

A LINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE FOR BRITISH COLUMBIA :
A PLAN FOR A POSTAL SURVEY OF DIALECTAL VARIATION
IN B.C., WITH AN ACCOUNT OF RECENT RESEARCH

by

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ABSTRACT

The object of this study is to provide a postal questionnaire that may be used for investigating dialectal variation in the province of British Columbia. Such a questionnaire is necessary to provide the groundwork for more intensive and systematic investigation at a later date. The questionnaire will test items for a future questionnaire, establish the dialectal status of B.C. English, and locate the dialectal regions of B.C.

The questionnaire draws heavily on work sheets and check lists used in the United States, but includes much material characteristic of Canadian speech, since it is felt that for historical reasons the separateness of the Canadian experience must be stressed. An account of the sources of the items and the criteria for selection are presented along with a methodology for choosing informants and communities, administering the questionnaire, and processing the results.

Each question is accompanied by a commentary on the feature to be investigated, giving information on its occurrence in B.C., Canada, or the United States. The data presented on B.C. usage is derived chiefly from research recently carried out by the author.

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INTRODUCTION

Aims.

This thesis presents a postal questionnaire designed to investigate dialectal variation in British Columbian English. The aims of the questionnaire are as follows: to establish the usefulness of questionnaire items so that when a more formal survey is made criteria for inclusion or exclusion will be available; to gather data from the items that will make possible general conclusions about the relationship of B.C. English to the English of the rest of the continent; to discover where regional variation exists within the province so that later investigation will be directed to the right areas.

This questionnaire is not intended to take the place of a more formal linguistic survey, but rather to make such a survey possible. A Linguistic Atlas survey of B.C. along the lines of those already conducted in many regions of the United States is certainly the goal we must work towards. But such a goal cannot be attained unless much preliminary work is done. As matters stand right now very little is known about the English language in B.C. and its relation to other dialects. Furthermore, beyond the material here presented, nothing is known about dialectal variation within this province. One of my present aims, indeed, is to demonstrate

that regional variations do exist in British Columbia, a fact that I was not fully convinced of before I undertook this project. Because of this lack of information, a postal questionnaire such as is presented here seems to be the logical and necessary first step.

Theoretically, preliminary investigation could take other forms. It would be possible, for example, to take the worksheets from the New England survey or from the Pacific Coast Questionnaire and use them in the field to investigate some region of B.C. The knowledge so gained would be interesting and to some extent useful. However, those interested in the dialect geography of B.C. must take as their aim the completion of a formal, controlled survey, based on competent fieldwork, for the whole province; an investigation of only part of the province could never be incorporated satisfactorily into this survey of the whole because, to produce reliable results, such a survey must have a common methodology and must use fieldworkers who have been trained together. If the methods used in one area are different from those used in another, or if the fieldworkers do not agree on the sound values given to their phonetic notations, a comparison of the results cannot be completely reliable. In some areas of the continent divergent analyses resulting from differences between fieldworkers may be accommodated because they show up as 'personal boundaries' on a map.¹ In an area where settlement is recent, however,

1. see Hans Kurath, Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England (Providence, R.I., 1939), p.51. This work will be referred to hereafter as the Handbook.

and where the settlement patterns are largely unknown, it may be more difficult to take such variations into account. Two surveys, therefore, done at different points of time, probably with different methods, and almost certainly by different people, will be difficult to fit together.

Further, it is to be presumed that, if the first survey is of any value, changes will be made in the later survey: items will be added, deleted, rephrased, and the format modified. The area covered by the old survey will then lack responses for new items. Since it will not be possible to find again all the first-survey informants, it might then be necessary to completely resurvey the whole area. Since a limited survey would thus probably have to be re-done when the Linguistic Atlas program was started, and since it would in any case provide no information on regional variation within the province, there seems little purpose in making such a survey the starting point of investigation.

Besides the importance of ensuring that the preliminary work cover the whole of the province it is also necessary that the survey attempt to deal with those features that are peculiarly British Columbian, or at least Canadian. It would have been possible to simply mail out a standardized, ready-made American check-list rather than produce a new questionnaire as I have done. But our need in Canada is for a Canadian survey that will serve Canadian purposes. An unmodified American questionnaire will not do.

There is an issue involved in this point which must be considered before any extensive work on Canadian English can proceed. Should Canadian linguists take it as their aim to extend the Linguistic Atlas surveys of the United States into Canada, or try to develop a purely Canadian Linguistic Atlas? This latter aim is, of course, undesirable - we do want to compare Canadian and American features - and probably impossible, since we cannot avoid asking many of the same questions. The former aim is explicitly part of the American program as is indicated by the title of the over-all project planned under the aegis of the American Council of Learned Societies : The Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada. The project is a noble one, and it does allow some modification to take account of regional peculiarities. Nonetheless, this continental plan contains assumptions that Canadians should question on cultural as well as scholarly grounds.

The study of language always has significance beyond the mere satisfaction of intellectual curiosity, and the study of linguistic geography particularly has implicit in it aims that are cultural, not simply linguistic. When M.H. Scargill, in his essay "Canadian English and Canadian Culture in Alberta", asks "What is a Canadian? Have we who call ourselves Canadians a distinctive culture, a distinctive way of life and thought?"² he finds that

2. J.C.L.A., I. Mar.(1955), 27.

the study of language might prove the surest guide to the way we are developing. The fact that a Canadian drives a car made in Detroit does not make him think like an American. The fact that he subscribes to the Times does not make him think like an Englishman. But if our native-born Canadian speaks like an American, then his thoughts are probably being shaped like an American's thoughts. If he chooses to speak like an Englishman, then he is more English than he knows. But if our English-speaking and native-born Canadian prefers to develop his own habits of speech, then this must show that he is a man with ideas of his own to express - ideas that cannot be expressed in either British-English or American-English, because they are neither British nor American ideas. Where there is a language, there must be a nation to have made it what it is.³

If the linguist is to make any contribution to the study of this important cultural problem, he must be very careful not to introduce into his investigations any cultural bias. The American worksheets and check-lists are, I suggest, culturally biased instruments of investigation.

American linguists, and many Canadian ones, start from the assumption that, to quote Morton W. Bloomfield "Canadian English is a branch of American English".⁴ This assumption may or may not be valid but there is a danger that a purely American questionnaire will show it to be true regardless, simply because of its construction. Every item of an American questionnaire elicits a feature found in the United States for which a range of varying responses have been found, each response being associated with an area of the United States. Every Canadian response will then be classifiable as Northern, Midland,

3. Loc. cit.

4. "Canadian English and Its Relation to Eighteenth Century American Speech", JEGP, XLVII (1948), 59.

Southern, or what have you, depending on which area the same response is found in in the United States. The two speech areas may then appear to have some genetic relationship, which might, in fact, be explainable in other ways. Consider some particular term that is found in Canada. An investigator oriented toward the American Linguistic Atlas surveys might characterize it as a Midland usage. On further investigation, however, we might find that the same term is used in Northern England. The assumed relationship between the Canadian usage and the American Midland usage seems now less clear. Is the connection between the two areas direct, from the Midland region to Canada by migration or cultural influence, or is it perhaps simply a collateral relationship based on common roots in Britain? Isogloss patterns may possibly show this difficulty to be a minor one, yet in the absence of British correlations (and from the nature of Professor Orton's questionnaire for England I must conclude that the data from that survey will be of little use to us) the relationships with American usages will tend to be overemphasized.

Most important, an American questionnaire is bound to produce distortion because only features found in the United States are taken into account. Differences are thus minimized and the true relationships between speech areas may be distorted. If, for example, we know that two areas A and B share features X and Y, we draw certain conclusions about their relationship. If we then learn that area B also possesses a feature Z, which is unknown in area A, our conclusions must be different. Yet a

questionnaire standardized in Area A would not reveal that Z exists.

The whole problem would perhaps be a minor one if we allowed the initial assumption that Canadian English is a branch of American English. A comparison between B.C. speech and American speech based on the same questionnaire would be as valid as a similar comparison between Oregon and Midland speech since the same genetic relationship would obtain.

Yet there are reasons for disputing this view of the relationship of Canadian to American English. Scargill has challenged on several grounds Bloomfield's view that Canadian English is the English of the United Empire Loyalists and is thus a direct offshoot of American English.⁵ The argument is a complex one that cannot be settled until much more is known of both present-day and eighteenth-century English, and I cannot presume here to give an answer. Yet we might ask if the English of the Loyalists was different in many respects from the English of Britain, and if such differences as existed would be maintained through the waves of immigration from England, Scotland, and Ireland. There were, after all, only about forty to fifty thousand Loyalists, spread from the Maritimes to Upper Canada. In the thirty-five years following 1815 over 800,000 immigrants came from the British Isles.

The Canadian English is much more like American English than like British English is obvious. But then Canadian culture is much more like that of the United States than like that of Britain. Indeed, the influence of the United States on our culture has been overwhelming from

5. "The Sources of Canadian English", JEGP , LVI (1957), 610-614.

the beginning of our history. The reasons are obvious: we have a great deal in common with the United States, vis à vis the problems of everyday life, et cetera; and while the United States was an aggressive, innovating, independent nation, we were a mere colony. It would be only natural for us to borrow linguistically from the United States at an extravagant rate. It would also be natural for this borrowing to take place along the borders of the two countries, chiefly perhaps in Ontario, which then served as the base from which Western Canada was settled.

Correspondences then between Canadian English and varieties of American English may then be due to cultural influence rather than any genetic relationship. This I suggest as a possibility, though many would challenge such a conclusion. The point I wish to make is that if the relationship between American and Canadian English is as I have suggested, the use of a purely American questionnaire will not reveal it.

For this reason I have tried to produce a questionnaire that will show relationships with American English and yet will, I hope, reveal features that are purely Canadian. I have found it difficult to go very far in the inclusion of Canadian material at this point, but I think it is important to at least state this as an objective.

Limitations

No apologies are made for the limitations of the postal questionnaire as a means of obtaining data. It is an exploratory instrument only and its aims are limited. But the emphasis is such a questionnaire is necessarily lexical. It is obviously difficult to get phonological information from a written response, although by using rhymes one can learn much of value. For example, the questions on tomato and vase reveal in at least two areas of the province (the Okanagan and Vancouver Island) the existence of a low-front vowel [ɶ], apparently phonemically distinct from /æ/ and /ʌ/. The majority of British Columbians do not have this [ɶ] vowel, using instead one vowel, [ʌ], for caught, cot, and father, with an allophone [a] before /r/. However, a more complete phonological investigation of British Columbian English, based on field work is needed.

Grammatical data is also largely inaccessible by this method of investigation. Although questions on grammatical features can be asked, it would be difficult to get trustworthy responses. Social disapproval is attached more strongly to deviations from the standard in the grammatical area than in any other. Few people, after all, will put ain't in writing, even when it is their habitual usage.

As well as restricting the type of material that may be investigated, the postal questionnaire has an other important limitation: the responses

are not based on unguarded usage. The more a person's attention is directed to the feature to be tested, the less reliable the response will be. There are several reasons for this. Everyone, the linguist included, is familiar with the sudden doubt that rises when one has to isolate one's own usage, habitual though that may be. There is also the desire, conscious or unconscious, to choose the usage that one thinks best, or that one thinks the questioner wants to hear. I have tried in this questionnaire to phrase the questions so that these problems are as far as possible avoided, but obviously the results will not have the reliability of fieldwork.

The attitude of the informant must also be taken into account to get the best results. While the factors mentioned above will affect all informants to some extent, but there are linguistic snobs whose reports on their own usage cannot be trusted at all. Usually these people reveal themselves by their comments when they are questioned about their own speech or the speech of their neighbours. I considered including a simple language-attitude test with the questionnaire, using, perhaps, multiple-choice questions. It would be possible to locate most of the problem informants by asking such a question as: "What, if anything, do you think is wrong with the way Canadians speak?" But such a question, would have to be given separately from the questionnaire lest it start the informant thinking too much about standards of usage.

One further drawback to a postal questionnaire is that it restricts

the classes of people suitable as informants. In any survey it helps a great deal to have informants who are intelligent and articulate. In a postal questionnaire such qualities are not just desirable, but requisite, and we must in addition ask for literacy. Scholars sometimes forget that reading and writing are not easy and accustomed tasks for everyone and that many people are intimidated by the necessity of putting pen to paper. We will surely find that a large part of the population to be studied will be neither suitable nor willing. However, the task of finding a truly representative group of informants must be left to the later field surveys. For the postal questionnaire we must be very selective in any case, choosing people not merely for being representative of a locality by virtue of long residence, but also for being most likely to have the information we want. Furthermore, by using literacy and intelligence as further criteria for selection we reduce the chances that the questions will be imperfectly understood. In a field survey you can always repeat or rephrase a question if the informant does not understand you. In a postal questionnaire, when you have written the questions as skilfully as possible, you must finally trust in the care and intelligence with which the informant reads and answers them.

LINGUISTIC GEOGRAPHY

Uses.

Linguistic Geography is "the study of local differentiations in a speech-area".⁶ No living language can exist in perfect uniformity throughout the speech-group that uses it. There is always variation, as indeed there is always variation in every aspect of a society's culture.

The study of the ways in which a society's language varies from region to region and from group to group can tell us much about that society, as well as about its language. It can reveal the past history of the society - its ancestry, settlement patterns, trade and migration routes, and its cultural links with other groups. The study of language variations can also give clues about the social and cultural differences presently existing within the society and can perhaps reveal the trend of changes in process.

Dialect study also makes important contributions to our knowledge of language. Since change in a language is not uniform in all the areas in which it is spoken, it is often possible by collating the forms surviving in the various dialects to reconstruct earlier stages of the language. It is also possible to evaluate changes taking place in the present, and make predictions about future developments.

6. Leonard Bloomfield, Language (New York, 1933), p.321.

History

It is not my purpose here to give a complete history of linguistic geography. I propose instead to discuss the major dialect atlases in terms of three linked problems that seem relevant to the situation in British Columbia. The first problem concerns the collection of the data - how does one gather information that is reliable (in the statistical sense)? Secondly, how does one get adequate coverage of a region so that no important aspect of regional speech is lost? The third problem is connected closely with the other two - how does one ensure that the data collected is manageable? I have not concerned myself in this part of my discussion with the principles or philosophy behind the projects mentioned, nor with the validity of the questionnaires used.

The systematic study of dialectal variation began in the last century with the investigations of Georg Wenker into the dialects of the German language. Wenker began his work in 1881, but the publication of the maps showing the results of this prodigious enterprise did not begin until 1926 and is still not complete.⁷ Wenker's problem was that, because he was dealing with a densely populated, long-settled area, where features consequently could vary between one village and the next, he had to have a large number of informants. He solved the problem of obtaining complete coverage of his area of investigation by using the services of school teachers in 49,363 localities. He did not solve the problems of dealing

7. F. Wrede, Deutscher Sprachatlas (Marburg, 1926-).

with such a mass of information. The manner in which he obtained his information, although quite effective, was open to criticism on the grounds that he had used untrained workers who could only give impressionistic reports of what they heard. The school teachers had been instructed to transcribe forty given sentences into the local dialect, using a spelling that attempted to represent the local pronunciation.

The French dialectologist Gilliéron, who began work on the Atlas linguistique de la France⁸ in 1896, avoided this fault by using a trained phonetician, Edmond Edmont, to gather his information. He also expanded the usefulness of his survey by using a much larger questionnaire than Wenker. He did not, however, solve the problem of adequately covering the area under investigation. The French Atlas gathered information from 639 locations only, a number not really adequate for a country which has had a continuity of language for two thousand years. Nonetheless, restricting the number of informants made the amount of data more manageable, and the publication of the results was completed ten years after collecting had finished.

In the years following the publication of Gilliéron's work many studies in linguistic geography were published. Thus when the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada was being organized in 1931, its planners were able to profit from the experiences of many others. They avoided many of the problems that had hampered earlier studies. For example, by starting with a single region of the speech-community, New

8. Paris, 1902-10.

England, by using a team of trained workers, and by limiting the number of informants to 416, they were able to get a good coverage of the area of investigation in a short period of time (25 months). They could be confident the information they had collected was reliable, and since it constituted in volume only about a quarter of what was gathered by the French Atlas, this data was fully processed for publication within six years of the completion of fieldwork.

The questionnaire used in the New England survey was carefully compiled from material found in Dialect Notes, American Speech, and J.S. Kenyon's American Pronunciation.⁹ It was tested in the field and then revised before the survey was actually started.

The systematic planning of this survey extended also to the selection of informants. The prime concern was to record the usage of the oldest inhabitants, "in order that the earlier regional pattern might be accurately delineated and the oldest living forms of speech preserved as fully as possible." To this end they selected from every community to be studied "a simple but intelligent farmer or farmer's wife in rural districts, a workingman, tradesman or shopkeeper in larger villages and in cities".¹⁰

A secondary objective was to determine the usage of younger and better educated speakers. The methods used for sampling the population certainly do not measure up to modern sociometric techniques¹¹ yet a

9. 4th ed., Ann Arbor, 1930.

10. Loc. cit.

11. see Glenna Pickford's criticism in "American Linguistic Geography: a Sociological Appraisal". Word, XII (1956), 211-233.

random sampling of the population would not have fulfilled the aims of establishing "the regionalism of the pre-industrial era of New England".¹² One may question, however, whether the secondary categories of informants (younger and better educated) were chosen with enough care or in sufficient numbers to give reliable information on modern usage or social differences in the region. To get such information would, of course, have required a much larger and more expensive survey.

The principle followed by the editors of the New England material of giving complete information on every aspect of the project has made it much easier for other workers to extend Linguistic Atlas coverage to other areas of the United States, and most regions have been through at least one stage of investigation. The results, though, are slow to be published.

Unfortunately very little work has been done on dialect variations in Canada and little, as far as I am aware, is currently being planned.¹³

12. Handbook, loc. cit.

13. see, however, the work of Alexander and Wilson on Nova Scotia, Avis on Ontario, Hamilton on Montreal, and Drysdale on Newfoundland listed in the bibliography.

Methods

The methods employed in linguistic geography are not particularly complex. This may be because the goals are simple and explicit.

The major goal of the dialectologist is to reveal the differences that exist within the normal usage of typical members of a speech-community. To this end he must choose his informants with care, making sure that they are truly representative of their community. The investigator who for convenience selects informants from the ranks of his students, or who depends on a network of upper-middle-class acquaintances will obtain results that will be open to serious challenge. The practice of selecting elderly informants, although justifiable for reasons stated earlier, will violate this principle of choosing representative speakers unless it is established that their speech is probably typical of an earlier era.

To obtain the normal usage of the chosen informants requires care and a good measure of cunning on the part of the fieldworker. He must make a situation in which the informant speaks easily and naturally to him, not a simple task since most people are apprehensive and on guard in such an encounter. When the informant is responding in his normal speech style, the interviewer will be able to record his usage with some feeling that it is valid.

Then the manner in which the responses are elicited becomes important. The ideal response is the unguarded one, made when the informant is unaware

that it is being noted. Unfortunately, because the available time is always limited, only a small amount of the information needed can be gained in this way. One might wait a long while before a conversation works around to the noises a calf makes when being weaned.

The interviewer at the least must steer the conversation and often ask direct questions to get the desired responses. Because every informant is vulnerable to suggestion, the question put to him must in no way suggest a particular response. For example, a question of the type "What is this? is preferable to "What do you call the motor-driven machine that a person uses to cut his lawn?" which, in turn, is preferable to "What do you call the gasoline-powered machine that mows lawns?" The latter two questions provide cues in such words as "lawn", "powered", "mows", that the informant might respond to. A question such as "Do you call this machine a power mower?" should never be asked.

When the data has been collected it must be organized into useful form. Maps are probably the most effective way of doing this. The responses of every informant to any one particular question are plotted on a map, using a different symbol for each variant. If a geographical pattern emerges it may be possible to draw an isogloss for the feature being mapped. An isogloss, which is a demarkation line between linguistic features or variants, can either represent the outer limit of a feature's occurrence, or show the probability of occurrence; that is, that one feature is more likely to be found within the line and another outside it.

Mapping is a very graphic way of presenting data on dialectal variation. It makes the linguistic relationships between geographic areas clear, showing the effect of settlement patterns, lines of communication, and so forth. Map analysis can reveal the underlying dynamics of a linguistic situation - how a feature is spreading from a focal area, or withdrawing in the face of competing variants, leaving relic areas in its wake. Mapping can thus tell much about the history of a feature and about its probable development. For these reasons the production of a map is usually one of the prime goals of the dialectologist.

The collected data may also be subjected to statistical analysis. A simple statement of a feature's frequency, for example, may provide useful information where a map might reveal no discernible pattern. Quantifying the data, although not as satisfying visually, makes possible mathematical manipulations that may produce new insights.

SELECTION OF COMMUNITIES

The choice of communities from which informants will be selected will depend largely on settlement patterns within the province. Unfortunately, although it is possible to determine when settlement took place, it is much more difficult to tell who did the settling. Census figures show the national origins of the population in each census division, but since the categories "Canadian" and "American" were apparently unknown to the census takers until quite recently this information is of limited value. How is one to know whether the 232 Irishmen resident in Grand Forks in 1921 were refugees from the troubles in Ireland, third generation Canadians from Nova Scotia, or perhaps recent settlers from New York? Still, one may find references here and there (for example, in the Canadian Family Tree)¹⁴ to the settlement of foreigners in British Columbia. What we do not know is where the Canadian settlers came from. In 1951 30% of this province's inhabitants were people born in other parts of Canada.

In the face of this dearth of information it has been necessary to use as the chief criterion for selecting communities length and continuity of settlement rather than origin of the population. In order to put this selection into context a brief history of the province's settlement follows.

British Columbia began as a preserve of the fur traders, and a

14. Canadian Citizenship Branch, Department of the Secretary of State, Ottawa, 1967.

number of the trading posts established in the early years of the nineteenth century developed into important communities. The more important of these with their dates of establishment are as follows:

Fort St. John	1805
Fort St. James	1806
Fort George (Now Prince George)	1807
Fort Kamloops	1812
Fort Langley	1827
Fort Victoria	1843
Fort Yale	1848
Fort Hope	1849

The fur traders did not encourage settlers, and the first real influx of population did not begin until 1858, when gold was discovered on the Fraser. During the gold rush thousands came from Canada, Britain, Oregon, California, Australia, and other parts of the world to find their fortunes in the gold fields of British Columbia. Some of the towns that sprang up as a result were Lillooet, Lytton, Clinton, and Quesnel.

The transportation difficulties that arose because of the gold rush led to the building of the Cariboo Road. Many road-houses were built along the length of the Cariboo Road, and some, such as 100-Mile House, and 150-Mile House, remain active communities today.

The majority of the thousands who came looking for gold did not find any. They did find rather a lot of unoccupied land and many decided to stay. They settled in the Cariboo and in the Fraser Valley, establishing many farms and ranches. Subsequently in the 1860's and 1870's many new settlements were incorporated in these regions.

On Vancouver Island development was slower, but even there would-be prospectors helped the population grow. The Comox Valley was settled in 1862 by British and Australian groups who had decided to go no further in their search for fortune. There had already been settlement around the coal fields of Nanaimo since 1852 and the population was beginning to spread from there and from Victoria.

With the coming of the railways many areas of the province were open for settlement. Agriculture became profitable when markets became accessible, and ranches began springing up throughout the Okanagan in the 1880's and 1890's. By the turn of the century, though, the economy of this region had switched from cattle to fruits and vegetables.

Although there have been many mining rushes, big and small, in the province's history, perhaps the next in importance to the Cariboo Gold Rush of 1858 was the discovery of the great mineral resources of the Kootenays in the 1880's. Mining towns such as Nelson, Rossland, Kimberley, and Kaslo were founded and soon had populations in the thousands. When the prospecting fever had run its course many of these towns declined, but again, many miners stayed and tried their hands at farming.

The last great surge of settlement began in the Peace River District in 1912. Population in this area continues to grow rapidly, in recent years the stimulus being less the fine grain growing land than the newly discovered petroleum and natural gas resources. Although the natural lines of communication are with Alberta, the completion of the Hart Highway in 1952, and the extension of the Pacific Great

Eastern Railway to Fort St. John and Dawson Creek in 1958 established links with the rest of B.C.

The Northern region of the province remains largely unsettled, with the exception of the numerous towns along the C.N.R. line between Prince George and Prince Rupert.

The communities I have selected for inclusion in this survey reflect the major patterns of settlement as outlined above. I have tried to choose communities that have had continuous settlement since before 1900 so that it would be possible to find elderly informants native to the region. In a number of cases it has been necessary to select more recent settlements to give proper geographic representation (the Peace River settlements are comparatively recent, for example), or to give representation to large communities (Powell River's 12,000 inhabitants should not be ignored, even though settlement dates back only fifty years). Many towns that were established in the last century have not been included because settlement has not been continuous. Hope, for example, was founded in 1849, but its population dwindled after Yale became the terminus of the Cariboo Road, and, in effect, it has been resettled in the last fifty years. There are many towns with this kind of history, and it would be difficult to find older generation informants in them.

Geographic considerations such as lines of communication and natural barriers have, of course, been taken into account. Where a choice between two nearby communities of comparable antiquity was

necessary I have selected the one more dependent on agriculture.

The list of 118 communities that follows is tentative only, and is dependent on the possibility of finding suitable informants. The fishing communities of the coast are not included in the list, but they also will be sampled. The selection of these small isolated places must wait until it is known what informants are available. The arrangement of the list is by geographic region.

Vancouver Island

Cape Scott
Alert Bay
Campbell River
Courtenay
Alberni
Parksville
Nanaimo
Ladysmith
Lake Cowichan
Duncan
Galiano
Saltspring
Victoria
Ucluelet

South Coast - Fraser Valley

Lund
Powell River
Sechelt
Squamish
Pemberton
North Vancouver
West Vancouver
Vancouver
New Westminster
Richmond
Ladner
Surrey
Coquitlam
Maillardville
Haney
Mission
Chilliwack
Sardis
Abbotsford
Cloverdale
Langley
Harrison Mills
Yale

Okanagan

Princeton
Peachland
Enderby
Armstrong

Cariboo-Shuswap

Anahim Lake
Alexis Creek
Quesnel
Williams Lake

Okanagan (cont'd)

Vernon
Westwold
Lumby
Kelowna
Penticton
Keremeos
Oliver
Osoyoos
Grand Forks

Cariboo - Shuswap (cont'd)

Alexandria
150-Mile House
Wells
Lac la Hache
100-Mile House
Clinton
Lillooet
Cache Creek
Ashcroft
Savona
Kamloops
Barriere
Shuswap
Salmon Arm
Sicamous
Lytton
Spences Bridge
Merritt

The Kootenays

Revelstoke
Golden
Edgewater
New Denver
Slocan
Nelson
Kaslo
Invermere
Canal Flats
Skookumchuck
Kimberley
Cranbrook
Ferne
Rossland
Castlegar
Trail
Salmo
Creston

North Coast - Prince George

Stewart
Prince Rupert
Port Simpson
Hagensborg
Bella Coola
Ocean Falls
Terrace
Hazelton
Smithers
Fort St. James
Burns Lake
Vanderhoof
Prince George
McBride
Tete Jaune Cache

Peace River

Hudson Hope
Chetwynd
Fort St. John
North Pine
Dawson Creek
Pouce Coupe

Northern B.C. - Yukon - North West
Territories

Dease Lake
Atlin
Telegraph Creek
Fort Nelson
Whitehorse, Y.T.
Dawson, Y.T.
Mayo, Y.T.
Fort Liard, N.W.T.

SELECTION OF INFORMANTS

The informants used in this survey will all be native-born Canadians who have had life-long residence in their community with few absences. The parents of the informants should have been English-speaking and, if possible, longterm residents of the community. Any person who spoke a language other than English in the home will not qualify as an informant.

The informants should be intelligent, knowledgeable, literate, and willing, but not educated beyond high school level. Occupation will not be a deciding factor in selection, although no one with a professional interest in language - for example, teachers, publishers, or writers - will be considered, and some preference will be given to persons with some farming background.

At least three informants will be selected from each community. One will be as old as possible, consistent with the requirements already stated. This informant will supply information on earlier forms, many of which are rapidly disappearing and must be recorded before being lost. One informant will be young, preferably between the ages of 19 and 25. Young informants are needed to gauge the changes which are occurring in our language (see the discussion in the questionnaire section of the first two items, Tomato and vase). Teenagers would be useful as informants and would be readily available - hordes of them are held in captivity for ten months of the year - but they have not

sufficient life-experience to answer many of the questions. The third informant should be intermediate in age between the other two, preferably in the 35 to 55 year range.

SELECTION OF ITEMS

The number of linguistic features that vary in a speech-community is very large. The dialectologist selecting items for a questionnaire must therefore be concerned not simply with the fact that a feature shows variation, but with how this variation may reveal something of significance about the language or the community.

In choosing items for the questionnaire I therefore first compiled a large list of features that could be expected to show variation, then discarded those that seemed unlikely to vary in B.C. This latter series of decisions was based as far as possible on concrete information, but I was often forced to rely on my own knowledge of British Columbia speech. Although I am a native of this province I recognize that some of my decisions will be mistaken. Later surveys will remedy any gross errors or omissions.

When a body of possible items had been collected, it was then necessary to exclude those unsuited to the form of a postal questionnaire. This in effect meant the elimination of many of the grammatical and phonological items.

In the process of again reducing the list so that the collected data would be manageable, further criteria were employed. The possibility of relating a feature to other areas where its incidence has been recorded was an important factor in the selection process. The

possibility of an item revealing a significant pattern, rather than occurring in a random distribution, and the possibility of establishing a feature as peculiarly Canadian or British Columbian were also carefully considered.

The majority of items are framed in questions that give a definition and then ask for a name; for example, question 18 - "What do you call the strip of grass between the sidewalk and the street?" - is of this type. The next largest group of questions is of the context completion type, most of which require the informant to supply a word or phrase to go in a blank; an example is question 23 - "A wasp stung him on the palm, and his hand _____ up". A very few of the context completion and definition questions offer variants for the informant to choose from. The other important question type is the one asking for a pronunciation by the choice of an appropriate rhyme.

Three other types of question are used very sparingly. Questions such as item 12 supply a word and ask whether the informant uses it and, if so, what meaning is attached to it. A very few questions ask for alternatives to a standard word. Item 11, for example asks for other names for the dragon-fly. The poorest type of question is the one which supplies both word and meaning and asks the informant to verify them. Item 28 (right now) is the sole representative of this type.

It might be remarked that there are relatively few questions requiring the identification of landscape features, plants, animals, birds, or insects. This omission is regrettable but necessary because

of the difficulty of establishing the proper referents. When, for example, one asks for the name of the tuft-eared, bob-tailed feline found in the woods of B.C., the terms offered could refer to either the lynx or the bob-cat. It would be difficult to frame the question in such a way that it would be certain which animal the informant was referring to, or if, indeed, he made a distinction at all. The results from this type of question will also differ according to the knowledge of the informants. To some people every evergreen is a fir, and every finch, nuthatch, and chickadee is a sparrow. Unless the referent is certainly known and responses can be confidently attached to it alone, there is little point in asking the question.

One might refer here to the example of K. Jaberg and J. Jud who, in their Sprach - und Sachatlas Italiens und der Sudschweiz,¹⁵ stressed the concept of Wörter und Sachen. They insisted that the association between word and thing be precise, since words often differ simply because the things themselves differ in some way. For this reason they advocated the use of drawings or photographs in dialect investigation.

I strongly suspect that the figures quoted by Carroll Reed for andirons¹⁶ show informant confusion about the referent. Such terms as dog-irons, dogs, and fire-irons, long established variants, were found infrequently, but grate was offered by 18% in Washington, 25% in Idaho, and 20% in Oregon and California. Grate is a legitimate term for a particular kind of metal basket or frame used for holding wood in a

15. Zofingen, 1928.

16. Dialects of American English, p. 70.

fireplace. It occurs to me that many people who have grates in their fireplaces have never seen andirons (I put myself in this category), and might offer the familiar grate for any fuel-holder in a fireplace. The true situation may be not that 20% of the people in the western states use grate for andirons, but that they do not in fact have any term for andirons. But even if these informants do use andirons and call them grates, we do not know if grate is used for other kinds of fuel-holder.

Some workers have also made the error of not providing enough scope for differentiation by the informant. In asking for porch, for example, the response may depend on the type of structure the informant has in mind at that moment. It might be found that instead of using just one variant, front porch, he also uses verandah, and front stoop, but that these terms each refer to a slightly different structure. I have therefore taken care to provide for such differentiation whenever it seemed likely to occur.

SOURCES OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

When items were being selected for the questionnaire it was necessary to find out two things: what features normally show variation in English, and what features have been investigated in other parts of the English-speaking world. Accordingly I collected and collated from questionnaires, word-lists, and dictionaries a large number of items that showed promise of being useful in B.C. I also surveyed the results of work in other geographical areas, making note of findings that might profitably be related to B.C. usage. Further, I carried out original research under the direction of Professor R.J. Gregg and gained access to records produced by other students working under his direction.

The majority of questions used in this questionnaire are taken from the worksheets prepared for the Linguistic Atlas of the Pacific Coast by David W. Reed and David DeCamp.¹⁷ The Pacific Coast questionnaire is basically the long worksheets used in the New England survey, but it has added variants from worksheets and check lists used in other parts of the United States. For our purposes most of the questions have been modified to suit the requirements of a postal questionnaire, to eliminate ambiguities, or to fit special circumstances in B.C. The retention of many American items will reveal relationships between American and Canadian English.

17. Berkeley, 1952.

Also useful was another work by Reed and DeCamp, a collation of Check Lists Used in the Study of American Linguistic Geography,¹⁸ which gathers together items used in ten check lists from across the United States, most of them also appearing in their Pacific Coast questionnaire.

An examination of the Long Work Sheets of the New England survey, showed several items, not used in either works of Reed and DeCamp which seemed worth investigating in B.C.

Another important source was Frederick G. Cassidy's "A Method for Collecting Dialect"¹⁹. This article presents, as well as a questionnaire of 1520 items, a useful procedure for conducting a dialect survey by mail. Cassidy's questionnaire is intended to find material for the American Dialect Society's Dialect Dictionary project. The contents of this article proved quite valuable, notwithstanding the fact that the aims of the ADS project differ from those of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada. It is concerned to some extent with items of folklore and social custom, which are not properly in the domain of linguistics, and its priorities are those of the lexicographer rather than the dialectologist.

A rich source of Canadian items was the Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles edited by W.S. Avis.²⁰ Every one of the many

18. Berkeley, 1952.

19. PADS, No. 20(1953), 5-96.

20. Toronto, 1967.

thousands of entries in this dictionary was read, and every item of possible use noted.

The items in this questionnaire which are not drawn from the sources mentioned have been acquired mostly through personal observation.

Other questionnaires, such as Harold Orton's²¹ and Angus McIntosh's²² were searched, but nothing suitable for inclusion was found.

The published results of many studies done in the United States and Canada were also consulted. Among the most useful American works were Hans Kurath's Word Geography of the Eastern United States²³ and Carroll Reed's Dialects of American English.²⁴ The latter work contains frequency tables for items tested in Washington, Idaho, Oregon, and California.

Of the few Canadian studies published only two proved useful in the evaluation of items, and both were quite limited in scope. Donald E. Hamilton's "Notes on Montreal English"²⁵ and the three articles by W.S. Avis on Ontario speech²⁶ offered figures on a small number of items and thus made possible some interesting comparisons with B.C. speech.

21. A Survey of English Dialects: Introduction, Leeds, 1962

22. A.W. McIntosh, H.J. Uldall, Kenneth Jackson, Linguistic Survey of Scotland : Postal Questionnaire No. 1, (Edinburgh, 1951) and A McIntosh and J.S. Woolley, Postal Questionnaire No. 2 (Edinburgh, 1953).

23. Ann Arbor, 1949

24. Cleveland, 1967

25. J.C.L.A., IV(1958), 70-79

26. "Speech Differences along the Ontario-United States border :
I, Vocabulary, "JCLA, I [pilot issue] (1954), 13-20
"II, Grammar and Syntax", UCLA, I (1955), 14-19
"III, Pronunciation", JCLA, II (1956) 41-59.

As there was no information available on B.C. English other than the two phonological studies of R.J. Gregg²⁷ it was necessary to begin collecting data myself.

Under the guidance of Professor R.J. Gregg and with the assistance of my wife I undertook in my first survey to establish the phonology of the Vancouver area and to test the pronunciation of certain words. The survey was carried out in June, 1964, and used as informants 246 students from three Vancouver high schools. Some of the results were presented in a paper read at the Annual meeting of the Canadian Linguistic Association in 1965.

In 1966 a much reduced version of the same questionnaire was given to 46 grade twelve students from the Duncan area, and this was repeated in 1967 with 15 students from Hope.

Also in 1965 I sent letters to local newspapers throughout the province asking readers for information on twelve items. Many editors did not run the letter, making the coverage of the province incomplete, but 74 readers replied and contributed some useful information. Encouraged by the response, I sent a further questionnaire to a number of these correspondents.

27. "Notes on the Pronunciation of Canadian English as spoken in Vancouver, B.C.", JCLA, III (1957), 20-26.
"Neutralisation and Fusion of Vocalic Phonemes in Canadian English as spoken in the Vancouver area", JCLA, III (1957), 78-83.

Two other students of Professor Gregg were also conducting field-work at this time. Judith Taylor recorded interviews with nine informants on Vancouver Island, and Stephen Smith recorded interviews and made transcriptions for sixteen informants in the Okanagan. When the results of these surveys were tabulated and analysed, they proved useful additions to the data I had already collected.

The commentary on the items of the questionnaire following is based largely on the results of the various research projects mentioned above.

FORMAT AND ADMINISTRATION

It is intended that the information gathered through this questionnaire will be processed by computer. Accordingly the advice of the Computing Center of the University of B.C. has been sought and their further assistance has been offered at such time as the project is definitely begun.

Every informant will be asked to complete a form on which he will give his name, address, sex, occupation, education, parental origins, and residence history. This information will be punched onto a card bearing the informant's number.

The questionnaire itself will be printed on sheets and mailed to the informant, perhaps in two installments to make it seem less intimidating. The informant will write his answers and comments in the spaces below the questions and then will return the sheets by mail.

The answers will be examined and a code for the various answers to a question will be devised. In this form all responses will be punched onto cards and fed into a computer.

The computer program recommended to me by Mr. Leigh of the Computing Center is the G1 UBC MVTAB. Using this program we will be able to produce the following tables: frequency tables for each response, correlations between the response and any other variable such as age, sex, or occupation, correlations between any two responses, and chi-square values for any set of correlations.

Mapping will be done from the print-out. I envisage using one clear, durable, non-ripping plastic sheet to fit over the base maps, punching holes in the plastic to pin-point informant locations, and then making coloured dots through the holes in correspondence with a response-code. This sheet will then be placed over another base map to chart another item. Such an operation will no doubt prove tedious, but no available computer will do this work.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire that follows was designed to be administered by mail. A set of instructions, not here included, will accompany it.

At the top of most questions a reference number (or numbers) is given. These numbers refer to other questionnaires or word lists in which the item dealt with may be found. The abbreviations used are as follows:

PCQ : Pacific Coast questionnaire (Reed and DeCamp's worksheets for the Linguistic Atlas of the Pacific Coast).

C ChL : A Collation of Check Lists by Reed and DeCamp.

LWS : The Long Word Sheets used in Kurath's New England survey (see the Handbook, pp. 150-158)

Cas : Frederick G. Cassidy's questionnaire from "A Method for Collecting Dialect"

D of C : The Dictionary of Canadianisms.

These works are discussed above under the heading "Sources".

A commentary follows each question. In the discussion the names of certain studies referred to frequently have been abbreviated as follows:

VS The Vancouver survey, carried out among high school students in 1964.

DS The Duncan survey, carried out among high school students in Duncan in 1966

HS The Hope survey, carried out among high school students in Hope in 1967.

PQ-1 Postal Questionnaire number one, administered through regional newspapers in 1965.

PQ-2 Postal questionnaire number two, the follow-up to PQ-1

These studies are also discussed above under the heading "Sources".

PCQ 46.2

1. In the word tomato do you pronounce the middle part of the word as eight, at, or ought? If none of these words fit give a word containing the "a" sound you use.

I have gathered information on this item through three student surveys (Vancouver, Duncan, and Hope) with a total of 302 informants, and through the Postal Questionnaire and the Smith and Taylor surveys with a total of 71 informants.

Analysis of this data leads me to three general conclusions. First, there is a geographical variation in the distribution of the adult responses. Second, this geographical variation at the adult level seems to have disappeared among the teen-agers studied. Third, considered as a group, the B.C. adults respond very much like Avis's Ontario informants. The results of the various surveys are tabulated below. Responses from teen-agers have been excluded from the PQ-1 figures.

tom <u>a</u> to	Ontario	PQ-1	Student surveys
/ei /	71%	67	97
/æ /	21	23	2
/a/a/ v/	8	10	1

The next table shows the adult responses by region. The Vancouver

Island figures are taken from PQ-1 and the Taylor survey. The Okanagan figures are from PQ-1 and the Smith survey. The PQ-X column gives the responses of the PQ-1 group with all the Vancouver Island and Okanagan informants excluded.

	Vancouver Island	Okanagan	PQ-X(rest of the Province)
/ei/	24%	56	89
/æ/	47	38	5
/a/a/v/	30	6	5

The results of the student surveys show a levelling of the striking differences revealed in the above table. This may be seen in a comparison of the Vancouver Island adults as tabulated above with the Duncan students:

	Vancouver Island adults	Duncan students
/ei/	24%	98
/æ/	47	2
/a/a/v/	30	0

PCQ 14.7; Cas. B9.

2. Would you rhyme "vase" with "face", "days", "cause", or "has"?
If you don't rhyme it with any of these, supply your own rhyme.

A number of very interesting facts have emerged from the study of vase. There is a regional variation quite evident within the province,

and, not surprisingly, between British Columbia and Eastern Canada. There is, furthermore, evidence of a trend in the pronunciation of this word. The direction of this trend may well have significance regarding the orientation of Canadian English vis-à-vis British and American English.

The regional variation may be seen in the following tables. The V.I. column represents the Vancouver Island informants from Taylor's survey and from PQ-1. The Ok. column represents the Okanagan informants from Smith's survey and from PQ-1. The PQ-X column gives the PQ-1 figures exclusive of Vancouver Island and Okanagan informants. The last column is a summation of the three previous columns. All the informants in this table are mature adults.

	VI	Ok	PQ-X	adults
/veiz /	5.5%	6	32	16
/veis /	5.5	6	0	3.5
/vbz /	72	75	64	70
/væz /	0	6	4	3.5
/vaz /	17	6	0	7

We may note the high incidence of /vaz / on Vancouver Island. Further, /veiz / has a much lower frequency on Vancouver Island and in the Okanagan than in the rest of the province. Only one of eighteen Vancouver Island informants and one of sixteen Okanagan informants gave /veiz /. In the Northern Interior all three informants gave /veiz /. Such small samples cannot provide reliable evidence, yet the indication

of regional difference is certainly there.

This regional variation persists in the student sample, although not to the same extent. The figures are given below.

	Duncan	Vancouver	Hope	students
/veiz/	41%	50	79	50
/veis/	0	4	0	3
/vɒz/	52	45	21	45
/væz/	0	2	0	1
/vaz/	7	0	0	1

When we compare the B.C. figures with those given by Avis for Ontario and by Hamilton for Montreal we see further differences. The Ontario figures are fairly close to those of the B.C. teenagers, except that /veis/ is much more common in Ontario. The Ontario figures, though, are quite far removed from those for the B.C. adults. Montreal again is quite different, yet not completely at variance except for the high incidence of /væz/ and /veis/. The table is given below.

	Montreal	Ontario	B.C. adults	B.C. students
/veiz/	35.3%	49.5	16	50
/veis/	8.4	11	3.5	3
/vɒz/	46.2	38	70	45
/væz/	10.1	1.5	3.5	1
/vaz/	0	0	7	1

When we compare the B.C. adult figures with those for the teen-agers, we get good evidence of a shift in pronunciation habits. As has been noted above there are five main variants for this word. /vʊz / is the British form and is common across Canada. It is the preferred form of most of the adults surveyed in B.C. The regular American pronunciation is /veɪs /. Of relatively minor importance are /væz / and /vɑz /, occurring chiefly in Montreal and Vancouver Island, respectively. One might expect here the development of a classical Canadian situation : a choice between a British variant on the one hand, and an American variant on the other. There is no need to document the number of times this situation has occurred in the history of Canadian English. What is significant here is that in the case of vase the movement away from the British /vʊz / is not in the direction of the American /veɪs /, but to /veɪz /, a hybrid not used in Britain and uncommon in the United States. Does this represent an unconscious desire for a middle-of-the-road solution to this linguistic problem, a need to be un-British, yet a reluctance to be American? Would an unaffiliated variant have been chosen in other polarized situations if it had been available? These questions cannot be answered on the basis of this one item, but these implications deserve consideration.

That such a trend exists is easily demonstrable. The overall adult frequency for /vʊz / is 70%. For the teen-agers it is 45%. The adult frequency for /veɪz / is only 16%, but it has increased in the teen-age group to 50%. We cannot say, of course, that the adults in this case

necessarily represent the parents of the teen-agers studied, since the areas are not the same. Yet we may compare the Vancouver Island informants, who give 72% /vɒz / and 5.5% /veiz /, with the Duncan students, who give 52% /vɒz / and 41% /veiz /.

Further evidence that a movement from /vɒz / to /veiz / is in progress can be found in the distribution of the teen-age responses. I have found invariably that in the responses to any given item the Duncan students tend to choose the more conservative and/or British form, the Vancouver students are always less conservative and less British, and the Hope students always move further in this direction than the Vancouver group. For this kind of item then an ordered progression of figures from Duncan, Vancouver, and Hope reveals a direction of linguistic development. This phenomenon is further discussed in the notes to item 6. Such a progression is evident when the figures for the teen-age responses are examined.

	Duncan	Vancouver	Hope
/veiz /	41%	50	79
/vɒz /	52	45	21

If my hypothesis is correct, /veiz / will become the predominant form in B.C. as /vɒz / weakens.

The American form /veis / is being chosen by very few. The figures seem to show that this form is at least holding its own, but if we look at the students who offered this variant we find that four

of the ten had at least one parent born in the United States. Of the group not using /veis / only 7.6% had a parent born in the United States. The influence of an American parent on the child's choice here seems obvious, and if we discount this factor it seems that /veis / is, if anything, growing weaker.

Besides adding information on this interesting situation vase will also help pin-point areas where /ə / occurs, dialectally a very important feature in B.C.

PCQ 45.1

3. Do you pronounce the first part of apricot to rhyme with cap or cape? Do you normally use any other term for this fruit?

In Victoria seven of nine used /ei / for the initial vowel, one used /æ / and one used both /æ / and /ei /. In the Okanagan 9 gave /ei / and 3 gave /æ /. Seven of the 12 Okanagan informants volunteered cots as the name for this fruit. This is apparently the packing house term for this fruit, and it is not certain whether or not its use extends beyond the area where apricots are a major crop.

PCQ 51.5, 55.7.

4. (a) Does "shone", as in "The sun shone brightly," rhyme with "John" or "Joan"?

(b) Does "lever", as in "Pull the lever",
rhyme with "clever" or "cleaver"?

(c) Does "root", as in "root of a tree",
rhyme with "foot", "boot", or "but"?

(d) Does "soot", as in "chimney soot",
rhyme with "foot", "boot", or "but"?

(e) Does "route", as in "paper route",
rhyme with "shoot" or "shout"?

(a) shone The standard Canadian pronunciation is /ʃɒn/.

For the American /ʃaʊn/ Avis reports an incidence of 3%.
I found 2% and 4% in the Vancouver and Duncan surveys, respectively.

(b) lever The usual Canadian pronunciation is /'lɪvər/.

I found the frequency of the American /'lɛvər/ to be 5% in
Vancouver, 7% in Duncan, and 7% in Hope.

(c) root I have no figures from B.C. for this word, but Hamilton
reports a surprising 20.3% for /rʊt/ in Montreal.

(d) soot The figures available are as follows:

	Ontario	Montreal	Vancouver	Duncan
sut	11	26.5	6	2
svt	77	73.5	71	67
sət	12	-	23	29

(e) route The usual Canadian pronunciation is /rut /, but four of Smith's eleven Okanagan informants and two of Taylor's eight from Vancouver Island gave /rʌt /.

5. Does "schedule" begin with a "sk" as in ski, or a "sh" as in she?

Avis found that 67% of his informants used /'skɛdʒəl / and 33% /'ʃɛdʒəl /. The results in B.C. seem to indicate standardization in favour of /'skɛdʒəl /. In the V.S. 16% used the /ʃ / form, only half the percentage in Ontario. In Duncan, where British forms are more often chosen than in Vancouver, 23% used /ʃ /, a figure still considerably lower than that reported by Avis. In Hope, in a rather small sample of 14, only one person used /ʃ /, a result consistent with the figures of the V.S.

6. Read the following list carefully and mark with an "R" each pair that has a perfect rhyme. Write "NO" by any pair that does not rhyme.

father - bother	leisure - pleasure
marry - merry	merry - mary
caught - cot	bury - furry
aunt - ant	mourning - morning
fairy - ferry	hoarse - horse

In the surveys I have taken among High school students in Vancouver, Duncan, and Hope I found no evidence whatever of phonemic opposition in the following pairs of words : father - bother, caught - cot, aunt - ant, fairy - ferry, mary - merry, hoarse - horse. Since these pairs form contrasts in other parts of Canada and the U.S. it is important to include them, for the older generations may retain contrasts that the young do not. The information gathered here will not be free of error, but it is my experience that the error in this type of question is always in one direction; that is, people will believe they make distinctions where in fact they do not. Any distinctions made in the pairs mentioned should, however, be checked in a follow-up by a fieldworkers.

In reference to the other pairs of words in this question I would like to note first an interesting finding. The responses for many items in the student surveys show an identical pattern : taken as a whole, the Duncan responses tend to be more conservative and more British, the Vancouver responses almost always less so, and the few Hope students tend toward the extreme of any pattern set by Vancouver. In the case

of any feature that is conservative Duncan will have the highest incidence of it, Vancouver will be lower, and Hope lower still; for example, this may be seen in the case of the /æ:ɛ / contrast before / r / in open syllables (as in marry: merry) : 40% of Duncan students retained the contrast, 22% of the Vancouver students, and none of the Hope students. The same pattern is seen in the case of British as opposed to American variants; for example, 51% of Duncan students say /'lɛʒər / compared with 33% in Vancouver and 14% in Hope. The pattern holds for innovations : 46% in Duncan say /'ʃərbət / for sherbet , compared with 63% in Vancouver, and 86% in Hope.

Given this general pattern, the results for the pronunciation of bury prove very interesting indeed. I became aware from the VS that a large number of students pronounced this word /'bəri /, but the pattern for this pronunciation (Duncan 20%, Vancouver 35%, Hope 47%) seems to suggest that it is not, as I had at first thought, a relic that had unaccountably survived but would die out under the pressure of standardization, but on the contrary a form that is growing in acceptance.

A similar situation may be developing with respect to the pronunciation of mourning. The figures are too small to support anything but speculation, but nonetheless the same pattern is evident : in Duncan morning and mourning were pronounced the same by all student, in Vancouver 2% distinguished between the two, using /u / or /ʊ / in mourning, in Hope the figure was 7%. It would be unwise to make predictions, but it is possible that in another twenty years one in ten young

Vancouverites will say /'mʌrniŋ / for mourning.

PCQ 69.3

7. Which of the following words would you choose as a rhyme for rather?

mother, lather, bother, father

In Vancouver and Hope 89% of the students tested said /'ræðər / and 11% said /'rʌðər /. In Duncan 68% used /'ræðər / and 32% /'rʌðər /. This result is very close to what Avis reports for Ontario (67% - 33%). The sample used in Duncan was not large (46) but it is sufficient to indicate a genuine difference between Vancouver Island and the Lower Mainland. Item 6 should clarify a pronunciation rhyming with bother or father.

8. Does the first part of Zebra rhyme with the Feb. of FEBruary or the feeb of FEEble?

In Ontario, according to Avis, the /ɛ / variant of Zebra is as often used as the form with /i /. (/zɛbrə / 48%; /zibrə / 52%) In Vancouver and Duncan only 10% used the /ɛ / form. This 9 to 1 ratio of /i / to /ɛ / may not hold throughout the province, as is indicated by the results from Hope. (The Hope sample was small (14), yet as many (4) used /ɛ / as in Duncan, where the number of informants was 46.

PCQ 49.7; C Ch L 60.4; Cas. K39

9. What do you call the common worm that lives in the ground?
Any special names?

In the Victoria survey all nine informants responding gave worm or earthworm. In Smith's Okanagan group, however, two out of 12 gave earthworm, two gave fishworm, five gave angleworm, and three offered both fishworm and angleworm. As a Vancouver native I found these Okanagan results unexpected, fishworm and angleworm being both quite unfamiliar to me. The figures for Washington State, however, show a frequency of 63% for angleworm and 14% for fishworm. Other frequencies are fishingworm 3%, fish bait 3%, earthworm 1%, worm 16%.

PCQ 49.8; C ChL 60.4; Cas. K39

10. What do you call the large worm of this kind that might be used as fishing bait?

The typically Canadian dew-worm will likely predominate in the coastal area. There is reason to doubt that any special terms at all will be found elsewhere in B.C. Avis reports 97.6% of his responses favoured dew-worm. Other terms such as night-crawler may possibly be found.

PCQ 50.6; C Ch L 60.12; Cas M 24

11. Do you have any other names for the dragon-fly?

There is no need to elicit dragon-fly since it is the standard term and is almost certainly known to everyone. The secondary folk names such as devil's darning needle probably occur in B.C., since Carroll Reed finds instances of both right on the B.C. - U.S. border.

Reed's figures are as follows:

dragon-fly	66%
snake doctor	1
(devil's) darning needle	23
snake feeder	8
mosquito hawk	1
ear sewer	1

C Ch L 21.11 - .12

12. Is the word "go-devil" ever used in your area? If it is, what does it mean?

This question is intended to reinforce item 71, for most of the informants familiar with this term connected it with a sled used for hauling logs. For some it was synonymous with stoneboat. One informant from Saanich, however, referred to a species of clam (known also as the geoduck or goeeyduck) as a go-devil.

D of C : mowitch

13. Is the word "mowitch" used in your area? If so, what does it mean?

Mowitch is borrowed from the Chinook jargon and has some currency, especially among hunters, as a synonym for deer. Its use is centered on the coast but probably extends inland. There is some evidence that the term refers specifically to the Coast or Sitka deer. Since it is only in the South-east part of the province that more than one species co-exists, the distribution of the term may be profitably compared with the distribution of the animal.

D of C : kokanee

14. Do any of the lakes in your region have land-locked salmon in them? If so, what are these fish called? Give the local name.

Obviously the distribution of names will be dependent on the distribution of the fish itself. There does seem, however, to be some regional variation in the names used. The term used by the Interior Salish for this fish is kikinee (D of C) The term in general use throughout the province is kokanee/'kəkəni /. The D of C lists as variants kickininee, redfish, little redfish, silver fish, silver trout. I have elicited kickaninee from the Shuswap and North Okanagan regions and kickanee from Burns Lake. One of the citations from the D of C

for kickininie is also from the Okanagan area.

There are obvious difficulties presented by this item. First, the informant must necessarily realize that the fish referred to is a land-locked salmon. Second, the fish itself changes its appearance from season to season. It is obvious that we must here trust the knowledgeable anglers among the informants for any useable information we get.

D of C : rancherie

15. Do you have any special name for a village or settlement inhabited by Indians, or for an Indian reserve, or for an Indian house?

Rancherie seems to be the term used for Indian settlements or reserves in cattle-country. Ranch(e) and rancheria are other variants. PQ-2 indicates that rancherie is in use in Pemberton and was used in the Harrison-Chilliwack area. This leads one to speculate on whether the term might have come down (or gone up) the old Harrison - Lillooet Trail. Since rancheria used in the sense of Indian settlement is of Spanish - American origin, it is quite possible that the term was brought north by American cattlemen.

16. What is the name used in your area for North American Indians?

Indian is, of course, the standard term, but native occurs in some areas and may in fact be universal in the Terrace area.

PCQ 27.4; C Ch L 31.10; Cas H81

17. What do you call a hole in the road?

Seven of the ten Okanagan informants responding gave pot-hole; the remaining three gave chuck-hole.

PCQ 27.6; C Ch L 31.12; Cas G 54;
D of C : boulevard.

18. What do you call the strip of grass between the sidewalk and the street?

In many B.C. communities either the sidewalk or the strip of grass does not exist, or is a recent improvement. Boulevard will no doubt be found general.

PCQ 63.2; C Ch L 80.4; Cas J 17

19. A person might complain of feeling sick _____ (at, to, in, on, of, from, with) his stomach.

The variants expected here are at, to, and in. To will probably predominate in most parts of B.C., as it does in Ontario and Montreal. Avis and Hamilton give frequencies of 52% and 79% respectively for this variant. At will occur also although not everywhere with the frequency reported by Avis (40%). The few figures I have do suggest that at is preferred in Victoria, four of nine giving this response. Two of seven Okanagan informants also gave at. Two of the nine Victoria informants gave in, a variant apparently given by 8% or less in Ontario, but preferred by 19% of those interviewed in Montreal.

In the U.S. to is associated with the Northern and at with the Southern and Midland regions. In neighbouring Washington the frequencies reported by Reed are as follows : to, 49%; at, 44%; in, 5%. It will be interesting to see if the geographical variation which we may cautiously read into the British Columbia figures will hold when a larger survey is made. It will be interesting also to note whether an age difference will be found when more information is compiled.

PCQ 60.8; C Ch L 76.1; Cas J 45

20. If you were talking about someone who became ill, you might say:
"He _____ and couldn't come."

The Northern got sick is to be expected here, rather than the Midland and Southern took sick or was taken sick.

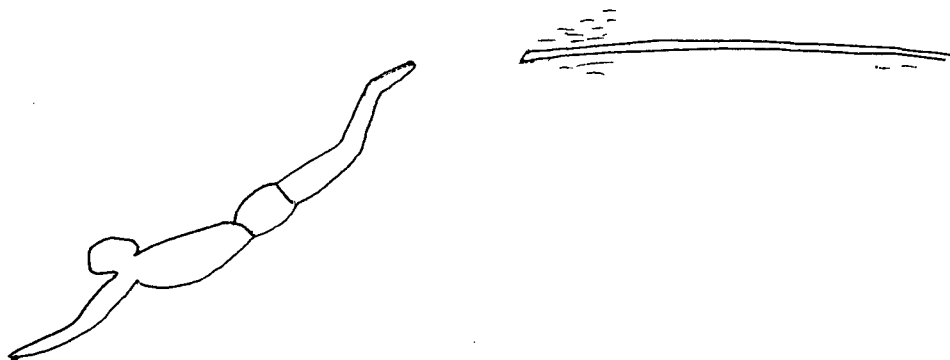
PCQ 65.8; C Ch L 85.6

21. If you were on a bus and it was coming to your stop, you might say, "I want _____ at the next stop."

Kurath states that I want to get off is the standard phrase everywhere in the Eastern United States. (A Word Geography, p. 79) The phrase I want off, which I believe is common in B.C., he describes as "an older English construction" and he suggests that its persistence in the Midland region "may in part be due to German influence (cf. ich will hinaus)." If I want off does occur in B.C. I think we will have to look for a different explanation.

PCQ 71.4; C Ch L 95.8; Cas P 75

22.



When he saw me he _____ into the water. Sometimes he has _____ into the water with his eyes closed.

Dove as the past form of dive is typical of the Northern dialect region. Two-thirds of the Smith and Taylor informants gave dove. The past participle is asked for in the second part of the question because one of the Okanagan informants offered diven ['divən]. If dove is formed by analogy with drove, then the analogy may be carried further, as this informant has done, to driven.

LWS 77.8

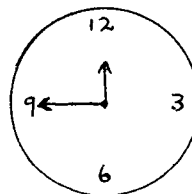
23. A wasp stung him on the palm and his hand _____ up.

My own usage is swoll, and I suspect that this form may rival the standard swelled. If this is indeed the case, the data will have to be analysed for class as well as regional factors.

PCQ 4.4; C Ch L 4.6; Cas D 50

24.

It's quarter _____ twelve.



Quarter to is probably universal in B.C., but in view of this item's importance in differentiating dialects in the U.S., this supposition should be confirmed.

Reed reports frequencies of 81% for to, 12% for of , and 5% for till.

PCQ 35.4; Cas P 11

25. If you were travelling along a road and then found that it was blocked, you might say, "This is _____ we can go."

This item is intended to find instances of all the father as opposed to the standard as far as. Since all the father is considered substandard it will be difficult to elicit. A trained fieldworker may be able to find this usage in the unguarded speech of an informant who would not volunteer it for a postal questionnaire.

Cas I 7

26. What does a man wear over his shoulders to hold up his pants?

Avis reports 81.5% of his informants gave braces, while 18.5% gave suspenders. Hamilton reports 41.8% for braces and 58.2% for suspenders.

PCQ 73.4; C Ch L 98.2; Cas G 28

27. She _____ the groceries home by herself.

Would you use any other word besides carried in the above sentence - for example, toted, lugged, packed, or hiked?

Are there any of these words that you would definitely not use?
Would you use any words besides these?

I have not allowed carried as a variant here since it will probably be used by all, and I do not want it to influence the choice of the other variants. The question allows the use of negative information; i.e., that certain variants are not used.

People from other parts of Canada continually remark on the British Columbian's use of packed in such contents as above. Many of the non-native informants of PQ-1 commented on this use. It is possible that this usage goes back to a time, perhaps not that far back in many communities, when the necessities of a settler's life had to be literally packed in from the outside world on the back of a horse, mule, or human. Lugged will also occur here; in fact, half of Smith's Okanagan group gave this variant. This in itself suggests the possibility of regional variation.

28. "Yesterday he really annoyed me. I was so mad I could have hit him right now."

Would you ever use right now in this way? Do you know anyone who would?

This usage is reported in North Pine, a community settled largely by people from Saskatchewan. I myself have heard it in Vancouver from a person raised in Saskatchewan. It may be difficult to elicit this usage through a direct question since it would probably be recognized as non-standard even by those who use it. It is so unusual a construction, though, that if it is widely used it should be reported by third persons, and a follow-up study can be made.

PCQ 56.1

29. What do you call the man who delivers letters to your house?

Useful in urban areas only, since mail delivery is not universal. Preliminary information seems to show that postman predominates in the Victoria area, while mailman is the preferred term in the Lower Mainland and in the Okanagan.

PCQ 20.5; C Ch L 23.9

30. What is the name of the common non-electric lamp that has a glass chimney and a wick? What is the name of the fuel it uses?

What is primarily wanted in the second part is coal oil versus kerosene. The term kerosene, though coined by a Canadian (Dr. Abraham Gesner), is not as common as the U.S. Midland coal oil. In fact all twelve Okanagan informants gave coal oil. In Taylor's Vancouver Island survey also, all informants used coal oil; some may also use kerosene, but since the question was improperly asked this is uncertain.

Reed records a frequency of 57% for kerosene, 43% for coal oil.

Cas H 101

31. What do you call the vehicle that you wheel small children around in, sitting up?

The variants possible here include stroller, go-cart, and push-cart. See item 34.

PCQ 71.8; C Ch L 96.2; Cas G 32

32. If you are talking about a baby's way of moving along the floor before it is old enough to walk, you might say:

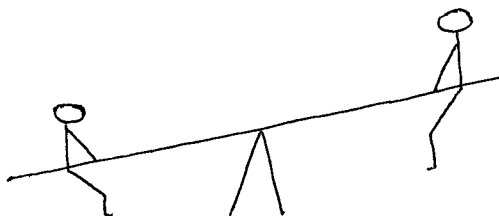
"Is the baby _____ yet?"

Taylor's Victoria group all gave crawl, and my own subjective opinion as a Vancouver native is that creep is totally alien. However,

five of the ten Okanagan informants responding to this question gave creep. The Northern American term is creep, and the Midland and Southern is crawl. No figures are available for Washington state.

PCQ 18.8; C Ch L 22.8

33. What do you call the piece of playground equipment illustrated below?

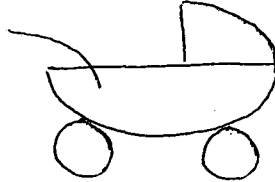


The variant that predominates in B.C. is teeter-totter. In the Okanagan, however, only six of the twelve who answered this question offered teeter-totter. The others gave either see-saw or teeter. The Vancouver Island records show that of five informants actually born in Vancouver or Nanaimo all used or had used see-saw. Of three other Vancouver Island residents born elsewhere two used teeter-totter. On the Lower Mainland see-saw is a purely literary term. Obviously this item will demonstrate a geographical variation.

The Washington frequencies are as follows: see-saw 14; teeter(ing) board 3; teeter-totter 83.

PCQ 53.7; C Ch L 64.9; Cas H 101

34. What do you call the vehicle that you wheel babies around in?



In the Okanagan baby carriage and baby buggy were equally popular. In Victoria the situation was the same with the difference that a large proportion used both terms. However, a significant number also offered pram as a second choice. I suspect that variation in this item may result from socio-economic and age factors as well as geography.

In Washington the frequencies reported are 13% for baby carriage, and 80% for the Midland baby buggy. Reed also reports 7% for go-cart, a variant I am not willing to accept until I know certainly that it does not refer to the vehicle in which the child rides seated. (see item 31)

LWS 83.3

35. If children are regularly dismissed from school at three o'clock, you might say, "School _____ at three."

The term I am familiar with in the Vancouver area is gets out,

which Kurath confines to New York City and its environs

(A Word Geography, p. 79). Lets out is apparently the usual form in most of the Eastern United States but other variants, such as turns out, breaks, breaks up, leaves out, closes, and goes out are also found.

PCQ 63.8; C Ch L 82.5; Cas J 76

36. Is the practice of noisily serenading a newly-married couple familiar in your part of the country? What do you call this activity? Is it still done?

The term used for this activity in Canada is usually chivaree /,ʃɪvəˈri /. From PQ-1 it seems that chivarees are, or were, familiar in many communities throughout the province. Most of the informants state that the custom died out thirty, forty, fifty or even sixty years ago. Others say that the chivaree degenerated into a game of blackmail practised by the children of the area. There is some indication, though, that the custom is still carried on in some of the smaller communities of the province. It is interesting that some informants, though familiar with the chivaree, say that it was never practised in their locality; while other informants from the same region state that it did occur in their community. My information is that chivarees were common on the prairies, particularly Alberta, and in parts of Ontario. Settlement patterns may help to explain the term's haphazard occurrence in B.C.

Reed in Washington reports a frequency of 97% for chivaree.

Cas J 72

37. Which of the given alternatives would you most likely use in the following sentence.

If a mother were going away, she might say: "Will you _____ the baby while I'm gone."

mind
tend
look after
sit with
take care of
babysit
watch

Are there any of these alternatives that you would not use?

The first two alternatives are of most interest here. I know from personal experience that mind is common in McBride but rare in Vancouver.

D.of C : apartment block

38. What would you call a set of rooms rented out in a private home?
What would you call a set of rooms rented out in a building that had many such sets of rooms?
What would you call such a building?

Professor Gregg has suggested that suite and apartment block may have a much wider distribution in B.C. than in other regions of Canada.

PCQ 9.2; C Ch L 10.8 - .9

39. What do you call the platform at the front of a house that the steps are attached to?

Would these different kinds have the same name?

- a) a simple platform with two or three steps.
- b) a platform with a railing and some kind of roof.
- c) a covered platform extending along the front of the house.

This is a difficult item to test in a postal questionnaire. The only test I have run on this item so far was in the DS, and no attempt was made to differentiate types of porch. The main variants occurring in the DS were porch and verandah. Stoop also occurred. Other variants looked for by the Pacific Coast Questionnaire are gallery and piazza. The variants may or may not be prefixed by front.

PCQ 9.3; C Ch L 10.8

40. What do you call the platform at the back of the house that the steps are attached to?

Would these different kinds have the same name?

- a) a simple platform with two or three steps.
- b) a platform with a railing and some kind of roof.

The variants expected are porch, verandah, and stoop, each one possibly prefixed by back.

41. Do you have a name for a platform near the back door that makes it easier to reach the clothesline?

I am concerned here to discover the what extent stoop has been extended to this structure.

PCQ 10.4; C Ch L 11.7; Cas B 74

42. What do you call the channel at the edge of the roof that carries away rain water? (not the pipe that runs to the ground).

Gutters and eaves troughs are expected here but there are other variants.

Caroll Reed reports the following frequencies in Washington:

gutters	28%
eaves troughs	38
eaves spouts	1
spouts, spouting	2
drain pipes	15
eaves	10

Cas B 75; W 5.1

43. What do you call the pipe that takes the water from the channel at the edge of the roof to the ground?

Downspout, downpipe, drain pipe, and eaves spout are all possibilities here.

PCQ 16.1; C Ch L 18.7; Cas B 35.

44. What do you call the handle on the water pipe at the kitchen sink that turns the water on or off?

Tap is to be expected but faucet may occur in some areas.

WW faucet 91; spicket 2; spigot 1; tap 6 96, 2, 1

An isogloss drawn from this item would very likely follow the U.S. - Canadian border quite closely. Kurath states that "faucet . . . is in regular use among all social groups in the north", (A Word Geography, p. 15) and this is borne out in the figures collected by Drake for Ohio where 92% used faucet and less than 3% used tap. On the Canadian side the situation is reversed. Avis reports 94.5% for tap and only 5.5% for faucet in Ontario. Hamilton found 90% using tap and 10% using faucet in his Montreal study. The correspondence I found between the Duncan students and Avis's group is quite remarkable. The

figures for the Okanagan are also very close to those reported by Avis, even though a group of twelve is not large enough to yield reliable results. The figures, arranged to conform to Avis's presentation, are as follows:

	<u>tap</u>	<u>tap</u> only	<u>faucet</u> only	both
Ontario (Avis)	94.5%	89.5%	5.5%	5%
Duncan	93	88	7	5
Okanagan (Smith)	92	75	8	17

I should note, however, that some of the Duncan students who offered faucet were not raised in B.C., and none of them had parents native to this province. In the Okanagan group as well, two of the three giving faucet did not come to the area until they were five, one living previously in the U.S. and the other in Quebec. The present questionnaire should reveal whether a "purer" group of informants will give noticeably different results.

A further point of interest here is that while tap apparently predominates across Canada, the trade term for this fixture is faucet.

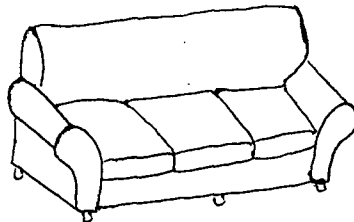
PCQ 6.3; C Ch L 7.7; Cas B 64

45. What do you call the room in your house where you would entertain guests (not the kitchen)? Have you ever called it anything else?

Living room is now the dominant form in B.C. PQ-1 and the DS suggest that it was not always so. Many informants report that their parents or they themselves as children used such terms as front room, sitting room, drawing room, or parlour. Front room is the only remaining rival to living room and it too seems to be losing ground. I myself have been converted over the last ten years from front room to living room. It might be noted, however, that of the Duncan students questioned 7.5% still used sitting room or drawing room and 15% front room.

PCQ 7.4; C Ch L 9.1; Cas B 84

46. What do you call the upholstered piece of furniture made for three or four people to sit on?



What name would you give to a piece of furniture like this that would open out into a bed? Are there any other pieces of furniture that are similar but are given different names? What are they called and how are they different?

Chesterfield is, of course, a distinctive Canadianism. Certain variants do, occur, however, even in furniture advertisements. It will be useful to know whether variations in usage are tied to differences in the object itself, or whether there is perhaps a regional variation.

Sofa, couch, settee, and lounge have all occurred sporodically in the surveys made.

PCQ 7.7; C Ch L 9.2-.3; Cas B 52

47. Which of the following names would you give to the tall piece of furniture containing drawers, used for keeping clothing in.

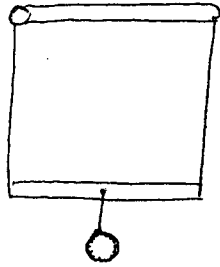
chest of drawers
bureau
drawers
dresser
high boy
low boy
chester drawers
chiffonier
chest
stand
other . . .

If you use more than one of these names, would there be any difference in meaning?

I have chosen this form because it seems the only way of getting Chester drawers, the term I use myself. All these variants were elicited in the DS. Stand is included because, although I have encountered it nowhere else, one student in Duncan insisted on it as a legitimate usage.

PCQ 7.6; C Ch L 9.5; Cas B 87

48. What do you call the kind of covering you roll down over a window?

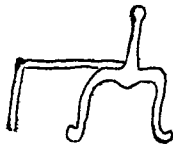


The term predominant in B.C. will very likely prove to be that used in the U.S. Midland dialect area; i.e., blind.

Avis reports a frequency of 94.5% for blinds and 5.5% for shades in Ontario. Hamilton's figures for Montreal are 84.5% for blinds and 15.5% for shades. The few figures I have gathered for B.C. indicate a probable frequency of over 90% for blinds. This shows a contrast with most areas of the U.S., and certainly with the neighbouring state of Washington, where Reed reports a frequency of 61% for shades, 2% for curtains, and 37% for blinds.

PCQ 6.6; C Ch L 8.9; B 78

49. What would you call the metal supports used to hold logs in a fireplace?



In the DS I found that fire dog was the preferred term (20 out of 48), and that the term andiron, which Kurath tells us is the usual

expression in the Northern dialect area of the U.S., was used by only 6% of the students (3 out of 48). There were other variants: dog-irons, dogs, fire-irons, (used by 7 of 48 and not mentioned by Kurath). Occurring also were grate, fire-grate, grid, grid-iron, and grill. These latter variants may be the result of confusion about the question, since ordinarily a grate is quite distinct from an andiron.

It is interesting to note the difference between the frequencies given for Washington and California, and those for Duncan. Fire dogs was not found in either state, and andirons was the preferred term (76% in Washington and 68% in Calif.) Other variants listed by Reed were dog-irons (4% in Washington and 2% in Calif.) fire-irons, and log-irons (1% each in Washington, but not occurring in Calif.)

PCQ 19.4; C Ch L 23.1a

50. What do you call the metal container used for scooping up and carrying coal?

Coal scuttle and coal hod are to be expected with the possibility of other variants.

PCQ 19.8; C Ch L 20.9; Cas B 38

15. What do you call the older type of iron (non-electric) used for pressing clothes?

Flat iron will probably be found extensively throughout the province, but I noted sad iron at Hope, and at Vernon in the Okanagan.

PCQ 14.5; C Ch L 17.6; Cas B 1

52. What do you call a long handled, shallow pan used for frying?
Have you ever called it anything else?

Frying pan is the standard now, but such terms as skillet and spider had currency in the past and may well still occur. The American variant fry pan may also be found.

PCQ 15.6

53. Do you normally pronounce barrel to rhyme with Carl or Carol?

I have heard the pronunciation / bɑrəl / from Canadians, though I am not sure in each case of their province of origin.¹ This pronunciation is of sufficient interest to test for it even though it may be quite rare. A rhyme with Carol will not, of course, give the exact pronunciation of barrel since many British Columbians neutralize the phonemic opposition of / ɛ / and / æ / before / r / in an open syllable and so would have / 'bɛrəl / rhyming with / 'kɛrəl /. Others would rhyme / 'bæɾəl / with / 'kæɾəl /.

1. One of the Okanagan informants, a lady, 91 years old at the time of the survey (1966), gave this pronunciation.

PCQ 42.3

54. Do you pronounce the word pour (as in "pour the tea") to rhyme with for or tour?

I found in Vancouver that 16% of the people questioned gave [pʰər] or [pʊr] , thus making a distinction between pour and pore [pɔr] .

PCQ 40.7; C ChL 47.9; Cas C 58

55. When milk is just at the point of becoming sour, you say: "the milk is _____." or "the milk has _____."

The expected forms here are turned, blinky, tainted, and on the turn.

PCQ 40.8; C Ch L 47.4 ; Cas C 60

56. What do you call the porridgy white cheese made from sour milk, often eaten with a fork?

Do you have any other names for it.

Cottage cheese is the trade name for this product and will no doubt be universally known in B.C. The second part of this question may elicit earlier variants. This item has been very important in delineating

original settlement areas in the Eastern U.S. Among Smith's Okanagan informants, who were mostly quite old, four of twelve used, or had previously used, curds as well as cottage cheese.

Reed reports the following frequencies for Washington:

cottage cheese	71%
Dutch cheese	17
smearcase	7
curds	1
clabber cheese	1

Cas C 76

57. When you are going to prepare fruit and seal it into jars for use over the winter, you say you are going to _____ some fruit. Would you use any other words?

One would expect can to be general throughout the province. There are several other possible variants which may be elicited here: put up, put down, do, do down. It will be interesting to see if the Ontario pack will also be found.

Cas B 11

58. When you tell someone to prepare the table for a meal, you say: " _____ the table."

Set, lay, and spread are the expected responses.

59. What do you call the pudding, ice, cream, fruit, or pie served at the end of a meal?

Dessert is to be expected here, but some incidence of sweet is what is looked for, particularly from older informants.

Cas C 2

60. What are the main meals of the day called and when do you eat them? Do you have names for light meals eaten at other times - before going to bed, for example?

The first meal of the day is probably universally breakfast. The mid-day meal may be lunch, luncheon(s), or dinner. The meal eaten at the end of the day is dinner or supper. The latter part of the question is intended to elicit lunch, which is used by ~~some~~ settlers from the prairies to mean a light meal before bedtime. Any instances of snack here will probably be disregarded since this term will be elicited in another question.

PCQ 14.3; C Ch L 17.4

61. What do you call the metal container used for carrying sandwiches, etc., to school or work.

(a) the kind used by workmen?

(b) the kind used by schoolchildren?

The response here will probably be a compound word with two elements. The first element will likely be lunch or dinner, and the second element pail, bucket, box, or kit.

In Victoria Taylor's informants divided evenly between lunch pail and lunch box. Smith's Okanagan group did not give lunch box, their responses being divided evenly instead among lunch pail, lunch bucket, and lunch kit.

This item may provide indirect information on pail and bucket, since these will not at this point be investigated further. It was intended originally to test pail and bucket but the results of PQ-1 suggest that it would not be worth the effort. Pail seems to be used for a metal container, and bucket for a wooden one. In combination the preferred use is milk pail and water bucket. All possible deviations from these patterns, however, are used. It would seem from the way many informants qualify their choices that bucket was once in more general use, but that pail has now taken over as the general name for this kind of container. Old associations and collocations, however, still persist, and people who would normally say pail would use a bucket for water from a well, or for slops, or for coal. The reason pail has taken over may be that a metal-wood distinction obtained in the past and the metal container has, of course, replaced the wooden variety. In any case, the variations from what now seems to be standard follow no apparent pattern, and the responses

given are mostly very hesitant. While it is possible that further information would clarify matters I do not think that at this point further investigation would be profitable, particularly since one would have to find out which variants were associated with which particular uses of the container.

PCQ 24.4; C Ch L 29.1

62. What do you call the padded covering that you put on top of your blankets for warmth at night? If there is more than one type, give the name or names and say what the difference is.

PCQ 24.3; C Ch L 28.9; Cas B 93

63. What do you call the removable covering for a bed pillow?

Pillow case and pillow slip are both common with some possibility of pillow cover occurring.

PCQ 24.2; C Ch L 28.8; Cas B 90

64. What do you call the fancy cloth put over a bed for decoration?

bed-spread is the standard term, but spread, coverlet, coverlid may occur. Bed-throw, apparently used for a cloth rather than a fur

cover, is mentioned from Alberta in the D of C.

PCQ 15.4; C Ch L 18.14

65. What do you call the piece of cloth you use for washing your face?

Wash cloth, wash rag, face cloth may all occur here.

PCQ 15.3; C Ch L 18.4; Cas B 19

66. What do you call the piece of cloth you dry dishes with?

dish towel, tea towel, dry rag, cup towel expected here. There may be some correlation with the previous item.

PCQ 15.3

67. If you were going to help someone with the dishes you might say:

"You wash and I'll _____."

On the Pacific Coast Questionnaire the directions to the fieldworker for the item dish towel are / for wiping dishes/. It is interesting that fieldworkers for the Pacific Coast should be given instructions in terms that I would consider dialectal. It should be worthwhile to see if wipe does occur on the Canadian side of the border.

PCQ 15.2; Cas B 17

68. What do you call the piece of cloth you use for washing dishes?

dish rag and dish cloth expected.

PCQ 8.6

69. If someone couldn't find the broom because the door was in front of it, you might say: " I think it's _____ the door."

This item is intended to check the incidence of the American back of and in back of. Results so far, however, show that behind is the only term used.

D of C : dugout

70. In some areas farmers or ranchers make excavations on their land to hold the spring run-off and rain so that they'll have water for themselves or their stock later in the year. Do you know if this is done in your area? If it is, what are such excavations called?

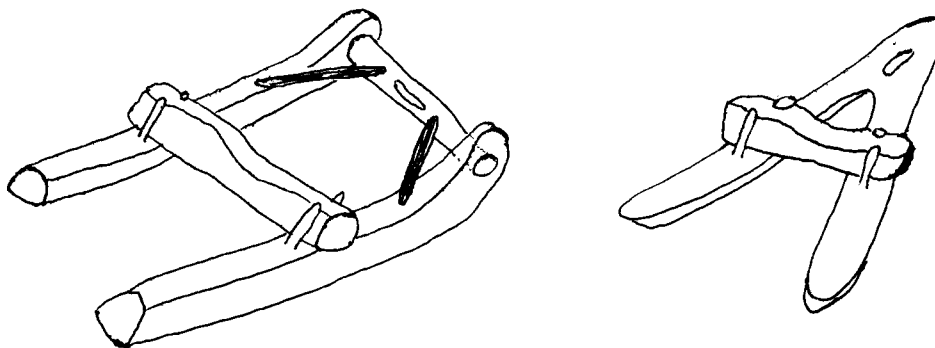
Dugout is the general term given by the DC for such an excavation in the Prairie provinces, and it is the only term I have encountered in

B.C. The D.C. also reports pothole and dam in use on the prairies and scoop-out in B.C. I have, however, been unable to authenticate this last term in B.C. The results of PQ-2 suggest that dugout is quite restricted in its distribution inside B.C. For example, it seems to occur in the Windermere and Peace River areas (Prairie influence?) and on the Saanich Peninsula. It is, however, apparently unknown in the other areas of the province investigated.

Another use of dugout as an excavation for fruits and vegetables also occurs, and will be investigated separately in item _____.

C Ch L 21.11 - .12

71. Are you familiar with a crude kind of sled used for hauling logs, similar to the ones illustrated below? If you are, what would you call it? Do you know of any other devices for hauling logs?



The device shown in this item will be known to comparatively few people. Where it is familiar it will probably be known as a go-devil.

Sometimes an even cruder make-shift version of this already primitive implement is called a school-marm; school-marm is a logging term meaning a forked tree.

D of C : sloop

72. Are you familiar with the kind of long platform without wheels that is used for dragging loads of hay in from the fields? If you are, what would you call it? Can you add anything to the description given?

PQ-2 indicates that sloop is used in the Upper Arrow Lake and Shuswap Lake regions. It may also be used in the Cariboo. The D of C reports sleigh-rack in the Cariboo. Both terms are probably quite limited in their distribution.

PCQ 18.3; C Ch L 21.8; Cas E 57

73. Are you familiar with the kind of low wooden sled used for hauling stones from fields?

Stoneboats are still in use in most areas of the province, although they are not everywhere used for the same purpose. Stoneboats are apparently used for hauling milk cans in the Fraser Valley, apple boxes in the Okanagan, and Christmas trees in the Kootenays. Other variants,

known in the U.S. but not yet encountered here, are stone sled, drag sled, drag, and stone drag. The extension of stoneboat to the less common sloop and go-devil is a possibility.

Reed's figures for Washington are as follows:

stoneboat	51%
sled	37
drag	7
stone drag	4

PCQ 29.2; C Ch L 33.4; Cas F 22-23

74. When referring to a bull, do you have any special words that might be used particularly by farmers, or by women, or that perhaps might be used only in the presence of women?

Kurath and other investigators have found that the older members of some communities will not use the word "bull" in mixed company. The euphemisms replacing "bull" conform to regional patterns of distribution. The people of B.C. may at one time have been puritanical enough to use similar euphemisms. There is no present evidence to indicate whether or not this was so.

PCQ 29.7; C Ch L 33.20; Cas F 30

75. When referring to a stallion, do you have any special words that

might be used particularly by farmers, or by women, or that might be used in the presence of women?

PCQ 32,33, 34,36; C Ch L 36.2-.3-.4;
Cas F 19,40.

76. Cats "purr" and chickens "cluck". What noise does a horse make at feeding time?

What would you call the noise a cow makes at feeding time?

What would you call the noise a calf makes when it is being weaned?

Oddly enough the sounds animals make vary from region to region. In the North and Midland most cows moo, while in the South they low. Horses whinny in most areas of the North and Midland, but nicker or whicker in the South.

The figures from Washington State are as follows:

horses: whinny 68% , whinner 3%, nicker 16%

cows : moo 61%, low 15%, loo 3%.

Calves: bellow or beller 10%, bawl 3%

PCQ 34.8; C Ch L 39.9-.10

77. What would you call a rope with a loop, used for catching animals?

A lariat, lasso, lassoo, reata or _____?

PCQ 18.1 ; Cas E 56

78. If a farmer had only a partial load of hay on his wagon, you would say he had a _____.

The term jag is familiar to many with a rural background, nine of the Okanagan informants, and two of the Vancouver Island group offering it.

79. Years ago a person might have kept his horse from wandering when it was left by tying or chaining it to a flat-bottomed metal weight like the one in the illustration. Do you know what such a weight was called?



This item is based on information from a column in Weekend Magazine (No. 3, 1967; p.23) by Doyle Klyn. The column revealed a profusion of local names, still apparently accessible in Ontario. This "tie-weight" may or may not have been used in B.C., if it was, the distribution of variants should show whether or not it will be a useful questionnaire item here and in the rest of Canada.

PCQ 34.6; C Ch L 39.4; Cas F 32

80. What do you call the horse on a driver's left hand in a team?

What about the horse on the right hand?

There are many variants for this item, the most important of which in the U.S. are near-horse and nigh-horse. Interestingly enough, my father, who learned his farming terms in Alberta, used wheel-horse, which (in the Eastern U.S.) occurs only in the Piedmont of Virginia.

PCQ 29.4; C Ch L 33.8; Cas F 10-11

81. If your cow were going to have an offspring and start producing milk again you might say: " Daisy is going to _____. " Would you have a special name for such a cow?

To spring or freshen will be found alongside the more general calve or have a calf. In the Fraser Valley the cow would be a springer, but whether this is purely a market term confined to an area where dairying is an important industry, or whether it also occurs in other farming areas is something that this question will help to determine.

Cas F 52

82. What would you call (a) a young pig
(b) a half-grown pig
(c) a full grown pig.

Rural informants may have special terms, such as weaner, or weanling for a young pig, and shoat for a half-grown pig.

PCQ 12.6; C Ch L 14.7; Cas E 12,14

83. What would you call a temporary small heap of hay in a field?

The two most important terms in the Eastern U.S. are cock and shock.

Avis reports 83.7% of his Ontario informants using stook and only 16.3% using shock. He makes no mention of cock. It might be noted however, that the D of C does not cite a meaning for stook that would be comparable to shock, described by Kurath as "a temporary small heap of hay in the meadow" (A Word Geography, p.54) That stook does occur in Canada with this meaning seems certain. Many of the Duncan students when asked about hay stacks offered stook, possibly not realizing that the term for the larger hay structure was wanted. Furthermore, three of Smith's 16 from the Okanagan and one of the four Vancouver Island informants interviewed by Taylor gave stook. The figures available, then, based on this very small sample (20) are as follows: hay cock, cock, cock of hay, 50%; coil, coil of hay 25%; stook 20%; hay rick 5%. The occurrence of coil is most interesting since it apparently is not found in the U.S. On the other hand, the two main variants found in Washington - hay tumble and hay shock - have not been found in B.C.

PCQ 12.5; C Ch L 14.5, 14.7 a-b;
Cas E 12, 14.

84. Would you have a name for a large stack of hay outdoors? Would you have different names for different types of stack?

Hay stack is the standard term but rick is widely used in the Southern U.S. and is found occasionally on the West Coast, the frequency reported in both Washington and California being about 2% (Reed, "Washington Words"). One Okanagan informant gave hay rick for hay cock. Since this informant was a woman, a confusion between types of hay piles is possible; the fact that the term rick was familiar enough to offer, however, suggests that its occurrence may be substantiated by other informants.

PCQ 12.4; C Ch L 14.5; Cas E 61

85. What do you call the upper part of the barn where hay is stored?
Are there any other places where hay would be stored?

Information on this item is available only from Vancouver Island and the Okanagan. The terms in use in these regions are loft and hay loft. Two Okanagan informants gave hay mow. One person replying to PQ-1 suggested that mow /maʊ/ is in general use in the Upper Arrow region. I suspect that some people may call the hay itself, wherever stored, the

mow. This possibility will be tested in item 86.

Carol Reed reports a frequency of 39% for mow or hay mow in Washington State. It would be interesting to determine whether the American occurrences of mow and hay mow were found in the areas contiguous to the Okanagan and Arrow Lakes areas of B.C.

PCQ 12.4; C Ch L 14.5; Cas E 61

86. Would you give a name to the hay stored in a barn or elsewhere?

See item 85.

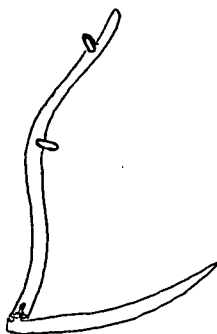
87. Would you pronounce corral to rhyme with pal or pail? (or possibly tell?)

Dr. McConnell attests / kə'reil / and / kreil / at Burns Lake.

Cas E 37

88. Does the name for the long-handled tool with the long blade used for cutting grass rhyme with "tie", "tide", or "tithe"?

Would you give it any other name?



11 of 36 PQ-1 informants (31%) gave /sæ/ as their normal pronunciation of scythe. Most of the /sæ/ responses were concentrated in the Vancouver Island - Lower Mainland region. Here 9 out of 25 used /sæ/, which is quite remarkable, considering that many of the informants of this area were from urban centres. This question, needless to say, will not elicit any distinctions between /sæx/ and /sniθ/.

PCQ 44.6; C Ch L 54.2; Cas M 92

89. In the middle of a peach you always find a peach _____.

Pit is the form used in the Northern dialect area of the United States, while seed is the Southern or Midland term. Stone is general in all areas. Of the Okanagan informants responding three gave pit, and eleven stone.

PCQ 44.5; C Ch L 54.1; Cas M 90

90. In the middle of a cherry you always find a cherry _____.

Pit is the form used in the Northern dialect area of the United States, while seed is the Southern and Midland term. Stone is general in all areas. Of the Okanagan informants responding eleven gave pit and one gave stone.

Cas 04

91. Using a forked stick to find water in the ground is called _____.

What do you call the forked stick?

What do you call the person who finds water in such a way?

Water divining is a folk practice of considerable antiquity and it would be tempting to expand this item to gain more information about its use in B.C. But such information would not be of linguistic concern. One problem arises with this item. I know that the term dowse, when used, may occur as / dāvz / or / dōuz /. Obviously I cannot ask for the pronunciation of dowse at this point without prejudicing the answer. I have therefore decided to ask for the pronunciation of dowse, if it is used, later in the questionnaire, (item 99), and hope that it will not interfere with the results of the above question.

C Ch L 29.17; Cas A 57,60;
D of C : Slough.

92. Is there a "slough" in your area?

How would you describe it? (Is it connected with a river, a lake, or the ocean; is it a body of water, or marshy land; does it flow: does its appearance change with the seasons; is it man-made, etc.) Would you pronounce it to rhyme with Sue, or cow? If neither, how do you pronounce it?

This is one of the most important items in the questionnaire. The pronunciation /s/ʌ/ apparently separates the West (the prairie provinces and B.C) from the East, where /s/ɔv/ predominates.

It has been suggested that slough in Eastern Canada is purely a book term and is not actually used. The pronunciation /s/ɔv/ is then literary and does not constitute a genuine contrast with the Western /s/ʌ/. Nonetheless, the fact, if it so proves, that the term is used in the West and not in the East is obviously important in itself.

Although the pronunciation part of this question should produce nothing but /s/ʌ/ I have retained it because the tape of one Vancouver Island informant yielded a very distinct and tantalizing [sɛʷʰʌ]. The meaning of the word varies within B.C. In some places it is used in the prairie sense of a small body of water fed only by the spring run-off and drying up later in the season. In other places a slough is filled by the rising waters of a river or lake at high water. In the Fraser Valley a slough

may be an old channel of a river, probably stagnant, even though still connected to the main stream. In coastal areas a tidal marsh may be called a slough. It seems likely from PQ -1 that slough will be very useful in differentiating areas within the province.

D of C : butte

93. Do you use the word "butte" in your area? If so, what is meant by it?

The DC reports, on rather slender evidence, that in the Northeast corner of B.C. and the North West Territories a butte is a low, rounded rock mountain. It would be interesting to verify this meaning and also to check the use of the word in the more usual sense.

D of C : bluff

94. Do you use the word "bluff" in your area? If so, what does it mean? - a cliff-like bank on the edge of a river or lake, a grove of trees, or something else?

This item is intended to find out if the Prairie meaning of bluff (a grove of trees) has entered the province.

D of C : skookumchuk

95. Is the word "skookumchuk" used in your area? If it is, does it mean
- a) river rapids
 - b) tidal rapids
 - c) the ocean
 - d) something else _____

In the Chinook Jargon skookum meant "big" or "strong", and "chuk" meant "water". According to two knowledgeable informants from PQ-2, skookumchuk was used for either "river rapids" or "the ocean". To avoid confusion saltchuk replaced skookumchuk in this latter meaning. Apparently skookumchuk still occurs for rapids, either river or tidal. cf. Skookumchuck Creek north of Kimberley, and Skookumchuck Narrows at the end of Sechelt Inlet.

PCQ 24.8; C Ch L 30.6; Cas A 53

96. Which of the following names would you use for a watercourse smaller than a river:

crick
stream
brook
creek
rill
run
other names _____.

The term crick is probably still in use in most parts of the province, in spite of efforts by school teachers to root it out. Whether or not informants will admit to using this less approved form of creek is open to question. However the question may also turn up some variants not yet suspected.

D of C : saltchuck

97. Is there any word you would normally use for salt-water besides "ocean"?

The word very common in coastal areas is salt-chuck. Most British Columbians are familiar with this word and many of them will use it in a jocular manner. It is evident, however, that the term is actually part of the normal speech of many people.

D of C : snye

98. Is there anything in your area that would be called a "snye"?
How would you describe it?

This word apparently has some currency in the North, where it can refer to any slow-moving side-channel of a river. If it is so used anywhere in B.C. it may form a contrast with a similar use of slough.

Cas 04

99. Do you know the term "dowse" meaning to find water with a forked stick? If you do, would you rhyme it with "cows" or "toes"?

See item 91.

100. Would you have a name for a bus or truck that picks up men and takes them to a job somewhere?

Crummy seems to be used in B.C. wherever such a service exists. According to Randall V. Mills this term is also used in Oregon. ("Oregon Speechways," AS, XXV (1950), 83)

I have put together an etymology for the word; crummy or crumby, originally, and still in one sense, - "lousy" (Hobo slang); the term was applied to train cabooses or railway work-crew bunk cars because they were invariably lice-infested. It was extended to the railway cars (generally refitted box cars or cabooses) used to transport the men to the work site. Apparently railway speeders were also sometimes called crummies. It seems likely that the present use of crummy to mean a bus or truck that takes men to work derives more from a similarity in function to these older "crummies" than from a similarity in condition.

PCQ 57.7

101. Does the first part of either rhyme with my or me?

The figures for this item are as follows:

	Okanagan(Smith)	Vancouver Is.(Taylor)	Duncan	Vancouver	Hope
'iɣər	75% (9)	33% (3)	59%	66%	79%
'æɣər	25% (3)	67% (6)	41%	34%	21%

The number of informants from the Okanagan and Vancouver Island regions is too small to give reliable results yet the frequencies obtained do suggest a geographical variation. The figures from the student surveys again show the pattern discussed in item 6. Whether these indicate a trend from /æ/ to /i/ will be shown when more responses from adult informants are gathered.

E 76; D of C : root house

102. What do you call the place where you store carrots, turnips, potatoes, etc. over the winter. Is it under the house or outside?

The common terms are root cellar, vegetable cellar, and root house. The D of C cites root house as a Canadianism. When I was enquiring about dug out (see item 70) in PQ-2, two informants offered the above meaning.

103. Is the term "potlatch" used in your area? If so, what does it mean?

An informant from PQ-1 attests the use of this word by young people at Ganges to mean "a normal get-together at a beach party".

C Ch L 10.1

104. In some older houses there is a small room off the kitchen that is used to store food and equipment. What is it called?

Pantry and buttery are the expected responses.

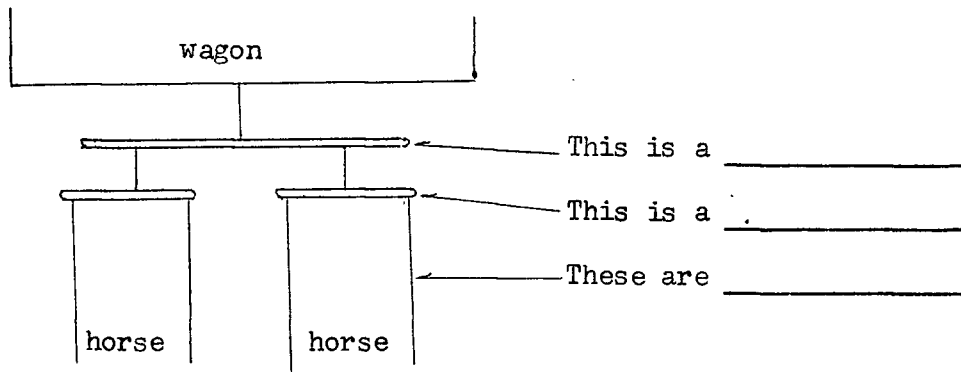
PCQ 41.6; C Ch L 48.4; Cas C 13

105. What do you call food eaten between meals or before going to bed?

The variants expected here are snack, bite, piece and lunch.
See item 60.

PCQ 17.6; C Ch L 21.2; Cas E 47

106. When two horses are hitched to a wagon or plow:



Would it be called the same if you had a three horse rig? What about a one-horse rig?

This item is important because it differentiates dialect areas in both the U.S. and Britain. Smith's and Taylor's results for this item are confused, probably because the device was not really familiar to the interviewers. It seems, though, that singletree, whiffletree, and whippetree are the variants to be expected for the first part of the question, whereas doubletree will be the likely choice for the second. Reed's figures for Washington are as follows:

singletree	91%
swiveltree	1
doubletree	72%
whiffletree	2
whippetree	6

Evener is one variant of doubletree that occurs in the U.S.; however, I have heard it used only twice in B.C., and both times it referred to the hitching device used on a three-horse rig.

Tugs, traces, and drawlines may be expected for the third part of the question.

D of C : serviette

107. What do you call the square of cloth or paper you wipe your fingers with at the table?

The figures showing the frequency with which people in Ontario and Montreal choose the British serviette and the American napkin are as follows:

	Ontario		Montreal
serviette only	68.6%	serviette	28.5%
napkin only	20.8	napkin	71.5
serviette	79.2		
both	10.4		

These words have not yet been tested in B.C. Socio-economic factors may influence the choice of these variants.

PCQ 58.6

108. Do you pronounce palm (as in "palm of the hand") to rhyme with bomb or ram or neither.

I have heard / p æ m / only once from a B.C. - born informant, but I have had several who claimed to have heard it from "old-timers" in their areas. The form persists in Eastern Canada alongside / k æ m / for calm, although, according to Avis, it is now rare.

Ontario: / p æ m / 4%

Montreal: / k æ m / 15.3%

109. Does "fourteen" as you say it rhyme best with "short teen" or "shore teen"?

I noticed the existence of a geminated / t / in thirteen and fourteen some years ago, and I have since confirmed my opinion that this feature is widespread in B.C. I have found it difficult, though, to compile figures on its occurrence since such a feature is not always reliably reproduced by a tapercorder. The success of this question will depend on the ability of the informants to make subtle discriminations between sounds. This item also provides a good test of the usefulness of this kind of question.

110. Do you have any unusual names for

birds
animals
fish
insects
plants

or any interesting words connected with

farming
ranching
hunting
fishing

or any other words of interest, particularly from the "old days"?

This kind of question proved useful in PQ-1, turning up several interesting pieces of information.

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APPENDIX

A Secondary Questionnaire

Following is a secondary questionnaire containing items of regional or special interest, as well as items which may be valuable, although information is lacking on them. This questionnaire, along with items based on the results of the main project, will be sent to informants who have been particularly useful.

1. When you are serving tea or coffee to guests, you make sure the cream _____ and sugar _____ are on the table. (Name the proper containers - not cans or bags!)
2. Are there any winds or other weather features that have particular names in your area? _____

PCQ 12.7; C Ch L 15.2 ; Cas E 66

3. What would you call the building, or part of a building, where cows are kept?

PCQ 13.2; C Ch L 15.2-.6-.9; Cas E 69-70

4. What would you call the fenced in area near the barn where the stock is kept or fed?

C Ch L 17.5

5. What do you call the container used to carry food to pigs?

PCQ 35.8; C Ch L 41.6 ; Cas E 10

6. What do you call a crop of hay that is cut later in the season some months after an earlier crop.

D of C : jack-lighting

7. What do you call the kind of fishing or hunting done at night using a light as an attraction?

PCQ 33.3; C Ch L 37.5 ; Cas F 91

8. What words would you use to call a cow in from the field?
Write them as they would sound.
9. Does the car- in "caramel" sound like the car in "used car"
or the car in "carry"?

Cas H 85

10. Is the word "lane" commonly used in your area? If so what
meaning does it have?

PCQ 6.7; C Ch L 8.3; Cas B79

11. What do you call the shelf built just above a fireplace?

Cas E 25

12. What do you call a crop that springs up and grows by itself
from old seed?

Cas E 11

13. What do you do to hay in the field after it has been cut?
Are there any special terms for this?

Cas E 77

14. Would you have a name for a small building where meat or fish
was smoked and cured?

Cas D 35

15. Do you have a name for a frost that is severe enough to kill
plants?

Cas D 34

16. Do you have a name for a frost that is not severe enough to kill
plants?

D of C : beaver meadow

17. Do you have a name for a rich grassy area, sometimes swampy,
that lies behind an old beaver dam?

D of C : band

18. If a group of cattle is a herd, what do you call a group of sheep?

Cas H 98

19. What do you call the devices that hold the oars in place on the sides of a boat?

D of C : caulked boot

20. What do you call the boots studded with spikes used by loggers
- cork boots
 - caulk boots
 - caulked boots
 - spiked boots
 - or _____?

21. Would you have a special name for an Indian woman?

PCQ 25.3; C Ch L 29.11

22. What would you call a stretch of land that was unfit for cultivation?

Cas H 96

23. Would you have a name for a small rowboat, not big enough to hold more than two people?

24. What do you call the long-necked clam found on some parts of the coast?

PCQ 29.8; C Ch L 34.9

25. What do you call an unbroken horse?

PCQ 34.7 ; C Ch L 39.14

26. What do you call the sack that you put on a horse's head to feed him?

PCQ 56.3; C Ch L 69.12-.14; Cas E 1

27. What do you call a man employed to work on a farm or ranch?

PCQ 30.4: C Ch L 34.16, 38.9

28. What does a horse do when it's trying to throw its rider?

PCQ 30.5

29. When a horse shows fright at something, you say it _____

PCQ 56.2; C Ch L 69.14

30. What do you call a man who's employed to herd cattle?

D of C : beef-gather

31. When cattle are brought together so they can be marketed it's called a _____.

Cas F 16

32. How is the word "heifer" used in your neighbourhood? How old a cow? Has she had no calf, only one, or more than one?

33. What would you call a small herd of saddle horses?

PCQ 34.5; C Ch L 39.11; Cas E54

34. What do you call the band that holds the saddle on?

35. What names do you give to different types of horses - according to their jobs, colours, sizes, etc.

36. Would you ever put something around the forelegs of a horse to keep it from wandering? If so, what would you call it?

D of C : cut-off

37. What do you call the channel that is left behind after a river has changed its course?

PCQ 27.3; Cas H 84

38. What do you call a local road that goes off from a main thoroughfare.

39. Name and describe the different kinds of fences you are familiar with.

PCQ 22.8; Cas I 3

40. What would you call a scarf that a woman wears over her head and ties under her chin?

D of C : oolichan

41. What do you call the kind of smelt, very rich in oil, that spawns in coastal rivers?

PCQ 9.6; C Ch L 11.3; Cas B 73

42. What do you call the overlapping boards on the side of a house?

PCQ 26.8; C ChL 30.11; Cas G55

43. What would you call a stone wall built out from the land to protect a harbor from rough water?

PCQ 26.7

44. What do you call the platform, often raised on piles, where boats stop and unload?

PCQ 29.5; C Ch L 33.10; D of C : dogie

45. In a herd of cattle a calf that has lost its mother is called _____.

Cas F 20

46. What do you call a calf that is sold for meat?

C Ch L 2,10.

47. It's Thursday and you've just heard that a friend is arriving to visit you, not on the Sunday immediately following, but on the Sunday after. You might say, "He's arriving _____ (when?)

PCQ 36.1; C Ch L 41.7; Cas E 30

48. Wheat is tied into a _____.

PCQ 17.5; C Ch L 20.8; Cas E46

49. What do you call the two long pieces of wood in front of a buggy that the horse stands between?

C Ch L 32.10; Cas H49

50. What do you call it when you throw a stone over the surface of the water so that it jumps two or three times.