German	second	student	student
272	P	F	15-19	Trmping Lk	rural	Ukrainian	German	third	student	student
273	P	F	20-29	Trmping Lk	both	-	-	second	high school+	secretary
274	P	F	30-44	Kerrobot	both	Canadian	-	second	university	teacher
275	P	F	45-64	Rosetown	both	Scottish	-	first	university	teacher
276	P	M	15-19	Trmping Lk	rural	German	-	second	student	student
277	P	M	15-19	Trmping Lk	rural	German	-	second	student	student
278	P	M	15-19	Trmping Lk	rural	German	German	second	student	student
279	P	M	15-19	Trmping Lk	rural	German	-	second	student	student
280	P	M	15-19	Trmping Lk	rural	Russian	German	second	student	student
281	P	M	15-19	Trmping Lk	rural	German	-	second	student	student
282	P	M	30-44	Trmping Lk	both	-	-	second	university	teacher
283	P	F	15-19	Wolseley	rural	-	French	second	student	student
284	P	F	15-19	Wolseley	rural	-	-	second	student	student
285	P	F	15-19	Wolseley	both	-	-	third	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
286	P	F	15-19	Wolseley	rural	-	-	second	student	student
287	P	F	15-19	Wolseley	rural	-	-	second	student	student
288	P	F	15-19	Wolseley	rural	-	-	second	student	student
289	P	F	15-19	Wolseley	rural	-	French	second	student	student
290	P	F	15-19	Wolseley	both	-	-	third	student	student
291	P	F	15-19	Wolseley	both	-	-	second	student	student
292	P	F	15-19	Wolseley	rural	Polish	-	second	student	student
293	P	M	15-19	Wolseley	rural	Scottish	-	second	student	student
294	P	M	15-19	Wolseley	rural	-	-	second	student	student
295	P	M	15-19	Wolseley	rural	-	-	second	student	student
296	P	M	15-19	Wolseley	rural	-	-	second	student	student
297	P	M	15-19	Wolseley	rural	-	-	second	student	student
298	P	M	15-19	Wolseley	rural	-	-	second	student	student
299	P	M	15-19	Wolseley	both	-	-	third	student	student
300	P	M	15-19	Wolseley	rural	German	-	second	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
301	P	M	15-19	Wolseley	rural	-	-	third	student	student
302	P	M	15-19	Wolseley	rural	-	Ukrainian	second	student	student
303	P	F	15-19	Wolseley	both	-	-	second	student	student
304	P	F	15-19	Churchbrdge	rural	-	-	third	student	student
305	P	F	15-19	Churchbrdge	rural	-	-	third	student	student
306	P	F	15-19	Churchbrdge	both	Icelandic	-	second	student	student
307	P	F	30-44	Esterhazy	both	-	Dutch	second	university	teacher
308	P	F	30-44	Churchbrdge	both	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	third	university	lab tech.
309	P	M	15-19	Churchbrdge	rural	-	-	-	student	student
310	P	M	15-19	Churchbrdge	rural	-	-	first	student	student
311	P	F	15-19	Tantallon	rural	-	-	third	student	student
312	P	F	15-19	Esterhazy	rural	-	-	second	student	student
313	P	F	15-19	Esterhazy	rural	-	-	second	student	student
314	P	F	15-19	Stockholm	rural	English	-	second	student	student
315	P	F	15-19	Esterhazy	rural	Hungarian	Hungarian	third	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
316	P	F	15-19	Esterhazy	both	-	Icelandic	second	student	student
317	P	F	15-19	Bangor	rural	Austrian	German	third	student	student
318	P	F	15-19	Esterhazy	rural	Canadian	French	third	student	student
319	P	F	15-19	Dubuc	rural	Scottish	-	second	student	student
320	P	F	15-19	Esterhazy	rural	-	-	second	student	student
321	P	F	15-19	Esterhazy	both	-	-	second	student	student
322	P	F	15-19	Esterhazy	rural	-	-	first	student	student
323	P	F	15-19	Gerald	rural	-	-	second	student	student
324	P	F	30-44	Esterhazy	rural	Swedish	Swedish	second	high school	seamstress
325	P	F	45-64	Tantallon	rural	-	-	second	university	farmer
326	P	M	15-19	Stockholm	rural	Swedish	-	second	student	student
327	P	M	15-19	Esterhazy	rural	-	-	third	high school	labourer
328	P	M	15-19	Yarbo	rural	-	-	second	student	student
329	P	M	15-19	Esterhazy	rural	-	-	second	student	student
330	P	M	15-19	Tantallon	rural	-	-	third	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
331	P	M	15-19	Esterhazy	rural	Hungarian	-	third	student	student
332	P	M	15-19	Esterhazy	rural	-	Hungarian	third	student	student
333	P	M	15-19	Esterhazy	rural	-	-	first	student	student
334	P	F	15-19	Spy Hill	rural	French	French	third	student	student
335	P	F	15-19	Langenburg	rural	German	German	third	student	student
336	P	F	15-19	Langenburg	rural	German	German	third	student	student
337	P	F	15-19	Langenburg	rural	Scottish	-	second	student	student
338	P	F	15-19	Langenburg	rural	German	German	second	student	student
339	P	F	15-19	MacNutt	rural	German	German	second	student	student
340	P	F	15-19	Langenburg	rural	German	German	third	student	student
341	P	F	15-19	Langenburg	rural	-	-	third	student	student
342	P	F	15-19	Spy Hill	rural	-	-	third	student	student
343	P	F	15-19	Spy Hill	rural	-	-	second	student	student
344	P	F	15-19	Langenburg	rural	-	German	second	student	student
345	P	F	15-19	Spy Hill	rural	-	-	first	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	occupation
346	P	F	15-19	Langenburg	rural	Dutch	-	first	student	student
347	P	F	15-19	Langenburg	rural	German	-	third	student	student
348	P	F	15-19	Langenburg	rural	German	-	third	student	student
349	P	F	15-19	Langenburg	rural	-	-	second	student	student
350	P	F	15-19	Langenburg	rural	Swedish	German	third	student	student
351	P	F	15-19	Langenburg	rural	German	-	second	student	student
352	P	F	20-29	Spy Hill	rural	German	-	first	high school+	caretaker
353	P	F	20-29	Langenburg	both	German	German	second	university	teacher
354	P	F	30-44	Spy Hill	rural	-	-	second	high school	farmer
355	P	F	30-44	Spy Hill	rural	-	-	third	no h. school	homemaker
356	P	F	30-44	Langenburg	rural	German	German	second	university	teacher
357	P	F	30-44	Langenburg	rural	German	German	second	high school	housewife
358	P	F	45-64	Langenburg	both	English	-	first	university	reg. nurse
359	P	F	45-64	Langenburg	rural	German	German	second	high school	nurse's aide
360	P	F	45-64	Langenburg	rural	German	German	second	high school	record tech.

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
361	P	F	45-64	Langenburg	rural	German	-	second	university	teacher
362	P	F	45-64	Langenburg	rural	Icelandic	Icelandic	second	university	psych. nurse
363	P	M	15-19	Langenburg	rural	-	-	third	student	student
364	P	M	15-19	Langenburg	rural	German	-	second	student	student
365	P	M	15-19	Spy Hill	rural	Canadian	-	third	student	student
366	P	M	15-19	Marchwell	rural	-	-	third	student	student
367	P	M	45-64	Langenburg	both	-	German	second	university	teacher
368	P	M	45-64	Langenburg	both	German	German	second	university	teacher
369	P	F	15-19	Stockholm	both	Hungarian	Hungarian	second	student	student
370	P	F	15-19	Stockholm	rural	Hungarian	Hungarian	second	student	student
371	P	F	15-19	Stockholm	rural	Hungarian	Hungarian	third	student	student
372	P	F	15-19	Stockholm	rural	Hungarian	Hungarian	third	student	student
373	P	F	15-19	Stockholm	rural	-	-	third	student	student
374	P	F	15-19	Stockholm	rural	German	French	second	student	student
375	P	F	30-44	Stockholm	rural	-	-	second	university	reg. nurse

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
376	P	F	30-44	Stockholm	both	-	German	second	high school+	caretaker
377	P	F	30-44	Stockholm	rural	-	French	first	university	teacher
378	P	M	15-19	Stockholm	rural	Hungarian	-	second	student	student
379	P	M	15-19	Bangor	rural	-	-	third	student	student
380	P	F	15-19	Rosetown	rural	Scottish	-	second	student	student
381	P	F	15-19	Sovereign	both	-	-	third	student	student
382	P	F	15-19	Dinsmore	rural	-	-	second	student	student
383	P	F	15-19	Milden	rural	-	-	second	student	student
384	P	F	20-29	Milden	both	-	-	second	university	teacher
385	P	F	30-44	Milden	both	-	-	second	university	homemaker
386	P	M	15-19	Milden	rural	Scottish	-	second	student	student
387	P	M	15-19	Milden	rural	-	-	third	student	student
388	P	M	15-19	Dinsmore	rural	English	-	second	student	student
389	P	M	15-19	Sovereign	both	-	-	third	student	student
390	P	M	15-19	Milden	rural	-	-	third	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
391	P	M	15-19	Milden	both	-	French	second	student	student
392	P	M	15-19	Milden	rural	Scottish	French	second	student	student
393	P	F	15-19	Harris	rural	French	French	second	student	student
394	P	F	15-19	Harris	rural	-	-	third	student	student
395	P	F	15-19	Harris	rural	Ukrainian	-	second	student	student
396	P	F	15-19	Harris	rural	Scottish	-	third	student	student
397	P	F	15-19	Harris	rural	-	-	second	student	student
398	P	F	15-19	Harris	rural	-	-	third	student	student
399	P	F	15-19	Harris	rural	-	-	second	student	student
400	P	F	45-64	Harris	rural	-	German	first	high school	housewife
401	P	F	45-64	Harris	rural	Canadian	-	second	high school	homemaker
402	P	F	45-64	Harris	rural	-	-	second	university	teacher
403	P	M	15-19	Harris	rural	-	-	second	student	student
404	P	M	15-19	Harris	rural	-	-	second	student	student
405	P	M	15-19	Harris	rural	-	-	second	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
406	P	F	15-19	Doddsland	rural	-	Ukrainian	second	student	student
407	P	F	15-19	Doddsland	rural	-	-	third	student	student
408	P	F	15-19	Stranraer	rural	-	-	third	student	student
409	P	F	15-19	Plenty	rural	Canadian	-	second	student	student
410	P	F	15-19	Plenty	rural	-	-	second	student	student
411	P	F	15-19	Ruthilda	both	-	-	third	student	student
412	P	F	15-19	Doddsland	rural	Canadian	-	second	student	student
413	P	F	15-19	Plenty	rural	-	-	second	student	student
414	P	F	15-19	Doddsland	rural	-	-	second	student	student
415	P	F	15-19	Kelfield	rural	-	-	second	student	student
416	P	F	15-19	Ruthilda	rural	English	French	second	student	student
417	P	M	15-19	Doddsland	rural	Canadian	German	second	student	student
418	P	M	15-19	Doddsland	rural	Canadian	German	second	student	student
419	P	M	15-19	Plenty	rural	Canadian	-	second	student	student
420	P	M	15-19	Plenty	rural	-	-	second	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
421	P	M	15-19	Plenty	rural	Belgian	-	second	student	student
422	P	M	15-19	Ruthilda	rural	German	-	third	student	student
423	P	M	15-19	Stranraer	rural	-	-	second	student	student
424	P	M	15-19	Dodslan	rural	-	-	second	student	student
425	P	M	15-19	Plenty	rural	-	-	second	student	student
426	P	M	15-19	Plenty	rural	German	-	second	student	student
427	P	M	15-19	Dodslan	rural	-	-	third	student	student
428	P	M	15-19	Dodslan	rural	-	-	third	student	student
429	P	F	15-19	Rosetown	rural	-	-	second	student	student
430	P	F	15-19	Rosetown	rural	Canadian	-	third	student	student
431	P	F	15-19	Rosetown	rural	-	-	third	student	student
432	P	F	15-19	Rosetown	rural	-	-	third	student	student
433	P	F	15-19	Rosetown	both	-	-	second	student	student
434	P	F	15-19	Rosetown	rural	-	-	second	student	student
435	P	F	15-19	Rosetown	rural	-	-	third	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
436	P	F	15-19	Rosetown	rural	Scottish	-	third	student	student
437	P	F	15-19	Rosetown	rural	Irish	French	third	student	student
438	P	F	15-19	Fiske	rural	Ukrainian	German	second	student	student
439	P	F	15-19	Rosetown	both	-	-	first	student	student
440	P	F	15-19	Rosetown	rural	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	student	student
441	P	F	15-19	Rosetown	rural	German	-	second	student	student
442	P	F	30-44	Rosetown	both	Scottish	-	second	university	administrator
443	P	F	30-44	Rosetown	rural	-	-	first	university	farmer
444	P	F	45-64	Rosetown	both	-	-	first	high school	bus driver
445	P	F	45-64	Herschel	rural	German	-	second	university	farm wife
446	P	F	45-64	Rosetown	rural	Scottish	-	second	university	housewife
447	P	M	15-19	Rosetown	rural	-	French	second	student	student
448	P	M	15-19	Zealandia	rural	-	-	second	student	student
449	P	M	15-19	Rosetown	rural	English	-	first	student	student
450	P	M	15-19	Rosetown	rural	Scottish	-	second	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
451	P	M	15-19	Brock	rural	-	-	second	student	student
452	P	M	15-19	Brock	rural	Canadian	-	second	student	student
453	P	M	15-19	Rosetown	rural	German	German	second	student	student
454	P	M	15-19	Rosetown	rural	German	-	second	student	student
455	P	M	15-19	Herschel	rural	Irish	-	second	student	student
456	P	M	45-64	Herschel	rural	-	-	first	no h. school	farmer
457	P	F	15-19	Rosetown	rural	Irish	-	second	student	student
458	P	F	15-19	Handel	rural	-	-	second	student	student
459	P	F	15-19	Handel	rural	-	-	second	student	student
460	P	F	15-19	Hamdel	rural	-	-	second	student	student
461	P	M	15-19	Handel	rural	-	-	second	student	student
462	P	M	15-19	Handel	rural	-	-	second	student	student
463	P	M	15-19	Handel	rural	-	-	second	student	student
464	P	M	15-19	Handel	both	-	Ukrainian	second	student	student
465	P	M	15-19	Handel	rural	-	-	second	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
466	P	M	15-19	Handel	rural	-	-	second	student	student
467	P	M	30-44	Springwater	rural	-	-	second	university	teacher
468	P	F	15-19	Biggar	rural	-	Ukrainian	third	student	student
469	P	F	15-19	Biggar	rural	-	-	second	student	student
470	P	F	15-19	Biggar	rural	-	-	second	student	student
471	P	F	15-19	Biggar	rural	-	-	second	student	student
472	P	F	15-19	Biggar	rural	Canadian	-	third	student	student
473	P	F	15-19	Biggar	rural	Canadian	German	second	student	student
474	P	F	15-19	Biggar	rural	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	student	student
475	P	F	15-19	Biggar	rural	English	-	second	student	student
476	P	F	15-19	Biggar	rural	German	German	second	student	student
477	P	F	15-19	Biggar	rural	-	-	second	student	student
478	P	F	15-19	Biggar	rural	Canadian	Polish	first	student	student
479	P	F	15-19	Biggar	rural	-	-	second	student	student
480	P	F	15-19	Biggar	rural	English	-	second	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
481	P	F	15-19	Biggar	rural	Canadian	-	second	student	student
482	P	F	15-19	Biggar	rural	German	-	second	student	student
483	P	F	15-19	Biggar	both	-	-	third	student	student
484	P	F	15-19	Biggar	rural	Canadian	Polish	first	student	student
485	P	F	15-19	Biggar	rural	French	French	third	student	student
486	P	F	15-19	Biggar	rural	German	-	second	student	student
487	P	F	15-19	Biggar	rural	French	German	second	student	student
488	P	F	15-19	Biggar	rural	-	-	second	student	student
489	P	M	15-19	Biggar	rural	Canadian	-	second	student	student
490	P	M	15-19	Biggar	rural	Canadian	-	second	student	student
491	P	M	15-19	Biggar	rural	Canadian	-	third	student	student
492	P	M	15-19	Biggar	both	Canadian	-	-	student	student
493	P	M	15-19	Biggar	rural	-	-	second	student	student
494	P	M	15-19	Biggar	rural	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	student	student
495	P	M	15-19	Biggar	rural	Canadian	-	second	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
496	P	M	20-29	Biggar	rural	-	-	second	student	student
497	P	F	15-19	Biggar	rural	-	-	third	student	student
498	P	F	45-64	Regina	urban	English	French	second	no h. school	hair stylist
499	P	F	65+	Regina	urban	Scottish	-	first	no h. school	housewife
500	P	F	20-29	Luseland	rural	-	German	second	high school+	bank teller
501	P	F	30-44	Luseland	both	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	university	homemaker
502	P	F	30-44	Luseland	rural	English	-	second	high school+	accountant
503	P	F	30-44	Luseland	rural	-	-	second	high school	homemaker
504	P	F	45-64	Luseland	both	Irish	-	second	university	housewife
505	P	F	45-64	Luseland	both	English	-	first	university	teacher
506	P	F	45-64	Luseland	both	Irish	-	second	university	nurse
507	P	F	65+	Luseland	both	Norwegian	-	first	no h. school	housewife
508	P	F	65+	Luseland	rural	English	-	first	high school	housewife
509	P	F	65+	Luseland	rural	-	-	first	university	teacher
510	P	M	20-29	Luseland	rural	Russian	-	second	high school	bank teller

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
511	P	M	30-44	Luseland	rural	Swiss	-	second	high school	farmer
512	P	M	45-64	Luseland	both	-	Swedish	first	university	clegyman
513	P	M	30-44	Luseland	rural	-	-	second	university	farmer
514	P	F	65+	Luseland	rural	-	-	first	university	housewife
515	P	F	65+	Kerrobot	rural	English	-	first	high school	housewife
516	P	F	65+	Kerrobot	rural	-	-	first	no h. school	housewife
517	P	F	45-64	Grayson	both	Canadian	-	second	high school	stenographer
518	P	F	65+	Grayson	rural	English	German	first	no h. school	housewife
519	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	student
520	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	Ukrainian	second	university	student
521	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	university	dentist
522	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Scottish	-	second	university	manager
523	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	university	student
524	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Ukrainian	-	second	university	journalist
525	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	third	university	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
526	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	Canadian	-	second	university	student
527	P	F	20-29	Langenburg	both	German	German	second	university	student
528	P	F	65+	Langenburg	rural	-	-	second	high school	housekeeper
529	P	M	20-29	Langenburg	both	German	German	third	university	farmer
530	P	M	30-44	Langenburg	rural	German	-	second	high school	farmer
531	P	M	65+	Langenburg	rural	German	-	first	university	teacher
532	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	-	university	teacher
533	P	F	45-64	Langenburg	both	-	-	first	university	reg. nurse
534	P	F	65+	Langenburg	rural	-	-	first	no h. school	housewife
535	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	both	-	Ukrainian	second	university	student
536	P	F	15-19	Esterhazy	rural	-	-	third	student	student
537	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	German	German	second	university	student
538	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	rural	Ukrainian	-	second	university	student
539	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	university	nurse
540	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	university	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
541	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	university	teacher
542	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	Ukrainian	-	second	university	nurse
543	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	third	university	student
544	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Polish	Polish	second	university	teacher
545	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	university	student
546	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	student
547	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	German	-	first	university	student
548	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	student
549	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Ukrainian	-	second	university	student
550	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	English	-	third	university	student
551	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Swedish	Swedish	second	university	student
552	P	F	20-29	Regina	urban	German	-	second	high school+	clerk
553	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Canadian	-	third	university	secretary
554	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	personnel mgr
555	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Russian	Russian	third	university	secretary

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
556	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	university	secretary
557	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	English	-	second	university	stenographer
558	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	university	nurse
559	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	German	German	second	university	student
560	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	Ukrainian	-	second	university	student
561	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	English	-	second	university	student
562	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	student
563	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	French	third	university	reg. nurse
564	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	third	university	student
565	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	university	student
566	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	third	university	nurse
567	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	student
568	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Irish	-	second	university	student
569	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Irish	-	second	university	student
570	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	third	university	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
571	P	F	20-29	Regina	urban	-	-	second	university	reg. nurse
572	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	French	French	second	university	student
573	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	university	student
574	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	student
575	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	third	university	nurse
576	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	student
577	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	German	German	second	university	student
578	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Canadian	-	second	university	reg. nurse
579	P	F	20-29	Regina	both	German	German	third	university	student
580	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	third	university	student
581	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Canadian	Hungarian	third	university	student
582	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	university	student
583	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	German	German	first	university	reg. nurse
584	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	reg. nurse
585	P	F	20-29	Regina	urban	Canadian	French	second	university	reg. nurse

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
586	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	university	student
587	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	student
588	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	student
589	P	F	20-29	Percival	both	Hungarian	Hungarian	second	high school	homemaker
590	P	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	third	university	student
591	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	both	-	Norwegian	second	university	teacher
592	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	university	homemaker
593	P	F	30-44	Regina	urban	-	-	second	high school	housewife
594	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	both	German	German	second	university	reg. nurse
595	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	both	Norwegian	-	second	university	reg. nurse
596	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	university	homemaker
597	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	clerk
598	P	F	30-44	Regian	both	English	-	first	university	student
599	P	F	30-44	Regian	both	-	-	second	university	stenographer
600	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	both	German	German	second	university	reg. nurse

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
601	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	both	Scottish	-	second	university	reg. nurse
602	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	both	German	-	first	university	secretary
603	P	F	30-44	Grenfell	both	Scottish	-	first	high school+	bookkeeper
604	P	F	45-64	Saskatoon	both	Scottish	-	first	university	-
605	P	F	45-64	Grenfell	rural	English	-	second	high school	housewife
606	P	F	65+	Grenfell	both	Irish	-	first	high school+	teacher
607	P	M	15-19	Grenfell	rural	-	-	first	student	student
608	P	M	20-29	Unity	both	-	German	second	university	student
609	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	Scottish	-	second	university	student
610	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	nurse
611	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Irish	-	second	university	student
612	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Canadian	-	third	university	student
613	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	English	-	first	university	student
614	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Finnish	-	second	university	student
615	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
616	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	university	student
617	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	student
618	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	both	German	German	second	university	student
619	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	both	German	German	third	university	teacher
620	P	M	20-29	Kindersley	both	German	German	second	university	student
621	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	musician
622	P	M	20-29	Regina	both	Canadian	-	third	university	sales rep.
623	P	M	30-44	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	student
624	P	M	30-44	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	transportation
625	P	M	30-44	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	teacher
626	P	M	30-44	Regina	both	Scottish	-	second	university	accountant
627	P	M	45-64	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	principal
628	P	M	45-64	Saskatoon	both	English	-	second	university	administrator
629	P	M	45-64	Saskatoon	both	Irish	French	second	university	teacher
630	P	M	45-64	Regina	both	French	-	first	university	teacher

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
631	P	M	45-64	Regina	both	Canadian	-	first	university	supervisor
632	P	M	65+	Grenfell	rural	Irish	-	first	high school	farmer
633	P	M	65+	Broadview	rural	Canadian	-	first	no h. school	farmer
634	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	university	lab technician
635	P	M	45-64	Grenfell	both	-	-	first	university	treasurer
636	P	F	15-19	Saskatoon	both	-	-	third	student	student
637	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	Scottish	-	second	university	doctor
638	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	Scottish	-	first	university	student
639	P	M	30-44	Saskatoon	both	English	-	second	university	student
640	P	M	30-44	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	university	teacher
641	P	M	30-44	Esterhazy	both	English	-	second	high school+	labourer
642	P	M	30-44	Saskatoon	both	French	-	third	university	teacher
643	P	M	45-64	Saskatoon	both	English	-	first	university	teacher
644	P	F	45-64	Percival	rural	Swedish	-	second	university	administrator
645	P	F	45-64	Saskatoon	both	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	second	university	manager

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
646	P	M	45-64	Saskatoon	urban	Scottish	-	second	high school+	sales
647	P	M	45-64	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	first	university	researcher
648	P	M	45-64	Saskatoon	urban	Scottish	-	second	high school	retired
649	P	M	65+	Saskatoon	urban	Welsh	-	first	university	insurance sales
650	P	M	65+	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	high school+	technician
651	P	M	65+	Saskatoon	urban	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	first	university	technician
652	P	F	45-64	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	teacher
653	P	M	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Canadian	-	second	university	sales rep.
654	P	F	45-64	Saskatoon	both	English	-	second	university	reg. nurse
655	P	M	65+	Saskatoon	both	Canadian	German	first	university	accountant
656	P	M	65+	Saskatoon	both	Scottish	-	first	university	retired
657	P	M	65+	Saskatoon	both	-	-	first	university	clergyman
658	P	M	45-64	Saskatoon	both	English	-	first	university	clergyman
659	P	M	45-64	Saskatoon	both	English	-	first	university	butcher
660	P	F	30-44	Saskatoon	both	Scottish	Gaelic	second	university	lab technician

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
661	P	M	65+	Saskatoon	both	Dutch	German	second	high school	sales
662	T	F	45-64	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	nurse
663	T	F	45-64	Grenfell	rural	Scottish	-	second	university	reg. nurse
664	T	M	45-64	Grenfell	rural	English	-	first	high school	farmer
665	T	F	45-64	Grenfell	rural	Norwegian	Norwegian	first	university	housewife
666	T	M	65+	Grenfell	rural	-	-	first	high school	farmer
667	T	M	15-19	Grenfell	rural	-	-	third	student	student
668	T	F	30-44	Grenfell	both	-	-	second	university	homemaker
669	T	M	30-44	Grenfell	rural	Irish	-	second	university	pharmacist
670	T	F	65+	Maryfield	rural	Scottish	-	first	university	teacher
671	T	F	45-64	Maryfield	both	Irish	-	second	university	reg. nurse
672	T	F	65+	Maryfield	rural	-	-	first	no h. school	farmer
673	T	F	45-64	Maryfield	rural	-	-	first	high school	farmer
674	T	F	45-64	Maryfield	rural	English	-	second	high school	housewife
675	T	F	15-19	Grenfell	rural	-	-	second	student	student

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
676	T	M	20-29	Grenfell	both	French	French	third	university	student
677	T	F	15-19	Grenfell	rural	German	German	third	student	student
678	T	M	30-44	Regina	urban	-	-	third	university	teacher
679	T	M	30-44	Regina	urban	English	-	second	university	teacher
680	T	M	30-44	Regina	both	French	French	second	university	manager
681	T	M	30-44	Regina	urban	-	-	second	high school	administator
682	T	M	20-29	Regina	urban	-	French	second	university	consultant
683	T	F	45-64	Regina	both	Welsh	-	first	high school	cashier
684	T	M	45-64	Regina	urban	-	-	first	high school+	civil servant
685	T	F	20-29	Regina	both	-	-	third	university	student
686	T	M	20-29	Regina	urban	-	-	third	university	contractor
687	T	M	45-64	Regina	both	German	-	first	university	pharmacisi
688	T	F	45-64	Regina	both	-	-	second	high school	housewife
689	T	F	30-44	Regina	urban	-	-	second	university	teacher
690	T	M	20-29	Regina	urban	Canadian	-	second	university	sales

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
691	T	F	30-44	Regina	both	Icelandic	-	second	university	pharmacist
692	T	M	30-44	Regina	both	-	-	second	university	trainer
693	T	F	30-44	Regina	both	Irish	-	third	university	speech path.
694	T	M	45-64	Regina	both	-	-	first	university	writer
695	T	M	45-64	Regina	both	Scottish	-	first	university	pharmacist
696	T	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	teacher
697	T	F	65+	Saskatoon	both	Scottish	-	first	high school+	retired
698	T	F	30-44	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	teacher
699	T	M	30-44	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	first	university	teacher
700	T	F	45-64	Saskatoon	both	Canadian	-	first	university	copywriter
701	T	M	45-64	Dodsland	both	-	-	first	university	teacher
702	T	M	30-44	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	teacher
703	T	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Welsh	-	third	university	secretary
704	T	M	20-29	Dodsland	both	-	-	second	university	farmer
705	T	F	30-44	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	teacher

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
706	T	M	30-44	Saskatoon	both	Welsh	-	second	university	teacher
707	T	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	Irish	-	second	high school	cashier
708	T	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	German	German	third	university	student
709	T	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	German	-	second	university	student
710	T	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	first	university	stenographer
711	T	F	20-29	Saskatoon	both	German	German	third	university	lawyer
712	T	F	30-44	Saskatoon	both	-	-	third	university	stenographer
713	T	M	30-44	Saskatoon	urban	Italian	-	second	university	technologist
714	T	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	student	student
715	T	M	45-64	Saskatoon	urban	Canadian	-	first	university	teacher
716	T	F	30-44	Saskatoon	both	-	German	third	high school	home maker
717	T	M	30-44	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	chemical tech.
718	T	M	45-64	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	first	university	clergyman
719	T	F	30-44	Saskatoon	both	Irish	-	first	university	teacher
720	T	F	30-44	Regina	urban	-	-	second	university	personnel

Table D.1 (continued)

Code	Data Source	Sex	Age	Residence	Environment	Ethnic Group	Second Language	Generation	Education	Occupation
721	T	M	20-29	Saskatoon	both	Polish	-	second	university	accountant
722	T	F	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	first	student	student
723	T	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	Dutch	German	third	student	student
724	T	M	20-29	Saskatoon	both	-	-	second	university	consultant
725	T	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	student	student
726	T	M	15-19	Saskatoon	urban	German	-	second	student	student
727	T	F	15-19	Saskatoon	both	Russian	-	second	student	student
728	T	F	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	second	university	physiotherapist
729	T	M	45-64	Saskatoon	both	-	-	first	university	manager
730	T	M	65+	Saskatoon	urban	-	-	first	university	teacher
731	T	M	20-29	Saskatoon	urban	Canadian	-	second	university	manager
732	T	F	65+	Dodsland	rural	Scottish	-	first	university	librarian
733	T	F	65+	Druid	rural	Canadian	-	first	high school	housewife
734	T	F	45-64	Brock	both	Scottish	-	first	high school	manager
735	T	M	15-19	Dodsland	rural	Irish	-	second	student	student
736	T	F	15-19	Dodsland	rural	-	-	third	student	student